Through the eye of the Dragon:
An Examination of the Artistic Patronage of
Pope Gregory XIII (1572-1585).
Vol.1

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For Sadie and Lilly
Summary

This subject of this thesis is the artistic patronage of Pope Gregory XIII (1572-1585). It examines the contribution of the individual patron to his patronage with a view to providing a more intense reading of his artistic programmes. This approach is derived from the individual interests, influences, and ambitions of Gregory XIII. It contrasts with periodization approaches that employ ‘Counter Reformation’ ideas to interpret his patronage.

This thesis uses archival materials, contemporaneous primary sources, modern specialist literature, and multi-disciplinary sources in combination with a visual and iconographic analysis of Gregory XIII’s artistic programmes to develop and understanding of its subject.

Chapter one examines the efficacy and impact of employing a ‘Counter-Reformation’ approach to interpret Gregory XIII’s artistic patronage. It finds this approach to be too general, ill defined, and reductionist to provide an intense reading of his artistic programmes. Chapter two explores the antecedent influences that determined Gregory XIII’s approach to his papal patronage and an overview of this patronage. Findings indicate that Gregory XIII was shaped by his dedication to the law, his interest in science and scholarship, his identification with Gregory the Great, and his profound understanding of orthodoxy. An evaluation of the full spectrum of his patronage finds a coherence and consistency of intent, which is wholly focused on the Church. Gregory XIII’s patronage, including his artistic programmes, consistently sought to precipitate active worship, devotion, and participation in the sacraments. He patronised the education of the clergy so that they could spread the Word of God, administer the liturgy, celebrate the sacraments, and offer pastoral care to a high and inspiring standard. He standardised the day and date for the celebration of Easter, edited the Roman Martyrology, continued the revision of the Breviary and finalised the Decretals, offering a clearer universal standard for celebrating the liturgy and encouraging greater participation and understanding throughout Christendom. Chapters three and four employ an understanding of Gregory XIII’s
approach and his established pattern of patronage, to examine the artistic programmes of
the Gregorian Chapel and the *Galleria delle Carte Geografiche*. The Gregorian Chapel emerges as a profound statement of fundamental doctrine, explained through the theology of the Doctors of the Church, and offered as a sensory spiritual experience. The overarching theme of the *Galleria* presents as the conceptualisation of Italy as a spiritual dominion constituted out of the active participation of the faithful in the Church, under the authority of Pope Gregory XIII. The venerated deeds of holy men on the vault provide virtuous examples of this active participation in the Church and its beliefs, all emanating from the lands of Italy below the vault.

This focus on the individual contribution of Gregory XIII to his patronage provides an analytic and interpretive framework which contributes to a more meaningful understanding of his artistic programmes.
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Introduction

The subject of this thesis is the artistic patronage of Pope Gregory XIII (1572-1585). It is an examination of Gregory XIII as an individual patron, which implicates his self declared influences, scholarship and education, and interests, all within the context of his desire to regenerate and reinvigorate the Church. An analytic and interpretive framework which accommodates these influences is developed and applied to his patronage. This provides an enriched understanding of his artistic programmes, untapped by periodization approaches such as ‘Counter-Reformation’ or Tridentine interpretations. Gregory XIII emerges as a patron with a distinctive vision of how to renew the Church rather than as a siphon for Counter-Reformation defensive responses. This focus on his personal approach does not separate Gregory XIII from his historical context. It situates him within the sixteenth century but also within the continuum of history that stretches back to the ancient Doctors of the Church while looking to the future of a renewed and reinvigorated Church. This approach stands in contrast to more general approaches that privilege ‘Counter-Reformation’ and Tridentine dynamics.

The artistic patronage of Gregory XIII is conventionally regarded as ‘Counter-Reformation’ or Tridentine in nature by art historians. This approach is derived from the view that the Protestant Reformation precipitated Catholic reform as a defensive response to doctrinal and disciplinary attack. The ‘Counter-Reformation’ approach is situated within a discrete historical period, albeit loosely defined. It is the bracketing of this timeframe that tends to isolate it from broader influences and the continuity of reform. An evaluation of this ‘Counter-Reformation’ approach finds it to be too broad and ill defined to be useful in contributing to an intense reading of the artistic programmes patronised by Gregory XIII. Instead it has the effect of stifling analysis by conflating description with explanation and limiting the scope of interpretation by being reductionist in nature. The Tridentine approach more specifically proposes a direct relationship between the doctrinal
affirmations decreed at the Council of Trent and the expression of doctrine in art of the period. This overly simple approach fails to make explicit the continuity of doctrine already affirmed before Trent and referenced by the Council of Trent, which provides the necessary context for a meaningful interpretation of Tridentine doctrine. A focus on the individual contribution of Gregory XIII to his patronage explicitly expands the referential framework used to interpret his patronage, taking into account the complexity and significance of doctrine and theology referenced by him in his artistic programmes. This approach is used as the analytic framework in this thesis to interpret his artistic programmes.

The methodological approach taken in this research draws on the theoretical and methodological influences of researchers within the field of patronage, such as Clare Robertson, Mary Hollingsworth, and Francis Haskell, among others. However, the focus of this research is on deciphering the artistic programmes patronised by Gregory XIII, by proposing Gregory XIII as a determining influence. The method used is based on archival research exploring contemporaneous accounts of his patronage, research across a number of disciplines reflective of Gregory XIII’s interdisciplinary scholarship, and an examination of thematic and specialist literature pertaining to Gregory XIII’s individual commissions. This is combined with an examination of his overall patronage to identify its overarching aims and ambitions. The emergent analytic and interpretive framework, derived from Gregory XIII’s approach to patronage, is applied in two case studies, which analyse two artistic programmes, the Gregorian Chapel and the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche. An holistic approach is applied in the analysis the Gregorian Chapel and the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche (chapters 3 and 4). All elements which had any material effect on the programmes are analysed both individually and in relation to each other. The elements include representational art, materials, location, lighting, circulation of the viewer, and the function and use of the space. An iconographic analysis is also undertaken to decipher these programmes. Issues of style and aesthetic preference are considered via Gregory XIII’s selection of particular artists to execute these particular programmes. The
interpretation of these commissions draws on the increasing understanding of Gregory XIII’s referential framework.

The challenges met in assessing Gregory XIII’s artistic programmes pertain to the changes made to the original works due to refurbishment, embellishment, or replacement by subsequent papal patrons. A positing of the original conditions and representations, where possible, is achieved in this research.

A review of literature is not included in this introduction as it is included in the body of the text. A review of the nature of literature consulted is however examined. Literature pertaining to Gregory XIII’s patronage begins with primary sources treating his papacy and his commissions. These sources are held in three archives in Rome: The Archivio Segreto Vaticano (ASV), the Archivio della Fabbrica di San Pietro (AFSP), and the Archivio di Stato di Roma (ASR). Manuscripts, printed books, and unpublished commentaries are held in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (BAV). There is a dearth of archival materials pertaining to the commissioning of works, correspondence with artists, or details on the artistic process of the works.

The starting point for assessing Gregory XIII’s patronage are accounts of his papacy by MarcAntonio Ciappi and Giovanni Maffei and the materials gathered for a proposed biography by Giacomo Boncompani. Ciappi’s account of Gregory XIII’s papacy is a Compendio delle heroiche et gloriose attioni, et santa vita di papa Gregorio XIII distinto in tredici capi, in memoria dell’XIII anni, ch’egli visse nel suo felice pontificato, which was published in 1591, and in 1596 with illustrations. Ciappi documents Gregory XIII’s deeds and describes his commissions, providing some context for these commissions. Giovanni Pietro Maffei’s account of Gregory XIII’s papacy is Degli annali di Gregorio
XIII, Pontefice Massimo scritti dal padre Giampiero Maffei e dati in luce da Carlo Cocquelines was written in 1590, edited by Cocquelines, and published in two volumes in 1742. This account takes the form of annals, which is a chronology of events recorded on a year by year basis. This is useful in expressing the juxtaposition of Gregory XIII’s different commissions, the demands of his diplomatic and political activities, papal responsibilities, and pastoral duties, all providing a sense of his busyness and work load. It is nonetheless an archaic format which can frustrate the process of tracing a commission from beginning to end. Cocquelines in his edit of Maffei’s manuscript supplemented it with findings from Ciappi and Giacomo Boncompagni’s Memorie, offering a more detailed account of Gregory XIII’s papacy.

In c1586, after the death of his father Gregory XIII, Giacomo Boncompagni (1548-1612) sought to gather materials from those closest to Gregory XIII in order to write his biography. He approached the project systematically by presenting all potential contributors with a list of up to fifty-one questions or themes. The responses to these questions are preserved in the Boncompagni Archives, BAV Bon. Volumes D5, D7, D8, are the most useful volumes with D5 providing biographical materials most relevant to Gregory XIII’s patronage. It is noted that some of the responses are undated and some are indecipherable. While there is a list of those who contributed, some responses are anonymous. A list of those who were canvassed but did not reply and those who, if any, were censored does not exist. The archive is referred to simply as the Memorie and D5 is specifically referred as Memorie della vita di Gregorio XIII raccolte da diversi e originali relazioni di cardinali, nunzii e altri intesi del di lui pontificato. The Memorie provide useful details regarding the character of Gregory XIII, reaction to various events and commissions such as the Gregorian Chapel and the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche, but these responses tend to be general in nature.

Each of these three sources belongs to a genre which documents the ‘deeds’ of Gregory
XIII without an analytic or critical perspective, appropriate to its genre. These accounts function as a type of panegyric or eulogy to the pope. With this in mind, their usefulness is in the clear documentation of the spectrum and order of ‘deeds’ undertaken by Gregory XIII, the description of his commissions, character, and ambitions, his day-to-day routine and the personalities surrounding and interacting with Gregory XIII, and the incidental commentary sprinkled throughout.

More detailed accounts and commentaries on individual events or commissions are provided by individual writers such as Giovanni Rustelli in Descrittione della pompa e del apparato fatto in Roma del corpo di S. Gregorio Nazianzeno, and Fortunio Lelio’s Pompa et apparato fatto in Roma nel giorno della Traslazione del corpo di San Gregorio Nazianzeno da Santa Maria in Campo Marzio nella Cappella Gregoriana, published in 1580 and 1585 respectively. They provide a detailed account of the translatio of the relics of Gregory Nazianzeno from Campo Marzio to St. Peter’s Basilica with Lelio also providing a brief account of the translatio of the Madonna del Soccorso to the Gregorian Chapel. These contemporaneous accounts offer accurate descriptive details of the preparation, procession, and installation of the relics of Gregory Nazianzeno including participation and reaction from the people of Rome, which is useful in assessing contemporary reactions and the impact and success of Gregory XIII’s patronage.

Valentino Ascanio’s Sacelli Gregoriani Descriptio is a brief but valuable description of the Gregorian Chapel before its refurbishment 1769-1775. This source in conjunction with Bartoli’s watercolour of the chapel, also before refurbishment, allows a clear assessment of the mosaics in the chapel as envisaged by the original artist, Girolamo Muziano (1532-1592).

In 1588, Principio Fabricii produced an emblem book which creatively used Gregory
XIII’s dragon as an emblem. This book, *Delle allusioni, imprese et emblemi ... sopra la vita, opere, et attioni di Gregorio XIII Pontifice Massimo*, includes two hundred and thirty one engravings each with a panegyric poem below. The sycophantic nature of Fabricii’s endeavour render his poetic dedications less useful than the visual information. The engravings provide information on a range of Gregory XIII’s commissions including buildings and ritual processions which includes the commemoration of the *translatio* of the *Madonna del Soccorso*.

*Avvisi* and *Bandi* are newsletters or notices announcing official news from the Church on events, indulgences, church celebrations, or commentary on commissions such as the Gregorian Chapel. The *Bandi* from the *Archivio di Stato di Roma* (ASR), for example, provided useful original documentation regarding Gregory XIII official declarations during Holy Year, indulgences granted to various churches and for a variety of devotional celebrations, and papal bulls prescribing appropriate responses by property owners to new plans for Rome. These sources provide the direct communication with the people of Rome and therefore enrich our understanding of the communications between the papacy, on behalf of Gregory XIII, and sixteenth century Romans.

Materials held in the *Archivio della Fabbrica di San Pietro* (AFSP) pertain to all works undertaken in St. Peter’s Basilica. Documents regarding payments made during a commission can be useful in establishing dates for the commencement of work, workers involved in the commission, type of work, and materials used. Copies of payment records are also documented in payment books in the *Archivio di Stato di Rome*. Records from the AFSP were useful in piecing together the details of the refurbishment of the mosaics in the Gregorian Chapel but did not yield information pertaining to the Cupola in the Chapel during Gregory XIII’s pontificate. These specific sources can be useful in elaborating on the detail of commissions and refining an understanding of the decoration, where documentation is extant.
Gregory Martin, a scholar and lecturer at the English College in Reims, visited Rome in 1576 for eighteen months and published his observations in a guidebook to the city for English pilgrims, *Roma Sancta*, in 1581. It provides a vivid sense of Gregory XIII’s Rome and the sacred practices undertaken during this period, as does Angelo Pientini’s 1583 account of the activities and building works conducted in Rome during the Holy year. Both of these firsthand accounts of the experience of Rome under the pontificate of Gregory XIII inform the reading of Gregory XIII’s Jubilee year and devotional practices. Similarly, Montagne’s impression of Rome, its cults, and the Vatican provides descriptive data on the impact of religious rituals on the city and verifies Gregory XIII’s patronage of the Vatican library and access to it. Guide books such as *Le Cose Maravigliose dell’Alma Citta di Roma* first published in 1563 but updated into the 1590’s, provides an insight into the interests and preoccupations of the laity, of those who would experience the effects of Gregory XIII’s patronage.

A number of more specific sources were consulted such as documentation pertaining to the nature and frequency of the liturgy celebrated in the Gregorian Chapel, activity of the chaplains appointed to the Gregorian Chapel, the upkeep of the chapel, and the revised breviary used in this chapel. Such sources are kept in the Archivio del Capitolo di San Pietro which is held in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. It is worth noting that not all resources within this archive are available for consultation due to the continued cataloguing of these materials.

The writings of Gregory the Great are also examined as a key influence on Gregory XIII, as are the writings of Gregory Nazianzeno, St. Jerome, and St, Basil. The theology of these Doctors is referred to in Gregory XIII’s artistic programmes and interpreted within the context of their theological contributions to the Church.
This is just a sample of primary sources consulted in this research, which have provided a meaningful context for understanding Gregory XIII and his patronage.

While Gregory XIII’s individual commissions continued to be noted in thematic treatments of St. Peter’s Basilica, the Vatican Palaces or Holy Year celebrations, there is a jump in the literature to the nineteenth century before his papacy re-emerges as a source of interest. Gregory XIII is included in Ludwig von Pastor’s History of the Popes. Pastor was the first layman to have privileged access to the materials of the Archivio Segreto Vaticano (ASV) and he drew on these archives for his monumental history of the popes. Pastor dedicates nearly one thousand words to the papacy of Gregory XIII in the 1955 edition, Volume IX Storia dei Papi nel periodo della Riforma e restaurazione cattolica, Gregorio XIII, fifty pages of which are dedicated to the artistic patronage of Gregory XIII. Pastor’s history of Gregory XIII’s papacy is a useful source of detail and for contextualizing his artistic patronage. It is noted however that it is not a primary source and it approaches Gregory XIII’s papacy as an expression of the ‘Counter-Reformation’.

It took until 1952, with the publication of Roberto Almagià’s third volume in the Monumenta Cartographia Vaticana series, Le Piture Murali della Galleria delle Carte Geografiche, before a modern interest in Gregory XIII’s patronage was reasserted. Interest was again signalled in the late 1980’s early 1990’s with the publication of a number of specialist studies focusing on specific commissions. These included work on the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche by Irish Cheney, (1989), Antonio Pinelli and Lucio Gambi, (1994), Walter Goffart, (1998), Francesca Fiorani, (2005), and Pauline Watts, (2005). The Lateran complex was treated in an article by Jack Frieberg, (1991), and Nicola Courtright (2003), published on the Torre dei Venti. In 2009 and 2012 Vernon Minor and Brian Curran (2009), and Claudia Cieri et al, (2012) edited two volumes of articles under the title Art and Science in the Rome of Gregory XIII (1572-1585). These articles treat of various aspects of Gregory XIII’s patronage, focusing primarily the Vatican palace.
More recently Francesca Ceccarelli and Nadja Aksamija, 2011 have edited a book on the Sala Bologna and Pietro Zander, 2016, has edited a number of studies on the restoration of the Madonna del Soccorso in the Gregorian Chapel in St Peter’s basilica. Federico Bellini, (1999 and 2011) treated Gregory XIII’s architectural patronage in St. Peter’s basilica, Patrizia Tosini (2012) examined the work of Girolamo Muziano for Gregory XIII in the Vatican, and Kaspar Zollikofer (2016) investigated the genesis of the interior decoration of St. Peter’s Basilica beginning with its precedent, the Gregorian Chapel. This list is not exhaustive but it signals interest in individual commissions rather than in the patronage of Gregory XIII per se. All of these works provide insight into the patronage of Gregory XIII and this thesis builds on this literature.

It is noted that with the exception of Pauline Watts, researchers have not challenged the usefulness of the ‘Counter-Reformation’ construct as an interpretive framework for treating the detail of Gregory XIII’s artistic patronage. Consequently, the contribution of Gregory XIII as a distinctive force within his own patronage has been left untapped.

This thesis seeks to construct an interpretive framework for the analysis of Gregory XIII’s patronage, which is reflective of his approach. The application of this approach in chapters 3 and 4, reveals complex, meaningful, and coherent artistic programmes, which operate on a variety of levels outside of the direct remit of ‘Counter-Reformation’ formulations.

Chapter one explores the interpretive scope of the ‘Counter-Reformation’ label commonly used to describe and interpret Gregory XIII’s patronage. It is argued that this construct is too general and ill defined to contribute to an intense reading of Gregory XIII’s artistic patronage. An expanded framework for interpretation is proposed that includes accumulated doctrine as a whole making explicit the continuity of doctrine enshrined in the
affirmations of the Council of Trent and used as a guiding principle of Gregory XIII’s patronage. This is reflective of Gregory XIII’s understanding of doctrine and theology and facilitates an interpretation of the significance of his sacred art. The assimilation of this doctrinal archive, via the Ecumenical Councils, in conjunction with the influences and interests of Gregory XIII, provides a more meaningful context for assessing Gregory XIII’s commissions.

Chapter two identifies the influences that informed and shaped Gregory XIII’s personal approach to patronage and documents his patronage. Influences that shaped his approach to patronage include his scholarship, training in the law, identification with Gregory the Great, and his profound grasp of orthodoxy. Gregory XIII asserted his identification with Gregory the Great in the artistic programme in the Sale dei Foconi in the Apostolic Palace and in his expression of Il culto divino during Holy Year. Gregory XIII’s identification with Gregory the Great was expressed in his administration of the city of Rome, his charitable and pastoral activities, and in his interpretation and application of his theology as a means of reactivating the faith. This identification was not one of self-aggrandizement but a setting out of a set of expectations that he adhered to in his patronage. Gregory XIII also expressed his ambition to strengthen and expand his spiritual dominion through the Word of God in his association with the Pentecost in La Sala del Concistoro segreto, in the Apostolic Palace. All of these influences impacted on the choice and nature of Gregory XIII’s artistic patronage which are a consistent and coherent expression of his ideas and ambitions as identified across his diverse oeuvre. His patronage is treated thematically and organised into three categories: education and training, science and scholarship, and the Holy year, which is identified as Gregory XIII’s most significant act of patronage. All of his patronage, directly and indirectly, promotes the participation of the laity and the clergy in devotional practices and the celebration of the sacraments.

Chapter three provides an in-depth analysis of the Gregorian chapel in St. Peter’s basilica.
It is treated as a single artistic programme reflective of Gregory XIII’s patronage of the chapel as a single commission. The chapel is treated holistically with each element of the chapel assessed in relation to all other elements. This includes not only the representational elements of the Madonna and Child, the Doctors of the Church, and the Prophets but its material magnificence, the liturgy, the theology of the Doctors, the organ music, and the celebration of the Eucharist. The iconography of the programme is examined throughout. The chapel emerges as a celebration of the fundamental doctrines of the Church represented for clear apprehension and engagement by worshipers. It offers the power of the miraculous for petitions, plenary indulgences for the souls in purgatory, and as a Sacramental chapel it also offers the Body of Christ for meditation and adoration. All these elements offer communion with the spiritual realm in this sacred place.

Chapter four examines the Galleria delle carte Geografiche. In the absence of documentation regarding its commission or details regarding the execution of the vault programme yet to be discovered, the primary source of information for analysis is the visual representations themselves as organised within the Galleria. The style and aesthetics of the Galleria is treated in this analysis as a function of Gregory XIII’s careful selection of his team of artists. The objective of the investigation is twofold. First, to provide a coherent reading of the vault based on identified narrative groups that are geometrically arranged on the vault. It is proposed that such a reading offers legibility for viewers and a direct relationship to the maps on the walls below. Second, to identify a single organising theme for the Galleria that is synergistic with its artistic exuberance and its relaxed ambulatory function.
Chapter 1:
Re-Framing the Patronage of Gregory XIII:

1.1 Introduction
At the core of this thesis is the artistic patronage of Pope Gregory XIII. The term ‘Counter-Reformation’ is conventionally used by art historians as a label to locate his artistic patronage within the sixteenth century and to describe and explain the nature of his artistic programmes. Like all labels, the ‘Counter-Reformation’ is not all encompassing and cannot express the whole truth of the dynamics of the period expressed in art, let alone the individual contribution of Gregory XIII to his artistic patronage in terms of his ambition, his personal perspective, and the goals of his papacy. The ‘Counter-Reformation’ approach merely addresses an aspect of the truth with other aspects escaping the net because it is not capacious enough. Such a label acts as an implicit category of interpretation directing our attention to some issues and away from others, admitting some evidence and filtering out the rest.¹ This label is broad and general in that it abstracts and identifies a trend across a broad trajectory of patrons and artistic endeavours. It directs our attention to what can be interpreted as defensive or offensive reactions to the attacks by the Protestant Reformation within artistic patronage and art, which includes the promotion of decrees promulgated by the Council of Trent (1545-1563). It tends to exclude responses within the Church which do not reference the criticism of the Reformation. This contrasts with the focused patronage of Gregory XIII over a thirteen year period and the inclusive nature of his artistic patronage, in which he recognised varied impulses for regeneration and renewal antecedent to the Reformation. Gregory XIII celebrated rather than defended the fundamental tenets of Catholic belief in the Gregorian Chapel and he also celebrated the active participation in faith, worship and the sacraments in Galleria delle Carte Geografiche. An examination of ‘Counter-Reformation’ and Tridentine constructs as a rubric used by art historians in the analysis and interpretation of his artistic programmes is undertaken in order to demonstrate the need for a broader more explicit approach to his

¹ O’Malley, John W., Trent and All That, Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 2000
patronage so that a more intense reading of these artistic programmes can be provided.

The ‘Counter-Reformation’ is an eighteenth-century term which has been applied to describe the impact of the changes that occurred in the Catholic Church in the sixteenth century. An historiographical account of the term identifies its origin, *Gegenreformation*, with Johann Stephan Pütter, a Lutheran Lawyer and legal historian from Göttingen. Pütter first published the term in 1776. The term ‘Counter-Reformation’ was used as a concept in legal history denoting the reversion of confessional allegiance in the Holy Roman Empire 1555-1648, when Catholic emperors and princes captured and re-catholicised territories formerly under the banner of Protestantism. ‘Counter-Reformation’ referred to the forced return of Lutherans to the practice of Catholicism in areas that had once been Lutheran. The term was only applied to territories within the Holy Roman Empire. This then was a precise and literal term connoting what it denoted: Anti-Reformation. Its focus was on military, political, and diplomatic events rather than on devotion or culture.

The term ‘Counter-Reformation’ gained acceptance, and achieved distinction in the 1830’s with the publication of Leopold von Ranke’s *The Roman Popes (Die römischen Päpste)* in which Ranke sought to impart a more creative and dynamic dimension to the resurgence of Catholicism in the second half of the sixteenth century. Ranke prepared the way for the ‘Counter-Reformation’ as a comprehensive term signifying a broad reality before 1555. He insisted that forces for renewal were at work within sixteenth-century Catholicism and not simply a reaction to the Reformation and that they predated the first stirrings of

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3 Po-Chia Hsai, 2005.


5 Po-Chia Hsai, 2005, p.2.

Protestantism. Nineteenth-century attention then shifted away from war and politics, to piety and prayer and to the early reformers of the Church such as Cardinal Francisco Ximénez de Cisneros (1436-1517), Savonarola (1452-1498), Desiderius Erasmus (1466-1536), and Ignatius Loyola (1491-1556).

Following Ranke’s positive description, a debate concerning the passive and reactionary connotations of the term ‘Counter-Reformation’ took place in Germany in the 1870’s and 1880’s against the backdrop of the newly united Germany. Catholic scholars contested the term as negative and instead suggested that it be substituted with the term Catholic Reformation or Catholic reform or Catholic Restoration given the spirit of restoration identified with the resurrection of the papacy and the Society of Jesus. In 1963, Pierre Janelle published The Catholic Reformation which emphasized the positive aspects of sixteenth-century Catholicism stressing the continuity of medieval and sixteenth-century mysticism and the modernity of the Jesuits and called the phenomenon Catholic Reformation.

In the early twentieth century, English language historiography displayed disagreement in its use of the term ‘Counter-Reformation’ but this is the term that eventually predominated. It appeared in texts to mean repression of the Reformation. An entry in The Catholic Encyclopedia in 1908 by the Jesuit historian J. H. Pollen identified the Counter-Reformation as a period of Catholic Revival from 1560-1648. In 1930, Outram Evennett published The Cardinal of Lorraine and the Council of Trent in which he expressed his dissatisfaction with the term ‘Counter-Reformation’ indicating that it leads us to underrate what was in fact a most complex movement.

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9 Po-Chia Hsai, 2005, p.2.
The scholarship of the twentieth-century was given new impetus with the publication of Hubert Jedin essay ‘Catholic Reformation or Counter Reformation?’ in 1946 and the first two volumes of the *Geschichte des Konzils von Trient*, published in 1949 and 1957 respectively. In his 1946 essay Jedin recognised the validity and necessity of two complimentary constructs, viz., the ‘Catholic Reformation’, referring to reform of the Church beginning in the late middle ages and continuing into the eighteenth century, and the ‘Counter-Reformation’, referring to the defensive behaviour of the Church against Protestant attack. It was in his history of the Council of Trent that Jedin succeeded in elevating the concept of the *Gegenreformation*, on a par with the Reformation. In 1977 continuing in this vein, Wolfgang Reinhard published a landmark essay that rejected the dichotomy between progressive Reformation and reactionary Counter-Reformation. Reinhard criticised them as inadequate concepts in understanding the totality of historical development and instead proposed the concept of ‘Confessionalism.’ This concept allowed Lutheranism, Calvinism, and Catholicism to be analysed as parallel and equivalent developments supporting the rise of the modern state. Within Catholicism Reinhard included its disciplinary and Christianising measures, the reform of ecclesiastic administration, new educational approaches, and the dissolution of nepotism, among others.

The terms were expanded by the work of Jean Delumeau in his displacement of the terms ‘Counter-Reformation’ and Reformation with the broader constructs of Medieval Christianity versus Tridentine Catholicism. Tridentine Catholicism represented an enormous attempt at Christianisation: the training of clergy, spread of catechism, combating of superstitions, etc. Bossy took issue with Delumeau’s thesis pointing out that medieval Europe was not pagan and instead contrasts pre-Tridentine Christianity based on kin, community and locality versus post-Tridentine Christianity that was centralised and

organised from above.\textsuperscript{14} It was Michael Mullet who summarised the emergent consensus, \textit{viz.} that all reforms, Protestant and Catholic, had their origins in late medieval Christianity.\textsuperscript{15}

It seems then that since the 1970’s historians battled over the character of Catholicism to determine whether the Counter Reformation or Catholic Reform or a combination of both best describe early modern Italian religiosity.\textsuperscript{16} In an effort to break free of the terminology used to capture the nature and effect of changes in the Church, revisionist historians proposed new ideas based on research that highlighted the complexities and ambiguities of the age rendering adherence to old terms deficient and the periodization that hinged upon them dead. One such new concept was ‘\textit{disciplinamento}’. This term was used to describe post-Tridentine efforts to standardise ecclesiastical institutions and devotional behaviour. The term refers to the disciplinary function of modern states and their subordination of subject populations. Hudon indicates that while these historians warned that the category was not to be used as an absolute interpretive scheme it has been used as a unifying explanation of the period as an age of social disciplining. This concept has weaknesses in that it proposes a top down analysis, which does not stand up to scrutiny.\textsuperscript{17} In his article ‘Black and White and re-read all over, Conceptualising Reform across the Long Sixteenth Century, 1414-1633’, Hudon concludes his analysis of \textit{disciplinamento}: ‘If local administrators had in fact succeeded in some comprehensive disciplining after all, we should have to explain how the cowed suddenly lost their yokes and overthrew religious and political authorities later on. The simpler, more reasonably human explanation is that no authorities ... fully exercised anything close to the power they so vociferously claimed.’\textsuperscript{18}

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\item Po-Chia Hsai, 2005.
\item Ibid.
\item Hudon, William, V., ‘Black and White and re-read all over, Conceptualising Reform across the Long Sixteenth Century, 1414-1633’, in Christopher Bellitto and David Flanagin (eds) \textit{Reassessing Reform. A
Despite long and protracted discussions and a huge amount of work dedicated to teasing-out these ideas, the old terms, dichotomies and binary notions persisted. Eric Cochrane proposed the term ‘Tridentine Reformation’ for the religious revival of late fifteenth and sixteenth-century Italy. Of the term he said that it would make possible the bringing together under a single denomination all those various religious movements, persons and institutions that led up to, paralleled, were sanctioned by or issued from the Council of Trent. Cochrane does go on to say that ‘out of respect for its variety, its productivity, and its polymorphous character the age can no longer be called the Age of the Counter-Reformation or even the Age of the Tridentine Reformation. It may have to be re-baptised, in accordance with what now seems to have been its most pervasive character, as the Age of Consolidation. According to Hudon however, there is no single magical term that can embrace the complexity of the origins, rise, and impact of Catholicism on sixteenth and seventeenth-century society, nor does it seem, on sixteenth-century art. He suggests that the best way to proceed perhaps is abandon terms such as ‘Counter-Reformation’, Catholic Reformation and their attendant offshoots.

This brief historiographical review highlights the complexity of the dynamics that shaped changes in the Catholic Church in the late sixteenth century and demonstrates the resistance of such complexity to a singular causative generalisation such as the ‘Counter-Reformation’. It brings into focus the questionable efficacy of using such a discrete, reductionist, and binary term as the ‘Counter-Reformation’ to characterise the period. It seems that the ‘Counter-Reformation’ or defensive reaction by the Catholic Church to the Reformation was not a defining trend but an identifiable trend among a number of trends. This indicates that while patronage and art may be identified as expressing a defensive

20 Ibid., pp.42-43.
21 Ibid., p.43.
22 Hudon, 1996, p.804.
reaction to the Reformation it cannot be assumed to do so and that with closer attention other discernible dynamics can be identified which were harnessed to strengthen the Church.

Art historians still use the label ‘Counter-Reformation’ when describing the art and patronage of the second half of the sixteenth century. It is used without telling us with precision what the label means. It is used to mean an historical period beginning after the Renaissance and ending c1650. It is used to describe a style of art prevalent within the period 1540-1650 which is not Renaissance but may or may not include ‘Baroque’ as a style of expression. It is also used to signify changes in art and architecture caused directly or indirectly by Church reform employed as a defence against attacks by the Protestant Reformation. Finally, it is a term used to describe a positive or negative period of artistic creativity. What is meant by changes in art, attacks by Protestant Reformers, style of the period, or reform, all lack an agreed explicit definition which one would imagine should be made known rather than assumed.

The use of such a general construct, identified as having a single causative agent, runs into difficulty when searching for supporting evidence. In Po-Chia Hsia’s treatment of art and architecture in *The World of Catholic Renewal, 1540-1770*, he highlights what he identifies as the ‘Counter-Reformation’ approach by citing the criticism by Giovanni Andrea Gilio

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(d.1584) of Michelangelo’s (1475-1564) ‘Last Judgement’, the prescription of the Council of Trent for art to delight, teach, and move the faithful, and how nudity was decried by Paleotti (1522-1597) and Bartolomeo Ammannati (1511-1592). Po-Chia Hsia’s paints a picture of censorship, compliance with restricted prescriptions on art by the Church, and the general deleterious effects of the ‘Counter-Reformation’ on art only to be relieved in the seventeenth century ‘....when the tension between Counter-Reformation censorship and Renaissance styles had been replaced by a new period of creativity in the visual arts and architecture, in which the spirit of Catholic renewal served as the wellspring of imagination.’ The supporting evidence cited by Po-Chia Hsia’s seems to be a selective and skewed characterisation of the period, perhaps a function of the vast period that Po-Chia Hsia is attempting to characterise. It is observed that Giovanni Andrea Gilio was an obscure Umbrian figure who wrote no more than a fifteen page treatise on art, Due Dialogi, disregarding all that Vasari had written fourteen years previously. Similarly, Session XXV of the Council of Trent did not simply exhort ‘new’ art to delight, teach, and or move the faithful to piety, that was Paleotti’s borrowed notion which reached back to Gregory the Great and has persisted ever since. Similarly, in Session XXV of the Council of Trent, it stated that ‘... all sensual appeal must be avoided so that images are not painted or adorned with seductive charm’ and ‘... that the images of Christ, the Virgin Mother of God and all the other saints should be set up and kept, particularly in churches, and that due honour and reverence is owed to them.... because honour showed to them is showed to the original which they represent...’. With regard to attitudes towards the glorification of nudity, they are complex. Paleotti simply indicated that the rendering of nudity in a lascivious manner is to be condemned rather than nudity per se. Finally, while Ammannati repudiated his own earlier nude sculptures, he did so in a few lines on his

25 Ibid., p.154.
deathbed. It seems that in the conviction that Counter Reformatory dynamics characterised art of the second half of the sixteenth century, Po-Chia Hsia directed his attention to what could be interpreted as defensive reactions to the Reformation expressed in the decrees of the Council of Trent. The use of such ‘evidence’ to support the characterisation of the period as ‘Counter-Reformation’ in nature is questionable. The response of art and artists to the challenging dynamics of the sixteenth-century Church is much more complex and more positive that Po-Chia Hsia’s characterisation would lead us to believe, as is evident in the patronage of Gregory XIII.

Having attention restricted to defensive reactions by the Catholic Church and away from the consideration of other discernible dynamics or other evidence, is apparent in the treatment of the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche by a number of researchers employing a ‘Counter-Reformation’ approach. From the outset Cheney directs attention to the Church’s struggle with Protestants stating that that ‘The program of the Gallery ... provided a Catholic reply to the Lutheran version of the history Christianity ...’, and she states that ‘Reference to the Protestants is implicit ... in all the depictions of pagans, barbarians, and earlier heretics’. Cheney pursues this ‘Counter-Reformation’ thesis, which determines her interpretation of all aspects of the Gallery, without reference to other hypotheses such as Gregory XIII’s overarching ambition to regenerate the Church and celebrate the Catholic faith rather than defend it, his vision of a sacred dominion constituted out of active participation in the faith, or the empowering display of Italian holy men as a model of Christianity. Pinelli’s attention too is restricted by his adherence to a ‘Counter-Reformation’ interpretation of the Galleria. Referring to the central panels of the vault he says, ‘The other no less bitter battle the Church was engaged in was against the Protestant reformation ... and it is this battle which chiefly occupies the vault interpreted through allegory and the theological and historical lessons inherent in the frescoed scenes. There

are no depictions of exemplary Divine punishment, nor heretical figures with Christ’s Church as persecutor that do not symbolize the ardent endeavours of the Counter-Reformation’s religious crusade just as there is practically no scene or allegory which does not offer a significant illustration of some fundamental point of Tridentine doctrine. Working within the parameters of the ‘Counter-Reformation’, there is no evidence that either researcher considers alternative explanations of the iconography of the Galleria. Such an approach leaves the relationship between the vault and maps of the Galleria unresolved and the function of the maps unclear, suggesting that there is another dynamic at work that is not captured by a ‘Counter-Reformation’ approach.

A lack of a precise definition and the generalising impulse of the ‘Counter-Reformation’ approach also cause problems when the concept is applied to specific aspects of artistic programmes or individual works of art. For example: Gregory XIII patronised a range of changes at San Giovanni in Laterano. These changes included the restoration of the baptistery. If Gregory XIII’s patronage is characterised as a ‘Counter-Reformatory’ measure then Gregory XIII’s patronage of the baptistery may be interpreted as an assertion of the importance of baptism in response to the Luther’s minimisation of its role or simply a reference to the decree on baptism and justification promulgated at the Council of Trent. While this may be a fair and useful identification of a late sixteenth-century trend, such a reductionist approach does not reveal, indeed excludes in breadth and depth, the particular nature of this commission. It could perhaps be any reference to baptism by any patron in the late sixteenth century. It does not reference the significance of baptism within the context of Gregory XIII’s overall oeuvre, his Jubilee celebrations, or indeed his focus on the active participation of the faithful in fundamental doctrine as a guiding principle of his papacy. These observations draw on Gregory XIII’s interest in establishing a continuity of doctrine which was eroded during decades of institutional neglect by the Church, predating the Reformation. It argues for a more comprehensive approach to Gregory XIII’s

31 Pinelli, 1994, pp.127-128. Pinelli refers to the battle with the Turks and the Protestants.
32 See Chapter 2 for a detailed examination of Gregory XIII’s patronage of San Giovanni in Laterano.
patronage, as does an analysis of Steven Ostrow’s concluding essay in Marcia Hall’s *Artistic centres of the Italian Renaissance: Rome* in which Ostrow evaluates Gregory XIII’s individual projects.\(^{33}\) Ostrow predicated his analysis of Gregory XIII’s patronage on the view that in the late sixteenth century, the popes of Rome called upon the arts to ‘serve as expressive instruments of reform ... propagandistic tools to instruct Christians in the articles of faith and to refute the doctrines and ideology of the Protestants’.\(^{34}\) In his analysis of the Gregorian Chapel in St. Peter’s Basilica he discusses Giacomo della Porta’s (1532-1602) altar, which houses the *Madonna del Soccorso*. Ostrow interprets the re-imagining of this ‘twelfth-century’ icon as an expression of the Church’s belief in the ‘efficacy of such images to counter Protestant attacks against images and the cult of Mary’.\(^{35}\) Two aspects of Ostrow’s evaluation require comment. First, it is noted that Martin Luther (1483-1546) criticised the use of images within the market of indulgences but he never advocated the suppression of images, believing that they could be used as a powerful educational tool.\(^{36}\) It was iconoclasts such as John Calvin (1509-64) and Ulrich Zwingli (1484-1531) who sought to prohibit sacred images although the iconoclast movement barely touched Italy. Second, Luther believed that the veneration of the Virgin Mary is inscribed in the very depths of the human heart, and both Calvin and Zwingli believed in honouring the Virgin as Mother of God. What then is the attack by Protestants that Ostrow is referring to? It seems that he is referring to the veneration of the Virgin Mary and her power of intercession, both refuted by later reformers. This may be Ostrow’s implication, but without making this explicit it remains ambiguous and unclear. His labelling of the function of this image as a counter attack against Protestants stifles further analysis as to the function, context, iconography, and significance of this icon and the positing of alternative hypotheses as to the intent of the patron in choosing this particular icon since its ‘Counter-Reformation’ credentials are deemed sufficiently explanatory. It is evident from Gregory XIII’s patronage that his artistic programmes drew


\(^{34}\) Ibid., p.247.

\(^{35}\) Ibid., p.260. It is in fact a fourteenth-century icon substituted for a seventh-century icon. See chapter 3.

on a wide array of influences with the ambition to enhance and celebrate the Catholic faith rather than merely defend it (see chapters 2&3). As noted the ‘Counter-Reformation’ approach does not consider the communication of the Incarnation, the Holy Trinity, or the Crucifixion, since they were not refuted by Reformers but they are demonstrably integral to the Gregorian Chapel of which the icon of the *Madonna Soccorso* was a part (chapter 3). An analysis of the overall iconographic communication of the main altar of the Gregorian chapel offers alternative hypotheses as to the function and meaning of the *Madonna del Soccorso* altar which can then be considered within the context of Gregory XIII’s overall patronage.

That the construct ‘Counter-Reformation’ is both complex and disputed in nature is well documented.\(^{37}\) While the label or name itself is understood to refer to changes in the Church in reaction to the Reformation, it has been observed that changes occurred within the Catholic Church that were antecedent to, and independent of the Reformation and continued through the late sixteenth century. These changes included efforts to improve the education and dedication of the parish clergy, the call to make bishops directors of renewal, the requirement of the regular orders to live up to their vows, and the challenge to the politicisation bishops in favour of their sacramental and pastoral duties.\(^{38}\) Buoyed by the clarity and confidence of the Council of Trent, Gregory XIII sought to implement the promulgations which recognised these changes and informed the decrees of the Council of Trent as part of a conscious continuity of reform of behaviour within the institutional Church. These reform measures included his patronage of clerical training and education, monitoring of pastoral duties, and the enforcement of the obligation of residence. On the subject of confraternities and missions the Council had however nothing of substance to say. Gregory XIII was innovative and successful in his patronage of missions in both the Asia and South America indicating that he drew inspiration from another source, namely


his namesake, Gregory the Great (540-604) as documented in his artistic programme in the *Sale dei Foconi* (chapter 2). Gregory XIII drew from the continuum of history and the impulse of reform, referencing a continuity of behavioural reform laid-down by preceding ecumenical councils and reiterated by the Council of Trent rather than merely a defensive response to the Reformation movement.

Under the topic of doctrine, the Council of Trent treated only Protestant teachings that conflicted with Catholic teachings. In this way it reasserted with clarity the orthodox teachings of the Church criticised by Protestants. The Council of Trent drew from the continuity of doctrine established by the Church without the need to promulgate any new doctrine. That the council reasserted doctrine decreed by preceding ecumenical councils indicates the established and persistent continuity of issues such as purgatory, sacred images, the cult of saints, the sacraments, and so on, to the Church since its inception. Such doctrine is embedded within a system which relates to and is dependent on other doctrinal decrees, all necessary for an understanding of their significance. There was nothing in the canons or decrees of Trent on the Resurrection, the Trinity, the Incarnation, or the Immaculate Conception, and little on the Virgin Mary, since none of these areas of doctrine were refuted by the Reform movement. ³⁹ Gregory XIII did express the significance of this doctrine in his artistic programmes, focusing on the continuity of doctrine as a guiding principle of his patronage, which argues for the need to make explicit the theological and doctrinal issues that he sought to promote.

Notwithstanding the continuity of doctrine enshrined in the decrees of the Council of Trent, it is observed that there were several other precipitating dynamics that shaped sixteenth-century changes within the Catholic Church which could be employed in art. There existed a dynamic of restoration of Church orthodoxy in the face of ignorance and superstitious beliefs which sought to re-establish in the minds of the faithful the ineluctable

³⁹ Ditchfield, Simon, 2013.
beliefs of the Catholic Church explained by the Doctors of the Church and decreed in doctrine stretching back to the first Ecumenical Council of Nicaea 325; an impulse for the renewal, and regeneration of the faith to activate and engage the faithful; a trend which referenced the Council of Trent not only as a source of clarity but as a signifier of confidence and commitment to regeneration, none of which referenced the criticisms of the Reformation directly, but instead operated in parallel to defensive reactions. Any or all of these currents of change could be expressed by patrons of the arts in order to shape change within the Church, including defensive reactions to the Reformation. This is evidenced by the spectrum of varied and individual approaches to artistic patronage in the sixteenth century.⁴⁰ Both Gregory XIII and Pope Paul IV (1555-1559) for example, are regarded as ‘Counter Reformation’ popes but their approach could not be more different. While Gregory XIII celebrated the doctrine of the Church, Paul IV was intolerant and oppressive. He sought to destroy Michelangelo’s (1475-1564) Last Judgement, demolished frescoes by Raphael (1483-1520) in the Sala dei Palafrenieri in the Vatican Palace, and proposed to destroy Raphael’s Battle of Milvian Bridge in the Sala di Costantino.⁴¹ He had served as one of the first Cardinal Inquisitors in 1542 as had Pius V (1566-1572).⁴² He was virulently anti-Protestant and his papal policy concentrated on repression of dissent and the punishment of dissenters.⁴³ Paul IV sought to defend the Church against Protestants and heretics through the suppression of error rather than communication of the truth. Gregory XIII sought to reinvigorate the Church through activating the faithful to participate in the Church by celebrating its doctrine established over twelve hundred years.

This brief analysis of the term ‘Counter-Reformation’ illustrates the difficulty of capturing

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the complexity of changes at work within the Catholic Church in the sixteenth century using a single binary construct and therefore, the impossibility of gaining an intense reading of Gregory XIII’s artistic patronage using such a restrictive point of view. An alternative broad interdisciplinary approach is recommended which assimilates the interests and ambitions of Gregory XIII rather than predicating his patronage on ‘Counter-Reformatory’ assumptions. The benefits of a broad interdisciplinary approach are illustrated in the work of Zollikofer on the interior decoration of St. Peter’s Basilica beginning with its decorative precedent viz., the Gregorian Chapel. Zollikofer seeks to reconstruct Gregory XIII’s vision of the four corner chapels of St. Peter’s basilica, which inform his interpretation of the Gregorian chapel. He does not predicate his analysis on assumptions regarding the motivation of Gregory XIII’s patronage but instead seeks to reconstruct his intentions by examining each element within the chapel, its spatial and geographical significance, and the interrelationships among the elements within the chapel, all within the context of the other three corner chapels. Zollikofer offers a rich range of hypotheses drawing on a broad interdisciplinary archive regarding the significance of the iconography leaving the reader to conclude, and as a stimulant for further research. His insights regarding the Gregorian Chapel are cited in this thesis.

Gregory XIII had a profound understanding of the doctrine validated by the Church, via his general scholarship and his familiarity with the canons and decrees from the eighteen ecumenical councils that preceded the Council of Trent. As noted, an exclusively ‘Counter-Reformation’ or ‘Tridentine’ approach does not explicitly employ such a broadly informed perspective and therefore does not tackle the expression of this perspective in Gregory XIII’s artistic patronage. In order to fully understand the iconography of Gregory XIII’s artistic programmes, it is proposed that the analytic and interpretive framework or what may be referred to as the art-historical archive used to analyse his patronage explicitly includes the accumulated orthodoxy of the preceding ecumenical councils and not just the Council of Trent. This avoids second guessing what may or may not be

44 Zollikofer, Kaspar, 2016.
implicit in the interpretations offered of Gregory XIII’s artistic programmes. An understanding of the doctrine accumulated by the councils preceding the Council of Trent provides an understanding of the complete doctrinal dynamic at work within the Catholic belief system. The Tridentine decrees can be pithy or short on detail but a reading of them within the context of what had already been agreed and defined, enriches our understanding of their meaning and their terms of reference. Similarly, an understanding of doctrine not included in the Council of Trent but referenced by Gregory XIII in his patronage is useful for interpreting his artistic programmes.

Specific doctrines salient to the artistic programmes analysed in this thesis namely, the Gregorian Chapel and the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche, require summary elucidation by way of introduction to Gregory XIII’s patronage. They include the doctrine of the Virgin Mary, the veneration of sacred images, relics, and saints, Baptism and the Eucharist. This examination is exemplary rather than exhaustive with incidental and specific issues emerging during the examination of these specific artistic programmes in chapters 3 & 4.

1.2 The Virgin Mary:
Gregory XIII was devoted to the Virgin Mary. He honoured her throughout his papacy but specifically in the dedication of the Gregorian Chapel to Dei Genetrici Mariae Virgini, Mary Mother of God. His patronage of the Virgin referenced not only the Incarnation and her power of intercession but celebrated her as a central force within Christianity.

The significance of the Virgin was not elucidated at the Council of Trent because it had already been established and her doctrine had not been refuted. At Trent she was simply excluded from the decree on Original sin.\textsuperscript{45} An understanding of her significance lies in

the doctrine promulgated by preceding councils. It is a complex doctrine in which the
Virgin Mary is recognised as critical to Catholic doctrine. It is in this role that she is
presented in the Gregorian Chapel (chapter 3).

Having been excluded from the Nicene creed in 325, she was included in an update of this
creed issued at the Council of Constantinople I, 381 which states ‘... for us humans and for
our salvation he (Jesus Christ) came down from the heavens and became incarnate from
the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary and became human...’ 46 This first formal recognition
of the Virgin Mary refers to her role in the Incarnation, in conjunction with the Holy Spirit,
as Mother of God. The doctrine of Mary as Mother of God becomes central at the next
Council of Ephesus 431, with the title of Theotokos, Mother of God prevailing. This was
in essence a Christological controversy concerning the relationship between the divinity
and humanity in Christ in which the assertion of Mary as Mother of God affirms Jesus as
one person with two natures, human and divine in equal parts.

The words spoken by the prophet Isaiah, referring to the Virgin’s status as Mother of God
and as a necessary agent in the Incarnation are represented in a mosaic high in the lunette
of the Gregorian Chapel (Figs.3.31, 3.41). Above the main altar is a representation of the
Annunciation of the Virgin with the dedication inscribed as Dei Genetrici Mariae Virgini.
These representations reflect the orthodoxy decreed at this council of Ephesus 431 and
Gregory XIII’s emphasis on clearly expressing Catholic beliefs.

The status of the Virgin as Mother of God was summarised in a letter from Cyril to John of
Antioch about peace, as follows:

‘... For you must surely know that almost all our fight for the faith arose in
connection with our insistence that the Holy Virgin is the Mother of God. But if we

claim that the holy body of our common saviour Christ is born from heaven and was not of her, why should she still be considered God-bearer? For the holy prophet Isaiah does not lie when he says, “Behold a virgin shall conceive and bear a Son and they shall call his name Emmanuel, which is interpreted God with us.”

The Council of Chalcedon 451 confirmed the ecumenical status of Ephesus and therefore its teachings. In Constantinople II, Mary’s virginity was confirmed in the second anathema against the ‘Three Chapters’: ‘... when the Word came down from the heavens and was made flesh of Holy and Glorious Mary, Mother of God and ever-virgin...’

It was at the Council of Nicaea II, 787 that images of the Virgin Mary received particular attention. On images the council decreed that ... these are images of our Lord, God and Saviour, Jesus Christ, and of our Lady without blemish, the Holy God bearer...’

‘Lady without blemish’ refers to her virginity but perhaps also refers to her Immaculate Conception, and while this doctrine was not yet promulgated, it may be an indication of established belief, which was subsequently reflected at the Council of Basel. It was not until the Council of Basel-Florence over six hundred years later that the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception was openly debated. While the legitimacy of this council is questioned, it put in train the process for the legitimisation of the Immaculate Conception beginning with Pope Sixtus IV’s constitution 1479 cited at the Council of Trent, and culminating in Pius IX’s (1846-1878) definition in 1854.

Symbols of the Virgin are represented in the Cupola of the Gregorian Chapel. While the direct involvement of Gregory XIII in this decorative scheme is unclear, the iconography is congruent with the Gregory XIII’s praise of the Virgin as the nexus of Catholic doctrine.

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49 Ibid., p.136.
The symbols signify the Virgin as the light and life of the Church, her perpetual virginity, beauty, grace, and as God bearer.

This summarises the formal doctrine of the Virgin Mary which underlines her significance through the Incarnation and her central role in Christian belief, all of which are expressed in the Gregorian Chapel.

1.3 The Veneration of Saints, Relics, and Sacred Images:
Gregory XIII patronised saints, sacred images, and relics as a form of veneration and didacticism (see chapters 2, 3, & 4). He patronised sacred art inside and outside the walls of churches encouraging processions and pilgrimage in their use of banners and printed materials featuring holy images. This was in line with the sentiment expressed at Nicaea II that the more frequently holy images are seen, the more those who see them are drawn to remember and long for those who serve as models. This is also relevant to the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche where Gregory XIII’s inscription over the north door identifies the deeds of holy men on the vault above as a model for the Christian faith and as the fabric of the spiritual dominion of the Church.

Images:
At Nicaea II 787, the decree on sacred images declared that the function of sacred images is to ‘make real’ the life of Christ and the history of the saints and martyrs (see appendix I). There is no mention of suitability of imagery other than that it is holy imagery and that the Virgin, unblemished, should be represented as such. Sacred images were thus deemed part of the well established practices and traditions of the Church, as a means of elevating communion with God no matter how they were made or where they were displayed. In a conclusion to the refutation of criticisms of this decree made by the Council of Frankfurt of 794, Pope Hadrian I (772-795) said:
'With regard to images, the belief of St. Gregory the Great and our belief are the same; and so the Greek bishops themselves, in this very synod, accepted the definition to reverence images with salutations of honour, but by no means to give them the true worship which, according to our faith we give to the divine nature alone ... And therefore it is that we have accepted this said synod.'

This affirms the rejection of idolatry. It also evidences Gregory the Great as a sacred source for the Church’s teachings drawn on by Nicaea II and by extension the Council of Trent.

Nearly eight hundred years later, the Council of Trent issued a decree on sacred images and it was based on the Nicene II decree. The issue of sacred images was not considered an issue of importance to be dealt with by the Council of Trent. Hubert Jedin noted that there was virtually nothing in the official records about the sacred images. At the very last moment the French presented the council with a memorandum of thirty-four articles, one of which addressed images: ‘Because iconoclasts have arisen in our time ... the council must take measures to assure that the faithful are properly instructed in church teaching regarding the veneration of images.’ The council’s response to this article ranged from disregard, to relegating it to the catechism, to suggesting a simple reassertion of Nicaea II’s decree on sacred images. A decree was issued which is similar to the decree of the Nicene II. The French were keen to include a condemnation of inappropriate images that deviate from the ‘truth of the scripture’ because they did not want to provoke the wrath of the iconoclasts.

51 O’Malley, 2013, p.32.
52 Ibid., p. 34.
53 It is noted that correspondence between Rome and Trent regarding the French was not published until 2001, Ibid., p. 35.
54 A text was submitted to the council by Charles de Guise.
55 O’Malley, 2013, p.32.
The decree emphasises the didactic role of images, as Gregory the Great had done, and recommends that these sacred images should be free from false doctrine, superstition, and lasciviousness. Significantly, it was the bishops who were to take responsibility for ensuring that images were appropriate and therefore it was their individual interpretation of sacred images that determined their suitability rather than anything specifically prescribed by the Church. This critical point argues for the individual interpretation of what was deemed useful and appropriate, what was not, which included the view of the Bishop of Rome. The decree declared, as Nicaea II had declared, that the veneration of saints, their images and relics was not idolatry but good and useful practice because their intercession is effective through Christ: ‘… that they should teach that the saints … offer their prayers to God for people; that it is a good and beneficial thing to invoke them and have recourse to their prayers and helpful assistance to obtain blessings from God…’. Trent did not prescribe an artistic style or creative path for artists to follow. This was attempted by Paleotti (1522-1597) in his *Discorso intorno alle immagini sacre e profane*, but ultimately failed.

**Relics:**

Gregory XIII patronised many relics during his papacy. In particular he had the relics of Gregory Nazianzeno translated to the Gregorian Chapel and the procession itself frescoed on the walls of the *Terza Loggia* of the Vatican Palace. He subsequently had the relics of St. Basil, and St. Jerome added to the main altar of the Gregorian Chapel. He also represented the relics of many saints on the vault of the *Galleria delle Carte Geografiche* including the ashes of St. John the Baptist, the Holy Shroud, House of Loreto, and the veil of St. Agatha all signifying their power of intercession and their continued life after death. Doctrine pertaining to relics was addressed at Nicaea II in response to their destruction by the eighth-century iconoclasts. Relics were to be installed in those churches without them and all newly consecrated churches were to install relics with attendant prayers. This practice was affirmed at the Council of Trent and implemented by Gregory XIII.

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56 Ibid., p. 774.
The setting out of a doctrinal position on relics and how they should be treated implicates the significance of relics to Christianity and draws on the theology of Gregory the Great. In accounts of the *translatio* of the relics of Gregory Nazianzeno and its visual representation in the *Terza Loggia*, it is apparent that treatment of these relics complied with the treatment promulgated in the decrees. Relics were said to perform a special class of miracles and this is why they had to be protected. It was the purpose of such miracles performed by the relics of a saint to give testimony that the saint is alive with the Lord.\(^{57}\) The doctrine on relics recognised that relics are not just a part of ‘popular’ devotional practices but are instead a fundamental part of the theology of the resurrection, redemption, and salvation. The arrival of a relic at a new site, for example, would be the occasion for miracles of healing and other signs of grace. This doctrine informs an alternative interpretation of the small vignettes featuring acts kindness in Gregory XIII’s fresco cycle of the *translatio* of Gregory Nazianzeno in the *Terza Loggia* to that offered by Gianni Pittiglio (Fig. 3.29).\(^ {58}\) He interprets the vignettes as a response to the Protestant position on justification through faith alone. He indicates that: ‘L’inserimento di scene di carità può essere strettamente connesso ad una delle dispute teologiche che oppongono cattolici e protestanti: la diatriba sulla giustificazione.’ A close examination of the doctrine on relics indicates that the acts of kindness featured in the frescoes may have been precipitated by the miraculous power of the relic, imparting grace as it proceeded along the route as evidenced by eyewitness testimony of mystical experiences.\(^{59}\) This interpretation emphasizes the power of the relic, while Pittiglio’s interpretation emphasizes the Tridentine response to the Protestant position on justification, in its promotion of good deeds. The visual record the *translatio* of Gregorio Nazianzeno is documented in detail for posterity and as such it seems more plausible that the power of the relic would be invoked as an immutable belief of the Catholic Church. It can of course be interpreted as an


\(^{59}\) Courtright, 2003, p.20.
expression of Tridentine doctrine but one has to question the diminutive treatment of such a complex doctrine which is independent of the main subject of the fresco cycle.

**Purgatory:**
Gregory XIII issued plenary indulgences during Holy Year, established the altar of the *Madonna del Soccorso* as a privileged altar meaning that plenary indulgences are granted to the soul for whom a Mass is offered and then the soul is granted total remission of its sins in purgatory, and he granted plenary indulgences for devotion during various feast days and celebrations. Trent reasserted the accumulated doctrine on purgatory and the decree in Session XXV defers to the teaching of the Fathers and to the Council of Florence for an elaboration of this doctrine and the significance of its theology (see appendix II). The Council of Florence 1439 set out a clarification of the accumulated doctrine on purgatory. It decreed what is to be believed about the pains of purgatory and hell, about the life of the blessed and, about suffrages offered to the dead. This doctrine was facilitated through, for example, Masses for the dead, plenary indulgences for the souls of the dead, and privileged chapels, which were all patronised by Gregory XIII. It is noted that the decrees of the councils are a summary of doctrine and not an explanation of it and that the scriptures and the writings of the Fathers are necessary for an understanding of the doctrines decreed. Gregory XIII’s evocation of Gregory the Great reasserted his theology which was specifically offered an explanation of this doctrine.

**1.4 The Eucharist:**
Gregory XIII celebrated the sacrament of the Eucharist in *San Giovanni in Laterano* by building a magnificent sacramental chapel on the site of the Lateran Council IV, 1215 where the term transubstantiation, *Transsubstantiatis pane in corpus et vino in sanguine*, originated, emphasizing the miraculous nature of what was truly present, namely Christ’s body and blood, his divine presence. The decrees of the Lateran Council IV set in train a shift in future devotional practices that included the veneration of the sacrament in the
tabernacle evident in the Gregorian Chapel, the feast of Corpus Christi processions also patronised by Gregory XIII, and the liturgy of the Eucharist, celebrated in the representation of St. Basil on the altar of St. Basil, in the Gregorian Chapel. His divine presence increased the need for the sacredness of both the ministers (canons 14-19) and the environment for its display, namely the altar (canon 19). The magnificence of mosaic and marble revetment in the Gregorian chapel and the decoration of the Sacramental Chapel in *San Giovanni in Laterano* both honour the sacredness within. Canon 21 decreed that all the faithful, after the age of discernment, should confess once per year and receive the sacrament of the Eucharist at least at Easter. Gregory XIII’s patronage in *San Giovanni in Laterano* re-emphasised this system of belief which was necessary for the veneration of the Eucharist, namely the necessity for Baptism, Confession and then the veneration of the mystery of the faith in his newly established sacramental chapel by facilitating a smooth transition from the sacrament of Baptism, to Confession, to the taking of the Eucharist.

The Council of Trent for the most part reiterated the teachings on the Eucharist of the previous councils. Three decrees were proposed. The first in 1551 affirmed the real presence, transubstantiation, Christ’s presence in both bread and wine, that Christ is legitimately adored in the Eucharist, adult Christians are obliged to receive the Eucharist at least once a year although it encouraged greater frequency, and confession is required before communion if one’s conscience is burdened. The second decree in 1562 repeated the teaching of the Council of Constance that communion in both forms is forbidden to the laity. The third and final decree of 1562 emphasised the sacrificial aspect of the mass. The value of Masses said for the living and the dead and in honour of saints was reaffirmed. The majesty and ritual of the sacrament was promoted:

‘And 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, ... 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.\textsuperscript{60}

Within the context of the Eucharist, the image of the sumptuous and majestic was expressed by Gregory XIII’s representation of the sacramental chapel in \textit{San Giovanni in Laterano} and his Gregorian chapel in St. Peter’s basilica. In both chapels ‘the majesty of this great sacrifice is enhanced,’ by the use of magnificent marble and mosaic materials rather than reflective of ‘the fascination and reverence for all things Early Christian engendered by the ‘Counter-Reformation’ as reported by Rice, or consciously reflective of early Christian art according to DiFederico.\textsuperscript{61} Ostrow characterises their use ‘as reflecting in a general sense, the Catholic historicism that characterise the post-Tridentine period ... a highly conscious effort to recapture the spirit of the early Church...’ a view promoted according to Ostrow, by the dominant intellectual trend in Rome at the time.\textsuperscript{62} Zollikofer proposes an alternative interpretation when he cites Vincenzo Borghini’s observation of the mosaics ‘con tanta bella maniera composti insieme, e con tant’arte, che paiono dipinti col pennello, e con colori’.\textsuperscript{63} Zollikofer indicates that the mosaics of the Gregorian Chapel had outdone the ancients with their painterly style and citing Panigarola, he writes ‘Wenn er darüber hinaus ausruft, die Gregoriana lasse einen die Ruinen des antiken Rom verachten, so erhebt er die neue Kapelle zum Sinnbild der Überlegenheit der zeitgenössischen christlichen Kunst über die antik-pagane, arguing that the magnificence of materials and the quality of painting had utterly superseded the ancients signally the superiority of this contemporary art over the ancients.\textsuperscript{64} This elevates the chapel to a level of new magnificence.

\textsuperscript{60} Tanner, Norman, p.734.
\textsuperscript{64} Zollikofer, 2016, p.205.
1.5 Baptism:

Gregory XIII honours the primacy of Baptism in his patronage of the Baptistery at San Giovanni in Laterano and in the opening scene of the vault of the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche where Constantine begins his journey through Baptism. This narrative is brought to conclusion in a representational display of the relics of John the Baptist and the Holy shroud signifying the journey to salvation. Gregory XIII also indirectly patronises the primacy of Baptism and the sacrament of the Eucharist through his patronage of the universal date for Easter as this was a traditional time for Baptism and the celebration of redemption through Jesus’ sacrifice.

The Council of Florence in the bull of union with the Armenians decreed that: There are seven sacraments of the new Law, namely Baptism, Confirmation, Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Unction, Holy Orders and Matrimony, which differ from the sacraments of the old Law. The latter were not the cause of grace ... whereas the former, ours, both contain grace and bestow it on those who worthily receive them.65 This decree was reaffirmed by the Council of Trent and the septenary number was documented in as brief a manner as possible. The first five sacraments, according to the Council of Florence, are directed to the spiritual perfection of each person in himself, the last two to the regulation and increase of the whole Church (see appendix III). In baptism we are reborn spiritually. The sacraments of Baptism, Confirmation and Holy Orders were said to imprint indelibly on the soul a character that is a kind of stamp, which distinguishes it from the rest and they are therefore not repeated in same person.66 Baptism was said to hold the first place among the sacraments, for it is the gate of the spiritual life, through it we become members of Christ and of the body of the Church. Since death came into the world through one person, unless we are born again of water and the spirit, we cannot enter the kingdom of heaven.

65 Tanner, 1990, p.541.
66 Ibid., p.542
In conclusion, by briefly traversing twelve centuries of doctrine, the systematic interdependence of the ecumenical councils emerges. The formal expression of the traditional belief system of the Church slowly materialises, building block after building block. An assimilation of this system into the art-historical archive pertaining to sacred art, via the ecumenical councils, can only enhance our understanding this art. It is argued that the application of such an expanded approach within the context of the patronage of Gregory XIII, who had a profound understanding of orthodoxy and used it to guide his efforts to reinvigorate the Church, can only be useful in understanding his artistic programmes. An interpretation of the Gregorian Chapel and the *Galleria delle Carte Geografiche* requires a holistic approach, which harnesses the continuum of the history of the orthodoxy and the belief system of the Catholic Church, in order to account for Gregory XIII’s patronage rather than a more fragmented approach, which focuses on the criticism of Protestants.

The application of this perspective coupled with Gregory XIII’s own self proclaimed influences and ambitions will be outlined in chapter 2, which further expands our approach and analysis of his patronage. The overview of his patronage as a whole makes evident its coherence and singularity, enriching the context for interpreting the specific artistic programmes treated in chapters 3 & 4.
Chapter 2.

2.1 The Man, the Pope, and his Patronage.

2.1.1 Introduction

On examination of the antecedent influences that shaped Gregory XIII’s personal approach to patronage, Gregory XIII emerges as a methodical, rigorous, and cautious patron whose love and dedication to the law, scholarship, and identification with Gregory the Great permeate his patronage. He was not of noble birth and was therefore unrestrained by dynastic tensions or ambitions. This freedom, coupled with his careful management of papal funds, allowed him to energetically express his commitment to the papacy and the Church through patronage of his choice.

Gregory XIII (1572-1585) was born Ugo Boncompagni, son of the successful merchant Cristoforo Boncompagni and his aristocratic wife Angela Mareschaldi, on the 7th January 1502 in Bologna at 2.00am according to Ciappi.1 The family was comfortable but not wealthy, respected but not of noble birth nor part of the Bolognese ruling elite. Ugo Boncompagni studied law at the oldest and most prestigious university in Europe, the University of Bologna. He graduated in canon law in 1530 and civil law in 1531 (in utroque jure), signifying his hard work and ambition.2 He was appointed Professor of Law (1531-39) where his students included future cardinals such as Alessandro Farnese (1520-1589), Cristoforo Madruzzì (1512-1578), Otto Truchsess von Waldburg (1514-1573), Reginald Pole (1500-1558), Carlo Borromeo (1538-1584), and Stanislaw Hosius (1504-1579). Other students who attended the university included Ignazio Danti and Giuseppe Biancani both of whom worked on the calendar commission for Gregory XIII, and

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Gabriele Paleotti (1522-1597) and Carlo Sigonio (c1522-1584) who were part of Gregory XIII’s intellectual circle. Former students at the university include Leon Battista Alberti (1414-1472) who studied law, and Nicolas Copernicus (1473-1543) who studied pontifical law while pursuing his interests in mathematics and astronomy followed later by Galilei Galileo (1564-1642).³

Immersed in a culture of Aristotelian rigour, Ugo Boncompagni was introduced to the scholarship of mathematics, astronomy, cosmology, and empirical investigation, which later found expression in his papal patronage of the latest scientific methods and scientific discoveries.⁴ This was manifest in commissions such as the cartographic decorations in the Vatican Palace, the revision and re-publication of the Decretals, and the revision of the Julian calendar. Boncompagni celebrated the scholarship of the university, endowed the city with numerous benefits, and privileged the artists, scholars, and prelates of the city.⁵ As soon as he was elected pope, he wrote to the citizens of Bologna that ci sarà sempre a cuore, e ne terremo particular protettione.⁶ Boncompagni’s close identification with the ethos of his university is represented in the Sala Bologna and the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche in the Vatican.

In June of 1539, Boncompagni received the ecclesiastical tonsure in Bologna and in October he was appointed one of two judges, Collaterale of the Campidoglio, which was at the disposal of the Senate in Rome.⁷ Little is known of his activities during this period except that he entered the service of Cardinal Pietro Paolo Parisio, a former law professor

⁴ Ibid.
⁵ Ciappi, 1591.
⁷ Maffei, Giampietro, Degli annali di Gregorio XIII Pontefice Massimo 1590, Vol. I, Rome, 1742. In this capacity as Collaterale, he occupied the left-hand side of the tribunal in the precursor to the Aula Consiliare,
at the University of Rome, and that he resided at his palace. Cardinal Parisio was acquainted with Paul III (1534-49), who was instrumental in Boncompagni’s future success.8

In January 1545, Boncompagni became Referendario at the Supremo tribunale della Segnatura Apostolica, the Catholic Church’s highest judicial authority. In December 1545, he was included along with a number of officials from the Curia to assist at the Council of Trent. He was regarded as an expert in canon law and took part in important negotiations while he was there.9 No documents survive which shed light on his exact contribution in 1545 but in 1547, he was called to take part in a special commission charged with examining the problems associated with the obligatory residence of bishops and disciplinary reform.10 The Council of Trent moved to Bologna in 1547 and Boncompagni was asked to assist in this transition. The following year he led a delegation to Rome to defend the move to Bologna against Charles V’s protests.

Following the death of his father in 1547, Boncompagni decided to father a child to take over his inheritance. His son, Giacomo Boncompagni (1548-1612), was born to Maddalena Fucchini who willingly participated in the endeavour. The child Giacomo was later legitimized, and he was cared for by Ugo’s brother and wife, while Maddalena was assigned a dowry on her marriage to the bricklayer Simone Scamni.11 This episode, or indiscretion, did not seem to have had any negative repercussions on Boncompagni’s career although he found no favor with Pope Julius III (1550-1555), which may or may not have been due to his fatherhood. Boncompagni’s decision to father a child indicates a self-determined and perhaps expeditious approach to the world, qualities that were evident

11 Ibid.
throughout his life.

Under Paul IV (1555-59), Boncompagni became a member of the committee designated by the pope to reform the Roman curia. He also accompanied the pope’s nephew Cardinal Carlo Carafa in a diplomatic legation to France and Brussels. In May 1558 he became a member of the committee that examined the legitimacy of the succession established by Charles V in favour of his brother Ferdinand I. He was elected Bishop of Vieste in July 1558 and was raised to the purple on the 12th March 1565, Gregory the Great’s feast day. This same year he was appointed ambassador to Spain to participate in the adjudication of the case of heresy against the archbishop Bartolomeo Carranza in Madrid which was in process since 1556. Carranza was accused by the Spanish Inquisition of heresy, having written a *Commentary on the Catholic Catechism*, sermons, and letters allegedly containing heretical ideas. It was not until 1576 that Boncompagni as pope made the finding that there was no evidence of heresy. During his time in Spain, Boncompagni found favour with Philip II who praised his intelligence and character and who went on to support him in the conclave of 1572, having had Alessandro Farnese advised to withdraw.

During the pontificate of Pius V, Boncompagni did not have any particularly elevated responsibility or role. He was appointed *Segnatura dei Brevi* and his expertise in canon law qualified him for a position among the *Correctores romani*, which was a committee that was convened to prepare a critical revision of the *Decretum Gratiani*, which first appeared in 1140. The *Decretum* forms part of a collection of canon law known as the *Corpus iuris canonici*. The body of texts required revision, correction, and editing. Gregory XIII continued this work into his pontificate, brought it to conclusion and

12 Maffei, 1742.
published it in 1582.

Ugo Boncompagni’s rise through the ecclesiastical ranks was not by reason of birth. It was due in part to his expertise in civil and canon law, which allowed him to move from his position at the University of Bologna to juridical posts in the civic and ecclesiastical administration in Rome. Boncompagni’s expertise in canon law signified his working knowledge and understanding of the Ecumenical councils and their decrees, both disciplinary and doctrinal, dating back to the Council of Nicaea I, 325. He played an important role in drafting some of the disciplinary reform decrees at the Council of Trent which according to O’Malley, intensified his concern while pope to see them implemented. He was also appointed by Pius IV in 1563 to a Roman deputation of cardinals to review the decrees from the Council of Trent to determine what could and could not be immediately put into action in Rome. Overall, he displayed rigour, a methodical and considered approach, and skill in negotiation. All of these skills were valued when considering Ugo Boncompagni as a papal candidate. He was elected pope 13th May 1572 in a conclave of unprecedented brevity, viz., less than twenty-four hours. He took as his motto, *Confirma hoc, Deus, quod operatus es in nobis*, meaning Confirm, O God, what thou has wrought in us.

Bartolomeo Passerotti (1529-1592), a Bolognese painter, was responsible for the first official portrait of Gregory XIII to celebrate his election. The pen and ink drawing in Fig. 2.1 shows Gregory XIII enthroned in a traditional pose with his right hand held in a gesture of blessing. His left hand rests on a large globe with the allegorical figure of Prudence by

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16 Maffei, 1742.
17 Ciappi, 1591, p.3.
his side with her attributes of the mirror, her double-faced appearance, and the serpent. The serpent is transformed by Passerotti into Boncompagni’s dragon, thus anticipating any negative associations and transforming his insignia into a positive attribute. The message is clear; Gregory XIII will lead the world with prudence, and as with the dragon, with astuteness. Passerotti’s portrait was circulated in an engraving by Domenico Tibaldi in which he added the figures of justice and charity to the back of Gregory XIII’s seat. These additions made explicit the message that Gregory XIII wished to convey namely, that he would lead the Catholic world with prudence, justice and charity, which would extend throughout the world.

Gregory XIII’s character and physical demeanour are documented with consistency in contemporaneous accounts of his papacy. Ciappi, in his official biography of Gregory XIII and his glorious deeds, describes him as tall, strong, handsome and slim, and with his own teeth. He was steady on his feet, rigorous in his exercise regime, frugal in his eating habits, and seemed younger than his years. Gregory XIII was described as deeply devout with a routine of personal devotion that he never missed. He was kind, charming, zealous, and taciturn, with a seriousness about him which on first encounter seemed grave or harsh. It seemed that his voice was his only concession to age and it was this weakness of voice that caused him to give-up the practice of the law, which he had deeply relished.

Pietro Fachetti’s two portraits of Gregory XIII capture the vigour and enigmatic expression referred to by Ciappi (Figs. 2.2-3). The attribution of these portraits has been disputed as they were originally attributed to Scipione Pulzone (Fig. 2.4). Patrizia Tosini proposes Muziano as the possible author of these portraits but there is no documentary evidence to

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19 Ciappi, 1596, p.95.
20 Ibid., p.96.
21 Francesco Petrucci (ed), Papi in Posa. 500 Years of Papal Portraiture, Ganemi Editore, Rome, pp.80-84.
support this proposition at this time.\textsuperscript{22}

Fachetti’s three-quarter length portrait is conventional in its composition with Gregory XIII holding a folded document instead of the conventional handkerchief (Fig. 2.2). What is most striking is his expression and the solidity of his hands. His strong hands are relaxed and placed on the arms of the throne rather than gripping and holding onto its power as conveyed in Titian’s portrait of ‘Paul III with his nephews’ (1545-1546). He holds a clear and direct gaze signifying a severity and intelligence with a slightly indecipherable but confident expression. This expression was noted by his biographers as powerful in negotiations and exasperating in council.\textsuperscript{23} The second Fachetti portrait is a half-figure portrait derived from the previous one but with his arm raised in benediction signifying his devoutness (Fig. 2.3). Here his expression is slightly more enigmatic.

Scipione Pulzone (1550-1598) portrays Gregory XIII in his traditional seated position dressed in papal regalia but facing from the left rather than the conventional right (Fig. 2.4). Pulzone employed this unusual composition perhaps to highlight the letter Gregory XIII is holding, which is addressed to His Holiness Gregory XIII. The sitter is further identified by the papal insignia of the dragon on the rivets punched into his seat. Gregory XIII looks out intently at the viewer with the strength and yet gentleness referred to by Ciappi.\textsuperscript{24} The overall likeness depicted in this portrait while it is recognisable, is dissimilar to the likenesses represented in other portraits or in the many engravings of Gregory XIII’s and his deeds. It has an idealised quality which seems at odds with the character of the sitter.

\textsuperscript{23} Ciappi, 1596, p.96.
\textsuperscript{24} Ibid., p.95.
There are also a number of sculptures of Gregory XIII which include Olivieri’s larger than life-size sculpture commissioned by the public council of the Senate and Roman People to honour Gregory XIII’s contribution to the law (Fig. 2.5). This vigorous and animated sculpture was commissioned for the *Aula Consiliare* in the *Campidoglio* but was moved to the Church of Santa Maria in Aracoeli. In this new location, it loses its original impact and the direct visual contact that would have been made from the entrance to the *Aula*. Freiberg notes Olivieri’s allusion to Michelangelo’s Moses from the tomb of Julius II with the lateral turn of the body, the retracted leg, the dramatic physiognomy. Gregory XIII, who dedicated his life to the study and practice of law, is represented as a new Moses, an arbiter of the law.²⁵

2.2 Self-Declared Influences, Ambitions, and Interests.
Determinants of Gregory XIII’s Patronage:

In his choice of the papal name ‘Gregory’, and in his selection of the feast of the Pentecost for the day of his Coronation, Boncompagni signalled his identification with the thoughts and deeds of Gregory the Great and his intention to spread wide the word of the Holy Spirit in order to augment his spiritual dominion.

There was an established convention whereby Popes chose names to draw a parallel between themselves and an illustrious predecessor. For example, Julius II’s choice of Julius may have referred to Julius I (337-352) a defender of Nicene orthodoxy against Arianism, in the conduct of his papacy however it is clear that he intended to draw a parallel between himself and Julius Caesar Pont II.26 Gregory XIII’s choice of the name Gregory was a deliberate alignment with Gregory the Great. He emulated his good governance and his acts of charity, reasserted his writings, and absorbed and expressed his theology through his patronage.

2.2.1 The Pentecost
The coronation of Gregory XIII took place on the day of the Pentecost, 25th of May 1572, on the steps of St. Peter’s Basilica ... con allegrezza inestimabile del Popolo Romano, e de i sudditi di Santa Chiesa...27

Gregory XIII’s choice of the feast the Pentecost for his coronation signalled his intention to

27 Ciappi, 1596, p.4.
promote the Church to a wide audience and to extend his spiritual dominion. This overarching ambition was expressed and applied across his patronage. The primacy of this intention is captured in Giovanni Palazzi’s 1688 frontispiece of his biography of Gregory XIII (Fig. 2.6).  

The Pentecost (Acts 2:1-4) marks the day the Church was founded in Jerusalem and commemorates the descent of the Holy Spirit to the Virgin and Apostles. It initiated the inclusive and universal apostolic mission when the Apostles were invested with the ability to speak in all languages to spread the Word to all peoples.

Two paintings of the Pentecost document the resonance of the Pentecost as part of Gregory XIII’s ambition for the Church. Gregory XIII first commissioned a painting of the Pentecost executed by Muziano for the vault of the Sala del Concistoro Segreto in the Vatican, 1576-77 (Fig. 2.7). In this painting, the Holy Spirit descends on a newly extended group beyond the traditional group of the Virgin Mary and twelve apostles. It represents the followers of Jesus after the Ascension. This newly extended idea promoted by Gregory XIII was communicated to the cardinals who met in this room for papal consistories. The painting hovered overhead, vibrant and clear, inclusive of a wide variety of human expression, perhaps as a source of inspiration for the cardinals. This broader depiction of the Pentecost in the location of the Sala del Concistoro Segreto can be interpreted as referring to both the broad mission of inclusion, conversion, and expansion through missionary work at home and abroad through the grace of the Holy Spirit.

Another depiction of the Pentecost, which was supported rather than directly commissioned by Gregory XIII, is in the apse of the church of Santo Spirito in Sassia in Rome (Fig. 2.8). Gregory XIII had consecutively appointed two Bolognese men to the position of Commendatore of the Order of Santo Spirito, and he supported the popularity of the church by confirming a plenary indulgence for the Pentecost Octave. The apse decoration contracted between the Commendatore and Jacopo Zucchi (c1548-1589) furthered Gregory XIII’s missionary goals. This is indicated by the depiction of the active missions of Peter and Paul, when their preaching and baptising brought about the descent of the Holy Spirit, as recounted in the Acts 10:45 and 19:6 and in the revised liturgy read during the Pentecost Octave and Vigil (Fig. 2.8).

Gregory XIII’s coronation on the feast of the Pentecost set out his papal ambition to extend the spiritual dominion of the Catholic Church by a variety of means including missionary and educational work, which was synchronistic with the missionary aspirations of Gregory the Great. During his papacy Gregory XIII supported the Jesuits in their missionary work, in 1573 he revoked the ordinance of Paul III which had limited the Capuchin order to Italy, and he set-up colleges for the preparation and training of clergy for work at home and abroad.

2.2.2 Pope ‘Gregory’

That Gregory XIII was one of thirteen popes to take the name Gregory is an observation not just of academic interest. This is exemplified by an inscription placed on the Ark of Noah displayed at the end of a pilgrimage procession during Holy Year 1575. The inscription reads: ‘The Catholic Apostolic Roman Church ruled for many centuries by the


33 *Pastor*, 1955. It was a procession from San Genesio to St. Peter’s Basilica, which was met by the Confraternity of Gonfalone during Holy Year 1575.
holy fathers, enlightened and spread by the doctrine and wonderful virtue of twelve popes who bore the name Gregory, and now, under the thirteenth of that name full of righteousness and blessedness, happy and triumphant.’ Two pictures, one of Gregory VII receiving the penitent Henry IV and the other of Gregory IV, restorer of peace, were included in the Ark. This indicates that, in the sixteenth century, there was an expectation regarding the Pope’s chosen name and that its signification was actively read as signalling a set of values or characteristics embodied in that pope.

Gregory XIII emulated Gregory the Great. He also honoured a number of popes that bore the name Gregory. He referenced Gregory VII on the vault of the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche in association with Matilda of Canossa. After tit-for-tat excommunication and deposition, Henry IV’s throne was endangered and he invited Gregory VII to meet him in Augsburg. He had difficulty on the way and took refuge in Countess Matilda’s castle at Canossa. Here the penitent Henry IV begged for forgiveness and Gregory VII forgave him. This episode is represented in a fresco by Taddeo and Federico Zuccaro, c1565 in the Sala Regia in the Vatican (Fig. 2.9). Gregory IX published the Liber Extra, the first authoritative collection of papal decretals, compiled by Raymond of Penafort and represented by Raphael in the Stanza della Segnatura (Fig. 2.10). Gregory XIII commemorated this achievement in the Sala Bologna and identified himself with the importance of preserving the work and by editing, correcting and republishing it within the context of rigorous scholarship. Gregory IX also excommunicated Frederick II (1194-1250) on his abandonment of the sixth crusade, an event represented by Vasari in the painting ‘Pope Gregory IX Excommunicating Frederick II’ in the Sala Regia, commissioned by Gregory XIII (Fig. 2.11). Gregory XI (1370-1378) was an Avignon pope whose main mission was to return to Rome which he did in 1377. Gregory XIII celebrated and commemorated this achievement in 1573 with Vasari’s ‘Pope Gregory XI Returning the Papal Seat from Avignon to Rome’ with Gregory XI portrayed in the likeness of Gregory XIII in the Sala Regia and a sumptuous monument in Santa Maria

34 Ibid., p.150.
Nova commemorating the same.\textsuperscript{35}

Although honouring these popes, Gregory XIII’s emulation was firmly situated within the thoughts and deeds of Gregory the Great who was a saint and an ancient Doctor of the Church. His writings are catalogued in the indices of St. Peter’s Archive under the heading *Sacri Scritti* from which extracts are read aloud in St. Peter’s Basilica and whose theology permeates the decrees of the Ecumenical Councils from Nicaea II (787) to the Council of Trent (1545-1563).\textsuperscript{36} Gregory XIII was familiar with the life of Gregory the Great from Giovanni Diacono’s biography *Vita di Gregorio*.\textsuperscript{37} He was familiar with his works including *Regula Pastoralis* (c592), *Moralia in Job* (c595), *Hymnaries on Ezekiel* (c601), and his letters. He also knew the *Dialogues on the Miracles of the Italian Fathers* (593-594), which was quoted on the vault of the *Galleria delle Carte Geografiche* and was used as a source reference when compiling the revised Roman Martyrology commissioned by Gregory XIII.\textsuperscript{38}

The influence of Gregory the Great on the patronage of Gregory XIII is documented in compendia and commentaries on his papacy by sixteenth-century writers.\textsuperscript{39} ‘\textit{Il considerare la gran somiglianza ch’egli hebbe si nel nome, come ne’costumi, e nell’attioni, co’l santissimo Gregorio Magno, Dottore di Santa Chiesa}’.\textsuperscript{40} Accounts of Gregory the Great’s influence on the papacy of Gregory XIII express his emulation of civic and charitable activities to the exclusion of other influences, as a reflection of their genre: *Aveva egli avanti degli occhi gli esempi degli elemosinieri più illustri, e specialmente del Magno*

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{35} Ciappi, 1591.
\item \textsuperscript{36} Archivio Capitolo di San Pietro (ACSP), Vol.401, Indice.
\item \textsuperscript{37} Maffei, 1742, p.479; Archivio Capitolo di San Pietro (mss), *Gregori vita per Giovanni Diacomo, Volumina duo*, 43-44B.
\item \textsuperscript{38} Pastor, 1955, p. 202.
\item \textsuperscript{39} Ciappi, 1596; Maffei, 1742.
\item \textsuperscript{40} Ibid., p.105.
\end{itemize}
Gregorio, di cui siccome volle per la divozione prendere il nome, così si era prefisso d’imitare le gloriose, e sante azioni.  

Gregory the Great was a well known and respected figure of devotion. His cult had persisted in Rome since the seventh century and by the ninth century, the feast day of Gregory the Great was celebrated on the 12th of March in the Vatican Basilica. In the fourteenth century, there were at least six churches and numerous altars dedicated to Gregory the Great. This cult continued to grow and a new church dedicated to Gregory, Oratorio di S. Gregorio dei Muratori, was built in 1527-1598 and Cesare Baronius (1538-1607) oversaw the reconstruction and decoration of Gregory the Great’s oratories of St. Barbara and St. Andrew. Pope Nicolas V (1447-55) restored Gregory’s forty ‘station’ churches and restored Castel Sant’Angelo, the site of one of the miracles of Gregory the Great.

In the fifteenth century, guidebooks listed the saints of Rome cited in Gregory’s Dialogues and Nicolas V rebuilt roads and bridges to encourage pilgrims to visit them. In the fifteenth and early sixteenth century the thoughts of Gregory the Great on the Eucharist, Purgatory, and Penance were depicted in art and he himself appeared as a saint similar to those he describes in the Dialogues. From the ninth to the sixteenth centuries his standing as an authoritative Doctor of the Church was unquestioned. The work of Erasmus (1469-1536) however signalled a change in this perception. Erasmus disparaged

41 Maffei, p.439.
43 Ibid., pp.373-374.
44 Artists include Ghirlandaio (1449-1494), Limbourg Brothers (1385-1416), Hieronymous Bosch (1450-1516), in Kuzdale, Ann, ‘The Reception of Gregory in the Renaissance and Reformation’, in Bronwen Neil and Mathew Dal Santo (eds), A Companion to Gregory the Great, Brill’s companions to the Christian tradition, Leiden, 2013, p.375
the value of *vitae sanctorum* and miracle stories with which Gregory the Great was inexorably associated. For the Protestant reformers, the Fathers of the Church were generally seen as fallible and providing a disservice to the Church through their interpretation of Scripture and theology. However, it was Gregory the Great who brought Purgatory, private masses, the saints, and miracles to the Church and it was Gregory XIII who purposefully modelled himself on Gregory the Great with devotion and zeal. Gregory XIII reasserted Gregory the Great’s theology and placed it at the heart of his papacy.

Just as Gregory the Great had assumed responsibility for the city’s aqueducts, maintained the grain supply, fed the poor, paid soldiers, sought to systemise charitable operations, Gregory XIII had the Diocletian Baths converted into a granary, built warehouses for food storage at the port, provided the poor with clothing, food, and accommodation, and patronised the *Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini* in their charitable works and particularly in their contribution to the Holy Year 1575. Gregory XIII restored the *Ponte Senatorio*, repaired the *Acqua Vergine*, commissioned water fountains throughout the city, and dredged the Tiber in order to protect Romans from flooding. He too visited the poor and prisoners, gave them alms on a regular basis, and ensured the welfare of pilgrims during the Holy Year of 1575.

Gregory XIII’s deliberate and overt identification with Gregory the Great is illustrated in the artistic programme on the vaults of *Le Sale dei Foconi* in the Vatican Apostolic Palace commissioned by Gregory XIII in 1576-1578 (Fig. 2.12A). This cycle documents the life and deeds of Gregory the Great accompanied by allegories of virtues and inscriptions. The images depicted draw comparisons with parallel episodes in the life of Gregory XIII. For

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47 Ciappi, 1596.
example, as regional deacon in Constantinople Gregory the Great was charged to censure the heresy of the Patriarch of Constantinople Eutychius (Fig. 2.12B). This episode is illustrated on the vault of the first room of the Sala dei Foconi. The corresponding episode in Gregory XIII’s life was when he was invited by Pius IV as one of four judges to adjudicate the case of heresy against the archbishop Bartolomeo Carranza in Madrid 1565. Similarly, in the second room, the story of the evangelisation of England promised by Gregory the Great reflects the various strategies that Gregory XIII developed from the first days of his pontificate in order to regenerate Catholicism during the reign of Elizabeth I (1533-1603). Other examples include the distribution of bread or his procession against the plague by Gregory the Great, all resonant with the deeds of Gregory XIII.

A more public expression of the association between Gregory XIII and Gregory the Great is evident in the sacristy of SS Trinità dei Pellegrini where a painting by Jacopo Zucchi, the ‘Mass of St. Gregory’, portrays Gregory the Great in the guise of Gregory XIII (Fig. 2.13). This 1575 painting would have been visible to tens of thousands of pilgrims who visited Rome during the Jubilee of 1575. The painting draws a parallel between the doctrinal and liturgical practices of the two men. Gregory the Great / Gregory XIII is celebrating mass and is captured at the moment of adoration of the Eucharist. Above his head the dove of the Holy Spirit, an attribute of Gregory the Great, hovers with the crucified Christ looking down on him. Both Ferdinando De’Medici the patron of the painting and Giacomo Boncompagni son of Gregory XIII are present as part of the congregation.

2.2.3 The Mystical Theology of Gregory the Great and its influence on Gregory XIII
The corpus of Gregory the Great’s writings is vast - biblical commentaries, sermons, hagiographic works, a treatise on pastoral care - and his extant writings are exceptionally numerous. Both his letters and the Dialogues are, as we will see, evident influences on the

50 Di Marco, p.39.
patronage of Gregory XIII.

i) Letters: A register of over eight hundred and fifty letters survive which testify to Gregory the Great’s administrative skills although these letters were not all written or composed by him. Estimates suggest that there may have been as many as twenty thousand letters in the corpus of papyrus letters before Carolingian editors transposed them to vellum at the end of the eight century. The subject matter and commentaries of a number of his letters are pertinent to the patronage of Gregory XIII:

An incidental letter from St. Columbanus to Pope Gregory speaks to the importance of addressing the date for Easter affirmed in the Council of Nicaea I. St. Columbanus, who had read works by Gregory the Great, expresses his exasperation regarding the confused state of the date for Easter, especially the differences between the Celtic and Roman usages, and the apparent need to separate Easter from the Jewish Passover. He defers to Gregory the Great, appealing to him to clarify the Church’s position on this matter. This letter indicates the persistent nature of concern regarding the date for Easter, which Gregory XIII eventually addressed in his revision of the calendar.

Of particular relevance are his views regarding the cult of images. In a second letter to Serenus, Bishop of Marseilles, Gregory the Great reproaches the bishop for breaking images in a church. Serenus broke the images because he believed that they were being adored. While Serenus is commended for his zeal, Gregory admonishes him for the

51 Demacopoulos, George, E., Gregory the Great. Ascetic, Pastor, and First Man of Rome, University of Notre Dame, Indiana, 2015, p.5.
53 Schaff (d), 2012.
destructive nature of his actions.

‘... Say, brother, what priest has ever been heard of as doing what thou hast done? For to adore a picture is one thing, but to learn through the story of the picture what is to be adored is another. For what writing presents to readers, this picture presents to the unlearned who behold, since in it even the ignorant see what they ought to follow; in it the illiterate read... ‘\(^{54}\)

Writers on images have been continually reminded that images are the books of the illiterate ever since. Both the didactic function and the distinction between idolatry and veneration of images are clearly argued here and later amplified in the Council of Nicaea II, 787 which was subsequently used in the Council of Trent 1545-1563.

‘... And then with regard to the pictorial representations which had been made for the edification of an unlearned people in order that, though ignorant of letters, they might by turning their eyes to the story itself learn what had been done. ‘\(^{55}\)

A letter to Secundinus from Gregory the Great expands further on the function of images:

‘... We do no harm in wishing to show the invisible by means of the visible...We do not in truth bow down before this image as before divinity, but we adore him whose birth, passion and enthronement, in glory the image recalls.’\(^{56}\)

Here Gregory the Great indicates that images direct us towards divinity, towards the

\(^{54}\) Ibid., pp.53-54  
\(^{55}\) Ibid., p.54  
invisible that cannot be apprehended by the eyes. David Freedberg suggests in the *Power of Images* that perhaps Gregory the Great did not grasp the ‘full cognitive implications’ of proposing that the visible can lead to the invisible.\(^{57}\) It is however clear in the writings of Gregory the Great, especially in the *Dialogues*, that this concept of the visible, of things as mediators, is an evolved proposition within Gregory’s theology, which he fully grasped. This notion was applied by Gregory XIII not only through the use of sacred and miraculous images but through the use of non-sacred images such as cartographical and cosmological imagery, which precipitated contemplation of the single divine organising principle namely God, in the *Terza Loggia, Sala Bologna*, and the *Galleria delle Carte Geografiche*.

These letters became especially vital in the iconoclast debates and they generated sophisticated readings by the twelfth century. Inspired by Gregory the Great, Honorius Augustodunensis (1080-1154) formulated the *triplex ratio* or triple purpose of images: to instruct, to recall to memory, and to incite to devotion. As indicated by Mews et al, under the authority of Gregory the Great’s name, Greek image theory and an affirmation of the affective role of visual images, were absorbed into western thought and practice.\(^{58}\) This concept of the *triplex ratio* is referenced by Gregory XIII in the inscription over the north entrance to the *Galleria delle Carte Geografiche* in which he notes that the gallery is not just for pleasure but for knowledge and instruction. This notion of the function of sacred images being to delight, instruct, and move is correctly attributed to Paleotti, but Paleotti’s idea is not an original one.\(^{59}\) It is an idea that stretches back to the sixth and seventh centuries of Gregory the Great who in turn drew from many authors without citing them, such as Aristotle, Gregory Nazianzeno, Pythagoras, Augustine, Origen, among many


\(^{59}\) Paleotti, Gabriele, *Discourse on Sacred and Profane Images*, The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, 2012, pp.111-120.
Finally, the 12th century collection of Canon Law compiled by Gratian known as the Decretum Gratiani and revised by Gregory XIII, contains 260 texts gathered from the letters of Gregory the Great. Gregory XIII, who was familiar with this work and laboured to revise it, was aware of Gregory the Great’s contribution and therefore his material.

These letters document a theory on the function of sacred images which informed, was cited, and eventually promulgated at the Council of Nicaea II (787) and at the Council of Trent (1545-1563) as noted. This leads to two observations. First, the promotion of sacred images was not the preserve of the Council of Trent or solely a response to attacks and criticism from Reforming forces in the sixteenth century. Second, that sacred imagery has played a central role within the Church since its inception and has been accused of slipping into idolatry since the beginning. Within the Church such views are heretical and the fight against this heresy had continued for over a thousand years. It seems then that Gregory XIII’s informed use and patronage of images had a depth and continuity that reaches back beyond the sixteenth century, explicitly informed by the theology of Gregory the Great.

**ii) Dialogues on the Miracles of the Italian Fathers:** This work was composed in Rome between July 593 and November 594. It contains not only a spectrum of saints including the life of St. Benedict, but also a discussion of heaven, hell, and the obligation of Purgatory.\(^{61}\) The text of the Dialogues comprises of four dialogues between Gregory the Great and Peter the deacon. Gregory presents a careful exploration of the nature and operation of the saints’ miracles and of the legitimacy of the saints’ cult within a period

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\(^{60}\) Straw, 1988.

where the propriety of that cult and the dynamics of the miraculous were being contested in elite circles both in the East and in the West, similar to the challenges proposed by proponents of the Reformation in the early sixteenth century.62

The Dialogues present a theology of saints, their miracles, their function, and power, and the consequence of positing these spiritual phenomena in terms of heaven, hell, purgatory, and our ability to help souls through the celebration of Mass and indulgences. Gregory the Great’s theology of the mystical is a unified system that makes evident the impossibility of negotiating individual aspects of doctrine such as Purgatory or indulgences since they are all interdependent:

**Miracles:** A miracle performed by a saint is characterised by its ability to capture our attention so that we notice God’s power as it breaks through our senses. A miracle is also significant in that it displays a supernatural power by word or material thing; it literally embodies it, allowing it to be outwardly visible to the bodily eye.63 It is the understanding and belief in the possibility that the spiritual world is able to cross and enter the physical world and have effects that are both big and small that formed the background to Gregory the Great’s Christian thinking. Through the miraculous God forces us to notice his works, to turn to him, and to listen to him. In this way, he is able to render us teachable and so to instruct us by his miracles. Both Gregory the Great and Gregory XIII brought attention to the miraculous for the same reasons: to engage and to teach.

**Purgatory:** Gregory the Great had indicated that the ‘near just’ were delayed somewhere outside heaven and this was Purgatory. He proposed purgatorial fire as an obligation:

Yet there must be a cleansing fire before the Judgement because of some minor faults that may remain to be purged away. Does not Christ, the Truth, say that if anyone blasphemes against the Holy Spirit he shall not be forgiven either in this world or in the world to come? From this statement we learn that some sins can be forgiven in this world and some in the world to come. For if forgiveness is refused for a particular sin, we conclude logically, that it is granted for others.64

By positing Purgatory it was made clear that man’s debts can be paid in this world or the next and suffering and sacrifice can either expunge sins already committed or if innocent, increase one’s reward. He indicated that the offering of a Mass was necessary to help the dead provided that they had lived lives worthy of assistance. That the celebration of Mass could liberate a soul from punishment and create harmony between the visible and invisible worlds was a core theme of the Dialogues. Gregory XIII patronised privileged altars which grant plenary indulgences for the Holy Souls in Purgatory including the Gregorian Chapel in St. Peter’s Basilica.

Relics: Relics were according to Gregory the Great, capable of working miracles. It is the continued connection of the soul and the body after death that explains their tremendous power. The power of relics is such that it can be transmitted through physical objects and projected long distances. The body of the saint is so potent that Romans did not dare to touch them and used a brandeum to absorb the power of the saint by proximity. These brandea relics were believed to be exceptionally powerful and altars and churches were often built around them with the dust from the altar being similarly endowed with extraordinary powers in the hands of a worthy believer.65

A close examination of Gregory XIII’s patronage reveals his ability to synthesize and

64 Dal Santo, 2012, p.120.
65 Straw, p.57.
appropriate Gregory the Great’s ideas to produce his own sixteenth-century response to the needs of the Church, which includes the assimilation of his theology of the mystical. Gregory the Great gifted Gregory XIII material mediators – miracles, the cult of saints and their relics - as a means of reaffirming and reactivating the orthodoxy of the Church. Gregory XIII had needed a means of engaging the laity in order to clearly communicate Catholic Doctrine and Gregory the Great had affirmed the dual purpose of a miracle: it teaches faith and it ‘moves’ men to live good lives. Indeed, Gregory the Great specifically deemed miracles worthy of being documented because of the multitudes whose lapses in understanding and in practice indicated that their grasp on the Christian faith was tenuous at best, a situation paralleled in Gregory XIII’s sixteenth-century Italy. Gregory XIII chose to patronise the veneration of saints, their relics, and the miraculous in ritualised public ceremonies drawing attention and interest to these phenomena. It was through the theology of Gregory the Great that Gregory XIII interpreted his mission of renewal and regeneration of the Church.

Gregory XIII’s evocation of Gregory the Great’s ideas is captured in the map *Le Sette Chiese*, published by Laffre in Rome in 1575 (Fig. 2.14). This map encapsulates the spirit of Gregory XIII’s Holy Year of 1575. Rome is depicted in sacred action with great processions wending their way through the city visiting the seven churches from the original forty station churches believed to have been established by Gregory the Great. Few depictions of ancient monuments or reminders of Rome’s pagan past exist in this map. The map reflects the intensified cult of relics with the large and looming corporal bodies of Peter, Paul, John, and Mary standing before their nominal basilicas, reminding the viewer of their sacred presence in these basilicas and that they are there to offer salvation to the faithful through their relics venerated in these great pilgrimage churches. It has also

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66 Evans, 1986, p. 49.
69 Ibid.
been observed by Wisch that this ‘map’ may have functioned not as a guide around the city but as a means of re-living the Holy Year experience or encouraging potential pilgrims to make the journey. It may perhaps be regarded as a sacred souvenir used for reflection or prayer long after the event. Prints of this map have been passed down by owners who kept and treasured them. Within the context of Gregory XIII’s promotion of the cult of relics Le Sette Chiese print itself may have functioned to further stimulate prayer and devotion to the saints and their relics signified in the map.

By patronising the doctrine of the veneration of saints, relics and the miraculous, Gregory XIII incidentally patronised the doctrine of purgatory, indulgences, penance, the Eucharist, and salvation as affirmed by the councils of Nicaea II (787), Lateran IV (1271), Lyons II (1274), Council of Basel-Ferrara-Florence-Rome (1431), and the Council of Trent (1545-1563). Of course, Gregory the Great predated the aforementioned councils but as saint and Doctor of the Church, his theology along with scripture was recognised and referenced as a source for truth and doctrinal revelation: *sacri scritti*. Thus, by going back to the theological source of affirmed doctrine, Gregory XIII’s patronage implicitly evoked the theology of Gregory the Great and offered an exposition of affirmed doctrine.

Under the papacy of Gregory XIII, Cardinal Gabriele Paleotti (1522-197) and Cardinal Carlo Borromeo (1538-1584) were two of four cardinals trusted with the task of stamping out ecclesiastical abuses and implementing the disciplinary reform decrees of the Council of Trent in their assigned areas. Both Paleotti and Borromeo tirelessly pursued the reinvention of the cult of relics from their dioceses in Bologna and Milan. Both men understood the value of local saints and local church history as instruments to present devotional models to their congregations. For example, in response to the 1576–77

70 Wisch, 2011/2012, pp.292-293.
71 The two other cardinals assigned the task were Cardinal Gio Aldobrandini and Cardinal Paolo d’ Arezzo.
72 Maffei, 1742, p.21.
plague in Milan, Cardinal Borromeo, pleaded on behalf of the Milanese for God’s mercy by re-enacting a penitential procession that Pope Gregory the Great had led when a plague ravaged Rome nearly a thousand years prior. Borromeo walked barefoot through the city’s streets with a noose draped around his neck. On his back, he carried a cross to which was affixed the Sacro Chiodo, or "Holy Nail," a prized Milan Cathedral relic, which St. Helena had brought to the West. Similarly, Borromeo on a visit to Rome during Holy Year of 1575 headed numerous pilgrimages to the Sette Chiese and performed numerous acts of devotion and penitence. In acknowledgement, Gregory XIII granted Borromeo a second Jubilee for the diocese of Milan. During the Inauguration of this 1576 Jubilee, Borromeo processed the relics of local protector saints from parish churches to the city’s cathedral where they were displayed on the altar. This illustrates the potency of Gregory the Great’s theology of the mystical, puts flesh on the bones of the doctrine that drew from it, and provides insight into the patronage of Gregory XIII that promulgated it.

In conclusion, the influences and ambitions that shaped Gregory XIII as pope and patron are broad and complex. In his dedication to the law he not only emerges as methodical and rigorous but as someone who had acquired a profound working knowledge of the cumulative doctrine and practices within the institutional Church, agreed over centuries. The prominence of Gregory XIII’s association with the Pentecost on the day of his coronation signals his ambition to expand his spiritual dominion and to implement measures which would enable this to happen. In his emulation and alignment with Gregory the Great, Gregory XIII identified similarities in the challenges that they both faced and appropriated Gregory the Great’s theology to address his need to reinvigorate and regenerate the Church of the sixteenth century. This identification was a setting out of the expectations for his papacy.

74 Ibid.
2.3 The Patronage of Gregory XIII:

2.3.1 Introduction

Each element of Gregory XIII’s patronage, including his artistic programmes, contributes to coherently express his ambition to regenerate and reinvigorate the Church, to implement the disciplinary reform decrees of the Council of Trent, and to stamp out heresy. It is in his unique interpretation of how to realise these ambitions that we see Gregory XIII’s scholarship, training in the law, emulation of Gregory the Great, promotion of the sciences, belief in an active clergy and laity, and the necessity of a universal Church, clearly expressed.

Gregory XIII’s biographers and contemporaneous commentators agree that the greatest contributions of his papacy were his patronage of training colleges for the education of the clergy, the reform of the calendar enabling the celebration of a universal date for Easter, and his patronage of the Holy year of 1575. These achievements necessitated the harnessing of scholarship, science, the regularisation of the Missal, Breviary, Catechism, and Roman Martyrology translated into a variety of languages and they are celebrated in his patronage of the Sale dei Concistoro segreto, the Torre dei Venti, and the Sala Bologna. Gregory XIII’s patronage of the Jubilee 1575 implicated his strong support of the new religious orders and precipitated the physical renewal and embellishment of the city. The Jubilee privileged the theology of Gregory the Great and as a result precipitated a sacred aura about Rome never witnessed before, consolidating his belief in the power of the active laity and clergy celebrated in the Terza Loggia and the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche (see appendix IV).

75 Ciappi, 1591; Maffei, 1742; BAV, Bon, D5, Memorie.
2.3.2 A Thematic Approach to the Patronage of Gregory XIII:

As noted Gregory XIII’s patronage was infused with his identification with Gregory the Great, his stated evangelical ambition to extend his spiritual dominion, and his ambition to reform and reinvigorate the Church. An examination of his patronage explores how these influences were made manifest and the shape that they took across his *oeuvre*, with specific reference to his artistic patronage.

While the focus of this research is on Gregory XIII as the primary agent of his patronage, he was no doubt advised and counselled by those surrounding him. There is however a dearth of information specifically documenting the advice sought or given to Gregory XIII regarding his patronage. Where there is evidence of advice given, it is included in the examination of his commissions. The primacy of Gregory XIII in his patronage is observed in the imprint of his character, influences, and ambitions on his patronage. This includes the methodical organisation of his commissions, his pastoral concerns, his use of science to further his ambitions, and his interest in engaging pilgrims in the cult of the divine and offering salvation through the sacraments. Gregory XIII was personally involved in his projects as exemplified by his use of the private papal treasury to accelerate work, daily visits to the Gregorian chapel, and his frequent visits to the *Galleria* during the execution of the programmes, all indicating his overall control of his projects, with the details entrusted to his teams of artists. Gregory XIII chose his artists according to the particular skills most suitable to needs of the artistic programme. Girolamo Muziano (1532-1592) was Gregory XIII’s most preferred artist. His naturalistic style, clarity of expression, and interest in landscape resonated with Gregory XIII and reflected the aims of his artistic programmes. Gregory XIII appointed Muziano as supervisor of his

77 Tosini, 2008 p.201.
artistic projects in the Vatican including the appointment of artists ensuring a particular style and skill in his artistic programmes.

Gregory XIII’s patronage can be categorised thematically, with the Holy year of 1575 identified as his most significant undertaking. This is based not only on the scope and nature of this patronage but on the unforeseen effects that this patronage precipitated in Gregory XIII’s future patronage. The main themes identified are:

1. The Holy Year of 1575
2. Education and training

A list of his achievements is illustrated in MarcAntonio Ciappi’s portrait of Gregory XIII and his deeds in Fig. 2.15. Similarly, an engraving by Ciacconio of coins or medals issued during his pontificate outlining his achievements and the sentiments of his pontificate are documented in Fig. 2.16.
2.4 The Holy Year of 1575

According to the Council of Lyons, 1245, a Plenary Indulgence was a guarantee of salvation, ‘...full pardon for their sins about which they are heartily contrite and have spoken in confession, and we promise them an increase of eternal life at the recompensing of the just.’\(^{78}\) In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries a Plenary Indulgence could only be gained by undertaking a crusade. In 1300 Boniface VIII (1294-1303) proclaimed the first Holy Year (Fig. 2.17). He declared that pilgrims who visited the basilicas of the Apostles in Rome viz., St. Peter’s Basilica and San Paolo fuori le Mura within a specified number of days and within a state of grace, could obtain a Plenary Indulgence (Fig. 2.18). It was in part the hardship of the journey to Rome that justified this Indulgence. This is reflected in the requirement for inhabitants of Rome to pay twice as many visits to the Basilicas as non-inhabitants in order to fulfil the requirements of receiving the Indulgence (see appendix V).\(^{79}\) Boniface VIII’s intention was that this extraordinary Indulgence would be granted once every one hundred years. However by 1475, the Holy Year was established at twenty-five year intervals taking into consideration the ‘brevity of life’. Over time the required visits to two basilicas became four basilicas, with the addition of and San Giovanni in Laterano (added 1343) and Santa Maria Maggiore (added 1373).\(^{80}\) While the offering of a Plenary Indulgence significantly enhanced the attractiveness of the pilgrimage to Rome, the practice of pilgrimages is older than Christianity and as such has archetypical resonance for participants. According to Thurston, when the goal of the Holy Year pilgrimage to the Mother Church of Christendom, to the spot where the voice of the Vicar of Christ made itself heard controlling the practice and confirming the faith of all true believers throughout the world, it is legitimate to regard such a journey as one of the most

\(^{78}\) Tanner, 1990. The mention of Plenary Indulgence at the Council of Lyons was in reference to those who undertook a crusade.


\(^{80}\) Ibid., p.140.; Barbara Wisch proposes alternative dates namely 1350 and 1389 respectively. Wisch, 1990.
meritorious of works of devotion. It was an opportunity for Christians to come together, to knit to their ecclesiastical centre in a world without quick or easy communication. This experience was expressed by Gregory Martin ‘... to joyn together in prayer, in travail, in hart and intention; ... to meet and assemble together out of al the world in the head Citie of Christianity; ... to solace and comfort and confirme one another in devotion and true religion... to make one Campe as it were marching under the ensigne and standard of Christ crucified; for these and such like goodly and godly causes, the Catholike Church (taught alwaise by the holy Ghost) ordained the Jubilee...’ The pilgrimage to Rome was one of the greatest ambitions among earnest Christians. The poignancy of the experience is expressed by Petrarch (1304-1374) who had made the pilgrimage in 1350, as follows:

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\begin{align*}
&... indi traendo poi l’antico fianco \\
&\quad per l’estreme giornate di sua vita, \\
&\quad quanto più po col buen voler s’aita \\
&\quad rotto dagli anni, e dal camino stanco; \\
&\quad et viene a Roma, seguendo ‘l desio, \\
&\quad per mirar la sembianza di colui \\
&\quad che ancor lassù nel ciel vedere spera.
\end{align*}
\]

The Great Schism from 1305-1417, the Vatican’s own Babylonian Captivity, the resulting ruinous state of Rome, the disruption of the Reformation and its criticism of pilgrimage for the Holy year of 1525, and the sack of Rome in 1527 were all factors which prevented the regular celebration of the Jubilee. It was not until 1550 that numbers began to increase

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81 Thurston, 1900, p.136.  
82 Ibid., p.136.  
84 Durling, Robert (ed), Petrarch’s Lyric Poems, Harvard University Press, 1976, p.51. '... thence dragging his ancient flanks through the last days of his life, as much as he can he helps himself with good will, broken by the years and tired by the road; and he comes to Rome, following his desire, to gaze on the likeness of Him whom he hopes to see again up there in Heaven.'
again with the accession of Pope Julius III (1550-1555).85

It was with this unharnessed spirit of devotion in mind that Gregory XIII proceeded to put in place a methodical plan for the preparation of the Holy Year of 1575. Ciappi notes that he turned his mind *per ornamento della Città, e accrescimento del culto Divino. Et, perchè già s'avvicinava l'Anno Santo, diede ordine, che si ristorassero le Chiese di Roma...* 86 As early as 1573 he began preparing for the Jubilee and according to Thurston, every precaution was taken that nothing might be wanting to add to the splendour of the celebration, or to ensure the comfort of pilgrims. 87

So when Gregory XIII performed the ceremony of opening the Holy Door at St. Peter’s Basilica on Christmas Eve 1574, and gazed out upon an estimated 300,000 spectators present in the piazza, he had already prepared the city to embrace these pilgrims and facilitate their spiritual journey (Figs. 2.19-20). 88 He had provided the infrastructure to assist their commodious pilgrimage to the four main basilicas and he had requisitioned the good will of the confraternities to care for their physical and spiritual needs. All was in place to experience *Il culto divino* and salvation mediated by the Church. This was Gregory XIII’s Jubilee, his version of Catholicism, and it was to become the most important and impressive religious spectacle in Jubilee history.

Gregory XIII promulgated the Jubilee of 1575 on the 20th May 1574, the feast of the Ascension with the promise of a Plenary Indulgence for those who fulfilled its conditions

86 Ciappi, 1591, p.5.
87 Thurston, 1900, p.86.
(Fig. 2.21; see appendices V-VI). The choice of the feast of the Ascension referred to what Martin called the great Jubilee made by Christ when by his Passion he redeemed us from sin and restored us to heavenly inheritance, which we had lost and recovered by his merits.89 Once again then, the declaration of the Holy Year opened the gates to Heaven and our salvation. The edict was declared again on the 19th December, the last Sunday of Advent, as a reminder that the Church has taken the place of the Synagogue and that the Jubilee beings.90 In his edict, Gregory XIII was mindful of those abroad and in England who could not make the journey or could not worship publicly so he made concessions to them thus promoting the universal nature of the Jubilee.91

Gregory XIII declared that all other indulgences were suspended, he prohibited Carnival celebrations, and he exhorted cardinals to set a worthy example for the Church (Fig. 2.22).92 He emphasised the pastoral and sacramental roles of bishops, reform which was derived from the Councils of Pisa 1409 and Florence 1438. From the beginning of the Jubilee, Gregory XIII set himself as an example of piety. He made numerous pilgrimages to the four basilicas and according to Pastor, he went up the Scala Santa at the Lateran on his knees and walked barefooted from Porta San Paolo to the Ostian basilica.93 He sought to set an example for his pilgrims and clergy alike, signalling the change in ecclesiastical behaviour promulgated by the Council of Trent, derivative from the Councils of Constance 1414-1418, Council of Florence 1431, and the Lateran V 1513-17.94

Gregory XIII introduced fundamental changes to the urban fabric of Rome. He had the streets restored, widened and built anew in order to facilitate the circulation of pilgrims

90 Pastor, 1955.
91 Ibid., p.96.
92 Maffei, 1742.
93 Pastor, 1955, p.147.
94 Mullett, 1999.
It was noted in an *Avviso di Roma* in 1573 that *Il Papa cavalcò in compagnia di Cornaro et Como fino a San Giovanni in Laterano ove ordinò che s’accomodasse la strada che da quella chiesa va a Santa Maria Maggiore, et dall’altre sette chiese per l’Anno Santo, che fossero piane come la Strada Pia*, indicating that he was involved directly in the early planning for the improvement to the roads of Rome. In 1574, he issued a papal bull codifying aspects of planning which redefined the law relating to existing thoroughfares and the private dwellings that lined them. This enabled him to widen existing streets and construct new ones. The most important access roads from Rome to Ancona and Rome to Loreto (via Boncompagni) were improved radically as well as via Flaminia to Rimini and the road from Rome to Cittavecchia. Within Rome, Gregory XIII continued Pius IV’s work on the street system around *San Giovanni in Laterano*. He brought to completion a new portal through the Aurelian wall located to the east of the principle facade of the *San Giovanni in Laterano* and a new road leading into Rome, the *Via Appia Nuova*. He also completed the thoroughfare that links the Lateran with Santa Maria Maggiore. He built a road from the Lateran to the *Porta San Sebastiano* where it intersected with the *Via Appia Antica*. These initiatives facilitated access to three of the four basilicas that pilgrims were required to visit viz., *San Giovanni in Laterano, Santa Maria Maggiore, and San Paolo fuori le Mura.*

Bridges were restored for the comfort of travellers and pilgrims in Rome, and the papal states. Gregory XIII had the Diocletian baths converted into a granary and supplemented its capacity at the port to ensure food for the city. He had the *Acqua Vergine*

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96 ASR, *Versione Italiana della Costituzione di Gregorio XIII. Sugli edifici e diritto di congruo detta anche ad ornatum urbis, col testo latino a fronte*, 1574.
99 Ciappi, 1591, p.11. Bridges include the Ponte-Senatorio, Ponte-Centino and many others in the Papal States.
repaired and water was brought to Rome to supply new fountains for the well-being of the public and for the adoration of the city.\textsuperscript{100} Water fountains were placed in the \textit{Piazza del Popolo, Piazza Colonna, Piazza della Rotunda, Piazza di San Marco, Campo dei Fiori, Piazza Giudea, and Piazza Montanara}.\textsuperscript{101}

The invitation to come to Rome to take part in the Jubilee meant that hundreds of thousands of people would arrive in Rome from all over Italy, Europe and beyond. This was managed by a new rule that established that pilgrims had to apply for approval for the trip to a local bishop, rector, or magistrate, who then organised the journey as well as the final processional entry into Rome.\textsuperscript{102}

Companies communicated with their confraternities and these confraternities managed the pilgrims in Rome and voluntarily looked after them physically and spiritually. Gregory XIII made it known that he would give whatever was needed, to support the confraternities and the pilgrims, acknowledging the critical nature of their work for the success of the Jubilee. The pilgrims arrived in procession and became the responsibility of one of a vast network of confraternities, the most famous being Filippo Neri’s \textit{SS. Trinità dei Pelligrini e Convalescenti}.\textsuperscript{103} On arrival, they proceeded to the Church of the Confraternity where they were received and their name and nationality was noted. George Martin continues: … first, they conducted them to S. Peters Church to make their prayers and so to their owne Oratorie…. So did they honour the straungers their brethren… Afterwards … they

\textsuperscript{100} Maffei, 1742, pp.457-459.
\textsuperscript{102} Wisch, 2011/2012, pp.87-88. See also ‘A Pilgrimage from Viterbo, 1575,’ cited in Appendix I, Martin 1969, pp.267-272.
\textsuperscript{102} Thurston, 1900.
\textsuperscript{103} Black, Christopher, \textit{Early Modern Italy. A Social History}, pp.159-166; San Juan, Rose Marie, \textit{Rome, a city out of print}, University of Minnesota Press, 2001, p.109. SS Trinità dei Pelligrini defined its charitable work as excessive, immeasurable and outside established boundaries. Its work with pilgrims was strictly limited to the duration of the Holy Year.
brought them to their lodging in al points wel prepared, made them great fires, .. washed
their feet, provided for their meate and drinke, prepared their chambers and beddes, conducted them to the Churches and holy places. Thurston notes that a number of
priests were specially retained to catechise and instruct them that they may be induced to
frequent the Sacraments and if need be, they preached to them in various languages in a
way suited to their capacity. Similarly, Gregory XIII had appointed learned and
exemplary confessors to all churches, with some churches remaining open until midnight
manned by Capuchins and Jesuits.

The members of these companies arriving in Rome in turn received and entertained all
poor pilgrims who arrived without a company. According to Delumeau, during the Holy
Year of 1575, SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini lodged and fed 174,467 pilgrims out of a total of
400,000 who visited Rome, each for three days while maintaining the care of 21,000
convalescents. While the other confraternities were smaller, they were all essential for
organising and showing charity to the pilgrims of different nationalities and social
standing. The organization of pilgrims in groups ensured that they would be cared for,
accounted for, and that they moved and processed in groups.

The most important processions of the Holy Year were those visiting the four main
basilicas. These processions had increased in magnitude because the Roman
confraternities had petitioned Gregory XIII to reduce the number of days required to gain a
Plenary Indulgence to three once the pilgrims went in procession. Fra Pientini, a
sixteenth-century commentator, noted that pilgrims were not content simply to visit the

105 Thurston, 1900, p.264.
106 Mullett, 1999.
107 Delumeau Jean, ‘Movimento di pellegrini e assistenza nel Cinquecento’ in Marcello Fagiolo and Maria
four basilicas privately.\textsuperscript{109} Knowing that group prayers were more pleasing to God than private ones, they again visited the Churches in procession. These processions are illustrated in the prints of \textit{Roma Sancta} and in \textit{Le Sette Chiese} (Fig. 2.23; Fig. 2.14).\textsuperscript{110}

The sheer number of pilgrims who had accepted the invitation to come to Rome, and took part in the processions around the city, day and night, precipitated an unforeseen dynamic that augmented the sense of magnificence and created a sense of sacredness about the city. It was the act or ritual of procession itself that made the city of Rome sacred.\textsuperscript{111} The nights were shattered by blazes of torches and the inanimate streets were displaced by thousands of moving bodies. The processions interrupted ordinary time and space, and diversity was transformed into unity. Thurston remarks that the association of large masses of men joining for a common religious purpose cannot have failed to enkindle their fervour in an unusual degree.\textsuperscript{112} In Michel Montaigne’s account of Rome’s Easter processions, albeit in 1580 and on a smaller scale than the Jubilee, he said ‘The noblest and most magnificent thing I have seen here or elsewhere is the incredible number of people scattered throughout the city… when night commenced the whole city appeared to be inflames; these companies marching in regular order towards St. Peter’s basilica, and each man carrying a torch… I think there passed before me twelve thousand torches at the least…’\textsuperscript{113} Reports on the activity of \textit{SS Trinità dei Pelligrini}’s processions describe the experience of unity experienced by diverse pilgrims. ‘… Each morning when that procession ended at \textit{San Pietro}, it was a beautiful thing to hear those pilgrims of each nation sing in their tongue the Italian Litany and Psalms; … of so many diverse accents that truly raising a hand to


\textsuperscript{112} Ibid., p.273.

Heaven each one said *Omnis spiritus laudet dominum*. Martin sums up the experience: ‘… to see the Processions of sundry Nations singing through the streates not only Latin… the procession of al ages, sexes, conditions, professions, Confraternities, Religions, Townes and Cites with such modestie, gravitie, order, devotion … To see al this, yea to heare of it only, what Catholike hart wil not rejoice in this Communion of Saincts, and geve God hartie thanks …’

It seems that this sense of emergent sacredness through the ritual of procession made an impact on Gregory XIII, as indicated by his inclusion of processions in many of his paintings after the Jubilee such as, the *Gallerie delle Carte Geografiche, Torre dei Venti* and the *Terza Loggia* (Fig. 2.24), and it consolidated his recognition of the potency of the active laity and active clergy and their contribution to the reinvigoration of the Church.

These heightened emotions and feelings of belonging and brotherhood, of readiness and openness, which were expressed in charitable acts and devotion, were just part of the experience en-route to the pilgrimage destinations. This is illustrated in the *Sancta Roma* print with pilgrims processing to the four main basilicas with the allegory of Rome centred in an oval medallion surrounded by twelve acts of kindness or charity inspired by Fillipo Neri (Fig. 2.23). These depictions carry an explanatory inscription of the acts: consolation of the inflicted, alms-giving, Christian instruction, preaching, fasting, penitence, prayer, washing of feet, helping the poor, freeing prisoners, nourishment of pilgrims, and clothing the naked. It was however at the basilicas that pilgrims were immersed in the magnificence of their surroundings and were invited to participate in the sacraments and worship the relics of the sacred city.

Gregory XIII patronised the architecture and decoration of the city as a means of both embellishing the magnificence of the city, signifying the sacredness within, and as a means

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114 San Juan, p.112.
115 Martin, 1969, pp.238-239.
of facilitating pilgrims in their spiritual and devotional journey. It is observed that Gregory XIII’s Jubilee was not just an overt assertion of the sacredness of the city but became an emergent quality of the city elicited by the active participation of the laity and clergy in the spiritual life of the city.

2.4.1 Embellishment of the Magnificence of Rome

In order to precipitate the devotional journey of pilgrims towards participation in the sacraments and prayer, Gregory XIII had the four main basilicas of Rome repaired and refurbished. ‘E per invitare i Cardinali a restaurare, e adornare le Chiese de’ Titoli loro, ordinò, che in tutte le Basiliche principali si andasse accomodando tutto quello, che fosse necessario, ed opportuno, e che si rifacesse Il Portico di S. Pietro, e quello di S. Maria Maggiore.’\textsuperscript{116} Of all the churches decorated and restored the most significant intervention made by Gregory XIII was his patronage of San Giovanni in Laterano.

i) San Giovanni in Laterano

This basilica was built by Constantine and according to Thurston, the original church was small and unadorned except for a mosaic of Christ the Saviour, to whom the Basilica was dedicated. Overtime, John the Baptist and John the Evangelist were added to the dedication, probably because the neighbouring monastery was dedicated to these saints.\textsuperscript{117} San Giovanni in Laterano was the principal seat of the pope as bishop of Rome, and was officially confirmed as such in 1569, by Pius V.\textsuperscript{118} Men, women, and children were baptised here twice a year on the eves of Easter and Whitsuntide at the same place where, according to tradition, Constantine was baptised, as documented by Gregory XIII on the vault of the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche.

\textsuperscript{116} Maffei, 1742, p.107.
\textsuperscript{117} Thurston, 1900, p.173.
\textsuperscript{118} Declared in the Bull of 1569 Mater et Caput Omnium Ecclesiarum Urbis et Orbis.
A comprehensive restoration of the Lateran had been initiated by Pius IV but was interrupted by his death. This had included the north transept façade and a new ceiling in the nave. Only portions were brought to completion by Pius V but it seems that Gregory XIII was keen to pursue Pius IV’s project. Gregory XIII’s own plan to restore the entire Lateran complex was not achieved during his pontificate and many of his innovations were lost through later renovations. He did however set out a model for his successors namely Sixtus V (1585-1590) and Clement VIII (1592-1605). What he did achieve during the years 1573-1575 in preparation for the Holy Year is documented by Jack Freiberg.

Gregory XIII patronised a street system around the Lateran which facilitated easy access to the main pilgrimage basilicas, including the Lateran, as mentioned. He then focused on the restoration of the baptistery as a symbol of redemption mirroring the Plenary Indulgence granted during the Holy Year, which was recognised as such by contemporary commentators such as Gregory Martin. The superintendent of the works on the Baptistery project was Francesco Capriani da Volterra (c1535-1595). First to be addressed was the circulation of visitors. Gregory XIII had a new axis of entry and exit established in the baptistery that made it easier to enter the baptistery on approach from the south side and the exit facing the basilica (Fig. 2.25). The interior of the building was also restored. Ciappi indicates that ‘Adornò il Battesimo di Costantino di soffitti, pitture, balausti, e altri ornamenti...’. He repaired the wooden ceiling of the ambulatory, put in new windows, and frescoed areas of the walls where there was an absence of marble revetment, and the drum of the cupola was frescoed with Gregory XIII’s insignia. According to Freiberg, Gregory XIII also moved Constantine’s baptismal vessel into the centre of the baptistery and surrounded it with a balustrade (Fig. 2.26). There is a papal insignia on this balustrade, and there is an inscription attesting to Gregory XIII’s

120 Ibid., pp.83-84.
123 Ciappi, 1596, p.9.
restoration reading, *GREGORIUS XIII PONT. MAX. RESTAURAVIT AN. IUBILEI MDLXXV*, above the entrance to the Baptistery. In 1573, a fresco of the Madonna located in the seventh-century side chapel of the baptistery began to work miracles. The revision of the entrance and exit to the baptistery required that this miraculous fresco be moved, and Gregory XIII had the little chapel renovated in her honour. The fresco was situated in an altar elevated above four steps, and crowned by a columned ciborium. Freiberg documents an engraving of the chapel made in c1610, which shows two angels parting a domed canopy to reveal the image of the Madonna (Fig. 2.28). A new wooden ceiling with a relief of the Madonna seated on a cloud surrounded by stars was also installed. Gregory XIII went on to shower the chapel with a myriad of liturgical vessels of silver and gold expressive of Gregory XIII’s deep felt devotion to the Madonna. The Baptistery was ready anew to encourage devotion and participation in the sacrament of Baptism during and beyond the Jubilee. This act of patronage consolidated the association of Baptism and the Holy Year and Baptism as an act of Redemption and Salvation. It also honoured the image of the Madonna by re-imagining and extending the magnificence of her miraculous power through the magnificence of her new chapel.

Gregory XIII commissioned a Sacrament Chapel in the main basilica, recalling the Basilica’s primary dedication to Christ and the role played by the Lateran in the history of the Eucharist (Fig. 2.29). It was at the Lateran Council IV 1215, that the first official use of the term transubstantiation occurred, *Transsubstantiatis pane in corpus et vino in sanguine*. ‘His body and blood are truly contained in the sacrament of the altar under the forms of bread and wine, the bread and wine having been changed in substance, by God’s power, into his body and blood, so in order to receive this mystery of unity we receive from God what he received from us.’ This sacramental chapel was later

125 Marcello Fagiolo and Maria Luisa Madonna (eds), *Roma. La città degli anni santi 1300-1875*, Atlante, Mondadori, 1985, Milan, p.185.
126 Freiberg, 1991, p.76.
127 Ciappi, 1596, p.95.
destroyed by Clement VIII but it was is recorded in a sketch engraved for Ciappi’s book in which he notes that Gregory XIII had la Cappella del Santissimo Sacramento, ornate di colonne, marmi fini e stucchi Dorati.\textsuperscript{130} It is noticeable that the polychrome marble of this chapel was also used in the Cappella Gregoriana in St. Peter’s Basilica and Laureti’s depiction of the ‘Christian Triumph over Idolatry’, all commissioned by Gregory XIII and all evoking the same wonder in splendour and colour of the materials signifying the magnificence within. The use of such materials was to become Gregory XIII’s papal signature for iconographic purposes. The Sacramental Chapel was positioned prominently, visible to all who entered the basilica, inviting participation in the sacrament. It is observed that the Council of Lateran IV decreed it obligatory for all Christians to communicant at Easter. This is reflected in the shape of Gregory XIII’s patronage of the calendar recognising the necessity of establishing a universal date for Easter and his commissions in the Lateran. ‘... Let them reverently receive the sacrament of the Eucharist at least at Easter unless they think, for good reason and on the advice of their own priest that they should abstain from receiving it for a time. Otherwise they shall be barred from entering a church during their lifetime and they shall be denied a Christian burial at death.’\textsuperscript{131} Gregory XIII, in his patronage of this Blessed Sacrament chapel, reasserted the link between the first legally constituted basilica and the first church to publically celebrate the Eucharist. Worshippers could be baptised at Easter or Pentecost and they could also take the sacrament of the Eucharist. He was promoting and facilitating these sacraments in accordance with fundamental Christian doctrine which although confirmed by the Council of Trent cannot be regarded as uniquely Tridentine. Therefore Gregory XIII’s patronage although congruent with the decrees of the Council of Trent cannot be accurately described as being informed by the Council of Trent alone but an assertion of the continuity of doctrine within the Church.

\textsuperscript{130} Ciappi, 1596, p.9.
\textsuperscript{131} Tanner, 1990, p. 245.
A visit to the city of Rome was a longed for opportunity for visitors and pilgrims to behold the sacred bones and relics of the martyrs who died for Christianity. All guide books for pilgrims and visitors documented the number and details of relics to be uniquely found in the city along with the Indulgences that they carried. The relics contained within each church were documented and their importance listed. For example, in the guide book *Le cose maravigliose dell’Alma città di Roma* the list of relics in *San Giovanni in Laterano* include the following: the heads of St. Zachariah, father of John the Baptist, St. Peter and St. Paul, a piece of wood from the true cross, St. Peter’s tooth, hair and clothes of the Virgin Mary, Moses’ and Aaron’s rod, the window through which the Angel Gabriel appeared to the Virgin Mary for the Annunciation, the table of the Last Supper, an image of the Saviour designed by St. Luke and finished by angels, among many other relics.  

Gregory XIII’s patronage of the Lateran included the patronage of the *Scala Santa*, the main staircase that led to the medieval papal palace (Fig. 2.27). The stairs of twenty-eight marble steps was believed to have been brought from Jerusalem by St. Helena, Constantine’s mother, and had been taken from the praetorium of Pontius Pilate, upon which Christ stood when he was condemned to death. As they had come into contact with the body of the Christ they were regarded as a relic of Christ’s passion and as Christ was said to have stained the stairs with his blood this added a Eucharistic significance to them. Gregory XIII built two additional staircases allowing penitents to descend without blocking the way of those slowly ascending on their knees while reciting the *Pater Noster*. It is observed that Gregory XIII’s patronage enhanced the practical usage of the staircase, highlighted the importance of the relic of the *Scala Santa*, and presented the opportunity for both penance and worship of this relic of Christ (Fig. 2.30).

ii) *Santa Maria Maggiore*:

It was at the Council of Ephesus, 431, that the title of Mary, Mother of God (Theotokos)

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133 Freiberg, Jack, 1991, p.82.
134 Francino, 1588., f.6; Freiberg, 1991, p.75.
was defended by Cyril of Alexandria against attacks by Nestorius bishop of Constantinople. The Council precipitated the recognition of the Virgin Mary as Theotokos and Jesus was recognised as having a human and divine nature united in one person.\footnote{Tanner, 2011.} After the Council, Sixtus III (432-440) rebuilt this basilica on the Esquiline hill and dedicated it to the Virgin Mary. He had the Church magnificently adorned with mosaics celebrating the honour won for the Virgin Mary at the Council of Ephesus. The church contains many precious relics among which is an Image of our Lady much revered for miracles performed during the time of Gregory the Great, often carried in procession along with the Image of the Saviour from \textit{San Giovanni in Laterano}.\footnote{Francino, 1588, ff.11.}

Ciappi notes that Gregory XIII ‘\textit{Alla Chiesa di S. Maria Maggiore rifece il Portico, fatta già da Eugenio Terzo, che minacciava ruina, e da esso aprì una strada spaziosa, e piana, che dirittamente va a serire il Portico della Chiesa di S. Gio. Laterano}.\footnote{Ciappi, 1596, p.9.} The portico of the basilica was restored by Martino Longhi the elder in splendour for the Jubilee celebrations inviting pilgrims into the basilica (Fig. 2.31). This is recorded in a plaque on the external wall of the basilica which reads: \textit{GREGORIUS XIII PONT. MAX. EUGENII LABANTEM PORTICUM DEIECIT AC MAGNIFICENTIUS RESTITUIT VAINM RECTAM AD LATERANUM APERUIT ANNO IUBILEI MDLXXV} verifying the demolition and rebuilding of the portico.

iii) \textit{San Paolo fuori le Mura}:

While this basilica was not the original site of the martyrdom of St. Paul, his body is entombed there (Fig. 2.32). Constantine had founded the basilica and richly endowed it with gold, silver and precious stones. In the sixteenth century, it was said to hold relics such as the arm of St. Anne, the chains that held St. Paul, the head of the Samaritan, a finger of St. Nicolao, and under the altar half the body of St. Peter and half of St. Paul.

\footnote{Tanner, 2011.}
\footnote{Francino, 1588, ff.11.}
\footnote{Ciappi, 1596, p.9.}
According to Fagiolo et al, Gregory XIII had the presbytery decorated with pictures and Ciappi notes that he had erected a balustrade of fine marble and porphyry around the tomb of St. Paul, allowing visitors to worship both the Eucharist and the relics of St. Paul.\textsuperscript{138}

iv) The Constantine Basilica.
The Holy year began and ended at the Constantine basilica, and it was visited by pilgrims at the beginning and the end of their journey. This is where Gregory XIII opened the \textit{Porta Santa} and declared the beginning and end of the Holy Year. Gregory XIII’s patronage of the Constantine Basilica for the Jubilee was modest. He sought to embellish and enhance the basilica artistically and symbolically (Fig. 2.33).

Gregory XIII raised and restored the paving around the main altar of the Apostles. He had six representations of the Apostles added to an existing six to complete the twelve and donated twelve large silver lamps reflective of their presence, to decorate the main altar.\textsuperscript{139} He also donated precious silk, silver, and gold vestments to the sacristy.\textsuperscript{140} All of Gregory XIII’s interventions in St. Peter’s basilica embellished the inherent sacredness of the holy site. Gregory XIII had the ceiling of the main portico of the basilica repaired and had antique pictures situated over the five main doors of the basilica substituted with new scenes from the Acts of the Apostles executed by Lorenzo Sabatini, Cesare Nebbia, and Raffaellino da Reggio. The five paintings were as follows: The handing over of the keys, Peter and John enter the temple, Peter and the miracle of the fish, the healing of the sick, and the calling of St. Andrew and St. Peter to Christ.\textsuperscript{141} These scenes from the Acts of the Apostles emphasise the charge to the Church to minister to its flock and this, at the seat of the papacy, the tomb of St. Peter, is what Gregory XIII sought to fulfil.

\textsuperscript{138} Marcello Fagiolo and Maria Luisa Madonna (eds), 1985, p.193.
\textsuperscript{139} Ciappi, 1596, p.6.
\textsuperscript{140} Maffei, 1742, p.449.
\textsuperscript{141} Marcello Fagiolo and Maria Luisa Madonna (eds), 1985, p.193.
The most significant acts of patronage by Gregory XIII in Rome for the Holy Year of 1575 focused on the success of the sacred pilgrimage to Rome by the many tens of thousands that visited the city. Integral to this process was the opportunity for salvation through the agency of the Church in encouraging worship and facilitating the sacraments. The churches of Rome were presented in all their magnificence and splendour in honour of the sacredness held within and to welcome and accommodate the visiting pilgrims. This was a reassertion of the significance of the Church in the spiritual life of Catholics and in turn the significance of the participation of the laity in the liturgy of the Church. As noted by Maffei, Gregory XIII wanted the pilgrims to return home more steadfast in their worship of the divine, willing to persevere, and with affection towards the Apostolic See.\textsuperscript{142}

2.4.2 The Assertion of the Character of the Papacy in the Apostolic Palaces

Just as the Jubilee celebrations signalled the arrival of visitors to the city, it also signalled the arrival of dignitaries and the Church hierarchy to the Apostolic Palaces in the Vatican. Gregory XIII’s patronage of artistic programmes within the Apostolic Palaces expressed the character and ambition of his papacy and his Church to diverse audiences. The imagery used was powerful and the message clear and appropriate to its audience, indicating a systematic approach to his patronage. The most significant commissions were in the Sala Regia, Sala Bologna, Sala di Concistoro, and the Sale dei Foconi. It was after the Holy year when Gregory XIII consolidated his team of artists and work that he patronised the Cappella Paolina, Cappella Gregoriana, the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche, the Sala Costantino, Torre dei Venti, and the Terza Loggia in the Vatican.

i) Sala Regia:

Gregory XIII’s first commission in the Apostolic Palace was in the Sala Regia (Fig. 2.34). The Sala Regia or Royal Hall was originally commissioned by Paul III (1534-48). It was conceived as a new audience hall to receive prominent visitors such as ambassadors, kings,

\textsuperscript{142} Maffei, 1742, p.148.
queens, and emperors. Paul III commissioned the architect Antonio da Sangallo (1484-1546) to construct, and Perino del Vaga (1501-1547) and his team to decorate the room in c1537. By 1548 all three men were dead. It was not until the Pius IV (1559-1565) ascended the throne that interest in the project was revived, but he too died before the project was completed. Pius V (1564-1572) showed little interest in continuing any decorative work on the audience hall until his interest was piqued by the defeat of the Ottoman fleet near Lepanto in October 1571. Pius V interpreted the battle as a turning point in history and commissioned Vasari (1511-1574) to commemorate the victorious battle against the Muslim Turks in three large paintings between the doors of the *Sala Regia*.\textsuperscript{143} Vasari had just finished the ‘Battle of Lepanto’ when Pius V died (Fig. 2.35). However, within a month Gregory XIII ordered Vasari to continue his work. Vasari executed six painting in the *Sala Regia* for Gregory XIII including ‘The Christian and Turkish Fleets on the Eve of the Battle of Lepanto’ continuing Pius V’s theme (Fig. 2.36).

In August 1572, news reached Rome that the Protestant Huguenots in Paris had been defeated. Although not a papal victory, Gregory XIII was jubilant, ordered a general jubilee at which the faithful were to thank God for the destruction of the Huguenots and to ask for the restoration of Catholicism to its former purity.\textsuperscript{144} He was celebrating the destruction of heretics and heresy, an aim promulgated by all popes since the beginning of the Church. A coin was struck, victory over heresy was celebrated, and Vasari was asked to revise the plan from three paintings commemorating Lepanto to two, in order to create space for three paintings showing the Catholic victory over the Protestants in Paris. The incident had in fact been a political ploy set-up by Catherine de’ Medici and information regarding the details of the massacre had been kept from Gregory XIII.\textsuperscript{145}

Vasari’s Huguenot trilogy chronologically depicts the victory, beginning with the ‘The Assault on Admiral Caspar de Coligny’ situated in Rome rather than Paris with the


\textsuperscript{144} Pastor, 1955, pp.363-365.

\textsuperscript{145} De Jong, 2013.
Tempietto in the background with an avenging angel hovering overhead carrying a sword, signifying divine retribution for rebelling against God and the followers of St. Peter (Fig. 2.37). ‘The Massacre of the Huguenots’ is a dramatic, claustrophobic, and gruesome representation of the massacre. The Huguenots are depicted as grotesque casting them as ‘other’, thus justifying the catholic soldiers’ bloodlust and murder (Fig. 2.38). Last of the three paintings is that of ‘King Charles IX Approving the Massacre of the Huguenots in the Parisian Parliament’ (Fig. 2.39). Charles IX is depicted with a statue of peace above him and the royal family can be seen through the window on their way to Mass to celebrate the victory over the Huguenots.

Vasari painted a further two paintings for Gregory XIII in the Sala Regia. The first is that of ‘Gregory IX excommunicating Emperor Frederick II’, alluding to papal or spiritual power over temporal rule, reminiscent of Michelangelo’s Last Judgment in which he condemns the damned to hell (Fig. 2.11). The second is ‘Pope Gregory XI returning the Papal seat from Avignon to Rome’ with the likeness of Gregory XIII depicted in place of Gregory XI (Fig. 2.40). The pope is carried by the allegorical figures of Faith, Hope and Charity while in the sky above Peter and Paul urge the pope forward on his journey from Avignon to Rome. Both of these representations were suggested by Vasari and approved by Gregory XIII. Their presence in the Sala Regia is an assertion of papal leadership in Rome and as the inscription indicates to ‘cure Italy, which is suffering from sedition and to recall to obedience those who repeatedly turned away from the Church.’

Gregory XIII’s patronage of the Sala Regia was within a predetermined style and thematic ethos that asserted the power and glory of the papacy as both temporal and spiritual. It was aimed at a specific audience of powerful political leaders who were in constant negotiation

146 Ibid., p.148.
147 Ibid., p.144.
with the Papal States. Gregory XIII’s representation of the massacre of the Huguenots was both a particular and universal warning of the intolerance of the Church against its enemies and the enemies of God, as was his excommunication of Frederick II who had betrayed the Church. The return to Rome was a display of strength and unassailable survival. It is observed, that for an audience of powerful political visitors, Gregory XIII’s patronage was a constructed history and warning to the enemies of the Church to beware of the power of the Church.

ii) Sala Bologna:
The Sala Bologna is situated off the Terza Loggia and functioned as a private dining room for Gregory XIII and his invited guests (Fig. 2.41). The decoration was commissioned in 1574 for the Jubilee and executed by Bolognese artists including Lorenzo Sabatini (1530-76) and Ottaviano Mascherino (1536-1606), and aided by Antonio Vanosino (d.1590) and a team of specialist artists (see chapter 4).

This innovative commission displays Gregory XIII’s patronage unhindered by previous patrons. It was a celebration of the academic excellence of the University of Bologna. Gregory XIII emerges imbued with the credentials of Bologna and as an advocate of the sciences as a means of understanding the divine, and of scientific thinking whose benefits cater to the physical and spiritual needs of the Church in terms of its law, the prosperity of its people, and the achievement of a universal Church. In sum, scientific knowledge is an expression of the divine and empowers the papacy in its scholarship, pastoral care, and universal nature. In this commission, Gregory XIII signalled his intention to harness the power of science for the benefit of the Church.

iii) Sale dei Foconi:
Le Sale dei Foconi, as mentioned earlier, are conference rooms constructed by Gregory XIII adjacent to the second loggia on the north side of San Damaso in the Vatican in 1574-
These rooms are closed to the public and the artistic programme commissioned by Gregory XIII for the vaults is little known or researched as part of Gregory XIII’s patronage (Figs. 2.42-43).

The frescoed vaults of the Sale dei Foconi document events in the life of Gregory the Great. The scenes represented include his nomination as apostolic legate or deacon, his dispatch of missionaries to England, Gregory’s mission to Constantinople, the Mass of Gregory the Great, and the distribution of bread in times of need (Fig. 2.44). These events paralleled similar events in the life of Gregory XIII reflective of his deliberate and overt emulation of Gregory the Great as pope, saint, theologian, and Doctor of the Church.

The artistic style of the vault is exuberant with elaborate stuccowork framing the narratives. It was noted by Maria Pia Di Marco in her article ‘Le Sale dei Foconi in Vaticano’, that very small heraldic symbols using Gregory XIII’s insignia, Il Drago, in various endeavours are interspersed among scenes in the vaults of the rooms. These symbolic expressions of Gregory XIII’s papacy also appear in the Sala Regia, Sala dei Paramenti, and the Torre dei Venti. Each of four designs includes a short motto (Fig. 2.45). The depictions are as follows: a) A representation of a dragon biting its tail with the motto A Quo Et Ad Quem as an expression of infinity, eternal life through salvation mediated by the Church. b) A dragon at the door of the temple with the motto Vigilat refers to the sacrament of penance. c) A dragon with his wings open-wide with the motto Felix praesagium which according to Di Marco refers to the pope as a unique interpreter of the word of God. d) A dragon that rises triumphant up onto a stone block with the motto


\[149\] The Vatican Museums generously provided these rare images from the Sale dei Foconi and the Sale dei Paramenti for this research.

\[150\] Di Marco, 2012.
Non commovebitur, represents papal authority that rests on the Church. These symbols reflect the ineluctable truths of the Church, which have perpetuated since the time of Gregory the Great. In this commission, Gregory XIII signalled his alignment with Gregory the Great’s missionary ambitions, charity, mystical theology, and promotion of the sacrament of the Mass.

Gregory XIII’s selection of commissions for the Apostolic palaces for the Holy Year of 1575 was a methodical expression of different facets of his papacy, contingent on the audience, the function of its location, and the relationship between the papacy and the audience. This demonstrates a planned and strategic approach to patronage and recognition of the multifaceted role of the papacy. It is also an expression of the influences that Gregory XIII brought to his papacy and which shaped his interpretation of Church renewal and regeneration.

2.4.3 In the slipstream of the Holy Year 1575:

Buoyed by his success during the Holy Year, Gregory XIII maintained the momentum of his patronage of chapels, churches, and basilicas. Included in this patronage were small interventions such as financial support for construction and artistic programmes or support in kind such as assigning the church of San Tommaso di Cantebury to the Jesuit English College. He also re-founded the Collegio Germanico and granted it the sixth-century church of Santo Stefano Rotondo. Circignani (1517-1590) subsequently decorated it in 1581 with thirty-one frescoes depicting a variety of martyrdoms and tortures from ancient times rendered with horrifying veracity.\(^\text{151}\) While Gregory XIII was not involved in this commission, he did support the Jesuits in their educational and missionary activity as part of his overall mission to spread the word of God. In 1575, Gregory XIII officially approved the Oratory led by Filippo Neri as a congregation of secular priests and granted it

the small church of Santa Maria in Vallicella. Neri raised the church to the ground and built the Chiesa Nuova patronised by Cardinal Pier Donato Cesi.

i) Santa Maria di Loreto:
Ciappi notes that Gregory XIII had the façade of the Church of Santa Maria of Loreto decorated with marble and stone and had a large bronze statue of the Virgin Mary and Child placed in a niche over the main door.\textsuperscript{152} He also had vestments sent and replaced along with twelve silver apostles. He had a palazzo built for visitors and pilgrims, a fountain for their convenience and Via Boncompagni built in order to improve access to this pilgrimage site. Gregory XIII’s patronage of \textit{La Santa Casa} in Loreto was an expression of personal devotion to the Virgin Mary which he honoured throughout his pontificate. It was Gregory who instituted the Holy Feast of the Rosary in 1573 to be celebrated on the first Sunday of October 1573.\textsuperscript{153}

ii) Santa Maria dei Monti:
Another example of Gregory XIII’s devotion to the Virgin Mary was expressed in his support of the church of \textit{Santa Maria dei Monti}. According to Ciappi, on the 26\textsuperscript{th} April 1580 in the district of de’Monti a miraculous image of the Virgin Mary with Saints Stephen and Lawrence was discovered in a barn, high up on the wall just below the roof.\textsuperscript{154} Word spread quickly and people arrived to experience the miraculous grace of this blessed image. Initially, it was proposed to move the miraculous image but under protest from the local community the image remained with them. A church was established to house the image of the Madonna and Child known as the \textit{Madonna dei Monti} (Fig. 2.46). Gregory XIII assigned the church and all its revenues to the \textit{Arciconfraternita dei Catecumeno e Neofiti}. The confraternity oversaw the construction of the church by Giacomo della Porta and its decoration by various artists under the protection of Cardinal Sirleto. Gregory XIII’s patronage of this church ensured that the miraculous image would be housed,

\textsuperscript{152} Ciappi, 1596, pp.11-12.
\textsuperscript{153} In a papal Bull, \textit{Monet Apostolus} 1st April 1573, Gregory XIII instituted the Holy Feast of the Rosary in memory of the victory of the Battle of Lepanto.
\textsuperscript{154} Ciappi, 1596, p.18.
protected, and worshipped.

iii) *Cappella Gregoriana:*
Gregory XIII’s most significant ecclesiastical commission was the Gregorian Chapel in St. Peter’s Basilica (see chapter 3). According to Lelio, this chapel was Gregory XIII’s legacy.\(^{155}\) It was the first chapel to be built, decorated, and completed in the basilica and as such set the precedent for the decorative style of the new basilica (Fig. 2.47).

The Gregorian Chapel contains three altars, the main altar of the *Madonna del Soccorso*, and two subsidiary altars of St. Jerome and St. Basil the Great. The altar of the *Madonna del Soccorso* is one of seven privileged altars in St. Peter’s basilica which grants plenary indulgences for the Holy Souls in Purgatory.\(^{156}\) The importance of the Virgin as the primary intercessor with Christ on behalf of the Souls in Purgatory is thus recognised and the remission of sins for a loved one is no longer the privilege of individual rich patrons but available to all who worship there.

The icon of the *Madonna del Soccorso* is a miraculous image and as such asserts the effective interaction between the celestial and the terrestrial realms (Fig. 2.48). This miraculous image catered to ‘popular’ devotional practices and expressed Gregory XIII’s personal devotion to the Madonna. The Madonna and Child is revealed as Mother of God, an agent of the Incarnation, Queen of heaven and forever pure through an elaboration of her iconography in the altarpiece. Above the altar, in a lunette decorated in mosaic, a narrative emerges documenting the fundamentals of Catholic orthodoxy beginning with the Annunciation and the Incarnation. Mirrored in the lunette on the other side of the altar are

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the prophets Ezekiel and Isaiah. Both portraits of the prophets carry inscriptions that refer to the prophecy of the perpetual virginity of the Virgin Mary and foretell the coming of Emmanuel.

Above the main altar, four Doctors of the Church are represented in the pendentives of the dome: Gregory the Great, St. Jerome, Gregory of Nazianzeno, and St. Basil the Great. An analysis of their contribution to the Church indicates that their presence above the altar documents their individual and unique contribution to the foundation of Catholic orthodoxy, specifically the Holy Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Virgin Mary as Mother of God, the Eucharistic sacrifice, redemption, and salvation. They also exemplify the singular Eastern and Western origin of this orthodoxy. These ineluctable concepts infuse the chapel and are made manifest in the iconography and celebration of the liturgy. The chapel emerges as a multi-faceted expression of the fundamental doctrine of the Catholic Church communicating according the capacity of the worshippers, and will be discussed in detail in chapter 3.

2.4.4 Implementation of his vision in the Apostolic Palaces

i) Sale dei Paramenti (the Sala del Concistoro Segreto)

In 1576–77 just after the Jubilee, Gregory XIII had the rooms of the Sale dei Paramenti (known as the Anticamera and the Camera del Concistoro Segreto) decorated with a large continuous frieze just below the ceiling (Figs. 2.49-50). The frieze illustrates the Acts of the Apostles and episodes from the life of Moses and Christ.157 The unifying theme of the cycle was the dissemination of God’s word through the law and was executed by a team of artists headed by Lorenzo Sabatini (1530–1576) and after his death, Mario Sabatini is his hypothesised successor.158

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157 During this period, the second room was known as the Sala Concistoro because the concistori segreti were held here and the Pope was dressed for solemn ceremonies in the Sistine chapel or in St. Peter’s Basilica.
The more specific communication of the eight narrative paintings in the Sala del Concistoro Segreto, which include a number of single figures, refers to the pre-figuration of New Testament law by Old Testament law, its application, and its effect. The first episode for example juxtaposes the episode in which ‘Moses speaks to the people of Israel’ with the ‘Sermon on the Mount’ underlining the continuity of the Law of God from the Old to the New Testament (Fig. 2.51). Another episode juxtaposes the ‘Ordination of the Levites’ in the Old Testament, with the ‘Establishment of seven deacons’ in the New Testament (Fig. 2.52). These representations are directly related to the function of the room in which the pope elected his bishops and cardinals. The last episode juxtaposes ‘Moses and the people of Israel in front of the tent of the Tabernacle covered by a cloud’ with ‘The departure of the Apostles’, linked by the figure of Moses (Fig. 2.53). This painting refers to the similarity and continuity between Exodus 40: 36-38 in which it says, ‘Whether it was two days or a month or a year that the cloud lingered over the tabernacle, staying above it, the sons of Israel remained camped and did not set out; but when it was lifted, they did set out. At the command of the Lord they camped, and at the command of the Lord they set out; they kept the Lord’s charge, according to the command of the Lord through Moses’, and the setting out of the Apostles to preach and to convert the people was inspired by the Holy Spirit. This then was sacred context for the selection, election, and role of the newly elected members of the Church hierarchy under the law of the Church.

Both the style and content of this frieze although clear and effective was traditional and conservative in nature perhaps reflecting the subject matter. It was the emergence of Girolamo Muziano (1532-1592) during this commission that marked the introduction of a new and measured naturalism that was to characterise the artistic style of Gregory XIII’s papacy from this time forward. Muziano was commissioned to paint the Pentecoste for

the ceiling of the *Sala Concistoro* in late 1576, and from 1578 Muziano assumed the supervision of all commissions in the Vatican and was one of the only ‘Gregorian’ artists to be given a monthly salary.\(^{161}\)

The *Pentecoste* was conceived on a large canvas designed to be inserted and centred in a coffered wooden ceiling above the assembled cardinals and bishops.\(^{162}\) The use of a canvas instead of fresco was a Venetian practice unknown in Rome at this time (Fig. 2.7).\(^{163}\) While the composition of the painting was not without its problems in terms of its crowded appearance, it offered an energetic and colourful portrait of individual figures and expressive faces moving and gesturing, united in a moment of pause.

Muziano’s *Pentecoste* was a newly expanded version of the Pentecost story as documented in the Acts of the Apostles and mentioned earlier. By including it as part of the programme for this particular room, Gregory XIII signalled his desire to specifically impress upon the cardinals his desire to expand the spiritual dominion of the Catholic Church and spread the word of the Holy Spirit as set down in the law.

ii) *Sala Costantino*:

Gregory XIII had the gilded wooden ceiling in the *Sala Costantino* in the Vatican palace, originally commissioned by Leo X (1513-1521), replaced by a high stone vault in 1580-1581. The room had been decorated with a fresco cycle documenting the life and deeds of the Emperor Constantine (272-337) commissioned by Leo X and Clement VII (1523-1534) respectively. ‘The Cross appearing to Emperor Constantine the Great’ and ‘Emperor Constantine the Great Defeating Emperor Maxentius’ were painted by Raphael and his


\(^{162}\) This wooden ceiling was installed by Pius IV, in 1563.

\(^{163}\) Tosini, 2008, p.215.
assistants 1519-1520, while ‘Pope Sylvester I Baptizing Emperor Constantine the Great’ and ‘Emperor Constantine the Great Donating the Western Half of his Empire to the Church’ 1523-24 were painted by Giulio Romano and Gianfrancesco Penni (Figs. 2.54-57).

There is a discernible shift of emphasis from the main protagonist Constantine, in the first two narratives commissioned by Leo X, to Pope Sylvester I (314-335) as the main protagonist in the second two narratives, commissioned by Clement VII. This shift may have been in response to Luther’s dispute of the pope’s claim to both spiritual and temporal power based on both biblical readings and the revelation in Lorenzo Valla’s treatise arguing that the Donation of Constantine was a forgery. In response, it seems that Clement VII had the Donation of Constantine documented as a matter of historical example.

Gregory XIII’s vault also represents a shift in emphasis within the Sala Costantino away from the assertion of temporal power of the papacy through the ‘Donation of Constantine’, to the assertion of spiritual authority. It may be interpreted as the triumph of Catholicism with universal ambitions. Gregory XIII commissioned Tommaso Laureti (1582-1586) to decorate the new stone vault with a fresco featuring the ‘Triumph of Christianity over Paganism’ in the centre (Fig. 2.58). In the lunettes and corners of the vault are personifications of the eight provinces of Italy, including Corsica and Sicily, Asia, Africa, and Europe all proclaiming the spiritual dominion of Catholicism under the authority of the pope signified by Gregory XIII’s insignia and papal regalia held by putti, consistent with the convention of the room. Laureti’s powerful visual representation offers the image of a gleaming yet humble statue of Christ’s sacrifice on the cross supplanting the broken statue of Mercury on the floor beneath referencing Gregory the Great as destroyer of pagan idols.

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164 De Jong, 2013, pp.84-90.
and Constantine’s effective rejection of idolatry.\footnote{Freiberg, Jack, ‘Pope Gregory XII, Jurist’, Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome, Vol. LIV, 2009, pp.41-60.} It seems that this is Gregory XIII’s clear assertion of the triumph of Catholicism across dominions far and near as part of his papal ambition for the Church.

iv) The Galleria delle Carte Geografiche:

In 1579, Gregory XIII commissioned Ottaviano Mascherino (1536-1606) to construct a fourth storey on the western wing of the Belvedere Courtyard in the Vatican in order to accommodate a new fresco cycle (see chapter 4). The corridor became known as the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche (Fig. 2.59). The one hundred and twenty metre corridor was decorated with forty regional maps of Italy on the walls and over two hundred and fifty-five vault paintings. It was completed by a team of artists in 1581.\footnote{Cheney, Iris, ‘The Galleria delle Carte Geografiche at the Vatican and the Roman Church’s View of History of Christianity’, in Dale Randall and Joseph Porter (eds.), Renaissance Papers 1989, The Southeastern Renaissance Conference 1989, p.21.} The map cycle was designed and managed by Egnazio Danti (1536-1586) while the vault cycle was overseen and managed by Girolamo Muziano (1536-92) and executed by Cesare Nebbia, Matthijs and Paul Bril along with other artists.\footnote{Gambi, Lucio and Pinelli, Antonio, ‘La Galleria delle Carte geografiche’, in Lucio Gambi and Antonio Pinelli (eds), La Galleria delle Carte Geografiche in Vaticano, Franco Cosimo Panini, Vol.II, Atlante fotografico, 1994}

All four walls of the Galleria are decorated with regional maps of Italy including the islands and the territories of Avignon. The territories of Avignon were included because according to an inscription in the Galleria the territory belongs to the Church of Rome.\footnote{Lucio Gambi and Antonio Pinelli (eds), 1994, p.200.} Indeed, Ciappi notes that Gregory XIII invested in the fortification and protection of the city of Avignon, ‘...spendesse intorno a un milione e mezzo d’oro.’\footnote{Ciappi, 1596, p.12.} Gregory XIII was the first patron to commission a single mural map cycle of Italy on a region by region basis, allowing him to conceive, structure, and articulate an Italy according to his point of
view and in a manner designed to exert influence on an audience of his choosing. Gregory XIII’s chose to define the Italian peninsula in the Galleria as his spiritual dominion, a territory over which he had papal authority.¹⁷⁰

The organizing principle of the Galleria – the maps, the historical vignettes within the maps, the ordering of the vault - is wholly geographical rather than chronological or thematic in nature. It is proposed in this research that the primacy of this territorial dynamic with all its scientific authority, pastoral beauty, and contemporaneous perspective, supports the proposition that the function of the wall maps was to document and display the spiritual dominion of the Church under the authority of Gregory XIII rather than having a primarily administrative function or as an assertion of territorial power. It is similarly proposed that the function of the vault, as outlined in an inscription in the Galleria, successfully celebrates the holy deeds of pious men as active participants in their own and others salvation drawn from Italian lands, as exemplars for the contemplation of God’s governance.

The single unifying theme underlying the Galleria is the assertion of Italy as the spiritual dominion of the pope constituted out of active participation of the faithful in the Church, which is congruent with Gregory XIII’s overall patronage including that of the Holy Year and the Gregorian Chapel. The Galleria is a dynamic view of papal authority, which indicates the following: i) that the success and authority of Catholicism was recognised as being embodied within the active participation of its members. ii) that the Church was charged to actively minister to the needs of the faithful, and iii) that this is a forward

¹⁷⁰ Lucio Gambi and Antonio Pinelli (eds), 1994, p.200: An inscription on the map of Avignon and its jurisdiction explains Avignon’s presence as belonging to the Church of Rome: Avenio urbs antiqua Venaisinus item Comitatus eiusq(ue) caput Carpentorace atq(ue) aliae urbe et oppida et si ad Italiam minime pertinent tamen quia Ecclesiae Roman(ae) sunt propria ideo hic describuntur: Though neither the ancient city of Avignon, the Comtat Venaissin, its capital Carpentras, nor any of its other towns or cities are properly speaking part of Italy, they still belong to the Church of Rome, and are for this reason shown here’
looking model for Catholicism throughout the world because it is without borders, inviolable, and universal. The *Galleria delle Carte Geografiche* will be discussed in detail in chapter 4.

v) The Torre dei Venti:
The Torre dei Venti was originally built to create an astronomical observatory to study Calendar Reform and as a tribute to Gregory XIII’s reform of the calendar which while scientifically enabled, was conceived of as a vehicle to further the universal Church and Christian faith. In 1577, Gregory XIII set up a commission of enquiry to resolve the inaccuracies and persistent difficulties caused by the Julian Calendar which overestimated the length of the solar year by eleven minutes and fourteen seconds each year, creating a surplus of days. Over time, the accumulated overestimate of the year denied the possibility of celebrating Easter on the Sunday after the first full moon following the vernal equinox.\(^{171}\) In his papal bull of 1581 documenting calendar reform, Gregory XIII’s refers to his wish to restore Easter according to the wishes of Pope Pius I (d. 154), Victor I (d. 199), and the Nicene council.\(^{172}\) At the Council of Nicaea I, 325, the issue of the date for Easter had been discussed and an ambition agreed.\(^{173}\)

The persistence of this unresolved issue, the significance of a universal day and date for the celebration of Easter, and Constantine’s stated support for such a measure, all provided the

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\(^{172}\) *Inter Gravissimas*, issued by Pope Gregory XIII 24th February, 1581-82. 6. Considerantes igitur nos, ad rectam paschalifestis celebrationem iuxta sanctorum partum et veterum Romanorum pontificum, praesertim Pii et Victoris primorum, nonomnagni illius cumenuci concilii Nicaeni et aliorum sanctiones, tria necessaria coniungenda et statue esse...

\(^{173}\) Heffle, Charles, J., *The History of the Councils of the Church. Volume 1, Book 2: The First Ecumenical Council of Nicaea*, Veritatis Splendor Publications, 2016, p.134. In a letter addressed to all who were at the council Emperor Constantine wrote: ‘... Divine Providence wills that this custom should be rectified and regulated in a uniform way. ... it is our duty not to have anything in common with the murders of our Lord. ... by unanimous judgement of all, it has been decided that the most holy festival of Easter should be everywhere celebrated on one and the same day, and it is not seemly that in so holy a thing there should be any division. Make known to your brethren what has been decreed; keep this most holy day according to the prescribed mode.’
impetus for Gregory XIII’s patronage of this project. Gregory XIII resolved all obstacles and brought the project to a successful conclusion. The new calendar was promulgated in February 1582.

The Torre dei Venti or Tower of Winds was built c1580 by the Ottaviano Mascherino. This tower is situated at the end of the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche at the south end of the western wing of the Belvedere courtyard. The tower consists of a suite of seven rooms, the main room conceived by Danti was the Meridian room. The other rooms were decorated with fresco cycles executed between 1580 and 1582 by Paul and Matthijs Bril. The brothers were inspired by episodes from the Old and New Testaments, ecclesiastical symbolism, and real or imaginary landscapes.

The Meridian Room is the largest and most elaborately decorated room in the tower. The fresco decoration was executed by Nicolò Circignani (1517-1590), Matthijs Bril, and Mascherino. It is two storeys high with views over Rome. Eganzio Danti placed a wind vane in the vault and a meridian, which fixed the spring equinox and the date of Easter, is emblazoned across the floor of this ceremonial room. It seems that Ciappi was most enamoured with the marvel and mechanics of the wind vane ... In capo à detta Galleria poi fece fare appartamenti nobilissimi e di sopra una dilettevole, e allegra loggia, detta delli Venti, dall’artificio mirabile, con che è fatta: perciò che quel vento, che soffia per l’aere, percotendo una banderola di ferro, posta nella sommità di essa loggia dalla parte di fuori, fa muover una stella di ferro, che dalla parte di dentro mostra specialmente esso vento, che regna. The vault paintings executed by Circignani focus on the theme of winds (Fig. 2.60).

174 Courtright, 2003, p.70.
175 Courtright, 1995, pp.526-541.
176 Ciappi, 1596, p.8.
In the centre of the vault there is a wind rose surrounded by two concentric circles inscribed with the names of the winds, twelve in all. These winds are then personified by a total of thirty-two figures all grouped around the central wind rose. On the walls are depicted a series of biblical scenes all featuring the representations of winds, such as ‘St. Paul’s Shipwreck at Malta and Paul and the Miracle of the Viper’ and ‘Christ Stills the Storm on the Lake of Tiberias and Heals the Possessed at Gerasa’. Christ stilling the winds that ravage the ship of Peter, is a well known topos represented in Giotto’s Navicella, and within this context according to Danti refer to ‘inviolable Catholic Faith’ under attack from heretics from the north, while St. Paul’s ship is under attack from the east (Fig. 4.174). All scenes chart moments in the history of salvation and more specifically they express the inevitable prevalence of the Apostolic Church through time in the struggle against heresy. Four of the other rooms stress the links between the Old and New Laws and proclaim the Catholic Church to be the one true Church.

The other two rooms celebrate sacred Rome, drawing on images of Rome during the Holy year of 1575 with processions and acts of charity sprinkled across the city exemplified in ‘A view of Rome from Janiculum Hill’ by Matthijs Bril on the east wall (Fig. 2.62). The illusionistic views of the Rome and the countryside are presented from the viewpoint inside the Tower creating a sense of looking out over contemporary Rome. While the idyllic views with naturalistic and realistically rendered figures might reference a classical pastoral vocabulary, they are utterly contemporaneous, grounded in the sixteenth-century present, expressing a view of Gregory XIII’s spiritual dominion, which is Rome.

vi) Cappella Paolina
Gregory XIII’s desire to embellish the Cappella Paolina was motivated by its importance for both papal liturgy and ceremony (Fig. 2.63). It was a conclave chapel where Christ’s

successors were elected and built by Antonio da Sangallo the younger for Paul III, 1537-1538.\textsuperscript{178}

Entrance to the chapel is by way of the Sala Regia. In 1580, Gregory XIII commissioned Federico Zuccaro to complete the mural fresco decorations of the Cappella Paolina, to design the main altarpiece, to construct a Holy Sepulchre for the Easter celebrations, and to decorate the vault with stucco and frescoes.\textsuperscript{179} The celebration of Easter at the Cappella Paolina was a significant ritual for Gregory XIII given its association with his calendar reform as a paradigm for a Universal Church. Annual ceremonies surrounding the Easter Sepulchre were performed to commemorate Christ’s burial and resurrection.\textsuperscript{180} The ceremony celebrated was intended to evoke the presence of Christ from his entombment until his resurrection. On Holy Thursday, after celebrating Mass the consecrated Host was carried by the pope from the Cappella Sistina to the altar of the Cappella Paolina and it was ‘buried’ symbolically in the sepulchre (Fig. 2.64). Then the pope would proceed to the Benediction Loggia of St. Peter’s to bless the gathering.\textsuperscript{181} On Good Friday, the Eucharist would be retrieved for the Mass of the Pre-sanctified Host and once again placed in the sepulchre after the celebration, where it remained until Easter Sunday.\textsuperscript{182} The Cappella Paolina was open to all the people of Rome including Confraternities and religious companies who performed acts of Christ’s passion, most notably flagellation along the way.

Zuccaro designed but never finished the altarpiece for the Cappella Paolina but a drawing


\textsuperscript{181} Kuntz, 2009, pp.61-63.

\textsuperscript{182} Ibid., p.63.
for the altar wall exists in the Albertina Museum, in Vienna (Fig. 2.65). The Pentecost is depicted in the centre of the Altarpiece, congruent with the function of the chapel in electing the pope, inspired by the Holy Spirit, and with Gregory XIII’s self-proclaimed objective to extend his spiritual dominion under his papal authority given its representation of an extended group beyond the twelve apostles and the Virgin Mary.

Zuccaro’s vault decoration is a large and complex fresco cycle featuring the Acts of St. Peter and Paul, surrounded by elaborate gilt stucco (Fig. 2.66). It is a visualization of the liturgy and ceremonies performed in the chapel. In the centre of the vault, St. Paul kneels at the cross with an image of the Trinity at its centre. This depiction of the kneeling St. Paul provided a model for all worshippers who attended the ceremonies at the Cappella Paolina.\(^{184}\)

vii) *Terza Loggia:*

The *Terza Loggia* was originally commissioned by Pius IV (1559-1565) in the early 1560’s but was left unfinished on his death. In the 1580, Gregory XIII took up the project and brought it to completion (see chapter 4).

Pius IV’s map cycle in the *Terza Loggia* consisted of a series of thirty-seven maps of the modern world with twenty-four surviving. These maps were painted on the inside wall of the loggia beneath a frieze of frescoed landscapes and above a plinth featuring landscapes, fruits and flowers, and city views, of which nothing remains. Above the wall-maps in the vault are a series of bays each bearing the papal arms of either Pius IV or Gregory XIII. Each insignia is surrounded by four small fields, two with images, one with an inscription, and the fourth with either an inscription or a stucco decoration.

\(^{183}\) Kuntz, 2009.

\(^{184}\) Ibid., p.77.
Following on from Pius VI’s depiction of the Last Judgement, Gregory XII continued the cycle. Eganzio Danti designed a world map divided into two hemispheres and ten maps of Asia, America, and Africa painted by Antonino Vanosino (Fig. 2.67). The maps of the world were complemented by city views, which have not survived. He continued the bays of the vault with the elect in heaven and ending with the Holy Trinity. Gregory XIII’s frieze of the translation of Gregory Nazianzeno above the maps of the world and his inclusion of the Trinity at the end of the cycle reveals a definitive relationship between heaven and earth with reference to the theology of Gregory Nazianzeno in relation to the Holy Trinity.

The final element inscribed on the vault is the deeds of these popes as part of their legacy (see appendix XVI). The selected deeds of Gregory XIII include the jubilee year of 1575, the founding of the national seminaries, St. Peter’s Basilica which includes Gregorian Chapel, the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche and the anticipated promulgation of the new calendar. These acts of patronage represent the reinvigoration of the faith during the Holy Year and the observation of the sacredness created through active and collective worship. His patronage of education ensures a standard of ministry for the faithful. The Gregorian Chapel expresses with clarity, ineluctable Christian orthodoxy in the heart of St. Peter’s Basilica, and the calendar as a means of uniting Christians across the world in this new spiritual dominion, beyond geographical boundaries.

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185 Taja, Agostino, Descrizione del Palazzo Apostolico Vaticano, 1570, Rome, pp.232-266.
186 Ibid.
2.5 Colleges, Training, and Education:

Influenced by his personal involvement at the Council of Trent, Gregory XIII began his pontificate with a strict enforcement of the decree on the obligation of residence which would enable greater pastoral care within the dioceses. He insisted on the practice of visitation, which had fallen into disuse as a process to assess the functioning and the spiritual and moral well-being of each diocese so that problems could be identified and addressed. For example, an assessment of the province of Milan revealed that ignorance and immorality were prevalent throughout the vast territory; some priests did not know the formula of absolution, while some of the laity did not even know the *Pater Noster*. In the churches men talked aloud, danced, and stored grain, and dances were held in the convents of nuns. The judicial powers of the Church were almost forgotten.

Continuing the efforts of his predecessor, Gregory XIII put in place measures to restore discipline among the religious orders and make them more effective. According to Pastor, the greater part of the reform of ordinances issued by Gregory XIII in the case of religious orders were either suggested by the Council of Trent or were further developments of the Tridentine decrees. He established free elections within religious orders and sought to stabilise them into a final form. Gregory XIII supported the Theatines, Barnabites, Ursulines, Basilians, Oratorians, Capuchins, Discalced Carmelites, and the Jesuits among others (see appendix IV). They were monitored through visitations in Italy and through a much extended network of nuncios established by Gregory XIII beyond Italy. Gregory XIII’s interest and patronage of these orders indicate his interest in reforming the infrastructure of the Church, long called for throughout the history of Ecumenical Councils.

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188 Ibid.
189 Ibid., p.84.
and documented at the Council of Trent. Similarly, such patronage signals his support for the active evangelism evident in these new orders, which had its roots in the great monastic religious orders of the Middle-Ages.

There was great ignorance amongst the clergy because they had little formal education and therefore sparse familiarity with the scripture or the psalter.\textsuperscript{190} Gregory XIII sought to address these issues and he charged the Jesuits with the task. It was noted by Ciappi that Gregory XIII’s establishment of colleges and seminaries to eradicate heresies and to spread the Word of God, was his most noteworthy work.\textsuperscript{191} According to Maffei: \emph{Ma fra tutte le grandi azioni di Gregorio, e fra tutte le opere degne di eterna memoria, meritano certamente il primo luogo le tante fondazioni de’Seminari, e Collegi da lui fatte a solo oggetto di aver tra poco tempo un copioso numero di uomini apostolici, i quali educati a spese della Santa Sede insieme colle scienze apprendessero ad amarla, per essere poi più a portata di trarre i loro nazionali o dagli errori o dalle tenebre del Gentilessimo, e riporre le loro anime nel Granaio di Cristo, cioè, come egli diceva, dev’essere lo scopo principale de’Pontefici.}\textsuperscript{192}

\textbf{2.5.1 Collegio Romano:}

In Ciappi’s portrait of Gregory XIII and his deeds, he includes each of the colleges founded and supported by Gregory XIII in Rome and abroad (Fig. 2.15). At the top and centre of this woodcut is a representation of the \emph{Collegio Romano}, the Jesuit College, which was to become the Gregorian University in 1584. The \emph{Collegio Romano} was originally established by Ignatius Loyola (1491-1556) in 1551 to provide education for male students from a primary to a university level, drawing on a wide group of uneducated and poor students. In 1556, Pius IV granted the college the same privileges as the

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{Ciappi} Ciappi, 1596, pp.25-26.
\bibitem{Maffei} Maffei, p.478.
\end{thebibliography}
The location of the college had moved several times due to the demands of increasing numbers of students. Under the patronage of Gregory XIII a new building was designed by Bartolomeo Ammannati (1511-1592) to accommodate a large number of students and their teachers (Figs. 2.68-69). In January 1582, Fillipo Boncompagni laid the foundation stone of the College accompanied by a great entourage of illustrious personalities including Gregory XIII, Giacomo Boncompagni, and the Jesuits of the College, in attendance. Ernesto Rinaldi recorded the inscription on the foundation stone, which reads as follows: ‘For the sake of the faith Pope Gregory XIII Bolognese, who gave money for the construction of the Collegio Romano of the Society of Jesus, most handsomely extended on its return (rebuilding), and designed for educating all nations in the highest studies, laid this foundation stone in the customary manner.’ Coins were struck, a portrait of Gregory XIII was painted, a sculpture of Gregory XIII was commissioned, all to commemorate the new college and Gregory XIII’s patronage of it (Fig. 2.70).

The construction of the college was later commemorated in a painting of Gregory XIII on horseback (Fig. 2.71). This recalls his well-known practice of riding through the streets of Rome visiting the basilicas and prisons and performing acts of charity frequently described in written accounts of his activities and deeds, but rarely captured on canvas. This is exemplified in an Avviso di Roma 1573, where Gregory XIII rode through the city surveying the roads and churches in order plan for future improvements. In this

193 Rinaldi, Ernesto, La Fondazione del Collegio Romano, Arezzo, 1914, p.99.
195 Rinaldi, 1914, pp.99-100.
196 Marcello Fagiolo and Maria Luisa Madonna (eds), 1990, p.182. …Il Papa cavalcò in campagna di Cornaro et Como sino a S. Giovanni in Laterano ove ordinò che s’accomodasse la strada che sa quella chiesa va a S. Maria Maggiore et dall’altre sette chiese per l’anno Santo...
painting, Gregory XIII authoritatively directs and surveys the progress of the demolition and building programme of the *Collegio Romano*. He is accompanied by his two cardinal nephews situated behind him signifying the importance of the project. A small inscription on the painting reads ‘He humbly had the unfinished *Collegio Romano* building demolished and ordered it to be rebuilt in a more magnificent style.’\(^{197}\) The building was completed in 1584 and occupied an entire block in the centre of Rome in the Pigna district until 1873 when it was taken over by the Italian government forcing the college to relocate.

A portrait from life, attributed to Antonio de’Monti depicts Gregory XIII in a traditional seated pose, a handkerchief in hand using traditional iconography to signify the sweat of his toil as he ascends his Calvary (Fig. 2.72).\(^{198}\) This portrait is a commemoration of Gregory XIII’s patronage of the *Collegio Romano* and currently hangs in the *Università Gregoriana*.\(^{199}\) On the upper left hand corner of the portrait there is a window with a view of the *Collegio Romano*. The date of this portrait is unclear but there is clear visual evidence that the painting has been significantly repainted, which perhaps explains the finished college and the licence taken with the decorative features such as the fountain.\(^{200}\) It is however evidence of the importance and affection the Jesuits had for Gregory XIII’s patronage of the college. An inscription on the painting, *GREGORIO XIII P.M. PARENTI OPTIMO FUNDATORI*, meaning, ‘Gregory XIII, Pope, to the most excellent parent and founder’.

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\(^{197}\) Incription on the painting reads: *COLLEGIUM ROMANUM HUMILITER INCHOATUM DIRVI ET MAGNIFICENTIUS EXSTRIUI IUBET*.


\(^{199}\) The *Università Gregoriana* generously made the photographs of these portraits available for this research.

\(^{200}\) The provenance of this and other paintings in the *Pontificia Università Gregoriana* (P.U.G) is difficult to ascertain. An examination of the Ludovisi Collection of Paintings in 1623 indicates that this portrait of Gregory was in the collection in 1623 establishing this date as the latest possibility. Wood, Carolyn, ‘The Ludovisi Collection of paintings in 1623’ *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 134, No.1073 (Aug., 1992), pp.515-523, p.519, no.131.
Ciappi notes, that apart from the marvelous architecture of the college, ...con molte scolæ capacissime, e quelle di facoltà, scienze, e lingue diverse, non ad altro fine, che per dar commodità à tutti li poveri, giovani, e fanciulli, non solo di Roma, ma d’Italia tutta, e fuori di venire à farsi dotti nelle lingue scientifiche, e in ogni scienza e istruirsi insieme e ne’costumi Christiani sotto la doctrina, e disciplina di que’Padri... The Collegio Romano was the main and central college for the education of all students attending the individual colleges patronised by Gregory XIII.

2.5.2 Five Colleges patronized by Gregory XIII:

In Rome, Gregory XIII supported five colleges, all affiliated to the Collegio Romano and all assigned to the Jesuits. The five colleges included the Collegio Germanico and Ungarico, Collegio Inglese, Collegio Neofiti, and the Collegio Maroniti. The objective of patronising these colleges was to attract and educate young men from different parts of Europe in Catholic Doctrine and prepare them for their return to their own community or country of origin and for missionary work further afield. The colleges housed the students and catered to their individual needs and they were then instructed together in the Collegio Romano.

The college buildings were located in the centre of the city and they were all connected to Churches. The Collegio Germanico and Urgarico was associated with San Appollinare and San Stefano Rotondo, Collegio Inglese with San Tommaso di Caterbury, Collegio Greco with S’Antansio dei Greci, Collegio Neofiti with Madonna dei Monte, and Collegio Maroniti with San Giovanni dei Maroniti.  

i) The German and Hungarian Colleges:

In 1573, Gregory XIII effectively re-founded Loyola’s Collegium Germanicum or the

201 Ciappi, 1596, p.16.
202 Ibid., pp.25-31
German College (1552) with an initial endowment of 10,000 scudi, a library provision, an annual maintenance grant, and endowments (Fig. 2.73).\textsuperscript{203} By 1574 the college had ninety-four students and in its second year one hundred and thirty.\textsuperscript{204} In the college, discipline, scientific instruction, religious education, music, and the exercise of piety were according to Pastor, beyond compare.\textsuperscript{205} Buoyed by his success with the German college, Gregory XIII took up Pius V’s suggestion and opened a Hungarian College in 1578. He granted the college the church of \textit{San Stefano Rotondo}. For practical reasons he then united this college with the German college in 1584 to form the \textit{Collegium Germanicum et Hungaricum} with recruitment from the German, Czech and Magyar speaking territories. This focus on territories where Protestantism had taken a foothold was an indication of the need to strengthen the education of Catholic clergy in these areas. All students at the German College took an oath that they would receive sacred orders in due course and that once they returned to Germany they would not devote themselves to civil law or take a position at court both incompatible with the ecclesiastical state.

ii) The Greek College:

In 1576, Gregory XIII issued a Papal Bull announcing the establishment of a Greek College in Rome for the education of students from anywhere the Greek rite was being used. He founded the college in 1577 where students were educated in the Greek rite under the protective patronage of Cardinal Santoro (1532-1602) (Fig. 2.74). The Seminary was erected, which provided accommodation for the students in beautiful garden surroundings.\textsuperscript{206} Gregory XIII had twelve thousand catechisms printed, and a number of volumes from the Council of Trent with a summary issued by the commission.\textsuperscript{207} In 1580, Gregory XIII founded the church of San’Atanasio in via Babuino designed by Giocamo della Porta. The two-storied nave is flanked by three-storied towers, which was the first double-towered façade in Rome.\textsuperscript{208} Francesco Traballesi (1541-1588) painted two

\textsuperscript{203} Maffei, 1742, p.76.
\textsuperscript{204} Mullett, 1999, p. 123.
\textsuperscript{205} Pastor, 1955 p.173.
\textsuperscript{206} Ciappi, 1596, p.29.
\textsuperscript{207} Maffei, 1742, p.249.
\textsuperscript{208} Lotz, Wolfgang, \textit{Architecture in Italy 1500-1600}, Yale University Press, 1995, p. 123.
altarpieces for the church, an ‘Annunciation’ and ‘Christ disputing with the Doctors’.

It has been noted that Gregory XIII worked tirelessly to unite the eastern and western Churches and the founding of the Greek college in Rome was part of this initiative. The education and training of individual members of the eastern community, without imposing the Latin rite upon them, was a positive step in re-uniting the two traditions.

iii) The English College:
In 1579, Gregory XIII patronised the English College in Rome once again under the auspices of the Jesuits and immediate care of the Holy See under the protection of Filippo Boncompagni (Figs. 2.75-76). He granted them the church of San Tommaso di Caterbury and supported them very generously with an income and an endowment. The walls of the church were painted by Niccolò Circignani with scenes of martyrdom which occurred in the time of persecution after the schism with England. These frescoes have been mostly destroyed, repainted, or otherwise covered up. However, frescoes still exist high in the church which indicate that they were essentially educational in nature and very small not unlike illustrations from a manuscript. They are very different to the fresco cycle in S. Stefano Rotondo executed for the Jesuits by Circignani 1581-1585 indicating their diverse function. The priests educated in the English College in Rome went on to play an indispensable part in nourishing the faith of the English Catholic recusant community.

iv) The Neophyte Seminary:
Paul III originally founded the Collegio Neofiti in 1543 to assist Catechumens and

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210 Marcello Fagiolo and Maria Luisa Madonna (eds),1990, p.194.
Neophytes in their conversion to Christianity. In 1578, the college was housed in the Monastero di Casa Pia where St. Catherine of Siena had lived. In 1579, Gregory had a more spacious college built in Monte Quirinale under the protection of Cardinal Sirletto. Construction of the Church of the Madonna dei Monti by Giocamo della Porta was initiated to house a miraculous icon of the Madonna and Child. It was overseen by the Arciconfraternità dei Catecumeni e Neofiti and Gregory XIII assigned the church and all revenues to the confraternity.

v) The Maronite College:
In 1584, the Collegio dei Marroniti was founded in the Trevi area of the city. Students came from Lebanon, Syria (especially Aleppo) and Cyprus. Gregory XIII assigned them a residence and the church of San Giovanni di Ficoccia, under the protection of Cardinal Caraffa (1538-1591) (Fig. 2.77). At his own expense, Gregory XIII had the Catechism translated into Arabic using Syriac abjad characters. This according to Maffei, would allow the people to refute the false dogma of the east.212

Gregory XIII’s patronage of the new religious orders with their methods of preaching and teaching, the education and training of the next generations of clergy in the colleges in Rome, and his support for clergy in their missionary work around the world, signalled not only his ambitions for a Universal Church but his understanding of the infrastructure necessary for the renewal and reinvigoration for the Church. Gregory XIII’s thoroughness and commitment to training and education in Rome and in the missionary countries is further exemplified by the establishment of a universal printing press, which he personally funded to the amount of one hundred thousand ducats. In 1584, under the direction of Cardinal Ferdinando de’ Medici, the Oriental press was founded. Its first production was four thousand copies of an Arabic translation of the Gospels.

212 Maffei, 1742, p.141.
The patronage of the colleges established the Jesuits as the educators of the clergy, the Università Gregoriana as the Jesuit headquarters worldwide, and implemented the recommendations for the education of the clergy decreed by the Council of Trent. The strong presence of the Roman colleges within the urban fabric of the city physically and visually imprinted Gregory XIII’s ambitions on Rome. A contemporaneous map of Rome from the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu situating the five colleges within Rome illustrates their imposing presence in the city (Fig. 2.78). The dynamic effect of students accommodated in these colleges and their movement to and from the Collegio Romano and around the city would have been noted. There is no doubt that their presence would have had an impact on the city and reinforced Gregory XIII’s commitment to the education of the clergy.

Gregory XIII’s patronage of education and training was not restricted to Rome. He subsidised seminaries in Naples, Venice, and Loreto. He went on to establish seminaries in Prague in Bohemia (present day Czech Republic), Vienna and Gratz in Austria, Olmuccio in Moravia, Bransburgh in Prussia (present day Germany), Musipont in Scotland, Vilna in Lithuania, Claudiopoli in Transylvania (present day Romania), Delinga and Augusta in Germany, Fulsa in Sassobua, Reme in Bertagna (Fig. 2.79). He established several seminaries in Japan including Funai, Uxugui, Armia, and Anzucci (Fig. 2.80). A portrait from the Pontificia Università Gregoriana depicts Gregory XIII handing out of what look like plans of colleges with headings such a Japan or Vilnus, Lithuania, to a variety of students, presumably with a view to establishing colleges in these countries (Fig. 2.81). The inscription on the painting reads: ‘He founded many seminaries and colleges, both within Europe and beyond its borders.’213 Both Ciappi’s illustrations in Gregory XIII’s biography and this portrait make concrete a foreign world unknown and unknowable to many of its viewers. Gregory XIII supported foreign colleges very generously so that they could not only sustain their work but they could use the money to build and decorate their residences and churches in a manner that would exalt the image of the Holy See.

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213 The inscription on the painting is as follows: *Plura seminaria et collegia condit intra et extra europam.*
2.6 Science and Scholarship:

According to Maffei, Gregory XIII was responsible for re-establishing scholarship and the sciences in Italy during his pontificate. He patronised and supported the best and brightest of his time, a rare and laudable practice, and he himself was a recognised scholar of distinction. Many scholars dedicated their works to him and sent him copies of their work for his library. Apart from the aforementioned patronage of the Università Gregoriana and individual colleges, Gregory XIII patronised the building programme of the Sapienza in Rome when in 1578 he called for renewed building activity following the design proposed by Pius IV. In 1579, Giacomo della Porta proposed a new design for the university which was eventually completed under Clement VIII (1592-1602). He also systematically, through great personal effort, increased the number of eminent and distinguished professors appointed to the university in order to elevate its standard of excellence.

Gregory XIII donated his own collection of books to the Vatican Library, and sought out rare and precious books to enrich the range of subjects for open and public use. On visiting the Vatican Library, Montaigne described a variety of manuscripts including a

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214 Maffei, 1742, pp.459-460. Maffei included the following in his list of scholars patronised by Gregory XIII: Vincenzo Laureo da Tropea, Cesare Baronio da Sora, Iganizio Danti Perugiono Domenicano, Antonio Boccapaduli, Silvio Antoniano, Ascanio Valentino Romano, i due Amaltei Udertini Giambattisa, Attilio Alessandro Petronio Vicita Castelano sio medico, Paolo Manuzio Veneziano, Carlo Sigonio Modenese, Flaminio de’Nobili da Lucca, Fabio Benvoglienti Sanese, Jacobo Mazzone da Cesena, Girolamo Mercuriale da Forli, Pietro Magno d’Arpini, Uberto Foglietta Genovese, Lorenzo Frisolio da Rimini, Cardinale Santori, Antonio Carafa, and Contarello are also included. This list is not exhaustive and Pastor adds Ulisse Aldrovandi and Andrea Mercati (asked by Gregory XIII to found the Museum of Natural sciences in the Vatican), and the many foreign scholars that he helped: Marc Antoine Muret, Pierre Morin, Francisco de Torres, Pedro Maldonado, Francisco Pena, Alfonso and Pedro Chaco, Jeronymo Osorio and Achille Stasio. German scholars included: Peter Canisius, Christopher Clavius, and George Eder among many others.


216 Ciappi, 1596, p.44.
book from China in strange characters, ancient papyrus with unknown characters, Gregory the Great’s breviary, a Virgil manuscript, and the Acts of the Apostles written in gold Greek lettering, among many other treasures. He commented that, ‘I saw the library without any difficulty; anyone can see it thus, and can make whatever extracts he wants; and it is open almost every morning.’ The impetus and vision for this patronage of education and scholarship came from Gregory XIII’s personal interest in scholarship. It is exemplified in the following projects:

i) The Catacombs:
In June 1578, a group of labourers in a vineyard outside the Roman city gate happened upon an underground network of cemeteries in a sand quarry on *via Solaria Nuova*. These cemeteries were the Catacombs of Giordani, mistakenly thought to be the Catacombs of Priscilla at the time. The chief explorer assigned to this underground terrain was the Spanish cleric and antiquarian Alfonso Chacón (1540-1599). His unpublished work recording the paintings and inscriptions proved useful to Antonio Bosio (1575/6-1629), who systematically explored the catacombs in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Bosio recorded almost every fresco, sarcophagus, and artefact that he discovered in the catacombs he explored, and his work was published posthumously in 1629. His work still forms one of the most important sources on the catacombs for scholars today. The exploration of the Catacombs of Giordani led to the Catacombs of Priscilla and a network of archaeological and artistic treasures were opened up.

Filippo Neri had habitually integrated a visit to the catacombs of *San Sebastiano* as part of

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the processions he led to the seven churches of Rome. Neri’s interest in the catacombs was the cult of early Christian martyrs who allegedly took shelter there at times of persecution.\textsuperscript{222} The catacombs in Rome, while venerated by pilgrims in the fifteenth and early sixteenth century, had remained largely unexplored, undocumented, and treated with indifference.\textsuperscript{223} Gregory XIII recognised the importance of this new discovery and immediately dispatched a team to make a detailed survey of it. Frescoes, sarcophagi, and relics were the physical evidence of the sacred history of the city and he wanted them documented and examined. Rome was regarded as a sacred city in part because it was built on sacred bones and the relics of martyrs and sprinkled with the blood of these witnesses.\textsuperscript{224} Pilgrims came to the city to worship in the presence of these relics as was seen in abundance during the Holy Year of 1575. The frescoes in the catacombs also offered witness to the early doctrines and devotional practices of the early Church. Pastor quotes Cesare Baronius’s enthusiasm when he states that, ‘it is with wonder that we have seen and several times visited the cemetery of Priscilla, as soon as it was discovered and excavated. … All Rome is filled with wonder, for it had no idea … that there was a hidden city filled with tombs of the days of the persecutions of the Christians. .. we can… now see with our own eyes the confirmation of the accounts of St. Jerome (347-420) and Prudentius (348-418).\textsuperscript{225} The significance of the catacombs was twofold. First, it was an opportunity to highlight the irrefutable truth of early Christian martyrdom and the worship and devotional practices of the early Church. It was proof of what was already known and therefore offered a new confidence in the early history of Christianity. Second, it was an exciting and wondrous experience to be able to bear witness, and be in the presence of these early heroic Christians and see their sacred artistry directly. Gregory XIII’s methodical reaction to the discovery facilitated the beginnings of what was to become sacred or Christian archaeology.

\textsuperscript{222} Ditchfield, 1995, pp.86-87.
\textsuperscript{223} Pastor, 1955, p.189.
\textsuperscript{224} Thurston, 1900, p.139.
\textsuperscript{225} Pastor, 1955, p.269.
ii) The History of the Church:
Gregory XIII was not responsible for commissioning Cesare Baronius’s *Annales ecclesiastici* (1588-1607) but he did support Baronius in his scholarship and as an advisor. The *Annales* is often cast as a response to the collaboratively produced *Magdeburg Centuries* (Basel, 1562-1574), which was divided into thirteen centuries and treated under sixteen topics, which according to Ditchfield, corresponded in many cases to areas of dispute between Protestant and Catholics. If Baronius’s *Annales* began as a response to the Centuries, the work took on a more universal significance during its composition. Gregory XIII enabled Baronius to work on the *Annales* by providing him with financial support in kind and the library’s director Cardinal Sirleto was at his disposal in his research in the Vatican library.

iii) The Revision of the Breviary and the Roman Martyrology:
Before the Council of Trent, the revision of liturgical books was a matter for individual bishops and religious orders. The decrees of the Councils of Trent aimed to provide a standard for the whole Church to follow. The revision of the Missal, Breviary, and Roman Martyrology presupposed at least a partial revision of all three because the calendar of Saints was shared by both the missal and the breviary. Pius V had revised the Missal and Breviary in 1566, 1568, and 1570 (Fig. 2.82). The selection of saints to be included in the breviary was dependent on the Roman Martyrology. It was noted that the Roman Martyrology needed revision based on the number of errors present due to negligent copyists and deficient printers and the ever increasing proliferation of saints. Gregory XIII’s revision of the calendar further precipitated a revision of the Roman Martyrology. The Roman Martyrology was originally simply an annotated calendar of martyred saints. It had consisted of the day of their anniversary, the place of veneration, and the saint’s name. Both Bede’s (672-735) eight-century and Usuard’s (died 877) ninth-century martyrologies also included details of the saint’s life. Both of these martyrologies along

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227 Ibid., p.30.
228 Maffei, 1742, p.274.
229 Ditchfield, 1995, pp.43-44.
with the martyrology of *S. Ciriaco alle Terme* in Rome, Greek and Latin Menologies translated by Sirleto, the Dialogues of Gregory the Great, the Italian calendars and various manuscript authorities were used by the commission of ten scholars headed by Sirleto to revise the Roman Martyrology under Gregory XIII. A final revision seemed to be complete by 1583 but it contained so many errors it had to be withdrawn. In 1583, Sirleto charged Baronius to amend the latest edition with explanatory notes and corrections. Two letters issued for distribution by the Holy See in the name of Pope Gregory XIII illustrate the logistical difficulties involved in regularising the calendar of saints and implementing this revision (Fig. 2.83-84), see appendix VII. A revision in 1584 was given papal approval but further revisions continued. Gregory XIII assigned Baronius a secretary at his own expense in order to help his work. Baronius was assisted by fellow Oratorians Antonio Severino, Tommasio Bosio, and Antonio Gallonio. This places the Oratorians at the centre of ecclesiastical hagiography.

iv) Reform of the Julian Calendar:
As noted when examining the *Torre dei Venti*, the reform of the calendar for the purposes of establishing a universal date for Easter was a persistent issue in the Church since it had been broached at the Council of Nicaea I 325. It is Gregory XIII’s approach to this task that is examined here.

The reform of the Julian calendar had persisted for centuries and began to gain particular momentum during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Experts spoke at the Councils in favour of calendar reform. For example Pierre d’Ailly addressed the Council of Constance in 1415, Nicholas of Cusa addressed the Council of Basle 1434, bishop of Fossombrone presided over a committee instituted by Leo X and conducted discussions at the Fifth Lateran Council 1512. Copernicus’ computations of planetary motions were precipitated

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by problems raised at the Fifth Lateran Council.\textsuperscript{231} Egnazio Danti was commissioned by Cosimo I to make astronomical observations with a view to contributing to the reform of the calendar, even though such reform was the exclusive remit of the pope. The reform of the calendar was a popular and prized achievement because it would have an impact on the world which would bring glory to its patron.

Gregory XIII’s reform of the calendar was an alliance between mathematical astronomy and Christian liturgy in its definition of the appropriate date for the celebration of Easter. Astronomers were essential because Easter had been defined by both the lunar (Jewish) and the solar (Julian) calendar. In 1575, Gregory XIII set up a commission for the reform of the calendar which sat for five years.\textsuperscript{232} Cardinal Sirleto was appointed Chair of the Commission and according to Fiorani and Pastor, he brought to the attention of the Commission the work of Luigi Giglio (1510-1576).\textsuperscript{233} Known as Luigi Lilio Calabrese, his work was used as a blueprint for development of a draft proposal.\textsuperscript{234} This proposal, written by Chacón, was circulated among European astronomers and their responses were sent to Rome for evaluation by the two astronomers Gregory XIII had selected for the commission, namely, Christoph Clavius (1538-1612) and Egnzio Danti. Both men were advocates of the certainty of mathematics and Gregory XIII understood that his reform of the calendar would be stronger when tied to the certainty of mathematics.

Danti and Clavius proposed the calculation of the vernal equinox at the time of Julius Caesar (100-44 BC) since it was the Julian calendar that had mistakenly calculated the equinox. Gregory XIII disagreed and instead insisted on Constantine as the starting point

\textsuperscript{231} Fiorani, Francesca, \textit{The Marvel of Maps. Art, Cartography and Politics in Renaissance Italy}, Yale University Press, 2005, p.52.
\textsuperscript{232} Members of the commission included: Legal advisor Seraphius Olivarius, theological advisor Vincenzo Laureo, Pedro Chacón, Ignatius of Antioch of the Greek Orthodox Church, among others.
\textsuperscript{233} Ibid., p.245.
\textsuperscript{234} Maffei, 1742, p.270.
which was the starting point for the legal practice of Christianity. It is clear that Gregory XIII was advised by his commission but he was in charge of the final decision making. In 1582, Gregory XIII promulgated the new calendar whose adoption meant the abolition of ten days from the month of October 1582.\textsuperscript{235} Italy, Spain, Portugal and Poland accepted the new calendar immediately, followed by France, Belgium, and the Catholic states in the Netherlands. Protestant monarchs and Greek Patriarchs opposed the calendar reform.

Gregory XIII had put Rome at the centre of the Christian empire, managed to ally astronomy and liturgy, and advanced towards universal worship and therefore a universal Church. His approach was methodical, scientific, and inclusive of all that could advise, which by 1582 is a recognisable pattern of his patronage. Similarly, Gregory XIII could have basked in the glory of achieving such a feat but he did not. He achieved his goal and moved onto the next.

v) Revision of the Decretals and texts of Canon Law:
Gregory XIII had made a lifelong commitment to the study and practice of law. Gratian had taught and compiled the Decretals in c1140, the basic text in Canon law, at Gregory XIII’s Alma Mater in Bologna. Gregory XIII had worked under Pius V on a critical edition of the Decretum Gratiani and continued this work directly as pope. He sought the input and support of bishops and scholars across Europe. In 1580 he announced the publication of the whole of corpus iuris canonici, a description first used by Gregory XIII, which along with the Decretals included texts and their commentaries.\textsuperscript{236} This was published in 1582 (Fig. 2.85).

Clarity, enrichment, and the eradication of error, where possible, were the main objectives of this project so that the law could be disseminated and applied correctly. This framework

\textsuperscript{235} Ciappi, 1596, p.44.
\textsuperscript{236} Maffei, 1742, p.159.
was the very basis for the advancement of a reinvigorated Church. Gregory XIII sought to revise, review, and correct errors as he identified them whether in significant publications, institutions, or in behaviour. His strategy was based on his training in the law in that he was rigorous, methodical, and deferred to expertise.

vi) Other acts of Patronage:
Gregory XIII respected the entire heritage of Christianity. Many of his predecessors sought to get rid of Rome’s pagan antiquities but Gregory XIII worked to conserve them. He specifically sought to conserve the Column of Marcus Aurelius and have the obelisk translated to the centre of the piazza of St. Peter’s basilica which was later translated by Sixtus V.\textsuperscript{237}

In 1577, he re-founded the Academy of St. Luke in Rome, in response to what artists described as the oppressive nature of the old guild system. Gregory XIII established two interdependent institutions, \textit{viz.}, an academy for instruction of sculptors and painters and a confraternity housed in a hospice for young students, especially those coming from outside Rome.\textsuperscript{238} In the brief referring to the institution of this Academy, it states that the Academy would adhere to the \textit{sacris canonibus creditisque Concilii Tridentini} meaning the canons and decrees of the Council of Trent. This has been variously interpreted as pertaining to the decree on sacred images. While in broad terms this may be the case, it is worth considering the education of the confraternity and Gregory XIII’s general interest in clear religious education, especially for those who would be charged with painting religious subjects.

\textsuperscript{237} Ostrow, 2005, p.267.
IV had done in his construction of a casino in the Vatican or the nicchione of the Villa Belvedere. The first project that Mascherino undertook at the villa was to expand the northern casino. He erected a two-storied loggia which remains as the north range of the present courtyard. Mascherino also built an oval staircase within the casino which was the first of its kind to be built. Witte indicates that he adapted the villa for the specific needs of the papal court, with a pavilion that housed a papal apartment and halls for receptions and consistories.\(^{239}\) It is also noted that the overall plan, although unrealised, was to transform the villa into a formal residence. What is significant when considering Gregory XIII’s patronage of the Villa Quirinal was that it was not for personal pleasure but a contribution to the development of the operation of the pontificate.

2.7 Conclusions:

This examination of Gregory XIII’s patronage, while not exhaustive, documents the full breadth and coherence of his work. Gregory XIII implemented a vast number of projects and he became a catalyst for the growth of the artistic community in Rome.240

Within this vast array of diverse commissions there is no evidence of patronage for personal pleasure, no passionate pursuit of idiosyncratic interest. What emerges is an unwavering focus on encouraging active devotion in the Church as a means of strengthening the faith and renewing the Church. He embellished chapels, churches, and basilicas to extend the magnificence held within in order to facilitate participation in the sacraments and engagement with the formal Church. He promoted an elevated standard of leadership and pastoral care through education and training. A clear and universal liturgy for all churches and for all participants in the liturgy was provided in revised breviaries and missals in various languages. He patronised missionary activity and revised the calendar as an expression of his desire to unite the spiritual dominion of the world as one. All of his patronage promoted participation by the laity or clergy. In the broad spectrum of his patronage Gregory XIII demonstrated ingenuity and creativity and above all a vision for the future of the Church.

Chapter 3

3.1 Re-Viewing the Gregorian Chapel

3.1.1 Introduction

The Gregorian Chapel is situated in the northeast corner of the centrally-planned section of St. Peter’s Basilica as conceived by Michelangelo (1475-1564). It can also be described as lying on the north side of the completed basilica which includes Carlo Maderno’s (1556-1629) nave which was added 1606-1612. It is an L shaped chapel with a dome rising 42 metres above a central space. It has two navi piccole or side arms, one of which extends west towards the north transept and the other south towards the central nave of the Basilica. There are three altars within the chapel. The main altar is that of the Madonna del Soccorso named after the miraculous icon of the Madonna and Child which is set in a marble tabernacle above the altar table. It is situated under the chapel dome, while the two subsidiary altars each flank one of two sides of the pier of St. Longinus. The altar dedicated to St. Jerome is on the east side of the pier and the altar of St. Basil is on the north side of the pier (Fig. 3.1).

Large pilasters articulate the corners of the centralised space of the chapel with the pilasters on the northern side (main altar) and the eastern side (main entrance) supporting a cornice, while semi-circular arches spring from the pilasters on the southern (Clementine chapel) and western sides (main basilica altar). These arches open up to the two barrel vaulted spaces of the two small naves in which each of the subsidiary altars is situated. The small size of the naves situates worshippers close to the altars affording a close apprehension of the altarpieces which are large and positioned high-up on the monumental pier. Each altarpiece narrates an event in the lives of the saints Basil and Jerome respectively and illustrates their faith in the redemption promised through the sacrifice of Jesus.
A round headed arch encloses the pedimented aedicule of the main altar of the *Madonna del Soccorso* creating a monumental presence for what is a small altar (Fig. 3.2). Within the round headed space of the closed arch, the lunette is decorated in mosaic with a representation of the *Annunciation*. The Virgin Mary is depicted to the left of the separating window within the lunette and the Angel Gabriel to the right. There is one other lunette in the Gregorian Chapel in which the prophets Isaiah and Ezekiel also are depicted in mosaic. These prophets foretell of the coming of Jesus and the perpetual virginity and eternal sanctity of the Madonna. The Annunciation depicts the moment of his Incarnation when the prophecy comes to pass and below on the altar table it finds final resolution when the priest raises the Eucharist aloft for the congregation to see the sacramental gift of the Incarnation and the means to their salvation.

In each of the four pendentives of the cupola above the main altar are individual monumental images of four Doctors of the Church: St. Gregory the Great, St. Jerome, St. Gregory of Nazianzeno, and St. Basil the Great. Each of these theologians contributed to an understanding of the fundamentals of Christian belief upon which, along with scripture, the doctrine of the Church is based. Their writings are symbolised by their scrolls and books, which both document and explain the complexities of the Christian faith and the necessity of interlocking doctrinal affirmations. The mosaic representations of the Doctors of the pendentives support the cupola above. This cupola is divided into eight segments, which is reflected in the eight segments of the decorative pattern of Gregory XIII’s insignia represented in marble on the floor directly below (Fig. 3.3). Eight attributes of the Virgin Mary are depicted in eight gold roundels in each of these sections of the cupola vault (Fig. 3.4).

The Gregorian chapel is immersed in sumptuous polished coloured marbles, shimmering mosaics, and reflective gilt and bronze materials (Fig. 3.5). Gregory XIII chose rare and precious marbles such as alabaster, mother of pearl, and amethyst to decorate the chapel.
He chose reflective materials such as bronze, silver, gold-leafed stucco, and shimmering mosaics all of which introduced a rich flush of colour, which radiate from every surface of the chapel. This unrelenting vibration of colour was created using marbles such as *porta santa*, *breccia*, *giallo antico*, *verde antico*, African marble, and *spoglia* from a variety of sources. The sources included the Constantine Basilica, *Santo Stefano Rotondo*, *Santa Maria Maggiore*, *L’Annunziata a Tor de’ Conti*, various properties of bishops, cardinals, monasteries, and ancient monuments. A whole spectrum of colours emanate from these marbles: dark red bleeds into orange and fades into golden yellow while dark grey weakens to become blue and finally rests as white. The marbles cover every surface of the chapel below the cornice while swathes of mosaics dust the register above signifying a differentiation between the two realms of the celestial mosaic above and terrestrial marble below.

Framed rectangles of veneered marble cover the walls and white marble fillets incrusted with *opus sectile* designs of various colours clothe the pilasters (Fig. 3.6). An enormous heraldic design featuring the Boncompagni dragon, papal keys and tiara, lies directly under the dome faithfully reflecting its segmental pattern as mentioned (Fig. 3.3). All designs were faultlessly executed maximising colour contrasts to achieve optimum vividness and a sense of the spectacular.

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1. Most of the stones here including alabaster and amethyst refer to marble. For example, amethyst, ‘the name was probably applied to other minerals of similar colour, ranging from purple corundum (extremely hard) to fluorite (very soft). For a full discussion, see Magnus, A., Book of Minerals, Clarendon Press Oxford, 1976, p.74.


Natural light enters the chapel through the eight windows at the base of the cupola, an opening in the lantern of the cupola, and through a single large window centred in the lunette above the main altar of the *Madonna del Soccorso* (Fig. 3.7). The northern light entering through these windows produces a low level of illumination resulting in a dimly, albeit atmospherically lit chapel. Borrowed light from the main dome of the basilica illuminates the barrel vaulted side aisles allowing for a clearer, more rational apprehension of the imagery of these altarpieces. This light that flows in from the main dome creates a lighter, brighter texture associated with these altars in comparison to the main altar where this borrowed light barely reaches. It is noted that during Gregory XIII’s pontificate the basilica was still in construction and the main dome was unfinished. The Constantine basilica was separated from the new St. Peter’s construction site further diminishing the natural lighting of the Gregorian Chapel.

The main altar of the *Madonna del Soccorso* was originally lit by candles and lamps. Sebastiano Torrigiani (1542-1596) was commissioned by Gregory XIII to create six silver candle sticks, to be placed on the main altar just below the icon of the Madonna, which are no longer extant. Similar candlesticks and a cross were commissioned by Gregory XIII and executed by Torrigiani for the Cathedral of Bologna and were described as being of incomparable beauty. Baglione in *Le Nove Chiese di Roma* describes two candlesticks beautifully decorated with figurines by Antonio da Faenza and Antonio Gentile (1519-1609), which are now on in the Treasury of St. Peter’s Basilica. A report from the Apostolic Visitation, first carried out in 1624 to assess the condition of the basilica, described four lamps, which burned perpetually in front of the altar and six others at the entrance of the chapel. It seems then these lighting conditions were an established feature of the location of the chapel from the time of its inception. This would have informed

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7 ASV, S.C. Visita Apostolica, vol.2, *Ardent continuo ante illud lampades quator, nec non sex aliae cratibus ferreis appensai in introitu Sacelli, pro quibus Societas Sanctissimi Sacramenti tribuit annuatim tot olei*
artists’ use of decorative materials, colours, and textural components such as mosaics and gilt finishes catching the flickering flames of candles and lamps.

In the relative dimness of the chapel, the soft shimmering reflections and the gentle movement of flickering flames on the polished surfaces, light and animate the main altarpiece and make the image of the *Madonna del Soccorso* glow with a sacred magnetism and the mesmerising pull of the primordial. The mosaic representations above become more elusive as they move away from the light sources below. The mosaics take on an ethereal quality, a vague impressionistic character, which has a quiet rather than insistent presence. This is synergistic with devotional practices such as prayer, contemplation, meditation, and worship practiced in the chapel. This contrasts with the photographic representations that punctuate publications documenting the art and architecture of St. Peter’s Basilica, capturing with pristine clarity the beauty and variety of materials used, the details of architectural innovation, and artistic accomplishment of the Gregorian chapel (Fig. 3.9). This is not however the Gregorian chapel as experienced by worshippers (Fig. 3.8).

It is observed that the meaning of the chapel lies in what it signifies rather than its absolute material substance alone. This is evidenced by its immutability despite seventeenth-century changes in configuration due to the addition of Carlo Maderno’s (1556-1629) elongated nave or the necessary restorative work to the mosaics carried out in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, or the transformational restorative work on the miraculous image of the Madonna and child. The chapel is an expression of what Gregory the Great regarded as a function of images namely, to show the invisible by means of the visible. The chapel is an unapologetic expression of the invisible based on belief, doctrine, and theology.

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Today the chapel continues as a place of worship with the Catholic Ambassadors to the Holy See fulfilling protocol with a moment of prayer in front of the *Madonna del Soccorso*. There is no slippage into the profane, no clanking of coins to artificially illuminate the ‘work’, there is no opportunity to break the spell with votive offerings that shock plastic candles to life. Instead, the area surrounding the main altar is roped off, physically separating it from the clamour of the main aisle of St. Peter's basilica, allowing a quiet meditative silence to descend. Access to the main altar is granted for the celebration of Mass or to those who want to take the sacrament of Confession only.

It is argued that the Gregorian Chapel is a complex statement of Catholic orthodoxy appropriate to its location within the primary basilica in Christendom. It is proposed that the chapel was created to communicate the ineluctable principles of the Catholicism and reaffirm the orthodoxy of the Church displayed with magnificence to honour the sacredness within. The chapel is a visual expression of these ideas not just through representative depictions and decorative features but through the material essence of the chapel itself.
3.1.2 Research to Date:

The body of research investigating the Gregorian Chapel tends to be fragmented or specialised in nature, examining specific facets or elements within the chapel. The following represents a distillation of research pertaining to the Gregorian Chapel to date:

Eva Papoulia in her unpublished thesis *Unveiling Gregorian Rome: The Urban and Ecclesiastical Patronage of Pope Gregory XIII (1572-1585)* focuses exclusively on the main altar and the pendentives in her treatment of the chapel.\(^8\) Papoulia concentrates her investigation on two aspects of the chapel: First, Gregory XIII’s choice to dedicate the chapel to the Virgin as *Theotokos* and her veneration within the context of Protestant challenges and second, the chapel as a means to consolidate Gregory XIII’s legitimacy as successor to St. Peter in the face of Reformers’ criticism.

Simona Turriziani, an archivist in the *Archivio della Fabbrica di San Pietro* (AFSP), discusses the icon of the Madonna del Soccorso and the mosaics of the Gregorian Chapel in her article ‘*Le Immagini Mariane Nell’Arte Musiva Della Basilica*’.\(^9\) Turriziani’s research does not focus on the patronage of Gregory XIII but instead documents the main altar of the chapel from inception to completion in 1776. Along the way, Turriziani only briefly touches on the iconography of the altar likening it to a Marian sanctuary but she does address the question of the presence of the Doctors of the Church in the pendentives and points to their individual contributions to the Church. This is a useful insight, which is developed in this research.

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\(^8\) Papoulia, 2015.
Nicola Courtright in her book *The Papacy and the Art of Reform in Sixteenth-Century Rome*. *Gregory XIII’s Tower of Winds in the Vatican* very briefly mentions the Gregorian Chapel in her first chapter ‘Reformed Rome and the Person of the Pope’. Courtright describes the chapel’s programme in terms of Christian historicism and the Heavenly Jerusalem which she interprets derived from the presence of relics, the Fathers of the Church, and the decorative style. Courtright’s research does not examine the iconography of the chapel in detail and does not address the subsidiary chapels.

Steven Ostrow in his chapter ‘The Counter-Reformation and the end of the Century’ in Marcia Hall’s (ed) *Artistic Centres of the Italian Renaissance: Rome*, primarily focuses on the decorative elements of the Gregorian Chapel.\(^\text{10}\) He specifically mentions the altar tabernacle used to house the *Madonna del Soccorso*, which he indicates served to express the Church’s belief in the efficacy of such images in order to counter Protestant attacks against images and the cult of Mary. He uses the notion of the ‘cult of marble’ to capture Christian historicism within the chapel and he interprets the use of marble revetment as a signification of the continuity with the early Church. The plausibility of Ostrow’s interpretation of the material decoration of the chapel is examined in this chapter.

Bellini in his article ‘La costruzione della cappella Gregoriana in San Pietro, di Giacomo Della Porta: cronologia, protagonisti e significato iconologico’ and his book *La Basilica di San Pietro da Michelangelo a Della Porta*, provides an exhaustive examination of the construction of the Gregorian Chapel but he refers only briefly to iconographic themes. Bellini addresses the presence of the Greek Doctors in the pendentives within the framework of East-West political unity. This proposition is addressed in this chapter.

In the second chapter of her book *The Altars and Altarpieces of New St. Peter’s, Outfitting the Basilica, 1621-1666*, Rice concisely outlines the transition from the Constantine basilica to the new basilica. This description of the transition includes the construction of the Gregorian Chapel. Rice briefly describes and documents the altars in the chapel and identifies unifying themes within chapel *viz.*, the Marian and the Eucharistic themes represented in the altars. Rice only briefly touches on the mosaic decorations of the Doctors of the Church as echoing the dedication of the subsidiary altars to St. Basil and St. Jerome. Within the context of Rice’s interest in the altars of the basilica, she points to the precedent set by the Gregorian Chapel in terms of its coherent iconographic programme for the outfitting of St. Peter’s basilica.\textsuperscript{11}

DiFederico’s examines the mosaic decoration of the lunettes and pendentives in the Gregorian chapel.\textsuperscript{12} He notes that the Marian theme expressed in the basilica was introduced in the Gregorian Chapel. An interpretation of the presence of the Doctors of the Church as signifying Christian historicism is a theme DiFederico identified across the four corner chapels and applied it to the Gregorian Chapel.

Each of these studies contributes to an understanding of the Gregorian Chapel. They are however like pieces of a mosaic, which when put together provide a barely discernible representation of the chapel as a whole because *tessere* are missing. This chapter builds upon this scholarship and seeks to fill in the gaps to provide a clear, focused, and enhanced representation of the chapel.

\textsuperscript{11} Rice, 1997.

3.1.3 Aims and Objectives of this research:

The overall aim of this research is to explore and document the ideas that shaped the artistic programme of the Gregorian Chapel, with specific reference to the doctrinal and theological concepts of significance to Gregory XIII, its patron. This approach is broad and multidisciplinary, which goes beyond the more restrictive frame of reference offered by a ‘Counter Reformation’ approach.

It is argued that the sum of specialist analyses examining individual aspects or materials of the chapel, such as individual altarpieces or mosaic representations, do not adequately describe the dynamics of the chapel nor can the nominal affirmation of the ‘Counter-Reformation’ / ‘Tridentine’ rubric offer a full understanding of the complex communication of the chapel. The objective of this chapter is to provide a coherent analysis of the artistic programme within the context of the chapel as a place of worship.

The overall research objective is to examine each of the representative elements in the chapel in terms of their symbolic, iconic, doctrinal, theological, and devotional significance. These elements include the Altar of the Madonna del Soccorso; the relics of St. Gregory of Nazianzeno and the later inclusion of St. Jerome, and St. Basil interred below the altar table; the mosaic representations of the Annunciation, the Prophets Ezekiel and Isaiah, and the four Doctors of the Church: St. Basil, St. Gregory of Nazianzeno, St. Jerome and St. Gregory the Great in the lunettes and in the pendentives of the cupola respectively. The two subsidiary altars and their paintings of the ‘Mass of St. Basil’ and ‘St. Jerome’s Sermon in the desert’ will also be examined as will the decoration of the vault of the Cupola, and the materials of the Chapel. The juxtaposition of each of these elements will be examined to determine how their inter-relationship and positioning contributes to the overall artistic programme including the contribution of liturgical celebrations.
3.2 The Construction of the Gregorian Chapel 1572-1583:

Out of the rising dust of construction and the vicissitudes of inclement weather, the Gregorian Chapel materialised to establish a precedent for the decorative style and iconography in the St. Peter’s basilica. An examination of the context in which the chapel was constructed and decorated highlights the challenges, ambition, and foresight of Gregory XIII.

From the beginning of Gregory XIII’s pontificate in 1572, work in St. Peter’s basilica concentrated on the corner chapels, their foundations, and walls. The walls of the corner chapels were to serve as supports for the main dome of the basilica. During the construction of the Gregorian chapel, work continued on the three remaining corner chapels although this fell behind schedule. By the end of Gregory XIII’s pontificate in 1585, the three corner chapels had progressed but were incomplete and the main dome of the basilica remained a challenge to construction practices. Gregory XIII had hoped to complete the corner chapels and main dome of the basilica during his pontificate. Instead, he had to trust that his legacy, which had elevated the marginalized space of the chapel to an intensely sacred place, was of sufficient potency that it would continue with the succession of the next pope, just as he had continued the work of Pius IV (1560-65) and Pius V (1566-1572). Gregory XIII had set in motion a unified thematic iconography and decorative style for the chapels that surrounded the crossing, all now clad in coloured marble and decorated with mosaics, each including representations of four Doctors of the Church.

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13 See Zollikofer, Kaspar, 2016.
14 For a full account of the construction of the chapel see Bellini, 2011; Bellini, 1999-2002.
16 Zollikofer, Kaspar, 2016.
17 Avviso di Roma, Urb., Lat., 1043, Jan 1574; see Ostrow, 2000.
During and after the construction of the Gregorian Chapel, St. Peter’s basilica remained a construction site with the partially demolished Constantine basilica continuing as the primary focus of liturgical celebration. Large parts of the Constantine basilica had been demolished beginning in 1506 with about one third of the old basilica surviving after the foundation of the new basilica had been laid down.\textsuperscript{18} A fifty-metre section of the nave with side aisles survived, which was sealed-off from the elements and construction by a dividing wall built by Pope Paul III (1534-1549) in 1538. The high altar, apse, and flanking segments of transept wall were preserved with an encasing wall in the crossing of the new basilica.\textsuperscript{19} This physical separation was also an administrative and liturgical separation. The celebration of Mass and ceremonies officiated by the pope continued to take place in the Constantine Basilica until the completion of the main dome of New St. Peter’s in 1590 and the consecration of the high altar in 1594. The faithful continued to attend Mass and prayed to their chosen saints and relics in the Constantine Basilica. In order to assert his chapel, Gregory XIII consolidated its importance through the inclusion of the miraculous, relics, and by granting indulgences to those who visited the chapel.

During the period of construction and decoration of the Gregorian Chapel, Gregory XIII continued to patronise work on other parts of the Constantine basilica. He specifically contributed to the upkeep of the nave. In 1574, he commissioned a new pavement in preparation for the Holy Year and had the frieze above the five main doors of the basilica decorated with the Acts of the Apostles.\textsuperscript{20} He restored and re-consecrated several altars, such as the altar of Sts. Philip and James and the altar of the Crucifix.\textsuperscript{21} These acts of patronage indicate a pragmatic response to present the basilica at its best for the pilgrims visiting Rome during and after the Holy Year of 1575, and to the realisation that the new basilica was a long-term project rather than being indicative of any sentimental reluctance

\textsuperscript{18} Rice, 1997, p.17.
\textsuperscript{19} Ibid., p.17.
\textsuperscript{20} Ciappi, 1591, p.7; Maffei, 1742, p.449; BAV Bon.D5, ‘Sopra le cinque porti di San Pietro ... sono dipinti l’atti dell’apostoli furono fatti con ordina et disegno di Lorenzo Sabatini pittor Bolognese.’ 1596, f.274.
to demolish the Constantine Basilica as has been suggested by Rice.  

This brief contextualisation highlights Gregory XIII’s early ambition to patronise all four-corner chapels surrounding the central tomb of St. Peter and St. Paul. This suggests that he had a vision that would complement and elaborate the significance of these first apostles responsible for the institutionalisation of Christianity. Instead his patronage found undiluted expression in the Gregorian Chapel and left a lasting impression on the interior decoration and iconography of St. Peter’s Basilica.

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3.3 Signs, Symbols, and the Iconography of the Main Altar of the Gregorian Chapel:

The altar of the *Madonna del Soccorso* is the first representational element of the chapel to be discussed as it is the nexus through which all communications in the chapel flow.

3.3.1 The History of the Altar:
The delicate little fresco (66cm high x 55cm wide) of the Madonna and Child, which forms the centrepiece of the retable of the main altar of the Gregorian Chapel, is known as the miraculous image of the *Madonna del Soccorso* (Fig. 3.11). Findings from recent research conducted by the *Fabbrica di San Pietro in Vaticano* based on scientific, archival, and stylistic analysis of the *Madonna del Soccorso* identify her origins in the seventh (c650-701) as opposed to the twelfth century, as had previously been believed (see appendix VIII).\(^{23}\) The research findings indicate that the *Madonna del Soccorso* originated as a mosaic image in the oratory of Leo I known as the *Madonna di San Leone* and underwent embellishment, restoration and repair, and repainting over the centuries (Fig. 3.10). In the twelfth century, Pope Paschal (1099-1118) added the relics of the Pope Saints Leo II, III, and IV to the altar of the *Madonna di San Leone* and it is proposed that he retained, if not renewed, the mosaic icon at this time. Somewhere in the middle of the fourteenth century the *Madonna di San Leone* was presented in a new and magnificent fresco based on the earlier figure, preserving its iconographical and devotional features.\(^{24}\) In 1543, Perino del Vaga and Marcello Venusti (1510-1579) restored the *Madonna di San Leone* supplementing it with decoration in painting and stucco. In 1575 she is described as the *Madonna del Soccorso* for the first time. It is this restored fourteenth-century icon of the Madonna and Child that was patronised by Gregory XIII.


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There is evidence of uninterrupted and ever-increasing devotion to the precious icon of the Madonna and Child from the seventh century onwards, regardless of its material change. The *Madonna del Soccorso* icon is presented not as ‘new’ but as ‘a kind of re-proposition in which the ancient icon is put forward anew, albeit in the graceful style of the fourteenth century.* This principle of ‘substitution’ is examined by Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood in their article ‘Towards a New Model of Renaissance Anachronism.’ The principle simply states that a modern work does not merely ‘stand for’ antiquity, for example, but it can be valued and used as if it were from antiquity. During the Renaissance modern copies of painted icons were understood as effective surrogates for lost originals. The historical moment of the artefact’s execution was not perceived to be part of its meaning or function but instead it is the participation in the chain of icons linking it to its original that is of significance. The *Madonna del Soccorso* exemplifies this position through the unbroken chain of veneration of the icon as a miraculous image regardless of its materiality. The icon of the *Madonna del Soccorso* maintains a link with the invisible spiritual world because the power is not in the icon but of the icon. This is what Nagel refers to as the spiritual meaning which lifts the event, in this case the icon, out of the flow of history. This is the spiritual meaning in action that differentiates idolatry from veneration of images as set down in Nicaea II 787, the Council of Trent, and in the letters of Gregory the Great whereby veneration is not of the materiality of the image but what the image refers to.

This icon, the *Madonna del Soccorso*, is a simple effigy of the Blessed Virgin holding the Christ Child (Fig. 3.11). The Madonna wears a long blue veil and an unadorned rose coloured dress, both traditional attributes of the period. She is ready to respond to those

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27 Ibid., p.405.
28 Ibid., p.409.
who seek her help and intercession with a gentle and sweet gaze. Her head is tilted slightly in a gesture of humility and deference towards the Christ Child who is dressed in a white tunic and holding a blue orb. The Christ Child holds the orb with his left hand which is surmounted by a cross symbolising Christ’s divine authority both as Pantocrator and Salvator Mundi. He blesses the viewer with his right index and middle fingers signifying his divine nature, his other two fingers and thumb are hidden, symbolizing the Holy Trinity and signifying his human nature. This act of blessing may be interpreted as a positive inclination of Christ to grant the votive petitions of worshippers that were often addressed to the Virgin, thus confirming her effective power to intercede.

A direct gaze is held by the brown eyes of both the Madonna and Child (Fig. 3.12). Their eyes are emphatically modelled contrasting with the light flesh tones of their skin. It is in their eyes that the most immediate testimony of miraculous life and liveliness exists. The Madonna and Child hold the gaze of the viewer creating a face-to-face encounter between the miraculous and the beholder. This according to Megan Holmes in her book *The Miraculous Image* is in line with the characteristic formal features found in miraculous images that had agency in structuring and sustaining devotion. Freedberg notes that it is the presence of eyes in images that enables the mental leap to an assumption of liveliness. It is through the eyes of the Madonna del Soccorso that all can been seen and all known about the beholder, deep within their mind and soul. Similarly, the beholder can encounter the miraculous with the emotions of intense desire and fear associated with this union through sight. The Madonna del Soccorso icon embodies all the formal qualities associated with the miraculous in order to function in a miraculous manner.

As noted, the ‘Madonna di San Leone’ had been restored, repainted, and embellished over the centuries. The fourteenth-century fresco of the Madonna del Soccorso too has been

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restored, repainted, cropped, and embellished. Repainting and embellishment of miraculous images was not uncommon and functioned as a form of cultic accretion similar to the embellishment of the enshrinement structures that housed them.\textsuperscript{32} It was deemed as a form of renewal designed to honour the sacred and to enhance the efficacy of the icon as a conduit for sacred intercession. In 1643, the \textit{Madonna del Soccorso} was crowned by the Chapter of St. Peter’s Basilica (Fig. 3.13).\textsuperscript{33} This practice was not unusual and is regarded as a votive offering and one most recently made by Pope Francis in his offering to the \textit{Madonna del Soccorso} of an oval brooch with the engraving \textit{Succurre Nos, Franciscus PP.A. 1}, meaning, ‘Help Us, Pope Francis year 1’. (Fig. 3.14).

The specific circumstances of the seventh-century commission of the icon are unknown but it is suggested that it may have been commissioned in recognition of Leo I’s (440-461) contribution to the doctrine of the dual nature of Christ united in one, as promulgated at the Council of Chalcedon, 451 which impacts on the status of the Virgin Mary. Leo I had composed a statement of the faith (\textit{hui Tome}) to be sent to the council to represent him.\textsuperscript{34} In this \textit{Tome}, Leo I outlines the doctrine of the dual nature of Christ united in one and issued from the Virgin Mary:

‘... And born by a new mode of birth; because inviolate virginity while ignorant of concupiscence, supplied the matters of his flesh ... while the lowliness of man and the loftiness of Godhead meet together the Word performing as the Word, the flesh carrying out what belongs to the flesh, the one of these shines out in miracles, the other succumbs to injuries.’\textsuperscript{35}

\textsuperscript{32} Holmes, 2013, p.139.
\textsuperscript{33} The crowns which currently adorn the heads of the Virgin and Christ Child were added 17th November 1643 by the Chapter of St. Peter’s basilica. See Bonci, Paolo, \textit{Madonne Coronate in Italia e nel mondo}, Servizio Editoriale Fiesolano, Fiesole, Italy, 2004.
\textsuperscript{34} Tanner, 1990.
\textsuperscript{35} Ibid.
Leo I’s contribution was critical to the success of this council in which the work of the three preceding councils Nicaea I, 325, Constantinople I, 381, and Ephesus 431 was consolidated. Together they established the fundamentals of Christian orthodoxy. Doctrines regarding the Holy Trinity, the divine and human nature of Christ, the status of the Virgin Mary as Mother of God are all relevant to the icon of the *Madonna del Soccorso*. They underscore her role in the Incarnation, her perpetual Virginity, and her status as Mother of God. Importantly, Leo I’s contribution to the status of the Virgin remained a current voice in the Church and in St. Peter’s Basilica through readings of his Sermons during the Divine Office (see appendix IX):

‘... we have but lately celebrated that day whereon the inviolate virginity of Blessed Mary gave to man a Saviour. And now the venerable solemnity of the Epiphany giveth us a continuance of joy. So that by the nearness of these two holy feasts, the freshness of our gladness and the quickness of our faith hath no time wherein to die away. And truly it concerneth the salvation of all men, that the Mediator between God and men is already made manifest before reaching the humble city of her birth ...

...’36

The iconography of the altar, including its dedication, *Genitrici Mariae Virgini et S. Gregorio Nazianzeno* meaning Mary the Virgin Mother of God and St. Gregory Nazianzeno, guides us to consider each of these points of doctrine. It is not possible to determine if this commission was in homage to Leo I’s contribution to orthodoxy but the findings of recent research situating the original icon in the seventh century on the altar of Leo I makes this proposition plausible. Gregory XIII evidently recognised the doctrinal potential of this image, which is discussed below.

The fresco of the *Madonna del Soccorso* was detached from the wall of the oratory in

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1543-1544 and moved to an altar backing onto the dividing wall between Constantine’s basilica and St. Peter’s basilica. In 1578, Gregory XIII had the fresco moved to the main altar of his chapel in St. Peter’s basilica to be installed as the main altarpiece. The icon was brought in procession from the Constantine basilica to the Gregorian Chapel. This was a celebrated event to mark both the importance of the much-venerated miraculous icon and to mark its transition to the new basilica of St. Peter. In order to ensure that the event would be venerated in the future, Gregory XIII granted plenary indulgences to those who took Confession or Communion, participated in the translation, or visited the chapel. The procession of the icon began after Vespers on the 12th February 1578 and was led by Matteo Contarello followed by fraternities, confraternities, canons of St. Peter’s, priests, monks and fathers carrying flaming torches. A large group of prelates and the numerous laity at the back of the procession followed behind Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (1520-1589). The icon of the Madonna and Child continued in procession through the centre door of the dividing wall, into the Gregorian Chapel to the sound of the Vespers being sung, organ music, pealing bells, and trumpets. The chapel had been prepared with silken drapes and precious tapestries, elaborate candelabras and everything necessary to receive the icon. It was later placed under the altar of the chapel awaiting its final installation. This translation ceremony was commemorated in an emblem book published by Fabricii in which the Madonna and Child were enthroned and regally mounted in a chariot pulled by Boncompagni dragons (Fig. 3.15).

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37 For a full account see, Lanzani, 2016, pp.13-39.
38 Lelio, 1585. ‘… e devotissima Immagine della Madonna chiamata del Soccorso dipinta in muro … già altre volte d’una in in’altra cappella trasferita, a questa tralatione fu fatta con gran cerimonie, e pompa due giorni avanti si staccata dalla parete, e posta sopra certi legni in modo che si potesse portare con bellissimo apparecchio …’, p.4
40 Lanzani, 2011, p.70.
41 Lelio, 1585, p.4.
42 Ibid.
The significance of this ceremony was threefold: First, this was a procession not of a fresco of the Madonna and Child but of a miraculous image, venerated and validated by the Church and its congregation for over eight hundred years. This had the effect of elevating the status of this image, its miraculous properties, and reasserting its importance. Second, the splendour and number of participants in the procession established in collective memory the celebration of the miraculous. Third, the procession was a mark of transition of the sacred from the Constantine basilica to St. Peter’s basilica. It established continuity between the old and the new basilicas but the new was marked by a transformation. It allowed the re-imagining and re-invigoration of the old. It effectively marked a new context for devotion, which was to influence the development of the new basilica.

3.3.2 The Iconography of the Altar:
This Madonna del Soccorso is currently displayed on the main altar of the chapel in the original aedicular tabernacle designed by Giacomo Della Porta (1533-1602) (Fig. 3.2; Fig. 3.16). The original niche was overpoweringly large for such a small icon so Della Porta, in an effort to overcome this disparity created a design in which he inserted a smaller aedicular tabernacle inside a larger pedimented aedicule inside a large niche. The execution of the tabernacle focused on the magnificence of materials, extending the splendour of the icon itself. Ostrow has argued that this tabernacle served to express the Church’s belief in the efficacy of such images in order to counter Protestant attacks against images and the cult of Mary. It is observed that while Della Porta’s tabernacle was stylistically innovative, it is derived from a well established form used to honour and reflect the extraordinary qualities of miraculous images stretching back for centuries. Enshrinement structures that framed miraculous images evolved out of tabernacles designed for corporeal relics of saints and were influenced by Eucharistic ciborium.

44 See appendix VIII.
46 Ibid.
47 Holmes, 2013, p.211.
enshrinement structures ranged from three-sided tabernacle chapels projecting out from a church or oratory, to freestanding tabernacles embellished with sculpture and ornament, to more modest wall frames (Fig. 3.17). The enshrinement frames for miraculous images externalised the extraordinary nature of the miraculous image within and signified the distinction between these frames and tabernacles and non-miraculous framing. There is no evidence that Giacomo Della Porta’s tabernacle participates in a defensive assertion of the cult of the Virgin as Ostrow suggests, but there is evidence that it participates in a tradition of enshrining, honouring, and extending the miraculous qualities of the icon within. This aedicular tabernacle confidently affirms the miraculous nature of the icon by maintaining the traditional typology of enshrinement. Giacomo Della Porta’s aedicular tabernacle is a structure of extraordinary beauty in its form and use of materials. It is notable for its innovation and re-imagining of how the tabernacle form can evolve. It also provided an opportunity to elaborate and shape the iconography of the altar panel within, by including signs and symbols such as: cherubim, stars, putti, roses, lilies, and an inscription.

The execution of this aedicular format consisted of two verde antico columns supporting a broken pediment, from which rises an attic housing an inscribed dedication, capped by a segmental pediment, flanked by white marble putti carved by Tommaso Della Porta (1550-1606). The dedication reads: *Dei Genitrici Mariae Virgini et S. Gregorio Nazianzeno* meaning Mary the Virgin Mother of God and St. Gregory Nazianzeno. The altar retable is set within a rich frame of *Giallo antico*. Within, there is a tripartite framing form, congruent with the characteristics of enshrinement tabernacles. The outer rectangular frame is decorated with a double panel of precious marbles of contrasting colours. The corners are embellished by fleur-de-lys motifs, subtlety signifying the Annunciation and the Virgin’s purity, and her seven sorrows realised in prophesies about the Virgin Mary perhaps reminding worshippers to pray for her suffering. Delicate inlays of white and

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49 For a full discussion of the structural features of enshrinement tabernacles see Holmes, 2013, pp.211-255.
50 The Fleur-de-lys is an attribute of the Angel Gabriel and associated with the Annunciation in which he holds a sceptre tipped with a fleur-de-lys. The seven sorrows are as follows: The prophecy of Simeon, The
red marbles separate the two panels. The outer panel is a dark green marble with veins of white while the inner marble is reddish with darker red veins flowing through it. The icon of the *Madonna del Soccorso* is enshrined with grey and amethyst coloured marble (Flourite), with traces of fluorite creating shades of green and violet, framed with black marble curved at the top and the bottom of the frame.\(^{51}\) Eight winged Cherubim in gilded bronze, cast by Sebastiano Torrigiani (c1542-.1595) surround this frame (Fig. 3.18).\(^{52}\)

Most recently, Papoulia in her analysis of the altarpiece draws attention to Cherubim surrounding the icon as signifying the Madonna as Queen of Angels, *Regina Angelorum*.\(^{53}\) This she notes references the crown of stars above the icon’s head. According to Popoulia, the *Regina Angelorum* was first represented in *Santa Maria Maggiore* in the fifth century after the Council of Ephesus and spread throughout the middle ages, but the concept of Queen of Angels was rejected by sixteenth-century reformers. Papoulia concludes that Gregory XIII’s choice to celebrate the Virgin as *Regina Angelorum* in his papal chapel can be seen as a public demonstration of Catholic beliefs questioned by Protestants with reference to the authority of the Early Christian Church.\(^{54}\)

This interpretation is tested by the following observations:

i) Eight Winged Cherubim: The bodiless winged Cherubim belong to Gregory the Great’s

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\(^{51}\) Most of the stones here including alabaster and amethyst, refer to marble. For example, amethyst, ‘the name was probably applied to other minerals of similar colour, ranging from purple corundum (extremely hard) to fluorite (very soft). For a full discussion see Magnus, A., Book of Minerals, Clarendon Press Oxford, 1976, p.74.


\(^{53}\) Papoulia, 2015, p.165.

\(^{54}\) Ibid.
The angels are on a continuum from the higher and more spiritual grades to the lower and more carnal grades reflecting human order. In his *Homilies on the Gospel*, Gregory the Great elaborates the ranks of angels. The Cherubim are of the second order of angels after the Seraphim of the first order. Cherubim have an abundance of knowledge and they are the most inward and contemplative of the angels. Their presence in this altarpiece points to their wisdom, wisdom as an attribute of the Madonna, and to the wisdom of contemplation as a means of salvation. Here they specifically point to the salvific contemplation of the *Madonna del Soccorso* and her significance. The Cherubim also refer to the vision of the temple, the Holy of Holies, capable of transforming anyone who entered to become holy. In the liturgy of the Annunciation, the Virgin Mary is likened to the Ark of the Covenant, the figure of Mary’s womb that bore the New Covenant. She is the dwelling place of wisdom, who is Christ. Mary like wisdom encompasses the intersection of God and the World. This is reflected in her placement in this *tabernaculum*, a word used to describe the structure built in the desert to house the Ark of the Covenant. This is in accord with Gregory the Great’s exposition.

**ii) Crown of Stars:** Directly above the icon of the Madonna sits a crown of eleven golden stars, inlaid in white marble. Restoration work carried out in 2013 reveal that these eleven stars were a later addition directed by Bernini (c1598-1680) in c1647. The crown was designed to evoke the preceding decoration of a starry sky over the head of the Heavenly Mother. Both the starry sky and the crown of stars signify the Madonna as Queen of

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55 Straw, 1988, p.35.
56 Ibid., p.35.
59 Exodus 25: 8-9: ‘And they shall make me a sanctuary, and I will dwell in the midst of them, According to all the likeness of the tabernacle which I will show thee’.
61 Zander, 2016, pp.41-69; p.54; see also D’Alessandro, Lorenza, ‘La Madonna del Soccorso: Storia di un Restauro’ in Zander 2016, See evidence from scientific analysis conducted.
Heaven. The stars allude to the ancient Marian antiphon, *Regina Caeli*, Queen of Heaven attributed to Gregory V (d.999), which was sung in place of the Angelus from Easter until Pentecost. The antiphons of the Virgin invoke her as Lady of Heaven, Dante’s *Donna del cielo* (Paradiso 32:29), mistress of angels, queen of paradise whose mercy can save the most abject of sinners. This image of the heavenly crowned Virgin also refers to the invocation of Queen of Heaven in the Dominican Rosary, which has its origins in the 15th century when Alanus de Rupe (d.1475) published the *De Utilitate Psalterii Maria*. This title of Queen of Heaven is congruent with the obligatory celebration of the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin designated for the chapel by Gregory XIII in 1580. It is at the Assumption that the Virgin becomes Queen of Heaven and the crown a token of her triumph. Commitment to the celebration of this feast day was secured through Gregory XIII’s institutionalisation of a chaplaincy, whose duties included the celebration of the Assumption, and his endowment of plenary indulgences. It was noted by Maffei that Gregory XIII ‘... **ed a ricorrere con particolare fiducia all’intercessione della Regina de’Cieli**.’ ‘Queen of Heaven’ is similarly congruent with the doctrine affirmed at the Council of Ephesus 431 of Mary as Mother of God, which is inscribed in the dedication of the chapel inside the attic, high above the icon, ‘Mary Mother of God and S. Gregory of Nazianzeno’. One of the first representations of the title ‘Queen of Heaven’, rather than Queen of Angels, can be found in the fifth-century mosaics of the Triumphal Arch of the basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore (Fig. 3.19). It was decorated and dedicated to the Virgin by Pope Sixtus III (432-440), built after the Council of Ephesus 431, and the programme

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62 ‘Queen of heaven, rejoice, alleluia; for He whom thou was chosen to bear, alleluia; has risen as He said, alleluia; pray for us to God, alleluia.’
64 Schraven, 2014, p.137.
66 Maffei, 1742, p.103.
may have been drawn up by Leo I.\textsuperscript{67} Another early Byzantine representation of \textit{Maria Regina}, is in the church of Santa Maria Antiqua c530 (Fig. 3.20).\textsuperscript{68} The surviving stuccowork communicates an august attitude with a sumptuous costume and crown adorning the Virgin. Both images depict the Virgin as empress, powerful and idealized, a model of Christian queenship that was to be imitated by earthly queens.\textsuperscript{69} This mixing of secular politics and piety finds no purchase in the altar of the \textit{Madonna del Soccorso}, which remains wholly sacred. The attribute of Queen of Heaven refers to Virgin Mary’s perpetual virginity, purity, her Assumption, and her inextricable contribution to the Incarnation and thus redemption.

\textbf{iii)} Floral decoration: Below the icon stands a marble inlay of fresh flowers, inset into a yellowish golden marble reminiscent of ancient Eastern icons of the sixth and seventh centuries. Conservation work on the altarpiece has indicated that the icon of the Madonna must have been larger and subsequently cropped in the seventeenth century due to irreparable damage.\textsuperscript{70} The panel was reworked to account for this loss and this work is attributed to Gian Lorenzo Bernini. It is however unclear as to whether these flowers were based on an existing floral representation or not due to a lack of documentation.\textsuperscript{71} Given that other restoration work by Bernini accommodated pre-existing iconography, it is plausible to suggest that these new floral displays are too based on pre-existing ones. The following observations are made: In the centre of the vase, there are three roses with large and lush sprays of white lilies on either side, executed using the \textit{opus sectile} technique. The lily signifies the purity of the Virgin Mary and the rose, a symbol of Mary the Mother of God. Mary herself is the Mystic Rose, the noblest flower at whose centre is contained

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{67} Krautheimer, 2000, p.49 and p.51.  
\textsuperscript{68} Ibid., p.97.  
\textsuperscript{70} D’Alessandro, 2016, pp.83-111.  
the most precious jewel in the universe, Christ. Boss proposes that it is because the Virgin received the Word of God in her womb, and because she was the rose that bore God at the very centre of her being it is possible for each human person to receive that Word and be transformed by it, and so come to recognise God at the heart of all created things. The red rose represented here is similar to a peony rose, which signifies the sorrow and suffering of Mary on the death of her only son. This floral display, which is larger than the icon above, references the eternal purity and maternity of the Madonna as the defining attributes of the Madonna and Child enshrined in the altarpiece above.

It is in the reconstituted clarity of the icon that we find an insistent affirmation of the sacredness of the Virgin Mary emerging from the beauty of the altar. The tabernacle, with its signs and symbols, becomes a visual force signifying and mediating access to the miraculous icon of the Madonna and Child. This altar becomes the physical manifestation of the invisible power of the icon within and draws attention to the miraculous and to the doctrine carefully revealed. The Virgin Mary is revealed as Mother of God, the agent of the Incarnation, Queen of Heaven, and forever pure.

The primacy of the contemplative focus of this altar becomes apparent when contrasted with two other altars that were also built to house ancient and venerated icons: the altar of the Borghese chapel in Santa Maria Maggiore (1606-12) and the Altemps Chapel in Santa Maria in Trastevere 1595 (Figs. 3.21-22). They were built anew to house the Acheiropoieton icon of the Virgin and to resituate the Maria Regina icon respectively. Both the Borghese and the Altemps chapels in their overburdened exuberance and

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excessive opulence allow no space for the eye to rest or the mind to breathe.⁷⁴ The strength the *Madonna del Soccorso* altar lies in the sympathetic composition of its elaborated elements. The decorative details reflect the clarity and simplicity of the icon itself. The altarpiece clearly states the doctrine of the Virgin Mary offered for contemplation as mediatrix, between heaven and earth.

3.3.3 Gregory XIII’s patronage of the Icon of the *Madonna del Soccorso*:
Gregory XIII could have commissioned any variety of different artists to create any type of altarpiece commensurate with the size and newness of the chapel. Instead, he chose the small icon of the *Madonna del Soccorso* as the centre of his altar. The reasons for his choice are complex and poignant. First, the icon was regarded as having miraculous powers. This attribute is a powerful mediator between the temporal and the spiritual realm and as such displays the power of God. Second, Gregory XIII was devoted to the Cult of the Virgin and its seems natural that he would want her venerated in his altar. Third, the ancient history of the icon, its simplicity, and clarity allowed an uncontaminated expression of orthodoxy, which was Gregory XIII’s stated mission at the beginning of his pontificate.⁷⁵ Fourth, it afforded the clear expression of the significance of the Virgin to salvation.

i) The Miraculous quality of the Icon:
The bibliography of the *Madonna del Soccorso* is extremely limited. Evidence of her miraculous qualities is derived from a long and uninterrupted history of veneration incidentally recorded in commentaries and pilgrim guide books of the Constantine Basilica. Reference is made to *ex voto* offerings left at the altar and covering the walls, its protection from pilgrims and worshippers who were continually touching the icon, the donation of an iron grating for its protection, and votive offerings recorded in the accounts

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⁷⁴ Warner, 2016, p.305.
of the basilica (see appendix VII).

Gregory XIII patronised this miraculous icon and in so doing deferred to the theology of Gregory the Great. In the Dialogues it was noted that the outward and visible aid of a ‘thing’, or an example, was more effective than teaching by words and therefore visible signs could be useful to spread knowledge of miracles, which would in effect spread knowledge of God’s power. According to Gregory the Great, material mediators are mysterious links to the transcendent invisible world of the spirit. They intercede between the spiritual and the temporal and as such they have a powerful effect on non-believers. Miracles serve to authenticate Christ’s message and are thus instrumental in encouraging others to believe.\textsuperscript{76}

The theology of Gregory the Great provides a rich interpretive framework for examining Gregory XIII’s patronage of the Madonna del Soccorso. Reference to it reveals a depth and complexity of signification beyond the scope of ‘Counter-Reformation’ and Tridentine analyses: Two specific aspects of Gregory the Great’s theology influenced Gregory XIII’s choice of altarpiece.

The first is the Miraculous. In the Dialogues, Gregory the Great systematically explains the nature and operation of the saints’ miracles and of the legitimacy of the saints’ cult which includes the Virgin Mary. He regarded departed saints as patrons, advocates, and intercessors with God who could assist the living by their prayers and work miracles. Saints’ miracles possess a sacramental quality, imparting grace by revealing the kingdom of God among humankind and one of the primary functions of the miraculous relates to the

\textsuperscript{76} McCready, William, \textit{Signs of Sanctity, Miracles in the Thought of Gregory the Great}, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Canada, 1989.
process of conversion and spiritual growth. These qualities were clearly attractive to both Gregory XIII personally, in his veneration of the miraculous and adoration of the Virgin Mary, and as a means of engaging the laity by revealing in a tangible manner the intangible, invisible, and ethereal realm of God. The miraculous is a gateway to the spiritual realm and as such offers proof of this realm. This then was the function of the miraculous attribute of the *Madonna del Soccorso*. She had been venerated for centuries and there was an expectation of the miraculous: to dazzle and capture interest. This theological framework had resonance in the popularity of worship and pilgrimage to miraculous shrines, particularly Marian shrines, as a dominant feature of religious culture at this time. Gregory XIII’s patronage of this miraculous icon harnessed the force of this culture of belief and practice and reaffirmed its orthodoxy.

The second influence is Gregory the Great’s apology for the cult of images. Gregory the Great advocated the veneration of images as a useful didactic source for the illiterate and a more accessible means of storytelling which, guided by the clergy would avoid slippage into idolatry. This theological position guided the Council of Nicaea II and the Council of Trent in their decrees on the veneration of images. He also indicated that images direct us towards divinity, towards the invisible that cannot be apprehended by the eyes. Gregory the Great advocated the act of contemplation and meditation as a means of awakening sacred and divine sensibilities.

The location of the altar and the diminutive size of the icon are complicit in facilitating the contemplation of this miraculous icon. The relative dimness of the chapel, caused by modest natural light entering from the north facing side of the basilica, in combination with the smallness of the icon, require the faithful to search out, to peer, to focus, to look, and then to fix their eyes on the *Madonna del Soccorso*. This ‘seeing’ is of a different order to seeing which indicates understanding. As observed by Miles, it is a religious ‘seeing’.

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77 Freedberg, 1989; Zollikofer, 2015, p.160.
which implies perceiving a quality of the sensible world, which transforms the natural world. \(^{78}\) It is a ‘seeing’ that allows a total immersion in the spiritual, a quickening of religious sensibilities. This type of seeing is according to traditional religion, a normative experience and the 16\(^{th}\) century congregation was experienced and expectant of such religious encounters.\(^{79}\)

Having been engaged by the image on the altar, there is little by way of distracting detail in the simplicity of the icon and clarity of its surround. A momentary lapse in concentration is rewarded by symbols referring back to the icon. The chapel is a solemn and meditative place and the simplicity of the icon compliments this process and functions as an instrument facilitating spiritual ‘seeing’ rising from the temporal to the spiritual.

ii) The Adoration and Veneration of the Virgin:
Throughout his papacy, Gregory XIII promoted the restoration, embellishment, and the construction of chapels and churches in Rome as part of his programme of reinvigoration of the Church. Such a programme of restoration or renovation was not unusual and was undertaken by many of his predecessors such as Gregory the Great himself, Nicolas V (1447-1455), Sixtus IV (1471-1484), Julius II (1503-1513) among others. Gregory XIII’s specific support and intervention in restoration and construction work in the \textit{San Giovanni in Laterano, Santa Maria de’Monti}, and the House of Loreto itself, all testify to Gregory XIII’s support for the cult of the Virgin.\(^{80}\)

Gregory XIII’s work in \textit{San Giovanni in Laterano} includes the seventh-century chapel of

\(^{79}\) Freedberg, 1991.
\(^{80}\) Ciappi, 1596.
Saint Venantius, which was annexed to the Baptistery. In 1573, a fresco of the Virgin located in the chapel began to work miracles. Gregory XIII used the alms of the faithful for the renovation of the chapel, which became known as the chapel of the Madonna. He commissioned a ceiling of carved wood, which included a relief of the Madonna sitting on clouds and surrounded by stars. Renovation of the baptistery necessitated the transfer of the image, which he had then installed in an altar tabernacle, elevated by four steps and crowned by a columned ciborium prepared for worship, honouring and extending the magnificence of the miraculous nature of the Madonna.

The story of Santa Maria de’Monti and the miraculous image of the Madonna and Child with Saints Stephen and Lawrence, known as the Madonna dei Monti, is well documented in contemporaneous accounts of Gregory XIII’s pontificate. George Martin remarks in his book Roma Sancta:

‘... 1580 April 26 there was a miraculous Image of our Lady disclosed and discovered by divine revelation: an ancient picture ... where the lame and blind have been presently cured, the matter throughly examined, the thing famous to all the citie, and testified this day by infinite concurse to pray there, by the continual Masses there from morning to noone, and specifically the wonderful offerings esteemed 2000 crownes, to the building of goodly Church there [...].’

Eventually, Gregory XIII had a church built by Giacomo della Porta under the protection of Cardinal Sirletto for the Arciconfraternità dei Catecumeni e Neofiti.

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82 Ibid.
83 Martin, 1969, p.5.
A third example of Gregory XIII’s devotion to the miraculous cult of the Virgin is derived from his support for the House of Loreto. Gregory XIII established the Illyrian Seminary (Seminario delli Schiavoni) at the house of Loreto close to the basilica.\(^{85}\) He had the Laurentian Litany text printed for the first time in 1572 and granted indulgences to those who recited the litany at Loreto. He also built a road, via Boncompagni, to assist pilgrims access the House of Loreto and contributed to the restoration and decoration of the church.

These references to Gregory XIII’s patronage of the cult of the Virgin, along with his commitment and granting of indulgences for the recitation of the rosary, exemplify his interest and devotion to the Virgin Mary, which is congruent with his desire to include such an icon in St. Peter’s basilica (Fig. 3.23).

### iii) The Cult of the Virgin:

According to Shoemaker, evidence for the veneration of the Virgin and the cult of the Virgin, stretches back to the fourth century, half a century before the Council of Ephesus, 431.\(^{86}\) Delay in the development of her cult may have been because, unlike the saints and martyrs, she left no obvious bodily relics on earth.\(^{87}\) While this exact date may be challenged, the cult of the Virgin was a phenomenon in evolution early in the history of Christianity. The cult evolved in parallel with dogma and doctrine, occasionally intersecting, but essentially pre-empting doctrinal promulgations. The primary popular experience of the Virgin was before one of her many miraculous images.\(^{88}\) Marian shrines proliferated across the Catholic world and became ever-present in image, cult, and institution, ubiquitous at Italian street-corners, venerated in altarpieces, festivals, and

\(^{85}\) Ciappi, 1591, p.31.
pilgrimages. Images of the Virgin varied from Mother and Child, the Virgin enthroned, Mother of Sorrows, the Immaculate Conception, and the Assumption, to a variety of narrative representations. Unvarying was worship and prayer to the Virgin as intercessor. Warner argues that prayer formed the figure of the Virgin Mary, and that it is the chief function of her myth to answer it.\textsuperscript{89}

Reformers of the sixteenth-century challenged Marian teachings and the cult of the Virgin. The status of the Virgin was not their central concern however, being firmly subordinated to essential theological disputes over grace and salvation. For the Reformers there could be no doubt that the Virgin Mary was integral to the gospel and to the confession of faith in the Creed.\textsuperscript{90} In 1521, Luther (1483-1546) affirmed her virginity, praised her humility and obedience to God’s will but criticized those who idolized her, and rejected Marian devotion centred on the invocation of Mary to the exclusion of Christ.\textsuperscript{91} Erasmus (1466-1536) also criticised excesses of Marian devotion and together they rejected the veneration of Mary and the saints. In 1527, Luther reiterated his belief in the Immaculate Conception saying that ‘one believed blessedly that at the very infusion of her soul, Mary, was purified from original sin.\textsuperscript{92}

Calvin (1509-1564), of the next generation of Reformers, considered all prayers to the Virgin Mary to be contrary to Scripture: to ask her to obtain grace for us is no less that an ‘execrable blasphemy’, because God has predestined the measure of grace for every person from all eternity. To call her our hope, life, light and other similar names is to turn her into an idol and detract from God’s honour.\textsuperscript{93} To regard her as our advocate is blasphemous because she needed Christ as much as do all other human beings.\textsuperscript{94} Calvin did however

\textsuperscript{91} Ibid., p.316.
\textsuperscript{92} Ibid., p.317.
fully recognise the theological legitimacy of the title Mother of Christ.

It seems then that while the Reformers defended the doctrine of the Virgin’s perpetual virginity and status as Mother of Christ, Marian doctrine was challenged in the abandonment of intercessory prayer through the saints and the rejection of the value of cultic imagery, all of which removed the substantive basis for her cult. In sum, the Virgin Mary was not to be venerated and the notion of her intercessory power was believed to be absurd and fruitless.

As noted in chapter 1, the Council of Trent had little substantive to say regarding the doctrine of the Virgin other than singling her out as exempt from Original Sin, and in effect confirming the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. The Council of Trent did reaffirm the veneration of sacred images and relics derived from the council of Nicaea II 787, which included the Virgin Mary. The power and persistence of the cult of the Virgin was not however precipitated by the Reformation nor was its popular promotion used by Catholics to specifically refute Reformers’ rejection of the cult of the Virgin. There was an increase in the proliferation of Marian shrines after the Council of Trent but this was related to the official suspicion of obscure cults or ‘legendary’ local holy figures after the Council of Trent. This had the effect of re-centring devotion on Marian iconography and renewed her as a genuine figure worthy of veneration.

The cult of the Virgin promoted by Gregory XIII tapped into centuries’ old devotional practices, and specifically her accessibility as a popular figure of intercession:

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95 Johnson, 2009, p.364.
96 The Jesuits wrote in defence of Marian propositions. In 1577 Peter Canisus wrote On the Incomparable Virgin Mary, an apology aimed to refute Luther’s Magdeburg Centuries.
98 Zollikofer, 2016, p.160.
as a Mother and her maternal love, her qualities of mercy, forgiveness, kindness, and gentleness. She mediates between heaven and earth, for in her glorified body she belongs in both realms. The Virgin does not have the power to grant any favour by herself for she must intercede with her Son who is the only source of salvation. As noted by Warner, the powers of mediation attributed to her are sovereign: the Son can refuse his Mother nothing, hyperdulia. Therefore, a prayer to Mary, made in the spirit of repentance and resolve, is wonder-working; and men and women gathered to pray to the Virgin forget the distinction between direct and indirect power.99 The icon of the Madonna del Soccorso, in its simplicity, antiquity, and clarity is an archetype of the Madonna and Child – timeless and devoid of contemporaneous cultural references; timeless yet persistent through time. She is a familiar and accessible image unchallenging to those devoted to her worship.

The altar of the Madonna del Soccorso is one of seven privileged altars in St. Peter’s basilica which grants plenary indulgences for the Holy Souls in Purgatory.100 The plenary indulgence must be applied to the soul for whom the Mass is offered and then the soul is granted total remission of its sins. In the case of this altar, the importance of the Virgin as the primary intercessor with Christ on behalf of the souls in Purgatory is recognised and the remission of sins for a loved one is no longer the privilege of the elite but within the grasp of all worshippers in the chapel.

In his patronage of the Virgin Mary, Gregory XIII both reflected well-established devotional practices and recognised her importance as the primary intercessor with Christ. In his granting of privilege to the altar of the Madonna, Gregory XIII democratised charity towards the dead allowing access to plenary indulgences through a single celebration of the Mass. The Mass was recognised as the most appropriate and powerful offering for the souls of the dead as explained by Gregory the Great and affirmed by the Council of Lyons,

100 Lanzani, 2011, p.70.
Council of Florence, and the Council of Trent. Gregory XIII in his choice of the *Madonna del Soccorso* icon harnessed popular devotion, that is, devotion of both the laity and clergy, to augment worship and gain help for the souls of the dead in purgatory. This chapel was open to all worshippers and all worshippers could take part in all aspects of devotion.

iv) Affirmation of the Doctrine of the Virgin:
The doctrine of the Virgin Mary is complex and central to the system of orthodoxy promoted by Christianity. Her role has been disputed, fought over, and the source of schisms and excommunications within the Church. In Gregory XIII’s papal patronage of the altar of the *Madonna del Soccorso* and the Gregorian chapel as a whole, the Virgin is centrally and formally placed within a system of belief in which all elements of orthodoxy are related and dependent on others such as the Annunciation, the Virgin as Mother of God, the Incarnation and the sacrifice of the Mass. Nothing is superfluous. Therefore, in affirming the status of the Virgin Mary, the iconography of the chapel affirms the overall story of redemption and salvation which is laid out in the doctrine of the Virgin Mary. In order to understand her significance it is not enough to extract affirmations pertaining specifically to the Virgin alone but instead it is necessary to contextualise these affirmations and make explicit the reasons such promulgations were necessary for the coherence of an evolving system of doctrine.

At the Council of Ephesus 431 Mary is confirmed as Mother of God. In Cyril’s third letter from the council of Ephesus 431, to Nestorius he reiterates the status of the Virgin as Mother of God and the reasons for this:

‘... Therefore, because the holy virgin bore in the flesh God who was united hypostatically with the flesh, for that reason we call her mother of God ... This was not as though he needed necessarily or for his own nature a birth in time and in the
last times of this age, but in order that he might bless the beginning of our existence, in order that seeing that it was a woman that had given birth to him, united to the flesh, the curse against the whole race should thereafter cease, which was consigning all our earthly bodies to death, and in order that the removal through him of the curse, ‘In sorrow thou shalt bring forth children’, should demonstrate the truth of the words of the prophet: ‘strong death swallowed them up’... 101

This highlights the necessity of the Virgin Mary for redemption and salvation which was subsequently affirmed at the Council of Chalcedon, 451 by Leo I (440-461). Her status as was further confirmed at the Council of Nicaea II, 787 as unblemished in her Virginity and in her Immaculate Conception. The pure and immaculate Virgin then is to be venerated and the more she is venerated the more she is remembered and emulated (see chapter 1).

In a Bull of union with the Copts at the Council of Florence, 1442, a doctrine of the faith was delivered, which outlines the necessary doctrine for the faithful. It includes an affirmation of the significance and status of the Virgin Mary:

‘... for the salvation of the human race, took a real and complete human nature from the immaculate womb of the virgin Mary, and joined it to himself in a personal union of such great unity that whatever is of God there, is not separated from man, and whatever is human is not divided from the Godhead, and he is one and the same undivided... that the blessed ever-virgin Mary should be preached by the whole Church not as Christ-bearer but also as God bearer, this is as mother of God as well as mother of man ...’ 102

101 Tanner, 1990, p.58.
102 Tanner, 1990, p.573.
In this outline of the doctrine pertaining to the Virgin Mary we see that ‘Mariology’ had its roots in the medieval church not merely popularised as an offensive or defensive expression against the Reformation or of the Council of Trent.

Gregory XIII’s choice of this icon signifies the ancient and persistent nature of her significance as recognised and affirmed by ancient Ecumenical Councils. The affirmation of her status was a critical element in the exposition of this complex Christian doctrinal system in evolution. The altar of the Madonna del Soccorso places the image of the Madonna and Child at the centre of the main altar which is the axis of the chapel. Such a display in the main basilica of Christianity by the pope is a statement of orthodoxy: that the Madonna is the Mother of God and as such inextricably linked to the Incarnation and the events that followed. She is pure and unblemished, queen of heaven, and a perpetual virgin. This doctrine had perhaps been blurred by the aesthetic focus of Renaissance art and deprived of an authoritative voice during the periods of schism and war.

This analysis of the main altar of the Gregorian chapel provides a reading which expresses the sacred significance of the altar for those who worship there. It is an elaboration of the preciousness of the icon within, whose power derives from the status of the Virgin Mary. This reading uncovers the rich dynamic at work within the chapel. These findings suggest that the primary function of the chapel, and the presence of the Virgin Mary, was not ‘Counter-Reformation’ in nature. It seems that Gregory XIII’s patronage was primarily concerned with offering an opportunity to worship and that in Gregory XIII’s choice of the Madonna del Soccorso for the main altar of his chapel, he deliberately captures the heart, mind, and spirit of the congregation. The miraculous nature of the icon taps into popular worship of the laity and validates it. To classify this choice of icon and the altar of the Madonna del Soccorso as ‘Marian’, typically Tridentine, or ‘Counter-Reformation’, fails to communicate its full signification.
3.4 The Relics of Gregory Nazianzeno:

Having successfully installed the icon of the Madonna del Soccorso in the Gregorian chapel, Gregory decided with great speed and enthusiasm, to further enrich the chapel by acquiring the relics of Gregory Nazianzeno. These relics currently sit in their original location below the altar table of the altar of the Madonna del Soccorso (Fig. 3.25B). The relics originated in Constantinople and were transported by nuns to Rome in the eight century having fled iconoclastic persecution. Since then they were kept and revered in the Monastery of Santa Maria di Campo Marzio until Gregory XIII decided to acquire them. On the 15\textsuperscript{th} of March 1578, Gregory XIII sent Cardinal Morone (1509-1580) to the monastery to have the relics transferred to his new chapel in St. Peter’s basilica. Eventually the transfer was agreed, the chapel was readied to receive the precious remains with an elaborate celebration and procession organised for the sacred event (Fig. 3.24). The nuns although distraught, were compensated for their loss with a considerable financial donation and the arm of Gregory Nazianzeno. Plenary indulgences were also granted by Gregory XIII in 1580 for those celebrating the Conception of the Virgin on the 8\textsuperscript{th} of December in the church of Campo Marzio (Fig. 3.25A). It was noted by Alessandro Musotti, Bishop of Imola, that Gregory XIII was particularly excited at having acquired these relics for his chapel.

3.4.1 The Translation of the Relics of Gregory Nazianzeno:

The transportation of the relics was organised on a grand scale ensuring maximum enjoyment and participation through the granting of indulgences, a decrease in the price of bread, and an amnesty for prisoners arrested for debts less than twenty scudi. According

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\textsuperscript{103} Bellini, 2011, p.197.  
\textsuperscript{104} Schraven, 2014, p.134.  
\textsuperscript{105} Zander, 2016, pp.71-81.  
\textsuperscript{106} BAV., Bon. D7 Alessandro Musotti.  
\textsuperscript{107} Pastor, 1955, n.5, p.804.
to the notice of May 28th 1580, an extraordinary Jubilee, ‘Amplissimo Giubileo’, was declared and plenary indulgences granted from the 11th -14th June. On the 5th of June 1580 in preparation for the procession and transfer of the remains, the Franciscan father Francesco Panigarola held a mass and gave an instructive oration on the life and deeds of Gregory Nazianzeno in St. Peter’s in which he praised St. Gregory Nazianzeno and noted his contribution to the doctrine of the Church. On the 10th of June, the relics of Gregory Nazianzeno were displayed on the main altar of Santa Maria di Campo Marzio. The following day the remains were transferred to a sumptuous cataletto and the procession began late in the afternoon.

The relics of Gregory Nazianzeno were locked in a silver chest, covered by a velvet cloth, above which was hung a painted image of the saint clothed in bishop’s regalia. This reverence for the relics asserted their authenticity, displayed the identity of the relics for all to see, and honoured the sacred remains of this saint. As a demonstration of respect for the power of the relics, they were covered and transported without being touched. It was at the Lateran Council IV 1215, that the issue of the treatment of saints’ relics was addressed in Constitution 62. ‘... That saints’ relics may not be exhibited outside reliquaries, nor may newly discovered relics be venerated without authorisation from the Roman church.’

This setting out of a doctrinal position on relics, and how they should be appropriately

108 BAV, Urb. Lat.1048, fol.151, Avviso di Roma, 28th May 1580: ‘Il Cardinal Savelli fu hieri in congregacione con Sua Santità per ordinare le cose necessarie per la festa della translatione di San Gregorio nella quale si publicarà un Amplissimo Giubileo et per giorni dopo si metterà un’indulgenza plenaria per la festa di San Basilio, compagno di San Gregorio’.
109 BAV, Vat. Lat. 12314, fols 66v-109v. See also Lelio, 1585, f.8v.
110 Lelio, 1585, ‘...La reliquia stava sopra un cataletto tutto argentato, in una cassa serrata et coperta tutta di velluto, la qual posata sopra il cataletto, havae di sopra un coperta a guisa di una lettica, la quale era coperta di una coltre di tela d’argento, et in ciascheduno dei quattro lati, vi era un drappellone sopra dei quali era dipinta la Imagine di esso Santo in habito di vescovo … e di sopra vi era potato un baldacchino pur di tela argentata.’, f.11.
111 Ibid.
112 Tanner, 1990, p.263.
treated, implicates the significance of relics for Christianity as is implicit in the treatment of the relics of Gregory Nazianzeno. As noted by Pelikan, Guibert of Nogent (1055-1124), who was extremely critical of the abuses to which the cult of relics was subject, felt obliged to admit that when relics were carried from one place to another, ‘the gracious Judge who comforts with his pity [in heaven] those whom he reproved [on earth] showed many miracles where they went.’ The arrival of a relic in a new site would be the occasion for miracles of healing and other signs to take place. Similarly, the construction of a basilica in which the bodies of saints were enshrined would set off a series of miracles that continued long after the building had been completed. The ‘translation of a holy body was an occasion for joy, because through it ‘the things that happened a long time ago ... somehow seem recent and new.’ The translation of the relics of Gregory Nazianzeno was a celebration in expectation of his miraculous power, joy in the belief that Gregory Nazianzeno, noted for his theology of the Holy Trinity, was still alive with the Lord.

Thousands of people lined the processional route including at least thirty-one confraternities comprising of 3964 lay brothers. The route was decorated with tapestries, paintings, coloured cartoons, golden images of the Virgin, and papal emblems. The Church of Santa Maria di Campo Marzio displayed Raphael’s tapestries on loan from the Papal Guardaroba. The palace of Vincenzo Fucheri was decorated with tapestries of the History of Nebuchadnezzar and five paintings including Raphael’s painting of the Nativity. There were many other examples of elaborate decoration and participation by the faithful in the procession. The remains arrived at the basilica in the evening, which had been decorated with torches, emblems and two precious tapestries of

114 Ibid., pp.181-182.
115 Ditchfield 2002, p. 87.
117 Lelio, 1585, p.11v.
118 Nebuchadnezzar was king of Babylonia c605-562. He defeated Judah. Nebuchadnezzar served as God’s instrument of judgement on Judah for its idolatry, unfaithfulness, and disobedience. Jeremiah 25:9
119 See Lelio Fortunio and Giovanni Rastelli for a full and detailed description of the transfer of the remains of Gregory Nazianzeno.
the ‘Nativity’ and the ‘Assumption’. Once again, Gregory XIII had taken the opportunity to venerate the Virgin Mary.

On arrival at the steps of St. Peter’s the relics were emotionally received:

‘… con abondantissime lagrime d’allegrezza, s’inginocchiò & abbracciò la sontuosissima Bara, tutta coperta di broccato d’oro, sempre portata da otto Reverendi Canonici di San Pietro: & arrivati alla gran Cappella Gregoriana, con suavissime, & infinite musiche, suoni di trombe, organi, campane, & nuovo sparar d’artiglieria della piazza di S. Pietro, fu collocato quel Santissimo Corpo con le proprie mani di Sua Santità nell’Altar maggiore di detta sua Cappella.’

‘… e recitata una breve Orazione con gl’occhi al Cielo pieni di lagrime, si levò in piedi, e caramente abbracciò, e baciò più volte l’Arca delle reliquie …’

On the 12th of June, Gregory XIII celebrated mass in his consecrated chapel and placed the relics inside the altar. This tradition originated in the sixth century, in response to the enthusiasm for saints and the cult of relics and for the first time, the altar and church were united with the martyr’s tomb. Ever since, through this architectural innovation, all churches have been consecrated with relics and these relics have been placed in an altar. This was one of the practices raged against by Constantine V in his iconoclastic rampage during the eight century. He forbade the veneration of saints and their relics and saw to it that long venerated and much loved relics were removed from churches and destroyed. The Council of Nicaea II sought to redress this heresy by ordering martyr’s relics to be installed in those churches the iconoclasts had consecrated without them. ‘… Therefore we decree that in venerable churches consecrated without relics of the holy martyrs, the installation of relics should take place along with the usual prayers. And if in future any

120 Ciappi, 1591, pp.20-21.
121 Maffei, 1742, p.159.
122 Straw, 1988, p.67
bishop is found out consecrating a church without relics, let him be deposed as someone who has flouted ecclesiastical traditions. This was reaffirmed at the Council of Trent in Session XXV.

The installation of relics on consecration of a church or chapel was therefore a well-established and observed tradition, which implicated the miraculous relics and their power of intercession with the celebration of Mass. The saint could then intercede in the offering of the Mass for the souls of the dead, which according to Gregory the Great was a necessary aid to souls in purgatory. Here in the Gregorian Chapel, a privileged chapel, St. Gregory Nazianzeno could now intercede for the souls of the dead, for plenary indulgences.

The day of the procession was to be celebrated annually in the Gregorian chapel along with the feast of the Assumption and the feast day of Gregory Nazianzeno on the 9th May as prescribed by Gregory XIII.

The *translatio* was by definition a public event establishing in the minds of Romans and pilgrims an association between the sacrosanct and joy, and between spiritual power and celebration. It was also an exhibition, a sharing of the miraculous with all those who attended, so that they could participate in the spiritual power of God through the relics of Gregory Nazianzeno. An eyewitness to the translation of the relics wrote that those gathered along the route encountered paradise or the mystical experience of heavenly salvation. Schraven notes that both Carlo Borromeo (1538-1584) and Gabriele Paleotti (1522-1597) also took advantage of Gregory XIII’s notion of collective devotion and favoured the festive *translatio* ceremonies of relics to strengthen faith and to reinvigorate

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123 Tanner, 1990, pp.144-145.  
124 The Roman Martyrology, Aeterna Press, 2014  
125 Courtright, 2003, p.20.
Catholic confidence.\textsuperscript{126}

Gregory XIII had the translation commemorated in series of ten panels by Antonio Tempest (1555-1630) and Matthijs Bril (1550-1583) in a fresco cycle on the third floor Loggia of the north wing of the apostolic Palace. The ten panels are situated above maps of the world frescoed on the walls. They document the processional route from Campo Marzio to St. Peter’s basilica detailing the topographical details of the city with buildings such as churches, shops, palaces, and landmarks accurately rendered (Fig.3.26). The ten panels document the progress of the solemn cortege processing through the streets of Rome with people praying, and leaning out of windows adorned with tapestries watching the procession. The processional cortege is documented in all its ceremonial glory with participants such as confraternities, priests, and orphans represented among the crowds (Fig.3.27). In the final panel, the relics are shown as they arrive at St. Peter’s piazza. A large crowd can be seen gathered in the square moving towards the basilica. Gregory XIII is depicted under a baldacchino with the relics under a smaller baldacchino behind him (Fig.3.28). The buildings are clearly recognisable with the Terza Loggia in the extreme upper right hand corner. Visible in the background is Innocent VIII’s (1487-1492) palace complete with clock and belfry, the three doors of the facade decorated by Nicolas V (1447-1455), and Michelangelo’s dome visible in construction. The panels provide a clear sense of the scale and level of participation in the translatio and ensure its preservation in perpetuity. Acts of kindness and good works such as welcoming strangers, visiting prisoners, burying the dead, feeding the hungry and giving drink to the thirsty, dressing the naked, and helping the sick are all recorded in very small vignettes on some of these panels (Fig.3.29).\textsuperscript{127} These depictions of acts of charity within the frescoes respond, according to Pittiglio, to the Council of Trent’s decree on justification. However, it can also be argued that this was an outpouring of miraculous healing of body and soul through faith and grace, precipitated by the power of the relics moving through the streets of Rome since all of the

\textsuperscript{126} Schraven, 2014, p.127.
acts of kindness and grace occurred in the slipstream of the relics passing by. This is congruent with both the doctrine on relics and the representation of the Holy Trinity above the panels in the vault signifying the overt connection between the celestial and terrestrial realm which in this case is facilitated by the power of the relics of Gregory Nazianzeno.

Gregory XIII’s patronage of the relics of Gregory Nazianzeno was a participation in the worship of the miraculous power of relics. A cursory glance through 16th century guide books, from the purely factual such as *Le Cose Maravigliose Dell’alma Città di Roma* 1563, *De Septem Urbis Ecclesiis* 1575, *De Praecipuis Urbis Romae sanctioribusque basilicis* 1570, or to *Roma Sancta* 1581, exemplifies the vast number of relics known and venerated in the churches of Rome in the late sixteenth century and the popular interest in them:

‘[…] If any man thinke that I speake to liberally concerning the number of so manie Relikes in one Citie, let that man aske any Romane pilgrim that hath been there of devotion but a little time. And especially let hime consider that Rome for three hundred years after Christ, during the time of ten cruel persecutions under heathen Emperours, was a boucherie and as it were a verie Champles of Marturising Christians ... byside the martyrs of three hundred years how manie excellent Confessours there were both at this time continually, and after those times of persecution, in that primitive world, when the bloud of Christ was yet hote in martyrs had leaft the freshe printes of excellent vertue and religion to their posteritie [...]’.128

Gregory Martin’s *Roma Sancta* guidebook documents a long list of the relics belonging to the major churches of Rome, as noted in chapter 2. In his commentary Martin shares his personal impressions of these relics, his desire to venerate and even touch them, and he

128 Martin, 1969, p.44-46
records the comments of the church Fathers on these same relics. He expresses the deep personal feeling of the communion of saints, of personal participation in their lives and their sufferings at the very places where the believer stands today as he has stood through the centuries.\footnote{Ibid., p.xxviii.} His account provides insight into the conduct of religious life in Rome in the late 16th century where relics were sought-out and revered not just during the Holy Year or pilgrimage. The patronage of the relics of Gregory Nazianzeno represents participation in and engagement of popular worship at this time.

3.4.2 The Theology of Relics:
Gregory XIII’s patronage of the relics of Gregory Nazianzeno is framed by their miraculous power and the consequent theological system necessary to explain such beliefs. The theology of Gregory the Great provides a coherent system, explaining the agency of the miraculous relics and the consequent repercussions for the architecture of the spiritual realm.

As already noted, relics were according to Gregory the Great capable of working miracles. The power of relics affirm that the souls of saints live on after death as expressed in their miraculous deeds, and that they embody the promise of resurrection of the body and soul. The assertion that the blessed and saints are received into the kingdom of heaven directly as soon as they leave the body indicates that those ‘nearly just’ are delayed from entering heaven and remain outside. This ‘outside’ is Purgatory. By positing Purgatory, it was made clear that man’s debts can be paid in this world or the next and suffering and sacrifice can either expunge sins already committed or if innocent, increase one’s reward. The need to uphold the reality of the miracles performed by saints beyond the grave and the efficacy of the Church’s care for the dead encouraged the assertion of the activity of all human souls, perfect and imperfect, and indeed the damned condemned to hell, \textit{post mortem}. 

\footnote{Ibid., p.xxviii.}
It becomes clear then that Gregory XIII, in patronising the veneration of saints, relics and the miraculous, asserted the doctrine of Purgatory, indulgences, penance, the Eucharist, and salvation as affirmed by the councils of Nicaea II (787), Lateran IV (1271), Lyons II (1274), Council of Basel-Ferrara-Florence-Rome (1431), and the Council of Trent (1545-1563), and outlined in Gregory the Great’s theology. Of course, Gregory the Great predated the aforementioned councils but as one of the Fathers of the Church, his theology along with Scripture was recognised and referenced as a source for truth and doctrinal revelation.  

In sum, in Gregory XIII’s specific patronage of the relics of Gregory Nazianzeno, he asserted universal Catholic truths: the miraculous, the power and need for intercession, the call of Purgatory, and salvation. He actively expressed the significance of the veneration of relics rather than simply providing an opportunity to venerate them. In addition, it is in the particular, inclusive offering of the miraculous to all the people of Rome that Gregory XIII privileged and embraced popular worship setting aside notions of elitism and division. This is exemplified by his embrace of the laity who were led from the streets of Rome into the heart of Christendom and granted plenary indulgences in the Gregorian Chapel as a statement of Catholic orthodoxy.  

This notion of embracing the laity has been noted by a number of writers including Sydney Freedberg. On discussion of art in the last quarter of the sixteenth century he notes that art was shifting to satisfy ordinary public taste which earlier patrons of fine art hardly recognised existed much less that there was a reason to accommodate it. Similarly, Jan Jong noted that since the popes’ authority was fading among the secular leaders of Europe, Gregory XIII as a pastoral leader of Rome and Christianity shifted his attention to embrace

130 Pelikan, 1975, pp.336-337.
132 Ibid.
the power of the laity. George Parks observes in his introduction to Gregory Martin’s *Roma Sancta 1581*, ‘we may conclude that active laity was the most significant invention of the active clergy which Martin took it upon him to describe.’ Whatever the interpretation offered by these writers for this shift towards the laity, each recognised that a shift had occurred.

The procession and festivities associated with the acquisition and internment of the relics in the Gregorian chapel have been characterised by Gianni Pittiglio as a political act of propaganda to glorify the Church within the context of protestant destabilisation and by Gregory Martin as a weapon against protestant gains. This may of course be true but it is apparent that Gregory XIII’s patronage was primarily concerned with celebrating and reasserting ineluctable orthodoxy using irresistible material mediators inspired by the advocacy of Gregory the Great for all of his spiritual dominion.

Finally, it was noted that both Paleotti and Borromeo applied the cult of relics as a vehicle for strengthening the devotion of their congregations. Gregory XIII’s patronage, as bishop of Rome and leader of the Church, was of a different order. His patronage was a universal statement rather than a defiant veneration of saints and relics in the face of protestant protestation. It was a demonstration of the power of images and relics as an integral, well-established part of Catholic theology and doctrine.

133 Jong, 2013. p.2
134 Martin, 1969, p.xxxii.
3.5 Four Doctors, the Annunciation, and the Prophecy of the Annunciation:

On the upper register of the Gregorian chapel there are two lunettes and four pendentives. The lunettes are situated perpendicular to one another, one above the altar of the *Madonna del Soccorso* on the north wall, the other on the east wall (Fig. 3.4). Each lunette is separated in the centre by a window giving the impression of a diptych style composition. Above the main altar a representation of the *Annunciation* frames this window with the kneeling Virgin Mary to the left of the window while the angel Gabriel floats on a golden cloud to the right (Fig. 3.30). The prophets Ezekiel and Isaiah are to the right of the Annunciation scene and are also rendered in mosaic (Fig. 3.31).

In the four pendentives of the cupola are four monumental representations of Doctors of the Church (Fig. 3.32). The Doctors include two Doctors recognised by Pope Boniface VIII (1294-1303) in 1298, St. Jerome (347-420), and St. Gregory the Great (c.540-604), and two newly recognised doctors, St. Basil the Great (330-379) and St. Gregory of Nazianzeno (329-390) established in 1568 by Pius V (1566-1572). Both Basil the Great and Gregory Nazianzeno belong to the Cappadocian Fathers. Cappadocia, today part of the republic of Turkey, was an important geographical area for the Eastern Church.

3.5.1 History of the Mosaic decoration:
The *Annunciation*, the *Prophets Ezekiel and Isaiah*, and the representations of the Doctors are all rendered in vividly coloured mosaics. An inscription on an anonymous engraving of a cross-section of the Gregorian Chapel dated 1580 indicates that the iconographic programme for the chapel was developed in consultation with Tommaso de’Cavalieri.

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(1509-1587) (Fig. 3.33), see appendix X. The idea of revitalising the art of mosaic decoration for the chapel may similarly have been influenced Tommaso de'Cavalieri, or by Alessandro Farnese who was a great influence on Gregory XIII in terms of ‘good taste’ or by Cesare Baronio in his advocacy of continuity with early Christian decoration. It was however Gregory XIII’s final decision to patronise mosaic decoration for his chapel, the reasons for which will be addressed when examining the materials of the chapel (section 3.8.3).

Girolamo Muziano (1532-1592) supervised all of the mosaic work in the chapel. He was charged with creating the cartoons and on occasion, he worked on the mosaics executing major passages himself. This gave him an opportunity to learn the art, all but forgotten in Rome at this time. An anonymous biographer of Muziano cited by Tosini captures Muziano’s trepidation regarding the prospect of working with mosaics. He expresses his belief that through the power of God, rather than his own ‘genius’, that he will succeed and that his work will be pleasing to God indicating his awareness of the sacred nature of his work:

‘… dall’altra parte considerando che non haveva mai fatto ne visto far mosaico, se ne tirava indietro; ma vedendo questo, giudicò esser piacimento di Dio in nel qual confidatosi, accettò quest’impresa in nella quale ogni difficoltà che infinitè se ne rappresentavano, con l’aiuto divino venne totalmente superata.’

Gregory XIII, in his determination to have his chapel decorated with mosaics of the highest standard appealed to the Venetian Nuncio to send him four of his best and most

137 Cesare Domenichi, Incisio della cappella Gregoriana, 1580 (Parigi Bibliothèque Nationale), see Tosini, 2008, p.220.
138 Tosini, 2008, p.221.
139 Lamouche, 2019
141 Tosini, 2008, p.221.
experienced worker although it seems that these workers were not provided by Venice.\textsuperscript{142}

Once again however, Gregory XIII sought out expertise in order to achieve his goals.\textsuperscript{143}

The mosaic decoration of the chapel began in May 1578 and substantially finished in December 1579.\textsuperscript{144} With the passage of time, the mosaics suffered natural deterioration due to dirt, humidity, and perhaps due to the specific techniques used by the mosaicists.\textsuperscript{145}

Individual tessere calcified and simply fell from the walls. Regular maintenance was required until it was deemed necessary to make more radical interventions. In 1691, the mosaicist Giuseppe Conti was charged with washing, cleaning, and replacing where necessary, decorative parts of the vault. This process was repeated in 1711 and 1712.\textsuperscript{146}

By the 1760’s it was realised that the level of deterioration merited a restoration of all the mosaics in the chapel. Unfortunately, all documentation pertaining to the original work, along with Muziano’s cartoons, had disappeared and therefore a full restoration required the creation of new cartoons.\textsuperscript{147} The creation of new cartoons for the lunettes, pendentives 1769-1772, and the cupola 1772-1775, was entrusted to Nicola LaPiccola (1730-1790) and Salvatore Monosilio (1717-1776) respectively from 1769-1775.\textsuperscript{148} LaPiccola was

\textsuperscript{142} AFSP, arm 53, 148, c. 313, fol 38r. In Tolomeo Gallio’s letter to the Venetian Nuncio, he asked: ‘... che usi exactissima diligenza di trovare sin’a quattro huomini intendentissimi, et più eccellenti che sia possibile nele cose del detto mosaico, et li mandi quà quanto prima,...’.


\textsuperscript{144} Turriziani, 2011, p.210. According to Turriziani it was possible to read an inscription under the figure of St. Jerome which read: HIERONIMUS MUTIANUS BRIXIANUS, A.D. 1579, ibid., p.212.

\textsuperscript{145} Gregory XIII initiated the beginnings of what was to become the Vatican workshop, encouraging innovation. One such innovation was the use of oil of putty for mosaics which allowed longer periods for the application of tessere.

\textsuperscript{146} Turriziani, 2011, p.213.

\textsuperscript{147} AFSP, Arm. 16, A170, cc. 24-26, Libro delle Congregazione, 1744-1760: ‘... L’opera è del Muziani, ed il lavoro ascende a più migliaia di palmi, rappresentandosi i quattro antichi Dottori della Chiesa, S. Gregorio, S. Girolamo, S. Basilio, e S. Gregorio Nazianzeno, de quali li originali cartoni non si rinvengono ... Sarebbe necessario rifare li suddetti quattro angoli, che sono calcinati, e cadenti, onde si potrebbe far prendere l’idea de medesimi ... ’, December 1752, n.11.

\textsuperscript{148} AFSP, Arm. 43, G, 111, cc. 74, 97, 241 and Arm. 43 G, 116, respectively.
commissioned to create new cartoons for the lunettes but instead he simply remade cartoons from the original mosaics. While the lunette mosaics visible today are not completely original, they are faithful to Muziano’s style and composition. Tosini cites Valentino’s description of the chapel before restoration, which confirms the faithfulness of the lunettes to their original execution by Muziano. Similarly, a watercolour of a section of the dome by Francesco Bartoli before restoration, showing the Annunciation and the Doctors St. Gregory the Great and St. Jerome, confirms the faithfulness of LaPiccola’s restoration of the Annunciation to its original (Fig. 3.34).

Bartoli’s watercolour also confirms the difference between Muziano’s original depiction of St. Gregory the Great and St. Jerome and their restored versions, most striking in the rendering of their clothing, their expressions, and the overall busyness of the new compositions. Muziano’s Doctors are self-contained, solemn, still, and captured in the process of concentration and meditation on their work while the later restorations see the Doctors in ‘action’ with more exuberant gestures looking outward or upward rather on their work (Fig. 3.35). Muziano clearly identifies the Doctors by including their attributes, St. Jerome with the Lion and Gregory the Great with the dove of the Holy Spirit. Gone is the Lion in the restored depiction of St. Jerome and he is instead identified by his naked torso signifying his desert asceticism. The inclusion of flying putti, dramatic gesture, and a crowded picture plane is reflective of an eighteenth century approach. It is observed that the original position of the figures of the two Doctors remain with the figures seated, legs extended or retracted as per the original, feet are in the same position and the figures are facing in the same direction. This indicates that the pre-existing outline of the figures was reused in restoration.

149 Tosini, 2008, p. 416: ‘Nel 1776-79 La Piccola riceveva inoltre pagamenti per cartoni raffiguranti L’Angelo, La Vergine, Isaia, e Ezechiele, con l’evidente intenzione di estendere il rifacimento anche alle lunette, cosa che fortunatamente non ebbe luogo, preservando le originali figure concepite da Muziano.’
150 Ibid., p.417.
Francesco Bartoli held the title *Antiquario* to the papal court and his watercolour belongs to a corpus of drawings, *Insignia Auguralia Sacralia et Sacerdotalia* from 1709-1711, commissioned and bought by John Talman to record the state of particular churches in Italy during this period.\(^{152}\) Talman’s overriding ambition was to amass a large collection of drawings, prints, and engravings of architectural interest for the educational purposes in England.\(^{153}\) The credentials of this watercolour indicate that its function was to faithfully record architectural details and therefore it presents as a reliable source for the analysis of Muziano’s mosaics. It is however worth noting that it is a secondary rather than a primary image complete with Bartoli’s own style and interpretation rather than an absolute replication of the images and needs to be treated as such. This variation is illustrated in his watercolour of the main altar of the *Madonna del Soccorso* where the scale, colour, and details such as the altar wall are not completely faithful to the original (Fig. 3.36).

While it is unfortunate that the original mosaics are not extant, the core compositions and subject matter are intact and can be examined. The objective of this research is to examine the function of the subject matter of the mosaics and to assess their contribution to the overall communication of the chapel.

### 3.5.2 The Lunettes:

**i) The Annunciation:**

The belief that the Virgin Mary is the Mother of God is the corollary of the belief that her son Jesus is God incarnate. The Incarnation teaches that the Word of God became part of his own creation when he was conceived and born of the Virgin Mary. The Word of God became flesh in Mary’s womb for the salvation of the world and his unique salvific power derives from his identity as true God and true man. For this reason, Mary is essential to the Christian account of God and creation. The Virgin Mary imparts humanity in the

\(^{152}\) Sicca, 1996, n.82, p.117.

\(^{153}\) Ibid., pp.110-111.
union between God and humanity. This belief is expressed in the teaching that the Virgin Mary conceived Jesus by the power of the Holy Spirit when she was still a virgin.\textsuperscript{154} During this event, Mary gave her free assent to the conception of Christ, ‘Let it be to me according to thy word’ (Luke 1:38), and became both a moral and physical agent in the world’s salvation.\textsuperscript{155} This was the Annunciation.

Images and representations of the \textit{Annunciation} developed and proliferated over the centuries. Vloberg proposes that a second-century representation in the catacomb of Pricilla, \textit{Madonna with Child and Prophet}, represents Isaiah’s prophesy of the virginal conception of Christ, which confirms the belief in divine maternity three centuries before the doctrine was affirmed at the Council of Ephesus, 431.\textsuperscript{156} It is argued by writers such as Jaroslav Pelikan that there are at least three images of what seem to be representations of the \textit{Annunciation} in the catacombs: the \textit{Catacomba di Santa Priscilla}, \textit{Catacomba di Santi Marcellino e Pietro} and the \textit{Catacomba di Via Latina}.\textsuperscript{157} This is disputed by Geri Parlby who argues that the figure identified as the Virgin Mary in these \textit{Annunciations} is more likely that of the deceased.\textsuperscript{158}

What is undisputed however is that in honour of the definition promulgated by the Council of Ephesus, 431 of Mary as Mother of God, Pope Sixtus III (432-40) built a shrine to the Virgin Mary, the \textit{Basilica di Santa Maria Maggiore} in Rome. Its celebrated mosaics, including the \textit{Annunciation} and the \textit{Epiphany} on the triumphal arch, gave artistic form to this definition (Fig. 3.37).\textsuperscript{159}

\textsuperscript{155} Ibid., p.4.
\textsuperscript{157} Pelikan, 1996, pp.81-82. These representations were thought to be derivative from the \textit{Protevangelium of James}, a non-canonical text.
\textsuperscript{158} Parlby, 2008, pp.41- 56.
The inscription on top of the arch *Xystus Episcopus plebe Dei* indicates the didactic purpose of the images, which centre on the Virgin Mary and illustrates the definition of Ephesus: it proclaims Mary as Theotokos and depicts her role in the mysteries of Christ’s childhood, from the Annunciation to the flight into Egypt (Fig. 3.19). Representations of the *Annunciation* have been part of the visual repertoire associated with prayer and worship, be it public or private, since early antiquity.

The image of the *Annunciation* in the Gregorian Chapel participates in this tradition and establishes the genesis of the Incarnation framed above the icon of the Madonna and Child as prophesised in the Old Testament, proclaimed by the prophets in the second lunette of the Chapel. The *Madonna del Soccorso* displays the miracle incarnate and thus her inextricable role as Mother of God in salvation. The *Annunciation* is part of the woven pattern of the artistic programme in the chapel and is physically connected to the altar of the *Madonna del Soccorso* by the embracing arch of the lunette, unifying the programme.

The *Annunciation* of the Gregorian chapel differs from the human centred aesthetic of Renaissance images or the realism or naturalism more prevalent at this time. For example, Pontormo’s fresco of the *Annunciation* in *San Felicità* in Florence 1525-28 is similar in format to Gregorian *Annunciation* (Fig. 3.38). It is simple in its expression of the human beauty of the Virgin but without the Holy Spirit the nature of the event remains slightly ambiguous. In Lorenzo Lotto’s *Annunciation* 1534-5, the beauty of the Virgin is expressed in her surprise as she turns to the viewer (Fig. 3.39). God the Father bursts upon the scene with an outstretched hand but the Holy Spirit is absent. This newly imagined form of the Annunciation is grounded in the reality of everyday albeit idealised, but the Annunciation as an event seems secondary. The figure of the Virgin in the Gregorian chapel is kneeling in the act of praying with a book open at a *prie-dieu*. She is solemn and

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160 *Annunciation* by artists such as Fra Angelico, 1452, Cortona; Domenico Veneziano, 1445, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; Fillipo Lippi, 1455-60, NG London; Leonardo da Vinco, 1472, Uffizi; Andreo del Sarto, 1528, Palazzo Pitti; Titian, 1540, Scuola grande di San Rocco.
meditative in her expression, focusing on her inner world, meditating on the prophesy (Fig. 3.40). This is a traditional expression of the laudable condition of *Cogitatio*, where the Virgin Mary displays her prudence in her reflection on the event. She reflects, she is in profile with a veil covering her head and a red dress covered by a blue cloak. Her surprise at the miraculous appearance of the angel Gabriel on a golden cloud and the dove of the Holy Spirit hovering overhead in a golden aura is registered in a gentle gesture of her hands. Her figure is monumental, her expression reserved and complicit, ‘Let it be according to thy Word’. The angel Gabriel arrives on a shimmering and shining golden cloud to give her the news. He gestures upwards and to his left forming a diagonal from the gesture of the Virgin, to Gabriel, to the prophets who foretold the event to his left.

The style and composition of Muziano’s *Annunciation*, and indeed all his representations within the chapel, provides an alternative to the more profane aesthetics of the Renaissance and redress the balance between the sacred and profane with a greater emphasis on the sacred. This is not a borrowing from antiquity for the sake of continuity with early Christian decoration, nor is it an expression of an oppressive melancholy or requisite dullness associated with Roman ‘Counter Reformation’ art as Freedberg would have us believe. It is a solemn expression of ‘otherness’ as a display of a sacred event. This *Annunciation* is a clear documentation of the narrative with all the required attributes of the event including her aspect of *Cogitatio*, without the inclusion of superfluous detail. Muziano’s style reflects the monumentality, refinement, and solemnity of the chapel itself. Gregory XIII chose Muziano for his clarity, naturalism, and the monumentality of his figures. In this way Gregory XIII exercised agency in the style and specifics of the iconography of the chapel.

**ii) The Old Testament Prophets, Ezekiel and Isaiah:**

The prophets in the lunette to the right of the *Annunciation* are both composed in a similar

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style to the *Annunciation*. The monumental figure of Ezekiel is seated to the left of the separating window with his arm resting on his desk as he reads (Fig. 3.41). The bearded figure of Isaiah is seated to the right and positioned facing the separating window while writing but looking over his shoulder to his left. He is absorbed by the golden aura of the Lord in his study (Fig.3.41b). This miraculous aura seems to refer to the source of the prophecy which has been recorded by these prophets: PORTA HAES CLAUSA ERIT ET NON APERIETUR ET VIR NON TRANSBIT PER EAM (Ezekiel 42, 2): “This gate shall be shut, it shall not be opened and no one shall enter by it”. This refers to the prophecy of the perpetual virginity of the Virgin Mary both before and ever after the birth of Christ recorded in the book behind the prophet. Isaiah’s inscription is written on a tablet standing behind him: ECCE VIRGO CONCIPIET ET PARIET FILIUM ET VOCABIT NOME EIUS EMANUEL (Isaiah 7, 14): “Behold a virgin will conceive and bear a son and shall call him his name Emmanuel.” Both inscriptions refer to the prophecy of the Virgin birth and foretell the coming of Emmanuel in the Annunciation.\(^1\)\(^6\)\(^3\) This lunette does not simply document the prophecies but identifies and records their spiritual source.

### 3.5.3 The Pendentives:

Four Doctors of the Church are represented in the pendentives supporting the cupola of the Gregorian chapel (Fig. 3.32). The Doctors represented are St. Jerome (347-420), and St. Gregory the Great (c540-604), St. Basil the Great (330-379), and St. Gregory of Nazianzeno (329-390). Research examining the motive for choosing these particular Doctors from a possible eight Doctors is sparse and tends to belong to either thematic treatments of the chapel or analyses of specific elements of the chapel rather than broader more exhaustive approaches.\(^1\)\(^6\)\(^4\) DiFederico in *The Mosaics of St. Peter’s* takes a general view in order to interpret the presence of all eight Doctors of the Church across all corner

\(^1\)\(^6\) The prophets were often represented, but not necessarily, with inscriptions documenting their prophecies. These varied prophecies when included were often used as a gloss on the main subject of the altarpiece. Michelangelo’s representation of the prophets in the Sistine Chapel did not include an inscription of their prophecies.

\(^1\)\(^6\)\(^4\) The eight Doctors are: St. Gregory the Great, St. Augustine, St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, St. Gregory of Nazianzeno, St. Basil the Great, St. John Chrysostom, St. Athanasius, with St. Thomas Aquinas added later.
chapels in St. Peter’s basilica rather than on a chapel by chapel basis.\textsuperscript{165} He alludes to the influence of Baronius and the new Catholic historicism for establishing this iconography and interprets the Doctors’ presence as primarily a demonstration of how the Church rests on the writings and dogmas of these men. He argues that the presence of these Doctors does not reference their writings on the Virgin Mary.\textsuperscript{166} While this ‘macro’ analysis is correct, it contributes little to our understanding of Gregory XIII’s choice of these specific Doctors among a range of eight candidates for his chapel. DiFederico’s specialist treatment of mosaic decoration only, excludes the dynamic shaping by other iconographic references and their contribution to the function of the chapel as a place of worship.

Rice argues that the inclusion of the Doctors signifies a central theme of the chapel, namely the harmony between the Latin and Greek Churches.\textsuperscript{167} Bellini expands on this thematic position, maintaining that the presence of the Greek Fathers in the Gregorian chapel reflects Gregory XIII’s preoccupation with ending the schism between Eastern and Western Churches.\textsuperscript{168} He notes that Gregory XIII, for the whole of his pontificate, wanted to extend the influence of the Roman Church to the East. He recognised the Greek origins of the Church – the Greek language of the New Testament and much of the heritage of the Church.\textsuperscript{169} Gregory XIII wanted a universal Church and according to Bellini, did not want to cede exclusivity of this tradition to the Greek or Eastern Church. For this reason, Bellini argues, Gregory XIII supported the Greek congregation, built \textit{San Antanasio dei Greci} for the Greek community in Rome, and printed copies of the Tridentine catechism in Greek. The presence of the Greek Fathers in the chapel is a statement of Gregory XIII’s desire for unity between East and West and of a universal Church according to Bellini. While it is true that Gregory XIII aspired to unity between East and West and a universal Church, he worked tirelessly to achieve this by means other than the chapel.

\textsuperscript{165} DiFederico, 1983.
\textsuperscript{166} DiFederico, 1983, p.10.
\textsuperscript{167} Rice, 1997, p.25.
\textsuperscript{168} Bellini, 1999-2002.
\textsuperscript{169} Bellini, 2011, p.201.
Tosini notes that Basil the Great and Gregory Nazianzeno were both associated with the fight against the Arian and Eunomian heresies, which she indicates is an obvious metaphor for Protestant heresies in the Post-Tridentine age.¹⁷⁰ For Tosini, the Gregorian Chapel is the manifestation of a political utopia for Gregory XIII. Once again, it is in the broad sweep of interpretation that the nuances of the individual Doctors’ contribution to the chapel are overlooked.

This research proposes that the inclusion of two specific Greek Fathers along with St. Gregory the Great and St Jerome in this chapel references the immutable contribution of the Doctors to the orthodoxy of the Church based on their revelatory writings, as signified by reading and writing materials included in their representations. Their presence as an aspiration of unity or as an act to precipitate an end to the schism seems too transitory and particular to be appropriate to the communication of this chapel built for eternity. While there is little doubt that this is a communication of harmony between East and West, the message here is more profound. The presence of these particular doctors represented together highlights the specific theological contributions of each of these Doctors to the Church and that the essence of Church belief lies inextricably in both its Eastern and Western roots.

Turriziani in her article ‘Le Immagini Mariane Nell’Arte Musiva Della Basilica’, although not primarily concerned with the pendentive decorations nevertheless observes the interactive quality of the iconography.¹⁷¹ She notes that while the motivation for selecting the Doctors is unclear, there are a number of possible reasons for their presence. Gregory the Great was Gregory XIII’s namesake and a source of inspiration and emulation; Gregory Nazianzeno’s presence is motivated by Gregory XIII’s devotion and admiration of his Trinitarian doctrine; Basil the Great, friend and Church colleague of Gregory

Nazianzeno, wrote and is represented with his work *Exameron*, which is a collection of nine homilies on the six days of creation. Finally, St. Jerome was an unforgettable defender of the virginity of Mary. While these proposals are not derived from any particular contextual framework, they do serve to direct focus towards the particular contributions of each of the Doctors to the overall iconographic scheme.

Papoulia in her examination of the Gregorian Chapel argues that the presence of the Doctors supports Gregory XIII’s interest in bringing Eastern and Western churches together. It also, she claims, points to the centrality of the cult of the Virgin in the Chapel. The Doctors were, according to Papoulia, all defenders of the devotional status of the Virgin. She notes that both Gregory Nazianzeno and St. Jerome wrote in defence of the Virgin Mary’s virginity, St. Basil praises her as Theotokos, Mother of God in his hymn *All of Creation*, and St. Gregory the Great had promoted the Virgin’s intercessory role when a miraculous image of the Virgin in S. Maria Maggiore, the *Salus Populi Romani*, was carried through the streets during a plague in Rome in 590. Papoulia concludes that the whole of the altar of the *Madonna del Soccorso* was a defence of the Virgin’s cult in the face of heretics. While there is no denying the centrality of the Madonna to the main altar and to the chapel as a whole, the evidence for the primacy of the Virgin’s cult in the writings of these Doctors is weak. The Greek Doctors in particular were not well known for their writings on the Virgin Mary. This research proposes that the Virgin is central to the chapel but as an agent of the Incarnation, undisputed by the Reformation. It is suggested that a disregard for the liturgy of the chapel, the writings of the Doctors, the two subsidiary chapels, and the chapel as primarily a place of worship have perhaps lead Papoulia, Bellini, and Tosini to overlook the sacramental dimension of the chapel.

172 Papoulia, 2015.
173 Ibid., 2015, p.170.
A number of assumptions have precipitated different but related accounts for the presence of the four Doctors in the Gregorian Chapel. These assumptions pertain to the responsiveness of Gregory XIII’s patronage to the challenges of the Reformation and the prescriptions of the Council of Trent. This infuses the Doctors’ presence in the chapel with political intent and there is no direct evidence to support this position. DiFederico is categoric, in that the Church does rest on the writings and dogmas of these men. The outstanding question pertains to the particular contributions of each of these Doctors in their writings and proclaimed dogmas.

3.5.4 The Iconographic significance of the Four Doctors in the pendentives of the chapel:
In 1568, the Roman Breviary used in the recitation of the canonical hours was revised and reissued by Pius V (1566-72). The custom of reciting prayers at fixed hours, through the day and night, in the name of the whole Church reaches back to the first centuries of the Christian era. In its original form, the breviary consisted of passages from the Holy Scriptures. Over time, these hours of prayer became seven, one for the night and six for the day. The breviary was for the greater part made up of psalms, arranged so that the whole of the Psalter was recited from beginning-to-end once in a week, the psalms being interrupted, especially in the night hour, by lections from the Holy Scriptures, or on the festivals of the saints by lections drawn from their lives. By the sixteenth century, the breviary had departed from its traditional form. Complaints were made due to the multiplication of the feast days of saints, all of whom had psalms of their own, these few psalms were constantly being said and as a result, the recitation of the complete Psalter had become almost impossible. Not enough time was being spent on the lections from the Holy Scripture, while dubious accounts written in barbarous Latin drawn from the lives of saints were being given greater emphasis. Added to this, the breviary continued to expand with obligatory prayers making the Divine Office unreasonably long. Revision

175 Ibid.
was anticipated by the Quinones 1535 reform, which resulted in the publication of the *Breviaium sancæ crucis*. This publication sought to offer a more concise, self-evidently well organised, and didactically useful liturgical book. An official revision of the breviary was overdue and Pius V, continuing the work of his predecessors issued a bull, *Quod a Nobis* July 9th 1568, in an effort to obviate identified difficulties with the celebration of the Divine Office.176

The Psalter and Holy Scriptures were appropriately restored and provision was made for due order, accuracy, and clarity, which had been lacking. According to Pastor, it was through the efforts of Christian humanism to give the Western Church the full benefits of the writings of the Greek Fathers, John Chrysostom (349-407), Basil the Great (330-379), Gregory of Nazianzeno (329-390), and Athanasius (296-373), that the breviary lections were now to include their writings.177 They were also honoured by the Apostolic see with public cults, as teachers of the universal Church and placed side by side with the four original Doctors: Ambrose (337-397), Augustine (354-430), Jerome (347-420), and Gregory the Great (c540-604) as mentioned. In 1568, there were now eight Doctors of the Church, all honoured for their contribution to the Church through their writings. The Divine Office includes a biblical reading followed by a reading from the Fathers, or Church writers but pride of place is given to the Doctors because of their distinctive authority in the Church. Extracts from their writings are read aloud as chapters or *lecio* and heard by the congregation during the Liturgy of the Divine Office. The congregation of the Gregorian Chapel listened to the Doctors portrayed above them in the pendentives ‘speak’ during the Divine Office, enriching their sense of Catholic orthodoxy and enhancing the power of the images above them.

Two sources are examined in order to assess the main contribution of each of the Doctors

176 Papal Encyclical 1568.
177 Pastor, 1955.
to the Church and the Gregorian Chapel. The first source references their writings, and the second source refers to extracts from their writings included in the Roman Breviary read aloud during the Divine Office in the Gregorian Chapel each day during the pontificate of Gregory XIII with both Gregory Nazianzeno and Basil the Great newly included in the lessons of the breviary.

i) Gregory Nazianzeno was called ‘The Great’ by the Ecumenical Council of Ephesus, 431 and universally known as ‘The Theologian’ or ‘The Divine’. His writings include a wide range of orations, letters, and poems. There are forty-five orations in all, but the Five Theological Orations earned him the title ‘The Theologian’. They were delivered in Constantinople, in defence of the Church’s faith in the Trinity. In the First and Second Orations, he treats of the existence, nature, being, and attributes of God. In the Third and Fourth he treats of the subject of the Godhead of the Son and in the Fifth he maintains the Deity and Personality of the Holy Spirit. While the Virgin Mary, Mother of God, does feature in his writings, Oration 38 On the Theophany and in his letters, poetry, and his Christian drama although this is of disputed authorship, she is not the primary focus of his writings.

Much of our understanding of the Holy Trinity is derived from Gregory Nazianzeno’s theology. In the Third Theological Oration he writes:

‘We honour a Single Source of all, not a Single Source defined by a single agent – for it is possible that even what is single could come to be in conflict with itself and become multiple – but one that a shared dignity of nature and harmony of will produces, an identity of movement, and a convergence towards the One of what comes forth from it. All of this is impossible on the level of created nature. The

179 Ibid., p.200.
result is that even if there is a difference in number, there is no separation in substance... In our language, this is the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit: the one is the Begetter, the Producer, and of the others one is begotten, the other produced ... So let us remain within our boundaries and use the language of ‘Unbegotten’ and ‘Begotten’ and What proceeds from the Father’, as God the Word himself puts it.’ (Oration 29:2).\textsuperscript{181}

On the Trinity and the Holy Spirit Gregory wrote:

‘[...] showing reverence to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, recognising in the Son the Father, in the Spirit the Son, into whom we have been baptized ..., with whom we are united, distinguishing them before uniting, and uniting them before dividing them, recognizing that the Three are not like the One - because the names are not without hypostaseis or attributed only to one hypostasis, as if richness is for us in the names and not in the objects (or realities) - but that Three are One. In effect, they are One not because of their hypostases but because of their divinity. The One is revered in the Three and the Three summed up in One, all to be revered, all regal, on one sole throne, of one unique glory, above the world, above time, uncreated, invisible, intangible, incomprehensible, alone to know the order residing in it, but worthy of being honoured and served by us in the same manner; it alone penetrates into the Holy of Holies, leaving all creatures outside; [...]’. (Oration 6:22).\textsuperscript{182}

Gregory of Nazianzeno had been selected by the Ecumenical Council of Constantinople I, but later withdrew. He did however make a contribution to the council with his theological

\textsuperscript{181} Ibid., pp.46-47.
arguments regarding the status of the Holy Spirit and his doctrine of the Trinity. Gregory emphasised that Jesus did not cease to be God when he became man, nor did he lose his divine attributes: ‘If I worshipped a creature, I would not be called a Christian. Why is Christianity precious? Is it not that Christ is God.’ (Oration 37:17).  

During the Divine Office, extracts from Gregory Nazianzeno’s writings, particularly his orations and homilies, were read aloud (see appendix XI). On his feast day of May 9th during the second Nocturne, the fourth, fifth and sixth lessons are devoted to briefly introducing Gregory Nazianzeno to the congregation by way of a short biography. The sixth lesson includes the following description:

‘... He was one of the latest champions of the doctrine that the Son is of one substance with the Father. No one has ever won greater praise for goodness of life, neither was any man more earnest in prayer.’

Readings from his writings include extracts from his discourse on the Epiphany, Baptism or the Trinity. On the Incarnation and the Virgin Mary he wrote:

‘... He came to His own proper image and bore flesh for the sake of flesh, and mingled with a rational soul for my soul’s sake, wholly cleansing like by like. In every respect save that of a sin, He became human; conceived from the Virgin who had first been purified in soul and flesh by the Spirit (for it was right both that childbirth be honoured, and that virginity be honoured still more highly); coming forth as God, along with what he had taken on; one form two opposites, flesh and Spirit – the one of which shared divinity, the other of which was divinised ...’.  

Oration 38: 13.

\[183\] Ibid., p.421.  
This brief evaluation of Gregory Nazianzeno’s writings indicates that his contribution to
the Gregorian Chapel lies in his theology and the subsequent doctrine of the Holy Trinity
and the Holy Spirit.

ii) St. Jerome is a familiar figure in literature and art with a lion at his feet and biblical
manuscripts in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew strewn around him in his study. According to
Rebenich, Jerome’s greatest achievement was in his translation of most of Scripture into
Latin from the original languages.186 His contribution was his translation of the sense of
the scripts that he worked on, and his correction of errors and inconsistencies that he
identified. ‘... but Latin manuscripts of the Scriptures are proved to be faulty by the
variations which all of them exhibit, and my object has been to restore them to the form of
the Greek original, from which my detractors do not deny that they have been translated.’
(Epistle 27, Chapter 2).187 This effort to rid sources of the error of heresy was a task
pursued rigorously by Gregory XIII and promoted by the Council of Trent.

Apart for his translation of the Bible into Latin, Jerome was instrumental in introducing the
ascetic life into Western Europe. He lived during the age of the great Fathers of Ambrose
and Augustine in the West and of Basil the Great, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory Nazianzeno
and Chrysostom in the East. He knew and corresponded with Ambrose and Augustine and
studied under Gregory Nazianzeno at the time of the Council of Constantinople.

St. Jerome’s written oeuvre is immense. His work includes Bible and Psalm translations,
commentaries, books illustrative of Scripture, books on Church History and Controversy
(Book of Illustrious Men, Lives of Hermits, Dialogue against the Luciferians, among

185 Daley, 2006, p.123.
187 Schaff (a), 2012, p.44.
others), Books of ascetic controversy, General history and his epistles. His main contribution to the Church was in his translation of the books of the bible and of the Psalms.

With regard to Jerome’s defence of the Virgin Mary, he responded to the heresy of Helvidius who claimed that the so-called brothers of Jesus, mentioned in the synoptic Gospels, were in fact sons born to Mary and Joseph. Such a proposition negates the perpetual virginity of the Virgin Mary. *De perpetua virginatate Mariae adversus Helvidium* was Jerome’s response to Helvidius’s heresy. In this treatise Jerome maintains against Helvidius that Joseph was really the husband of Mary, that the ‘Brethren’ of the Lord were his cousins not his own brethren and that virginity is better than marriage. Referencing Ezekiel he notes that:

‘Only Christ opened the closed doors of the virginal womb, which continued to remain closed, however. This is the closed eastern fate, through which only the high priest may enter and exit and which nevertheless is always closed.’

Jerome’s defence of the Virgin Mary was a defence against the heresy of Helvidius rather than a spontaneous outpouring of a theological position on the Virgin Mary. It seems then that Jerome’s contribution to, and recognition by the Church, is primarily due to his translations of scripture, corrections of errors in translations, and his promotion of the power of asceticism.

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188 Ibid., 2012, pp.xxv-xxvi.
189 Schaff (a), 2012, pp.334-335.
An extract from the Sermons of St. Jerome read during the Divine Liturgy includes the following:

‘Who and what was the blessed and glorious Mary, always a Virgin, hath been revealed by God by the message of an Angel in these words, ‘Hail thou that art full of grace, the Lord is with thee, blessed art thou among women’. It was fitting that a fullness of grace should be poured into that Virgin who hath given to God glory and to man a Saviour, who hath given faith to the Gentiles, who hath killed sin, who hath given law to life, who hath made the crooked ways straight. Verily, She is full of grace.’ 191

St. Jerome’s contribution to the iconography of the chapel centres on his translation of scripture emphasising the scriptural basis of Christian orthodoxy, his promotion of the ascetic life, and his Christological and subsequent defence of the Virgin Mary as Mother of God, that is the Annunciation.

iii) Basil the Great’s extant works are numerous. He wrote homilies, letters, dogmatic tracts against Eunomious and treatise on the Holy Spirit. He commented on the Book of Isaiah and completed numerous commentaries on the Psalms. He issued discourses exhorting the renunciation of the world, Christian endurance, and general ascetic values. The seventh lesson on his feast day, June 14th features a Homily by St Basil on the subject of his Rule:

‘... The first step towards this crown of abnegation is to estrange ourselves from outward things, such as property, public reputation, habits of life and affection for things unnecessary, whereof the immediate disciple of our Holy Lord have left us a fine example...’. 192

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De Spiritu Santo addresses the doctrine of the Holy Spirit in an effort to reinstate the dignity of the Holy Spirit damaged by the Arian heresy. Basil the Great is associated with this work on the Holy Spirit and his work on the Liturgy, which is referenced in the subsidiary chapel of the Gregorian Chapel where St. Basil is portrayed celebrating Mass. His liturgy is known for its particularly beautiful prayers and anaphors celebrating the experience of the eternal life of the kingdom of the Blessed Trinity.

With regard to the Virgin Mary, Basil the Great also comes from a Christological point of view. His treatment of the Virgin Mary focuses on Mary’s role within the context of the mystery of the Incarnation.

‘... Thus was fulfilled the mystery ordained before all ages and announced of old by the prophets: Behold the virgin shall conceive in her womb and bear a son and shall call his name Emmanuel, which translated means: God-with-us. (Isaiah 7,14). This ancient name also contains the revelation of the whole mystery, namely that God will be with men. For it says: Emmanuel, which means God-with-us.193 ... the Lord Himself gave a sign: a sign truly extraordinary and portentous, far superior to the common law of nature: the same woman is both Virgin and Mother; and though remaining in the holy condition of Virginity, she also obtains the blessing of childbearing.’194

Basil the Great’s contribution to the chapel focuses on his writings on the orthodoxy on the Holy Spirit, the Holy Trinity, the Incarnation, the Divine Liturgy and his advocacy of asceticism (see appendix XII).

192 Ibid., Vol.III, 1908, p.628.
194 Ibid., pp.143-144.
iv) The work and contribution of Gregory the Great has been already documented (see appendix XIII for readings included in the Divine Office).

The Doctors of the Pendentives each made a unique contribution to the orthodoxy of the Christian Church. The issues of interest to these Doctors refer to the foundations of Christian orthodoxy: The Holy Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Virgin Mary as Mother of God, the Eucharistic sacrifice, redemption, and salvation. These ineluctable concepts infuse the chapel and are made manifest through the iconography and the celebration the Divine Office.

Lessons read from the revised Roman Breviary of 1568 and subsequent revisions of 1570 and 1572, echoed the individual contributions of each of the Doctors and resonated through the chapel to be shared by the congregation. Instead of focusing on the aspiration of unity between the East and West, this research suggests that the presence of the Doctors in the pendentives of the chapel is a setting-down of the universal nature of the Church as a fact, and a setting-out of the irrefutable genealogy of the Church as being both eastern and western in nature. This analysis underlines the continuity of doctrine in which all aspects are related and interrelated. Each of the Doctors contribute to the narrative of the chapel in expressing fundamental Christian beliefs from the celestial realm above the altar and these ‘truths’ are carried on a thundering wave of sound that echoes and resonates throughout the basilica during the Divine Office.\textsuperscript{195}

\textsuperscript{195} Archivio di Capitolo, \textit{Hebdomade Turni} (1581 – 1585), Arm. 16, n.4.
3.6 The Altars of St. Basil the Great and St. Jerome.

Both of these altars are subsidiary or side-altars situated on the pier of St Longinus, each sheltered by a barrel vault. The altar of St. Jerome is on the east side of the pier and the altar of St. Basil is on the north side of the pier (Fig. 3.1). Both of these altars are expressed as two large marble aediculae. The deep niche is filled with a single large painting that is the altarpiece. The altars are in perfect symmetry differentiated only by the colour of their framing Corinthian columns and by the shape of the pediment above. The columns of the Altar of St. Basil are veined bluish-grey polished marble supporting a white curved pediment while the altar of St. Jerome is framed by veined coral coloured marble columns supporting a white triangular pediment. Each of the altars includes an altar table directly in front of the altarpiece, with the area in front of the altar table extended beyond the columns and enclosed by a balustrade (Fig. 3.42). The simplicity and clarity of the articulation of these altars belies their monumentality. The main altar of the Madonna del Soccorso is similarly articulated but the arch of the lunette above extends the framing, establishing a more monumental presence for this altar. The symmetry among the three altars connects all the subjects together.

3.6.1 History of the Mass of St. Basil:

The original altarpiece designed for the niche of the altar of St. Basil was an oil painting of the Mass of St. Basil. Muziano was commissioned by Gregory XIII to execute the painting in 1582 and it was underway 1583-84 but was interrupted by Gregory XIII’s death in 1585.\textsuperscript{196} It remained unfinished in Muziano’s studio but was eventually finished by Cesare Nebbia (1536-1614). The original painting was lost in the eighteenth century but a record of the painting survives in an engraving made by Jacques Callot (1592-1635) and two preparatory drawings by Muziano, both documented by Tosini (Fig. 3.43).\textsuperscript{197} By the

\textsuperscript{196} Tosini, 2008, p.226.

\textsuperscript{197} Tosini, 2008.
eighteenth century the original painting was in such a state of deterioration that Luigi Vanvitelli (1700-73) was asked to make a copy of it as a model for its translation into mosaic for the altar.\textsuperscript{198} However, in 1732 Vanvitelli was commissioned to paint a new altarpiece with the same subject but the only surviving evidence of this commission is a preliminary drawing. The painting currently on display on St. Basil’s altar is a mosaic copy of a painting of the \textit{Mass of St. Basil} by Subleyras (1699-1749) contracted for Benedict XIV (1675-1758) in 1743 and ready to be copied in mosaic by 1749 for the Jubilee of 1750.\textsuperscript{199} The original painting by Subleyras hangs in \textit{Santa Maria degli Angeli} (Fig. 3.44). While this current painting and the painting by Muziano and Nebbia treat of the same subject, the composition and execution of these works differ considerably.

The Original Altarpiece of \textit{The Mass of St. Basil}:
This is a rare and unusual subject. The event is recounted in Gregory Nazianzeno’s panegyric on St. Basil on the anniversary of St. Basil’s death. The subject treated in the painting is recorded in Gregory Nazianzeno’s funeral oration on the Great St. Basil, Bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia.\textsuperscript{200}

The preface to the Mass is as follows: St. Basil was summoned by the prefect Modestus to account for his unwillingness to respect and submit to the Arian beliefs of the Emperor Valens (364-368). St. Basil showed no fear before the threats of the prefect indicating that ‘death is my benefactor, for it will send me the sooner to God, for Whom I live, and exist, and have all but died, and to Whom I have long been hastening.’\textsuperscript{201} The prefect was amazed and shocked by St. Basil who said that ‘...Fire and sword, and wild beasts, and rakes which tear the flesh, we revel in, and fear them not.... The Emperor himself may


\textsuperscript{199} Antonio Pinelli (ed.), 2000, p.671.

\textsuperscript{200} Schaff (b), 2012, pp.411-412; see also Tosini, 2008, p.226; Antonio Pinelli, 2000, p.671.

\textsuperscript{201} Schaff (b), 2012, p.411.
hear this – that neither by violence nor persuasion will you bring us to make common cause with impiety, not even though your threats become more terrible.' The prefect convinced that St. Basil was impervious to threats, dismissed him from the court and went to the Emperor to describe his experience. The Emperor then proceeded to the church to witness the Mass of St. Basil.

It was the festival of the Epiphany. The Emperor took his place among the crowd and was overcome by the beauty of the ceremony - the sound of psalms, the congregation, and the angelic order of the sanctuary where Mass was being offered. The Emperor observed St. Basil completely immersed in the celebration of Mass and was so overcome by his observation that when it came time for him to make an offering of gifts, he felt faint and needed assistance. Gregory Nazianzeno continues his eulogy saying that ‘this was the beginning and first establishment of the Emperor’s kindly feeling towards us; the impression produced by this reception put an end to the greater part of the persecution which assailed us like a river.'

Callot’s engraving of Muziano’s painting captures the essence of the narrative. St. Basil and the deacons are in the centre of the engraving elevated by four steps and framed by the powerful columns and piers of the high altar signifying the strength of the Church. St. Basil has his back to the Emperor as he celebrates Mass, unmindful of events outside the main altar. The Emperor Valens, a physically powerful figure, is hunched over and looks down towards the floor, as if unable to bear his own weight. This directly contrasts with St. Basil who is tall and upright, looking towards the heavens. Two preparatory drawings of the Emperor by Muziano further capture the physical and emotional effects of the Mass.

202 Ibid., p.411.
203 The Epiphany was originally a celebration both of the Nativity and the Baptism of Christ and was applied to the notion of the ‘manifestation of Christ’.
204 Schaff (b), 2012, p.411.
on Valens and the gentle kindness shown to him by a member of the congregation (Fig. 3.45).

The significance of this painting for the chapel is as follows: First, the altarpiece references the heretical theology of Arius (256-336). The Arian doctrine collided with the tradition of describing Christ as God, as Divine. The Nicene Creed, promulgated at the Council of Nicaea 325 and later modified at Constantinople I 381, clarified the doctrine of the Trinity and the divinity of Christ aided by the theological arguments of Gregory Nazianzeno, emphasising that Jesus did not cease to be God when he became man, nor did he lose his divine attributes. The very nature of the Blessed Trinity and the divinity of Christ were all established as fundamentals upon which all other Christian tenets depended. This was in response to the Arian heresy and this painting references both the Holy Trinity and victory over heresy. The revelatory nature of this episode is captured when the Emperor Valens is overcome by the divine power of the sacrament of the Mass, the real presence in the body and blood of the son of God. His Arian position is challenged and overcome by the manifestation of Christ. Second, the Mass of St. Basil extends the presence of St. Basil from the celestial heights of the chapel to the temporal realm of the congregation exemplifying his human activity and familiarising worshippers with this new Doctor. Third, it highlights the redemptive power of the Mass, the Eucharistic sacrifice, documented by the early Doctors of the Church and particularly by Gregory the Great. This redemptive power is also related to the plenary indulgences granted to the souls in purgatory by those celebrating Mass at the privileged altar of the Madonna del Soccorso. Fourth, Gregory Nazianzeno’s description of the beauty of the ceremony refers in particular to the Liturgy of St. Basil, which was noted for its poetic form. The Liturgy to be prayed on the Epiphany, although not exclusively, includes the following extract:

‘... To be able to offer You the supplication of prayer as the commandment of our only begotten Son which is full of Salvation. Therefore with a humble voice befitting Christians and with purity of soul and body and spirit, We dare without
fear to address You who are uncreated, You who are infinite, You who are unborn, You Master of everybody, God the Father Who are in Heaven.205

The altarpiece of St. Basil documents and displays the importance and power of the manifestation of the Eucharistic Celebration for the faithful and in it, the redemptive power of God made possible through the Holy Trinity.

3.6.2 The History of the Sermon of St. Jerome
The altarpiece of the Sermon of St. Jerome or often referred to as St. Jerome praying in the desert was commissioned by Gregory XIII at same time as the Mass of St. Basil and was begun by Muziano in 1584 and completed after his death in 1592 by Nebbia in collaboration with Paul Bril (1554-1626). It was removed from the altar of St. Jerome forty years after its installation perhaps in order to make a mosaic copy. This decision to make a mosaic copy was usurped and Muziano’s painting was replaced by the Domenichino’s (1581-1641) painting of Last Communion of St. Jerome (1614). This was subsequently copied in mosaic and currently graces the altar of St. Jerome. The original painting conceived by Muziano and finished by Nebbia and Bril, hangs in the church of Santa Maria degli Angeli (Fig. 3.46).

The Altarpiece of The Sermon of St. Jerome
This monumental painting is in poor condition. The subject of the painting is St. Jerome’s penitential period in the desert, some say on the recommendation of Gregory Nazianzeno. In a letter to Eustochium, Jerome outlines the benefits of the ascetic life, among other things: ‘The Son of God is made the Son of Man... When He is scourged, He holds his peace; when He is crucified, He prays for His crucifiers. ‘What shall I render unto the

205 Abdel-Massih, Ernest, The Divine Liturgy of St, Basil the Great, St. Mark Coptic Orthodox Church, Troy, Michigan, 1982, pp.202-203.
Lord for all His benefits towards me? I will take the cup of salvation and call upon the name of the Lord. Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of His saints. The only fitting return that we can make to Him is to give blood for blood; and, as we are redeemed by the blood of Christ, gladly to lay down our lives for our Redeemer.²⁰⁶

Muziano portrays St. Jerome seated with his lion at his feet to the left of the painting. He gestures gently to the crucifix while holding the gaze of the five other monks seated and standing to the right of the painting. Jesus on the crucifix seems lifelike rather than fixed and inanimate conveying the reality of his sacrifice. All the monks are listening to St. Jerome, some poised to take notes. There is a quiet and solemn nobility conveyed by the silent attentiveness and patience of the group and by their monumentality and timeless physiognomy. There is no sense of anguish or suffering often conveyed through the representation of the ravished body of St. Jerome, instead he is overtly exposed as physically strong in a similar manner to Muziano’s portrayal of St. Jerome in the pendentive of the chapel (Fig. 3.34). The most prominent feature of the painting is the monks’ heads and faces conveying their thinking, listening, and learning. Muziano laboured to achieve the desired gestures, fall of their clothes, and grouping of the figures as illustrated in his preparatory drawings (Fig. 3.37). The group of monks, including St. Jerome, form a curved form reflective of the curved top of the painting. In the centre of the gathered monks, the shaded landscape in the background opens leading up to a slope with a small monastery perched on the summit, which is bathed in sunlight. This painting refers to the advocacy of the sacrifice made by Christ for our salvation and our responsibility to save ourselves by turning to God and away from the temptations of the world. It illustrates the unwavering faith of St. Jerome in redemption.

During the pontificate of Gregory XIII, worshippers entered the chapel through the door from the eastern wall of the chapel. On entering, they first encountered the altar of St.

²⁰⁶ Schaff (a), 2012, p. 40.
Jerome to their left and the main altar to their right. So before approaching the main altar they were reminded by St. Jerome of the Sacrifice made by Christ for our salvation, the true faith as Jerome is teaching his disciples, and the strength of faith of St. Jerome. With this in mind, worshippers then encountered the agent of the Incarnation, the Madonna and Child waiting to intercede with Christ on their behalf.

Both of these paintings situated the means to salvation in Christ’s sacrifice. The presence of Gregory Nazianzeno as narrator of the Mass of St. Basil and as teacher of St. Jerome indicates that the chapel with its three altars was conceived as a unified whole. What begins to emerge is a complex treatment of orthodoxy, a clear statement of doctrine, an emphasis on the power of faith, and the quintessence of Christ’s sacrifice re-enacted in the Eucharist. It is unfortunate that these emotionally infused narratives with their originally conceived colours and compositions are now absent from the chapel.
3.7 The Cupola:

No documentation survives for the project undertaken by Muziano for the cupola of the chapel. Documentation in the Archivio Storico della Fabbrica di San Pietro records the accounts pertaining to work undertaken after the decoration of the chapel was completed. Extant records begin in 1604 when Pietro Bernascone was paid for a consignment of mosaics and in 1628 when the painter Giovanni Baglione was paid for work done over a door in the same chapel. Restoration work on the mosaic scheme records that cartoons painted by Salvatore Monosilio representing angels and putti, garlands of flowers, allegories and Marian symbols were to be used for the decoration of the cupola. He was commissioned to undertake the work in c1775-79. Lanzani however notes that the mosaic decoration of the cupola designed by Monosilio was to substitute the older decoration by Muziano.

From this, we can deduce that the cupola had been decorated according to Muziano’s designs and that Monosilio restored Muziano’s decorative scheme, updating it with flourishes of flying angels, putti, flowers, and garlands. Also, that this was part of the restoration scheme that included the pendentives and the lunettes executed by Niccola LaPiccola c1770-1776, which was undertaken in order to replace the damaged mosaics of the chapel. All mosaic work in the pendentives and the lunettes maintained their original subject matter. The question then is whether Muziano composed and / or executed the Marian symbols in the roundels of the eight-segmented sections currently on the cupola.

From Ascanio Valentino’s work of 1583 we can deduce an aspect of the original cupola.

207 Turriziani, 2011, p.212.
208 AFSP, Arm. 43, G, 116, s.n. in Turriziani, 2011, p.334; see also Lanzani, 2011, pp.88-89.
209 Lanzani, 2011.
Valentino describes how the cupola, divided into eight segments, was decorated in mosaic with shells and lush garlands supported by putti. Above the eight windows, there were palm branches and doves with olive branches. Valentino notes that the mosaic decorations were visible by candle light, indicating that their overall visibility was restricted, which is in-line with the earlier observations of the chapel as being dimly lit. This lack of visibility might be one of the reasons why the decoration in the roundels of the cupola was overlooked in the literature and in guidebooks of the time. Francesco Bartoli’s 1580 watercolour drawing of the vaulted cupola which was executed before restoration reflects Valentino’s description (Fig. 3.34). The grottesche illustrated in Bartoli’s watercolour seem to be the only decorative element. This decorative choice may be reference to ancient sources but it is plausible that it is derivative from Vatican palace decorations by Raphael for example. But neither Valentino nor Bartoli describe any mosaic decoration in the roundels of the cupola vault and there is no documentation to determine what decoration was undertaken or intended during the reign of Gregory XIII or whether decoration was executed after Gregory XIII’s death in 1585.

The decorative scheme undertaken by Monosilio, who was an accomplished copyist, included angels and putti with garlands of flowers which surrounded the gold roundels of the cupola vault. Within the gold roundels are eight symbols of the Virgin Mary including the Sun, the Cypress, the Temple, the Ark of the Covenant, the Moon, the Well, the Tower of David, and the Palm (Fig. 3.48-49). The Sun refers to the Virgin who is as splendid as the sun. She spread the light and life of Christ in the Church. The Cypress is a symbol of her perpetual virginity and like the Cypress she stands out among the clouds. The Temple is a symbol God’s house and the Ark of the Covenant refers to the Virgin Mary as the living shrine of the word of God, the ark of the new and eternal covenant. The Moon is a symbol of the beauty of the Virgin who lights up the night sky. The Well

210 Valentino, Ascanio, Sacellum Gregorianum, Florentiae, apud Batholomaeum Sermartellium, 1583.
signifies the depth and fullness of the gift of God in the Virgin, she who is full of grace. The Tower signifies the Virgin’s strength, a masterpiece of the city of God, an ivory tower, and the Palm is a symbol of victory of the spirit over the flesh. All of these symbols are derivative from Latin litanies to the Virgin, which are a form of responsorial prayer in praise of and devotion to the Virgin Mary. It has been noted in this chapter that Gregory XIII was particularly devoted to the Virgin Mary. He supported and promoted the Casa di Loreto and had the litany of Loreto printed for distribution. Gregory XIII promoted the rosary through the granting of indulgences for worshippers, and established a Feast of the Holy Rosary on the 7th of October in commemoration of the Victory of the Battle of Lepanto 1571, believed to have been achieved through the intercession of the Virgin Mary. There is a synchronicity between the symbolic representation in the vault of the Cupola, the iconography of the main altar of the chapel, and the declared interests and established patronage of Gregory XIII. It is observed that the renovated cupola is a scheme that integrates or completes the overall scheme of the chapel.  

The contribution of Gregory XIII to the decoration of the cupola is unknowable due to a lack of documentary evidence. The nature of the subject matter does reflect Gregory XIII’s established interests and all other restoration work maintained Gregory XIII’s original patronage. Monosilio renovated, refreshed, and updated Muziano’s work, finished or unfinished. It seems that if Gregory XIII did not commission the decoration of the cupola directly, the legacy of Gregory XIII’s patronage influenced the choice of iconography executed by Monosilio. This underlines the singularity of Gregory XIII’s patronage of the chapel.

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3.8 Last Four Things:

In completion of the analysis of Gregory XIII’s patronage of the chapel, four final facets of the programme are examined. Two contributions are no longer extant within the chapel i) Taddeo Landini’s (1561-1596) *Sopraporto* of *Christ Washing the Feet of His Disciples* and ii) Marino and Vincenzo da Sulmona’s Pipe Organ, which was moved from the Gregorian chapel to the Chapel of the Holy Trinity in the nineteenth-century. Two final forces that unify the chapel are iii) the materials used to decorated the chapel and iv) the celebration of the Liturgy of the Eucharist in the chapel.

3.8.1 The *Sopraporto* by Taddeo Landini: *Christ washing the feet of his Disciples.*

During the pontificate of Gregory XIII, the boundary of St. Peter’s basilica finished at the eastern wall of the chapel where the remains of the Constantine Basilica still clung to life. There were a series of doors into St. Peter’s Basilica, one of which opened directly from the exterior into the Gregorian Chapel. In 1578, Gregory XIII commissioned a lunette shaped relief, *Christ washing the feet of his Disciples* for the interior space over this door into the chapel. The monumental relief features Jesus washing the feet of St. Peter surrounded by all the disciples. When Paul V removed the dividing wall between the Constantine basilica and St. Peter’s basilica, Taddeo Landini’s relief was moved from the Gregorian Chapel to the Salone Corassieri in the Palazzo Quirinale where it remains.

Landini’s relief illustrates the account given in the Gospel according to St. John (13: 1-17) of Jesus washing the feet of his disciples before Passover (Fig. 3.49). This was a familiar subject treated by artists such as Duccio (d.1319), Giotto (1266-1337) and Tintoretto (1519-1594).\(^{214}\) John said:

\[^{214}\text{Duccio’s *Maestà* (1308-1311) Siena Cathedral, Giotto’s *Scrovegni Chapel* (c1305) Padua, Tintoretto *Christ Washing the Feet of His Disciples* (1575-80) NGL.}\]
‘If I then, your Lord and Teacher, have washed your feet, you also ought to wash one another’s feet. For I have given you an example, that you should do as I have done to you. Most assuredly, I say to you, a servant is not greater than his master; nor is he who is sent greater than he who sent him. If you know these things, blessed are you if you do them.’ John13: 15-17.

The commemoration of this event occurs on Maundy Thursday the day of Judas’ betrayal. Eamon Duffy in his book *The Stripping of the Altars* outlines the elaborate ceremony practiced during the medieval period on Maundy Thursday, which substantially continued into the twentieth century.²¹⁵ The *Triduum Paschale* began with a Mass celebrated on Maundy Thursday and after this solemn Mass, the altars of the church were ritually stripped of all decoration and ornamentation while a series of responsorial chants from the passion narratives and the prophets were sung. After stripping the altars, water and wine was poured onto them and they were washed down using a broom of sharp twigs. Each element of this ritual signified an aspect of the passion.²¹⁶ In great churches and religious houses, this ceremony was followed by the Maundy, or solemn washing of the feet in imitation of Jesus washing the feet of his disciples. This ritual signifies a spiritual cleansing in preparation for redemption.

These two sources, the Gospel of St. John and the tradition of Maundy Thursday, infuse the interpretation of this relief and how it might have been understood by the congregation of the Gregorian Chapel. The account given in the gospel primarily signifies the value of humility and charity towards others. The privileging of good works and regard for others were advocated by St. Jerome, Gregory the Great, exemplified by Gregory XIII as part of

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²¹⁶ Ibid., p.28.
everyday Christian life, and affirmed at the Council of Trent. This perspective also references orations by Gregory Nazianzeno on the theme of love towards the poor. This underlines the importance of referencing the catalytic effect of the patron rather than deferring to how this relief was interpreted later as part of a general theme that was developed in St. Peter’s basilica, such as a Petrine theme.

Not unlike Giotto’s Last Judgement in the Scrovegni Chapel, this relief was most visible on exiting the chapel as a reminder of the Christian virtue of good works and humility during everyday life. The subject also signifies the act of cleansing preceding the celebration of the Eucharist. The notion of making ready, being worthy to receive the Eucharist was promoted by the Church from its beginnings and reaffirmed at the Council of Trent. Since this episode precedes the Last Supper, Rice has posited the view that this relief had sacramental connotations. This Rice relates, as part of a unified Eucharistic theme in the chapel, to St. Basil celebrating Mass and St. Jerome pointing to the sacrifice of Christ on the cross. However, two factors militate against this as the primary function of this relief. First, since it is located over the door exiting the chapel, it more likely to refer to thoughts of charitable behaviour and humility in everyday life. Second, the taking of the sacrament of the Eucharist was still an annual event among late sixteenth-century worshippers although the Council of Trent encouraged greater frequency. It is easy to abstract the Eucharist iconography of the chapel simply because it offers an irresistibly taut narrative supported by the Council of Trent and as a response to the challenge of Reformers regarding the sacramental nature of the Eucharist. A broader, less reductionist approach allows an assimilation of the complete semiotic system of the Church and not just its lexicon. Humility and charity are virtues promoted by the Church, and specifically

Gregory XIII as part of the redemptive process facilitated by the sacrifice of Jesus. This interpretation is posited here.

3.8.2 Marino and Vincenzo da Sulmona’s Musical Pipe Organ.

The ‘Gregorian’ Pipe Organ was commissioned by Gregory XIII and installed in the Gregorian Chapel in c1582. It was built by the celebrated father and son team of organ builders, Marino and Vincenzo da Sulmona. This enormous organ was encased in a gilded wooden architectural frame, which was believed to have been designed by Giacomo della Porta.\(^{220}\) Originally, it was situated to the left of the main altar of the north wall, facing into the chapel. After the addition of the Maderno’s nave in 1615, the Chapel of the Holy Trinity was built beside the Gregorian Chapel with the aforementioned door space now an arched space open into this chapel.\(^{221}\) In 1627 the organ was then moved between the Gregorian Chapel and the Chapel of the Holy Trinity and its music could be heard in both chapels. It was finally moved into the chapel of the Holy Trinity in c1850 where it remains today, closed off from the Gregorian Chapel.

As noted by Noel O’Regan, aural stimuli were as significant as visual stimuli in shaping liturgies, processions, and devotional services.\(^{222}\) Churches were open to everyone and provided the only readily available experience of art and music for many.\(^{223}\) Music enriched the religious experience be it a solemn Mass or the memorising or recalling of prayers. During the procession of the Madonna del Soccorso and the translatio ceremony of the relics of Gregory Nazianzeno trumpets were sounded, concerts were played, psalms were sung, and drums and canon fire announced the extraordinary nature of the events.\(^{224}\)

\(^{220}\) Pinelli, 2000, p.705.
\(^{221}\) Ibid.; Rice, 1997.
\(^{222}\) O’Regan, Noel, ‘Music in the Counter-Reformation’, in Alexandra Banji el al (eds), The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation, Ashgate, 2013, pp.337-355.
\(^{224}\) Maffei, 1742, p.159.
Maffei describing the procession of Gregory Nazianzeno’s relics notes: ‘Cominciò la Processione verso le sedici ore, caminando con molta quiete, ed ordine, e con elettissimi concerti di musica…’.\textsuperscript{225} Music was a necessary accompaniment to solemn liturgical celebrations, particularly Mass and the Divine Office. The Divine Office became a particular focus in the years after the Council of Trent, with multiple-choir settings of the psalms and Magnificat pushing into new stylistic areas.\textsuperscript{226}

There had been significant dissatisfaction with church music in the first half of the sixteenth century in terms of its inappropriateness to the solemnity of particular occasions, its secular nature, and its lack of intelligibility or inappropriate musical material that obscured the sacred words of the Mass. Complaints such as these had been responded to by John XXII’s (1249-1334) bull of 1324-25 regarding the intelligibility of music.\textsuperscript{227} Submissions for discussion at the Council of Trent restated these issues but the final decrees expressed a deliberately minimal treatment of music in order to avoid delays in ending the council before the feared death of Pius IV. The council’s pronouncements on music echoed the \textit{Codex iuris canoici} of 1264 in its prohibition of lascivious or impure elements and delegated the regulation of Divine Offices to provincial synods and local bishops. Music would not become standardised or monolithic.

Sixteenth-century composers and churchmen began to show an increasing interest in the texts of the \textit{Breviarium Romanum} and the \textit{Missale Romanum} and sought to have them clearly and intelligibly communicated to the congregations. Repertories were rewritten with clarity in mind, most notably in St. Peter’s basilica where two successive \textit{maestri di cappella}, Giovanni Animuccia (1555-71) and Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (1571-94),

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{225} Ibid., p.158.
\item \textsuperscript{226} O’Regan, 2014, p.338.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
provided new settings of various liturgical items. Both composers published volumes of masses in 1567, Animuccia wishing to ‘disturb the hearing of the text as little as possible, but nevertheless in such a way that it may not be entirely devoid of artifice’ while Palestrina spoke of setting the text in a ‘new manner’. It is noted that reform even touched on plainchant (a body of chants used in the liturgy) when Gregory XIII charged Palestrina and Zoilo (1537-1592) with revising it, largely by eliminating runs of notes on single syllables (melismas) now labelled as barbarism in the new climate of matching text with music for the sake of intelligibility.

The Gregorian organ was played in the chapel during the celebration of the Liturgy with chants and hymns adding zest and vigour to the liturgical celebrations. Musicians argued that music had the power to enhance devotion and Borromeo argued that music was similar in its power to images, as a conduit to spiritual understanding. The music organ was an intrinsic part of worship in the chapel. When the organ struck and the thundering rumbling sound of the chants rolled out across the chapel, the senses of the worshippers were filled, in hearing, in seeing, and in feeling the sacred vibrations of the chapel during these daily celebrations. This is commensurate with O’Malley’s thesis of the integral role that the senses played in the apprehension of the spiritual in the post-Tridentine period.

3.8.3 Materials used to decorate the Gregorian Chapel.
An examination of contemporaneous reactions and descriptions of the Gregorian chapel from a spectrum of different sources all communicate the richness, colourfulness, and awe-

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228 O’Regan, 2013, p.341.
229 Ibid., p.341.
observing splendour of the chapel. Observers paid attention to the otherworldly experience of magnificence rather than attending to the chapel in more analytic terms by referring to precedents or formal issues.

In his documentation of the deeds of Gregory XIII, Ciappi writes the following:

‘… facendovi la sontuosa e magnifica Cappella detta Gregoriana dal suo nome, foderata tutta e adornata di finissimi marmi d’ogni sorte, e di colonne, e capitelli di gran prezzo, con molte figure, e ornamenti di Musaico e di stucchi messi à oro à meraviglia belli, co’l pavimento similmente intarsiato, e intagliato à proporzione della volta rotonda di pietre finissime di meravigliosa bellezza. Dedicò la detta Cappella alla Beatissima Vergine Maria, e à Gregorio Nazianzeno.

The Avviso di Roma announced in 1579 La cappella Gregoriana sarà in breve tempo vaghissima, superba e miracolosa and in 1580, La cappella Gregoriana, dice una relazione di quei giorni, è così ricca ed artisticamente ornata di oro, marmi, pitture e mosaici che nel mondo non ha una simile.

Responses to the chapel express its beauty and its sumptuous nature. It is revealed as a rich visual experience offered to worshippers who were proud of it and enjoyed it. There is no suggestion of inappropriateness or a sense of excess identifiable in these responses. Marble revetment was a decorative approach identified in ancient buildings and it evolved

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233 BAV, Bon. D7. Alessandro Musotti, p.57r: ‘… come non si dirà del meraviglioso edificio della detta cappella ornata non di pietre et colonne, ma di gioie et colossi con stucchi et mosaici et organa riccissimi et nobilissimi a tale, che lingua non basta per laudare tanta opera.
234 Ciappi, 1591, pp.5-6.
through the Byzantine period through to the seventeenth century. Paintings testify to the use, real or imagined, of coloured marbles in architectural settings and as fictive decorative settings in altarpieces for centuries. This indicates that marble was understood as an established, albeit uncommon decorative medium due to its expense, availability of marbles, and expertise in using such materials. It was used to lend splendour, colour and to adorn the subject matter.

It wasn’t until the early sixteenth century that the walls of a Roman chapel were wholly covered with marble. Raphael (1483-1520) designed the Chigi Chapel (c1516-20) in Santa Maria del Popolo and in it he used vast amounts of coloured marbles and it seems that the marbles were chosen for their inherent value. Other examples using marble revetment and spoglia include the Cappella Del Monte in San Pietro in Montorio, which was designed by Vasari c1550. In his initial design for Julius III, Vasari projected a wall tomb surrounded by coloured marbles. Bosman documents Dosio’s Cappella Gaddi (1573-1577) in Santa Maria Novella and a Cappella in Santo Spirito for Tommaso Cavalcanti, both lauded for their rich and splendid results. It seems then that patrons and artists were eager to use coloured marbles when they could, and such use predated the use of marble in the Gregorian Chapel. However, none of these chapels committed to the complete swathing of their interior with decorative materials or to the denial of the rational intrusion of the architectural framework. This innovation was unique to the Gregorian Chapel.

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236 Andrea del Castagno, Cenacolo of Sant Appollaia, 1447; Piero della Francesca, Meeting of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, c1450; Fran Angelico Altarpiece, San Marco; Filippo Lippi, Madonna and Child with Saints and Angels, 1437; Andrea Mantegna San Seno Altarpiece, 1456-59; Giovanni Bellini, San Giobbe Altarpiece, 1470’s, Zaccaria Altarpiece, 1505; Tintoretto, The Transport of the Body of St, Mark, 1562-60.
238 Ibid.
239 While the Chigi chapel (1514-1515) was dressed in coloured marbles, Raphael maintained the white monochrome of the architectural structure; Marble was used only on the floor of St. Peter’s in Montorio leaving the walls shining white; Trinità del Monti use of stucco and colour was confined to the altarpieces, see Bellini, 2011, p.203.
The Gregorian chapel was part of a continuous tradition but one that evolved and was shaped by artists and patrons. Reaction to the Gregorian Chapel indicates that the established decorative phenomenon was infused with a freshness of style and splendour which made it remarkable.\textsuperscript{240}

Papoulia in her analysis of the significance of the decorative materials of the Gregorian Chapel notes precedents for marble decoration in Rome in the 1560’s. These include Pius IV’s marble decoration of the altar of the Virgin icon in \textit{Santa Maria Aracoeli} and Pius V’s use of marble to dress the lower register of the \textit{Cappella San Michele} in the Torre Pia in the Vatican palace.\textsuperscript{241} Papoulia argues that these examples, including Gregory XIII’s use of marble, were precipitated in part by the Council of Trent’s decree on images, which stated that the Virgin and saints were to be placed and displayed appropriately in churches.\textsuperscript{242} Two observations militate against such an interpretation. First, it was affirmed at the Council of Nicaea II 787 that images ‘whether painted or made of mosaic or of other suitable material are to be exposed in the holy church’. Images ‘... were to be given the tribute of salutation and respectful veneration.’\textsuperscript{243} This indicates that veneration and display in ‘magnificence’ was already a well established concept and not the preserve of the Council of Trent. Second, the schemes cited by Papoulis of the 1560’s are not unique to this period and it is not difficult to find similar decorative propositions as posited by Ostrow and Bosman, which predate the Council of Trent.

Ostrow argues that Gregory XIII’s choice of marble and mosaic was motivated by three considerations.\textsuperscript{244} First, they have qualities of durability and are less vulnerable than stucco to damage over time. Second, these materials, specifically the use of mosaic,

\textsuperscript{240} Zollikofer, Kaspar, 2016, p.200
\textsuperscript{241} Papoulia, 2015, pp.171-172.
\textsuperscript{242} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{243} Tanner, 1990, p. 136.
\textsuperscript{244} Ostrow, 2000.
represented a conscious continuity between the Constantine Basilica and St. Peter’s Basilica, which was richly decorated with mosaics. Third, he posits their use as a deliberate effort to recapture the spirit of the early Church. He cites Constantine’s foundations in the Holy Land which were sheathed in marble, *Santa Sabina in Rome*, the Oratory of the Holy Cross, *Santi Cosma e Damiano* and *Santa Costanza* all having walls and pilasters with panels of coloured marble and *opus sectile* designs. He also cites the individuals such as Cesare Baronio, Filippo Neri, Antonio Bosio and Pompeo Ugonio as promoting the paleochristian past as a model worthy of emulation.\(^{245}\) Ostrow summarises his argument by saying that the revetment of the Gregorian Chapel while a suitably luxurious and durable decoration for Christendom’s most important church, reflected the Catholic historicism that characterized the post-Tridentine period and the attempt to evoke associations with early Christian monuments.\(^{246}\) Ostrow employed the phrase ‘cult of marble’ to capture this concept. He does admit that there is a lack of documentary evidence supporting the claim that Della Porta used early Christian churches as his model but argues that there is good reason to believe that this is what happened given the interest of the aforementioned scholars in early Christian history and decoration.\(^{247}\)

Courtright too posits the idea of continuity with the Constantine Basilica and early Christian historicism, but more specifically its Constantinian nature. Courtright notes that the style of decoration used in the Gregorian Chapel joins the programmatic recollections of the early church with the experience of paradise, in large part by means of the rich marble incrustation that mimicked the sheathing of Emperor Constantine’s basilical interiors.\(^{248}\) She argues that Constantine made it known that he wanted to be buried in the Church of the Apostles because of its likeness to the Temple of Jerusalem.\(^{249}\) The proposition that the decorative materials were chosen as a conscious reference to the early

\(^{245}\) Ibid., p.249.
\(^{246}\) Ostrow, 2005, p.262.
\(^{247}\) Ibid.
\(^{248}\) Courtright, 2003.
\(^{249}\) Ibid.
Church or as Ostrow puts it, to Christian historicism, is a problematic proposition. In the *Annales ecclesiastici*, Cesare Baronio documented, in strict chronological order, the historical continuity of the Roman Catholic Church professed with its Apostolic origins. According to Ditchfield, Baronio’s thesis may be encapsulated in two words: *semper eadem.*\(^{250}\) It was the unbroken, continuous nature of accession, from one successor to the next that was central to his proof. It seems then that the location of the decorative scheme in the past or in the present or outside the temporal realm is entirely dependent on the viewpoint of the worshipper and there is no evidence to suggest that Gregory XIII was interested in patronising a conscious recreation of a particular moment in the past. Second, attention to the dates of completion and publication of the works of Baronio and Bosio is noteworthy. The first volume of the *Annales ecclesiastici* was published in 1588, the Catacombs of St. Priscilla were discovered in 1578 and Antonio Bosio’s analysis of the catacombs, *Roma Sotterranea*, was published in 1632. Baronio was well known and supported by Gregory XIII and no doubt Baronio’s work was known to Gregory XIII. However, Gregory XIII’s interest and choice of materials predated this scholarship as noted by his use of marble and precious materials in the Lateran and the Baptistery (1573-1576). Lastly, the argument that the decorative materials were chosen to evoke Christian historicism is further undermined by the existence of a continuous tradition that did not seek to reference early Christianity or Counter-Reformation historicism but merely to adorn.

Rice in her analysis of the use of marble and mosaic cites their practicality as media especially for St. Peter’s basilica, which was still open to the elements. Similarly, she notes the natural continuity with the marble and mosaic decoration of the Constantine Basilica, which was still standing. While Rice also acknowledges that the decoration may reflect the fascination with the early Church and all things early Christian engendered by the Counter-Reformation, she seems to err on the side of practicality and continuity in her

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\(^{250}\) Ditchfield, 2002, p. 283.
While the practicality of the materials seems self evident given the unique challenges of St. Peter’s basilica, and the choice of mosaic decoration would ameliorate the sense of loss that might be experienced in the destruction of the Constantine basilica given the amount of mosaic decoration that adorned it, the notion of evoking ‘otherness’ or paradise seems most fitting and most noted by contemporary reactions and commentaries, given the overall function of the chapel as a place of worship. The splendour of the materials is abstract and experiential in nature, aiding immersion and meditation as advocated by the Doctors of the Church, and in particular Gregory the Great. Such splendour also references the apology of the veneration of images of Nicaea II and the notion of the majesty and ritual of the sacrament promulgated at the Council of Trent. The majesty of the great sacrifice is enhanced by such splendour. Such splendour was recognised by Gregory XIII in the Lateran and the Sala Costantino as a means to appropriately honour the preciousness of the sacred.

The significance of the materials seems to lie within the material themselves, shared by all precedents, as immutable, eternal, natural, and splendid. The evocation of otherness, of the externalisation of the preciousness within, and the immersion in the abstract as an aid to meditation, contribute to the primary function of the chapel as a place of worship.

3.8.4 The Celebration of the Liturgy of the Eucharist
Contemporaneous descriptions of the chapel include references not only to the rich marble encrustations and shimmering mosaics but also to the splendour and richness of the candlesticks, chalices, altar cloths, and brocaded embellishment of ecclesiastical dress. ‘Si stima, che la spesa in farla arrivasse intorno à dugento mila scudi, senza diversi paramenti

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251 Rice, 1997, p.156.
All the paraphernalia necessary for the celebration of the liturgy was described alongside the other decorative details, with equivalence. This underlines the singularity of Gregory XIII’s commission of this chapel and the singularity of how this commission was received and understood in late sixteenth-century Rome and beyond.

As mentioned, Sebastiano Torrigiani (1542-1596) was commissioned by Gregory XIII to create six silver candle sticks for the main altar of the Gregorian Chapel which are no longer extant but are reputed to have been of great beauty. Descriptions of a chalice are documented in commentaries such as Ciappi and Maffei but the details of the provenance of this chalice are unknown. The existence of a tabernacle on the altar has been established. It was observed by the Visitori in 1624 when they inspected the basilica and was described as a gilded wooden tabernacle. Baglione describes *la custodia quivi del Santissimo Sacramento è di opera molto preziosa.*

It was at the Council of Trent that various late medieval practices, affirmed at Lateran IV 1215 and established by Urban IV in 1264, of venerating the Eucharistic host outside the Celebration of the Eucharist were reaffirmed. ‘Hence there is no room for doubting that all Christians, by a custom always accepted in the Catholic Church, should reverently express for this most Holy sacrament the worship of adoration which is due to the true God.’ ‘If anyone says that Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, is not to be adored in the Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist by the worship of adoration including its outward expression ... that it is unlawful to reserve the Holy Eucharist in a sacred place, but that it must of

252 Ciappi, 1590.
255 Tanner, 1990, p.695.
necessity be distributed to those present immediately after the consecration, ... let him be anathema.\textsuperscript{256} It was the continuation of this custom that was celebrated in the Gregorian Chapel.

The Gregorian Chapel is documented as having served as a sacramental chapel for over forty years from 1580 onwards.\textsuperscript{257} This is further confirmed in 1624 by the \textit{Visitatori} who indicate that the chapel was still being used at that time as a sacrament altar with the sacrament housed in a gilded wooden tabernacle. A sacramental chapel is a chapel in which the Eucharist is ever present. The function of such a chapel is so that worshippers can pray in the real presence of the Christ. It tends to be a meditative and quiet devotional worship. The Eucharist can be on display or simply present in a tabernacle. In the chapel of the Holy Trinity or Holy Sacrament beside the Gregorian Chapel, the Eucharist is displayed in an elaborate monstrance while the Eucharist was present in a tabernacle in the Gregorian Chapel. Fixed tabernacles in the modern sense were practically unknown before the sixteenth century. Gregory XIII considered that it was too difficult to prescribe one fixed place for reservation in all churches and the \textit{Sacerdotale Romanum} 1564 said much the same thing.\textsuperscript{258} The ritual for the diocese of Rome 1584 directed that a tabernacle should be placed on the altar. Italy responded immediately and in a matter of ten years, reservation on the altar had become universal throughout the country. The subdued yet splendid decoration of the chapel facilitated the meditative sacramental practice of venerating the presence of the Eucharist and honoured it in its preciousness. The sense of ‘otherness’ inherent in the decoration of the chapel enhanced this process.

The Roman Missal was revised, or reinstated in 1570 with minor revisions in 1572 and 1584. The bull to the missal \textit{Quo PrimumTempore} indicates that the objective was to restore the mass to the original norms and rites of the Fathers. The revised edition of the

\textsuperscript{256} Ibid., p.698.
\textsuperscript{257} BAV. ACSP, October 1626, H55 in Rice, 1997, p.296.
Missal departed little from the Milan edition of 1474, which in its turn repeated in all essentials the practice of the Roman Church of Pope Innocent III (1198-1216), which itself derived from the usage of Gregory the Great and his successors in the seventh century. The parts most revised were the rubrics to the Order of the Mass and in the Offices peculiar to the festival of particular saints.

The Council of Trent provided the fullest treatment of the Eucharist of all the ecumenical councils but it was still reiterating the teaching of the medieval councils up to that point. The Council of Trent set out to defend attacks on the teachings of the medieval church on the Eucharist especially Transubstantiation, as affirmed at Lateran IV. The Council of Trent reaffirmed Transubstantiation and the purpose of the sacrament, as outlined by Tanner as being spiritual food ... to nourish and strengthen us in this life, ... as an antidote to free us from daily faults and preserve us from moral sins, ... as a pledge of our future glory and unending happiness and as a sign of our unity with Christ and with one another in the Church.

The Council emphasised the sacrificial aspect of the mass, ‘... by which that bloody sacrifice carried out on the cross should be represented ...’ and the worth of masses said for both the living and the dead, ‘ ... For the Lord is appeased by this offering, he gives the gracious gift of repentance, he absolves even enormous offences and sins ... not only for the sins, penalties and satisfactions and other needs of the faithful who are living but also for those who have died in Christ but are not yet fully cleansed.’

The chapel documents and exemplifies this doctrine in its veneration of the Eucharist, the sacrificial nature of the sacrifice as represented in the St. Jerome and St. Basil altarpieces,

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260 Tanner, 2011, p.142.
261 Tanner, 1990, p.734.
which advocate faith in the sacrifice as a means to salvation, and the offering of Mass for both the living and the dead.

During the pontificate of Gregory XIII, the Divine Office was celebrated everyday in the consecrated Gregorian Chapel (1580-85). Mass was celebrated once a day and twice on Sundays and holy days such as the Assumption, the anniversary of the translation of the relics of Gregory Nazianzeno, and the feast day of Gregory Nazianzeno. The celebration of the Divine Office allowed the scripture and the words of the Doctors of the Church represented in the chapel to be heard, while the redemptive power of the sacrament of the Mass encapsulated the essence of Catholic faith.

After the Nicene Creed is recited, the prayers of the Offertory begin. The priest having recited the Offertory verse, unveils the chalice, takes the paten with the host of unleavened bread, raises it up to eye level and offers it to God with the prayer Suscipe, Sancte Pater. ‘Receive O holy Father, almighty, eternal God, this spotless host which I, Thy unworthy servant, offer unto Thee, my living and true God, for mine own countless sins, offences, and negligence and for all here present; as also for all faithful Christians, living or dead, that it may avail for my own and for their salvation unto life everlasting. Amen’. This prayer encapsulates the entire orthodoxy of the sacrament of the Mass: The priest as representative of Christ offers the sacrifice to the Father, God Almighty. He offers the bread, which is to become the Hostia immaculate, for atonement for the sins of the priest and for all those present and beyond, living or dead. All will benefit from the sacrifice ‘that it may profit for my own and for their salvation unto life everlasting’. The final purpose of the Mass according is therefore the same as that of the Sacrifice of the Cross: the salvation of all mankind.

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262 BAV, Archivio di Capitolo, Arm.16, n.4 (1581-1585), Hebdomade Turni and BAV, Ottob. Lat 710, ff.5-8.
263 Davies, 1977, pp.21-22.
264 Davies, 1977, p.22.
referenced in the two subsidiary altars of the Chapel while atonement is reference in the plenary indulgences granted for those in purgatory.

At the Consecration, the priest raises the host upwards, towards the icon of the *Madonna del Soccorso* and we are reminded of Christ’s sacrifice and the role of the Virgin, as Mother of Christ, in the Incarnation. The celebration of the Liturgy in the Gregorian Chapel brings all the individual elements of the chapel together as one in the ultimate and most important Christian experience of redemption and salvation *viz.*, adoration of the true presence of Christ.

The celebration of the liturgy, uplifted and animated by the accompaniment of the pipe organ and the clear articulation of the sacred text, fulfils the function of the chapel as a place of worship. The sumptuous chapel lit by torches and flickering candles creates an otherworldly atmosphere utterly separate from the outside world. This solemn and subdued place is conducive to meditation and contemplation of the true presence of Christ and of the mysteries of the faith: the miraculous, the souls of the dead, the power reaching from the spiritual realm, forgiveness, redemption and immortality. Each of these concepts is given form in the chapel and each form symbolises Orthodoxy of the Catholic Church.
3.9 Conclusions:

The overall aim of this research was to explore and document the ideas and constructs that shaped the artistic programme of the Gregorian Chapel patronised by Gregory XIII. The objective was to provide a coherent analysis of the programme within the context of the chapel as a place of worship.

An holistic reading of the chapel reveals a complex interaction of ideas and constructs based on scripture, the writings of the four Doctors present in the chapel, established belief, and the fundamental doctrine pertaining to the status and agency of the Virgin Mary, the Incarnation, Redemption and Salvation for all souls either alive or in Purgatory. The chapel is a solemn place of worship with every element clothe in precious and magnificent materials extending and expressing the sacredness of the communication within. All of these elements converge in the celebration of the Mass and the Divine Office. It is didactic, spiritual, uplifting, and redemptive. Counter-Reformation and Tridentine approaches tend to oversimplify what is a complex and rich communication of the Catholic faith. Gregory XIII’s methodical approach, interest in clarity and engagement of the worshippers is evident here. His profound understanding of orthodoxy and the wide scope of his scholarship infuse this artistic programme.
Chapter 4

4.1 Re-Reading the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche in the Vatican

4.1.1 Introduction:
In 1578, Gregory XIII commissioned Ottaviano Mascherino (1536-1606) to construct a fourth storey on the western wing of the Belvedere Courtyard in the Vatican. This provided a corridor between Raphael’s Stanze and the new papal apartments, the Torre dei Venti, which was planned for the end of the wing. By the middle of 1579 the corridor was ready for decoration with both the walls and the vault above the corridor decorated in fresco and stucco and the floor below decorated in a now non-extant mosaic pattern reflecting the pattern of the vault. This one hundred and twenty metre corridor became known as the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche (Fig. 4.1).

Each of the two long walls of the Galleria is punctuated at regular intervals by seventeen windows facing east and the same number facing west. In the eighteen spaces adjoining the windows on each side and the four spaces by the entrance doors to the Galleria, forty frescoed regional maps of Italy were executed, each map measuring approximately three by four metres, with smaller maps executed by the entrance doors. The maps represent the territories of the Italian peninsula including the Mediterranean islands, the ports of Genoa, Venice, Ancona, and Civitavecchia, and the county of Avignon. They are arranged from the general to the particular with Italia antiqua and Italia nova at the entrance to the cycle followed by the regional maps (Fig. 4.2).

This was the first single mural map cycle of Italy, on a region-by-region basis, to be commissioned and executed. Renaissance colour conventions were used for the maps with each map displaying a scale, wind rose, coordinates of latitude and longitude, and one or more inscriptions documenting the features of the territory, its people, and its history.
Each map included chorographical expressions including landscape and urban descriptions, and vignettes documenting historical battles won and lost within the regions. The map cycle was designed and managed by Egnazio Danti (1536-1586) whose sources included personal surveys of some of the regions, contemporary cartography to supplement regions not surveyed by him, manuscript chorographical maps, the literary choreography of Flavio Biondo’s *Roma restaurata et Italia Illustrata* and Leandro Alberti’s *Descrittione di tutta l’Italia*, local accounts of locations and names of small villages and enclaves.¹ The maps of the Galleria were the most up-to-date expressions of cartographical, geographical, and chorographical disciplines and as such were displayed with authority and a sense of modernity. The organising principle of the maps was geographical rather than thematic, political, or historical following Alberti’s imagined circumnavigation of Italy outlined in his book, *Descrittione di tutta l’Italia*.

Two hundred and fifty-five fresco paintings decorate the barrel vault of the corridor. The vault cycle was overseen and managed by Girolamo Muziano (1532-92) and executed by Cesare Nebbia, Matthijs and Paul Bril along with a team of other artists, and was completed in 1581.² The sources for the vault cycle include the books of the Old and New Testament, Baronius’ *Annales Ecclesiastici, Liber Pontificalis*, the *Dialogues* by Gregory the Great. The paintings were framed in stucco and arranged in two repeating geometrical patterns with a unique pattern in the centre of the vault giving emphasis to the central painting ‘Pasce oves meas’ within the cycle (Fig. 4.83, Fig. 4.109, Fig. 4.128, Fig. 4.144, Fig. 4.158).

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Each of the eleven geometric patterns features a central narrative that is situated along the spine of the vault surrounded by attendant narratives paintings, Old Testament fictive reliefs, biblical, allegorical, and decorative figures, and native birds, all informing the interpretation of the main painting/s. These groups of paintings are organised geographically, that is they are connected to the territory mapped on the walls below them. For example: ‘St Anselm arguing with the Heretics at the Council of Bari’ is associated with the map of Puglia and ‘The Translation of the House of Loreto’ is associated with the map of Marche. The main paintings on the spine of the vault depict the pious deeds of holy men, so defined in the inscription over the north entrance of the Galleria, (see appendix XIV; Fig. 4.52) They illustrate miraculous, blessed, or virtuous historical events that took place at specified locations in Italy where they could be honoured or worshiped. It is observed that these historic events on the vault express both the active participation in the doctrine of the Church, and the active ministering of the faith through the mediation of the Church, as charged by Christ to St. Peter in the centre of the vault. Their depiction is a celebration of participation through active faith, worship, and sacraments, culminating in redemption and salvation through the Eucharist represented in a now non-extant anamorphosis, just below the vault depicting a chalice with a Eucharist.

Viewing the Galleria as a whole, the geographic organising principle not only locates specific verifiable events depicted on the vault in particular locations on the maps, but it displays the perfusion of such events throughout the peninsula characterising Gregory XIII’s Italy as a spiritual dominion. It is an assertion of spiritual authority rather than an assertion of temporal or political power.

This emphasis on a modern spiritual dominion is to be found in Gregory XIII’s patronage of the training and education of the clergy, his patronage of the Jesuits, Capuchins, Oratorians, Camaldolites, Franciscans, and Carmelites, and his patronage of active participation in the practice and rejuvenation of the faith during and after the Jubilee. This
is exemplified by Gregory XIII’s energetic support of the reform of the Carmelites of Spain by Teresa of Avila, which proved to be more effective for the consolidation of the Church than the Spanish Inquisition.\(^3\) Gregory XIII’s celebration and emphasis on this spiritual dominion may also be contextualised within the diminishing political relevance of the papacy among the leaders in Europe thus requiring a new strategy to invigorate the Church.\(^4\) What may seem at first glance to be an overly simple message is innovative, dynamic, and powerful in its reach. This spiritual dominion is without borders, inviolable, without temporal ambitions, and globally tractable. It is reliant on its participants - an active laity and an active clergy.

The *Galleria* is above all an optimistic and wondrous place. It is monumental and dramatic in its use of colour, decorative variety, and scale. Light emanating from the symmetrically positioned windows sets a slow rhythmic pace through the gallery facilitating natural pause and reflection. Here light is an active presence, which when combined with the geometric order of the gallery signifies the perfect order of the divine. Similarly, when the windows are open the sounds of the city, fragrances from the Vatican gardens, and the sounds rustling leaves imbue the corridor with a sense of place and vibrant reality.\(^5\) Pinelli notes that viewers are charmed by the turquoise seas and foaming waves; by representations of woods, rivers, lush plains, city plans, decorative cartouches, and scientific paraphernalia indicating measurements and directions.\(^6\) It is difficult to recreate the awe imparted through the sensory novelty of the *Galleria* for the sixteenth-century viewer.

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\(^3\) Pastor, p.6.
\(^4\) De Jong, 2013.
\(^5\) Paolucci, 2011.
\(^6\) Pinelli (b), 1994.
4.1.2 Research to Date:

The sheer size and complexity of the Galleria has made its singular apprehension elusive. It is only within the recent history of research conducted on the Galleria that any serious attempt has been made to examine the relationship between the images on the vault and the maps on the walls, even though this relationship remains unresolved.

Researchers have cited the size, scale, and location of the gallery as a challenge to research. It has been variously described as confusing, having almost impenetrable appeal, and being more famous than known. Pastor’s much quoted comment on the Galleria that the ‘restless impression of the whole is increased by the fact that at first the spectator cannot understand the connection between the pictures’, seems to reflect some of the expressed challenges to researchers.

Modern research has approached the Galleria from specialist points of view either through specific specialisations such as cartography, or by focusing on one aspect of the cycle such as the maps or the vault. The result of such specialist approaches is an uneasy understanding of the overarching or meta-narrative of the Galleria which unites all the elements.

In 1952, Roberto Almagià published the third volume in the Monumenta Cartographia

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7 Pinelli (b), 1994.
This large format volume consists of fifty-four maps with a ninety-page introduction by Almagià investigating the sources for the maps and city views. He focused on the wall decoration to the exclusion of the vault decoration. This was the first publication of reproductions of the maps and drawings of the Galleria and as such, it provided a valuable resource for researchers (albeit in monochrome). Almagià assessed the maps in detail and concluded that Danti’s work was of scientific value and not merely decorative, ‘...la conclusione che l’opera del Danti non rientro affatto nei lavori di carattere decorativo, ma riveste un alto valore scientifico, nonostante la necessità di adattamento ad in locale con spazi di dimensioni fisse’. The significance of this study for our understanding of the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche is threefold. First, Almagià gave primacy to geographical and cartographic considerations in his assessment of the maps in order to determine their accuracy and veracity. Political considerations in determining the regional divisions of Italy were not taken into account. It took almost forty years before the analysis of the vault impacted on the interpretation of the maps. Second, his assessment of the maps separately from the vault generated further studies examining the wall murals alone. While this scholarly work provided a rich and detailed understanding of the map details per se, they became legitimately separated from the vault. Third, the publication of the maps solved the problem of difficult access to the Galleria and the daunting scale of the programme for researchers. Researchers could now examine the maps in detail and at their leisure in this very high quality collection. However, albeit unintentionally, this precipitated a further separation of the wall maps from their location in the corridor of the Galleria in research terms. It diminished maps to academic data without the context of the viewer, lighting, scale, and the iconographic context of the rest of the Galleria. It is argued that it is in its reconstituted state that the Galleria gives up its richest form and provides insight into Gregory XIII’s objective for this commission. This research will examine the maps and vault as part of a single concept.

10 Almagià, 1952.
11 Ibid., p.80.
Juergen Schulz’s article ‘Maps as Metaphors: Mural Map Cycles of the Italian Renaissance’ 1987 situates the *Galleria delle Carte Geografiche* within the context of sixteenth-century mural maps as a genre, and subcategorises the Vatican cycles of the *Terza Loggia* and the *Galleria delle Carte Geografiche* as sacred cartography.\(^\text{13}\) Schulz treats the *Galleria* only briefly but nonetheless he offers a broad view of the relationship between the vault and the maps and therefore the conceptual organisation of the *Galleria*. Schulz indicates the following: Italy, the country represented in maps, is the new Holy Land, the land of the Church, which by decree of Christ became heir to the Synagogue as mediator between man and God and brought the peninsula to blossom into a land of pious men and deeds.\(^\text{14}\) Schulz usurps the geographical ordering of the vault to trace the development of Church history from Adam to St. Paul as *ante legem, sub lege*, and *sub gratia*, the last begin played out, according to Schulz, under the Holy Roman Catholic Church. This cycle, according to Schulz is to be understood as a ‘Counter-Reformation’ response with the assertion of orthodox doctrine, in a didactic tone. There is no doubt that there are themes which may be interpreted as ‘Counter-Reformation’ but a lack of broad and detailed visual analysis of the *Galleria*, a disregard for its geographic organising principle, and perhaps an overly creative approach, which could perhaps have been proposed without examining the vault and maps, contributes little to our understanding of the overall theme of the *Galleria* other than initiating a discussion of the vault and maps as a whole. To posit a relationship between the vault and the maps was however an advance in the analysis of the *Galleria*.

Irish Cheney’s much cited article ‘The Galleria delle Carte Geografiche at the Vatican and the Roman Church’s View of the History of Christianity’ published in 1989 offers a providential view noting that the Italy depicted by the maps is an optimistic fiction representing what the Church considered to be its homeland, which is a broad enough

\[^\text{13}\]Schulz, 1987.  
\[^\text{14}\]Ibid., p.108.
assertion to be true. Cheney too usurps the geographical organising principle of the Galleria, ignores the inscription which states that the vault displays the ‘deeds of holy men in the places where they happened’, and disregards Danti’s letter to Ortelius in which he states that the ‘images represent some noteworthy miracle that happened in that province.’ Cheney proceeds with a chronological analysis of the Galleria, tracing the vault cycle from Adam to the Holy Shroud and the historic battles depicted in the maps from Hannibal’s invasion in the second Punic War to the Battle of Lepanto. Cheney bases her providential view of Italy on her observation that the historical battles in the maps depict threats endured and overcome so that a unified Italy might come into being as the future home of the Church, even though the battles depict more defeats than victories. This she says is an agonistic view of history but one with a sense of predestination. This notion of a providential history finds no support either in the battles themselves (it is difficult to argue that Hannibal was moved by divine intervention), or in the inscriptions, or in their near latent representation of the battles on the maps.

Cheney’s singular conceptualisation of the Galleria, based on a chronological reading of the Galleria as a whole, is conceived as a ‘Counter Reformation’ response to Lutheran ideas through the assertion of the institution of the Church viz., religious tradition, the hierarchy of the Church, elaboration of ceremony, good works as a means to salvation, monastic life, and the veneration of saints and relics. In conclusion, Cheney notes that it is the presentation of this defensive history of the Church within the atlas of the Holy Land that endows the enterprise with scientific objectivity and authority. An understanding of a singular unifying concept underlying the geographic organisation of the Galleria has been eluded. Instead a static view is presented privileging proposed periodization dynamics and an unsubstantiated view of Italy as providential with a disregard for the contribution of its

15 Cheney, 1989, pp.21-37..
patron Gregory XIII.

This ‘Counter Reformation’ approach has persisted among researchers such as Pinelli and Fiorani. Pinelli documents his view that the paintings in the vault served both as a celebratory *instrumentum regni* (an exploitation of religion by ecclesiastical polity) and as a rational response by the post-Tridentine Church to the Lutheran interpretation of Christian history presented in the Centuries of Magdeburg.18 Pinelli in his article ‘*Sopra la terra, il cielo. Geografiche, storia e teolofia: Il programma iconografico della volta*’ primarily treats the vault of the *Galleria* and proposes a unifying concept, which focuses on the central image ‘Pasce oves meas’.19 He argues that this painting is ideologically emblematic of the whole cycle, which exalts the primacy of St. Peter, the institution of the Church of Rome, and the ministration of nourishment in the form of the celebration of the Mass and in the administration of the Eucharist. However, later in his article he indicates that the sheer number of images, connections, and cross references, advise against a conclusive interpretation of the programme. Pinelli asserts that the vault was produced in a cultural climate in which disquisition flourished and that the vault was full of turgid doctrinaire and academic arguments which few could read or understand and therefore doomed it to failure. Necessarily then Pinelli retreats into a formulaic interpretation indicating that both the vault and the wall maps together offer a rational response to the Lutheran interpretation of Church history. He presents an overall view of the *Galleria* that is a ‘Counter-Reformation’, post-Tridentine response to the criticism of Reformers particularly Luther. He states that ‘...There are no depictions of exemplary Divine punishment, nor heretical figures with Christ’s Church as persecutor that do not symbolize the ardent endeavours of the Counter-Reformation’s religious crusade...’.20 This research acknowledges and builds on Pinelli’s enormous contribution to scholarship in his analysis and documentation of the iconography of the individual representations on the vault but challenges his ‘Counter-Reformation’ interpretation of the whole.

18 Pinelli (b), 1994, p.127.
19 Ibid.
20 Ibid., 129.
Goffart in his 1998 article explores the significance of the twenty-three historical vignettes included on the wall maps of the Galleria. Goffart contrasts the record of human disasters catalogued on the wall maps with the unblemished and glorious vault panels and concludes that the ‘celestial’ scenes of the vault called for terrestrial complement. The historical vignettes, according to Goffard, offer nothing in terms of an understanding of the past, but instead portray the sorrows of the earth bound in contrast to the miraculous. His pessimistic view of the significance of the historical vignettes determines his perception of the Galleria as a whole. This research builds on Goffart’s analysis of the historical vignettes.

The only dissenting voice among these scholars is Pauline Watts. Watts in her articles ‘A mirror for the Pope: Mapping the Corpus Christi in the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche’ indicates that while scholars have generally agreed that the programme of the Galleria is ‘post-Tridentine’ and they have shown that specific elements can be connected to contemporary polemics with Protestant reformers, the overall iconography of the Galleria has not been deciphered. Instead, Watts proposes that the Galleria affirms an ideology centred on the figure of the pope as Vicarius Christi. According to Watts, the iconography of the Galleria translates Bernard of Clairvaux’s treatise De consideratione ad Eugenium papam teriam libri quinque (1148-53) into a Roman idiom focused on the two roles of the pope as pastor, and as temporal ruler. Thus, Watts posits the Galleria as a hall of mirrors in which Gregory XIII might reflect upon the different aspects of his role as Vicarius Christi. She cites Stella’s poem as evidence of Gregory XIII’s process of consideratione but disregards the large inscription on the wall of the Galleria indicating that the Galleria was not intended for Gregory XIII’s sole advantage but for the Roman ecclesia. The Galleria, according to the inscription, was unlike the other map cycles in

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23 Ibid., p.175.
that it was ‘of’ Gregory XIII rather than ‘for’ Gregory XIII.

Watts cites the wall murals as the territories ruled by the pope in his role as temporal prince and the image of the pope as Corpus Christi constructed our of a triangulation of the spiritual aspects of his persona as heir to Leviticus, font of virtues, and the Good Shepherd. While Watts’s theory is provocative, she fails to outline why the events and images would help Gregory XIII, why he would need to reflect on such ideas, and how the temporal and the spiritual come together especially since Gregory XIII’s temporal power was limited to the Papal States. This research is useful in that it breaks the hegemony of ‘Counter Reformation’ thinking as the underlying theme of the Galleria but the iconography of the Galleria remains to be deciphered.

Francesca Fiorani has written extensively on maps and mural cycles in particular. She shifts to a post-Tridentine interpretation of the Galleria as a whole although maintains a ‘Counter-Reformation’ interpretation for the selection of the individual images.24 Fiorani treats the Galleria as a sacred map cycle which asserts that the peninsula of Italy is a privileged theatre for the affirmation of Christianity achieved through the conceptual connection of geography, history and miracles. This privilege she argues was in part due to the success of the Church in collecting ecclesiastical revenues in the form of tithes which allowed the consolidation of the primacy of the Italian peninsula through the implementation of reform measures. This she claims is represented in the biblical sacrifices on the vault. According to Fiorani then, the Galleria is the embodiment of ecclesiastical leadership of the Roman Church in Italy since Gregory XIII had greatest success in collecting ecclesiastical revenues in Italy than in any other territory. While

Fiorani’s scholarship is unquestioned, it is perhaps her over emphasis on the maps and the map maker Danti, on the chorography of the whole Italy as opposed to individual places, and on the selection of un-contextualised images from the vault which has led her to posit this theme as the primary unifying force of the *Galleria* without recourse to the unified spectrum of images on the vault and their geographical and historical relationship with the maps.

The unifying concept proposed by these main researchers for the *Galleria* seems uneasy, static, slightly formulaic, and separated from the ambitions of its patron Gregory XIII. As noted when analysing Gregory XIII’s papal patronage, his artistic programmes were not an end in themselves but instead served his papal ambition, which was to renew and reinvigorate the Church, in a range of different ways. All of his patronage was a means of achieving his forward looking papal ambitions and the *Galleria delle Carte Geografiche* was one such commission.
4.1.3 Aims and Objective of Research:

The overall aim of this research is to address the unresolved relationship between the maps and the vault in the *Galleria delle Carte Geografiche* and in so doing, to decipher the overall theme of the *Galleria*. It is proposed that the contextualisation of the *Galleria* within the pattern of patronage already established by Gregory XIII by 1579-1581, and a detailed visual analysis of the artistic pattern expressed on the vault in relation to the maps will yield a clear and singular organising principle for the *Galleria*. This approach challenges the usefulness of applying ‘Counter-Reformation’ constructs as a primary rubric for the interpretation of the representations on the vault and their relationship the maps below.

It is observed that an alternating geometrical pattern on the vault of the *Galleria* organises the paintings together in groups according to a shared narrative or theme which is connected to the maps below. The organisation of the vault images into eleven narrative groups or schemes provides legibility and meaning to what has been considered an untameable multitudinous variety of images. The overall objective of this research is to provide a detailed analysis of these narrative patterns in terms of their overall communication, relationship to their maps, and their contribution to the overall function of the *Galleria*.

4.1.4 Method

This research focuses on five narrative cycles out of a total of eleven due to the complexity of each narrative. This selection is balanced and selects two narratives relating to the northern Italian regional maps, the central narrative of *Pasce oves meas*, and two narratives relating to southern Italian maps. It is proposed that the narratives selected serve as
exemplars for the overall dynamic of the *Galleria*. The narratives analysed are:  
1. The Constantine narrative (Fig. 4.83).  
2. The Countess Matilda of Canossa narrative (Fig. 4.109).  
3. *Pasce oves meas* (Fig. 4.128).  
4. The House of Loreto cycle (Fig. 4.144).  
5. From the Archangel Michael to St. Paul cycle (Fig. 4.158).  
Their attendant maps are *Italia nova, Italia antique*, Liguria, and Piedmont and Monferrato, Northern Lazio, the jurisdiction of Bologna, Calabria, and Malta and Corfu, respectively.
4.2 The World of Maps:

For a patron known to be precise and methodical, Aristotelian in persuasion, parsimonious in communication, and committed to the sciences, it seems natural that Gregory XIII would be drawn to cartography.\textsuperscript{25} The juxtaposition of Ptolemy’s mathematical basis for mapping with the eloquence of chorographical representation gave Gregory XIII a versatile and inspiring mode of representation. Sixteenth-century cartography as an aesthetic form provided a scientific frame of objectivity and authority, which could be embellished with cultural and historical detail, and set within a context of choice. Painted map cycles as three-dimensional displays further provided Gregory XIII with the opportunity to explore a spectrum of spiritual subjects using the interest and intrigue of maps as protagonists within mural cycles. The process involved in viewing such a cycle was one of making visual connections among the images displayed, constructing meanings, and creating knowledge regarding human existence. Gregory XIII commissioned the decoration of the Sala Bologna, the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche, completed Pius IV’s Terza Loggia, and commissioned two mappaemundi for the Quirinal palace, now lost.\textsuperscript{26}

Interest in cartography and maps as we recognise them, are part of a long tradition dating back beyond the Severan Marble plan or \textit{Forma Urbis Romanae} created under the Emperor Septimus Severus (145-211AD) between 203 and 211 AD and rediscovered in 1562 (Figs. 4.3-7). Fragments of this map of Rome survive and are on display in the \textit{Museo dell’Ara Pacis}. The monumentality of this map in size, detail, and scale inspired Renaissance patrons to use maps as mural decorations.\textsuperscript{27}


\textsuperscript{26} Ciappi, 1596.

\textsuperscript{27} Fiorani, 2007.
Renaissance patrons were also influenced by the learned lineage of Livy, Pliny, and Socrates who documented the use of maps to adorn private houses, document military conquests, and as an aid to teaching.\(^{28}\) Such references allowed patrons to associate themselves with such a lineage, displaying their knowledge and cultural credentials. Sacred cartography dates back to early Christianity and the greatest number of medieval \textit{mappaemundi} were sacred. These maps evolved from simple to more complex forms of what we recognise as \textit{mappaemundi} (Figs. 4.8-12). Their primary purpose was to exhibit in a single concise image, the principle that the vastness and variety of the created world emanates from one single divine source.\(^{29}\) During the sixteenth century, the vast majority of sacred cartography comprised historical maps of the Holy Land and the Mediterranean used by Protestants as aids to teaching viewers where events took place. Catholics, unlike Protestants reserved such maps for learned scholars and theologians.\(^{30}\) Ignatius of Loyola (1491-1556) encouraged young Jesuits to view the world from above like a map, Abraham Ortelius (1527-98), author of \textit{Theatrum Orbis Terrarum} 1570, imagined his maps and his theatre as emblems of moral meditation (\textit{contemptus mundi}), and Gabriele Paleotti promoted the spiritual function of maps as a means of apprehending the creator and sharpening the mind.\(^{31}\) Cartography, in its development and growing sophistication complemented rather than rivalled the spiritual.

The two centuries from the early fifteenth century to the seventeenth century was bracketed by two significant developments. First, the age of exploration began with the first Portuguese voyages in the 1430s and ended with the rounding of the Cape Horn in 1616.\(^{32}\) Second, Jacopo Angeli da Scarperia (1360-1410/11) completed the Latin translation of Ptolemy’s \textit{Guide to geography} in 1406 and Isaac Newton’s \textit{Philosophiae naturalis principia mathematica} appeared in 1687, which effectively dissolved Ptolemy’s

\(^{28}\) J.B. Harley and David Woodward (eds.), 2007, Vol.3.
\(^{30}\) Paleotti, 2012.
\(^{31}\) Ibid.
\(^{32}\) Schulz, 1987, p.97.
cosmic system (Figs. 4.13-15). Together these texts opened and closed Renaissance cosmography.\textsuperscript{33} During the two intervening centuries, cosmography flourished as a field of enquiry and speculation in an age that predated modern distinctions between art and science. The interest of humanists, scholars, navigators, chart makers, painters, architects, and princes was piqued. The quality and quantity of map production increased dramatically. According to Schulz and exemplified by Harley and Woodward, the output of printed maps leapt from a handful to hundreds per year, and by the end of the sixteenth century, the interest in maps was embraced by educated men.\textsuperscript{34}

This representation of space and place, the process of filling in unknown territories, and the reflection on the vastness of this process captured the imagination of the fifteenth and sixteenth century. The intrigue of this science and this process was celebrated by artists such as Leonardo da Vinci (1442-1519), Albrecht Durer (1471-1528), Hans Holbein (1494-1543) Peter Bruegel the elder (1525-69) in many different ways (Figs. 4.15-21).\textsuperscript{35}

During the second half of the sixteenth century there was a proliferation of mural map cycles designed for both secular and sacred settings (see appendix XV).\textsuperscript{36} These include those in the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence, the Palazzo Farnese at Caprarola, the Sala Bologna, the Terza Loggia and the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche in the Vatican.


\textsuperscript{34} Schulz, 1987; J.B. Harley and David Woodward (eds.), 2007.

\textsuperscript{35} Leonardo da Vinci was the first documented in Italy to own a copy of Ptolemy’s Geografia and promoted it as an ideal model for his own intended treatise on human anatomy; Durer’s pair of woodcuts of the northern and southern hemispheres, Imagines coeli Septentrionales et Meridionales zodiaci 1515, were much admired for their accuracy; Holbein’s The Ambassadors (1533) records the status afforded the possession of such precious item as globes and features an anamorphosis enabled by the science of perspective; Bruegel captured the detail and harmony underpinning the idea of cosmos.

\textsuperscript{36} Watts, 2007.
4.3 Precursors and Precedents to the *Galleria delle Carte Geografiche*:

Researchers tend to appeal to two particular fresco map cycles as representative of the genre to which the *Galleria delle Carte Geografiche* is said to belong, with occasional reference to the *Terza Loggia* in the Vatican as a precursor to the *Galleria* cycle. The two cycles are the *Guardaroba* in the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence and the *Sala del Mappamondo* in Palazzo Farnese at Caprarola. The *Terza Loggia* and the *Sala Bologna* are included here as a necessary context for the *Galleria Delle Carte Geografiche* both as an expression of Gregory XIII’s treatment of this genre and as a source of contrast.

The personages involved in these cycles were known to each other in various ways. Egnazio Danti executed maps in the *Guardaroba*, *Terza Loggia*, and in the *Galleria delle Carte Geografiche*. He was patronised by and a friend of Paleotti as was Gregory XIII, who was also a friend of Cardinal Farnese. Vasari was advisor to Cosimo I and was commissioned by Gregory XIII to paint the Sala Regia. Antonio Vanosino executed the sky map in Caprarola and in the *Sala Bologna* and he also worked on the *Terza Loggia*. While this rarefied and elite group may not have shared the same aims and objectives in their commissions, they did share a sense of excellence, extravagance, and posterity, which is to say that such values were normalised within this group and therefore normalised within the commission of the *Galleria delle Carte Geografiche*.

The order in which these cycles are examined is determined both chronologically and by Gregory XIII’s involvement in the commission. *Guardaroba* and the *Sala del Mappamondo* are examined first. The *Terza Loggia* was commissioned by Pius IV before the *Sala del Mappamondo* but was completed after it by Gregory XIII. The *Sala Bologna*

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37 See Lucio Gambi and Antonio Pinelli (eds), 1994; Schulz, 1987; Fiorani, 2005.
precedes Gregory XIII’s involvement in the *Terza Loggia* commission but was patronised by Gregory XIII alone and as such gives greater insight into the patronage of the *Galleria* cycle.

### 4.3.1 The *Guardaroba* in the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence:

The *Guardaroba* was commissioned by Duke Cosimo I (1519-1574) of Florence in 1563 (Fig. 4.22). The Duke commissioned Egnazio Danti and Stefano Buonsignori to decorate the rooms. While Vasari acted as chief artistic advisor to the Duke, the Duke was responsible for the iconographic and unifying theme of the cycle. By 1586 the maps were completed, but the room remained unfinished and was never fully realised. After the deaths of Cosimo I and Vasari in the same year of 1574, Cosimo I’s son Francesco took little interest in the project. As a result, the room languished as a desultory storage closet for three centuries.

The *Guardaroba* is a trapezoidal room containing fifty-four geographical maps of the earth attached to the front doors of wooden cabinets organised in two tiers (Fig. 4.22). According to Rosen, a programme for the project published by Vasari defined the cycle as a complete cosmography of the known universe, with maps, globes, painted constellations, illustrations of flora and fauna, and portraits of great historical leaders. Vasari noted that artefacts and artworks placed inside the cabinets would act together with this custom-designed imagery to reflect back on the name and charismatic persona of Cosimo I de’Medici (1519-1574).

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38 Schulz, 1987, p.98.  
40 Ibid., p.285.  
41 Ibid., p.285.  
42 Ibid., p.285.
The cabinets painted by Danti and Buonsignori were carved from walnut wood and circle the room with a continuous cornice broken only at the entrance and large window. Each of the two-tiered cabinets holds a map and includes a lower *basamento* level that was to contain depictions of the plant and animal life of the regions represented above. Above these cabinets, the installation of portrait busts of the rulers, who had governed the respective lands, were planned but never added.

The geographical ordering of the maps of the *Guardaroba* provided both a principle of organisation of the artefacts held in the room and a visual catalogue for their storage and retrieval. This geographic principle of organisation is repeated in the *Galleria Delle Carte Geografiche* with the deeds of Holy men organised geographically, locating them in a specific place, rather than chronologically. While no reliable inventory of the contents of the cabinets during Cosimo I’s reign exists, the legends of the maps included a list of objects for which the mapped area was renowned.\(^\text{43}\) It is indicated then that this is a type of inventory of the artefacts stored in the cabinets.

The fifty-seven maps were unparalleled in scale and in the richness of their cartographic detail (Fig. 4.23).\(^\text{44}\) Fiorani notes that the daring of this cartographic enterprise only becomes apparent when it is realised that the notion of an atlas per se was still in formation and that the only cycles of maps of the world available were the small-scale maps illustrating Renaissance editions of Ptolemy’s *Geography*.\(^\text{45}\) It was a challenging task without any pre-existing model as its conception predates the publication of Ortelius’s atlas by at least seven years.\(^\text{46}\) The maps were more than geographic representations in that they described large regions of the world pictorially, what Ptolemy described as a

\(^{43}\) Fiorani, 2005, p.68
\(^{44}\) Ibid., p.93.
\(^{45}\) Ibid., p.93
\(^{46}\) The maps had to be made by comparing, collating, and unifying heterogeneous printed and manuscript maps by different authors, according to different projections, and at different periods.
chorographical description of smaller areas including historical, botanical, ethnographic information.

This detailed representation of the world had to be placed under the sky. Its constellations were to be painted on the wooden ceiling, which had been divided into twelve panels. Vasari described the unrealised plan as including four celestial signs in each panel making up forty-eight constellations. The two central compartments were to be hinged, so that both a terrestrial and a celestial globe could be housed behind them and made to descend at will.\(^{47}\) Only the terrestrial globe was brought to completion and executed by Danti, which was eventually displayed on the floor.

In its ambitions, the Guardaroba displayed the marvels of the natural world through man-made artifice. The vision of the Guardaroba is however dependent on Vasari’s published but never realised 1568 proposals for the room (Fig. 4.24). Ever cognisant of this once removed vision for the Guardaroba, the purpose of the room remains intact.

The Guardaroba was a description of the cosmos and as such, it was intimately related to the persona of Cosimo I. Cosimo I exploited the relationship between the word cosmos and his name Cosimo, harnessing the assonance between his name and the Greek word for designating the Universe. Cosimo I pursued the theme in the decoration of his palace and the serious study of the cosmos.\(^{48}\) He conflated Hercules, the symbol of Florence carrying a bolder with a globe, the Medici palle with a globe, which came to stand alone as a globe (Fig. 4.25). This ‘globe’ was to descend from the sky above into the terrestrial world and occupy the centre of the universe in the Guardaroba. Cosimo I was at the very epicentre of the cosmos, vying with Charles V.

\(^{48}\) Fiorani, 2005, p.33.
The purpose of the *Guardaroba* was the unapologetic self-aggrandisement of the Duke in his intimate association with the cosmos itself. There is no explicit reference to the organising principle of God but this may have been simply implied through the rising tiers of plants, animals, lands, men, and constellations, as suggested by Schulz.49

Cosmography had long been regarded as a means to universal knowledge and global control, since to understand and explain the universe was a claim to its possession and conquest. Cosimo I established an inextricable link between the globe, the cosmos, and his persona. His name destined him to patronise the study of the universe and such patronage would elevate him among the greatest rulers in history. The *Guardaroba* is a concrete expression of this constructed identity. It was an exercise in self-fashioning on a monumental level.

The relevance of the *Guardaroba* to the *Galleria delle Carte Geografiche* is as follows: It establishes Danti’s credentials as a skilled cartographer, chorographer, mathematician, cosmographer, and maker of scientific instruments, but not as an iconographer. It sets a precedent for geography as an organising principle within an artistic programme. It illustrates the pervasive interest in cosmology and *mappaemundi* and the manner in which it was usefully harnessed to express personal attributes.

### 4.3.2 Sala del Mappamondo at Caprarola:

The second cycle of maps relevant to our understanding of the *Galleria delle Carte Geografiche* is the *Sala del Mappamondo* in the Villa Farnese at Caprarola (Fig. 4.26). This artistic cycle was commissioned by Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (1520-1589), who was closely associated with Gregory XIII. Cardinal Farnese was familiar with Pius VI’s *Terza Loggia* and cited it as an inspiration for his *Sala del Mappamondo*. The scheme

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was organised by Fulvio Orsini (1529-1600) and his team 1573-1575.\textsuperscript{50} This map sequence was part of an enormous fresco cycle that covered all the walls of the principal residential apartments of the Palazzo Farnese. Two apartments, one to the north and one to the south were designated as the summer and the winter apartments respectively. According to Schulz, the organising principle of the summer apartment was \textit{vita activa} while the winter apartment was designated \textit{vita contemplativa} and it is the latter that contains the maps.\textsuperscript{51} The \textit{Sala del Mappamondo} was described in 1581 by Montaigne in his travel journal ‘... on its vaulted ceiling you see the celestial sphere with all the constellations; around it in the walls, the terrestrial globe, the regions and the whole world, everything painted very richly directly on the wall itself.’\textsuperscript{52}

Giovanni Antonio Vanosino da Varese, following a now non-extant project-plan by Orsini, executed the maps 1573-74. The ceiling vault was given over to a sky map that represents all of celestial space. It is a comprehensive and accurate diagram of the entire heavens, embracing all seasons of the year and based on the most authoritative ancient sources (Fig. 4.27). It is according to Partridge, a projection of universal, rather than particular time and space. It is unlike other Renaissance precedents, such as that represented on the dome of the Old Sacristy in San Lorenzo and the dome of the Pazzi chapel at Santa Croce in Florence, both accurately representing the sky over Florence at a particular hour of a particular day (Figs. 4.28-29).\textsuperscript{53} While the Caprarola sky map is based on Ptolemy with a few additions, the terrestrial maps drew on sources that had long supplanted Ptolemy’s \textit{Geographia} due to discoveries by explorers of the New World.

\textsuperscript{50} Watts, 2007: Gregory XIII was entertained in the \textit{Sala del Mappamondo} by Cardinal Farnese during the summer of 1578.

\textsuperscript{51} Schulz, 1987, p.100. It is noted that this interpretation is disputed by Clare Robertson in her book \textit{‘Il Gran Cardinale’}. \textit{Alessandro Farnese, Patron of the Arts}, Yale University Press, 1992.

\textsuperscript{52} Montaigne, 1983, p.163.

\textsuperscript{53} Partridge, 1995. The map in San Lorenzo represents the sky over Florence at 12 noon on 6th July 1439, commemorating the closing of the Council of Florence. The Pazzi chapel map is too damaged to decipher the exact time.
In the sky map the zodiac signs, and the mythological scenes personifying the various zodiacal signs mark the cycles of the twelve months and the four seasons within a year. Prophets are situated between these mythologies on the long wall. The sky map and the narratives it contains are all cast in a classical guise, implying an unfolding of time from antiquity to the present. It is represented from a God’s eye view, looking down at the earth rather than up at the heavens (Fig. 4.27). This according to Watts is an image of providential history, the divine design signed by the stars that determines the unfolding of events in the time-bound and space-bound terrestrial world, represented on the walls beneath the vault. This divine design included Alessandro Farnese’s destiny to become cardinal, his future as pope, and his worldwide influence. Alessandro Farnese himself commissioned this iconography in order to reaffirm his destiny as spiritual leader of the world immediately after his forced withdrawal from the papal election of 1572.

The wall frescoes present an image of contemporary terrestrial space with seven large maps: four continents on the sides, an oval world map on the southeast end and Palestine and Italy on the northwest end, flanking the door leading into the Room of Angels. Flanking the maps are personifications of these lands and portraits of five explorers including Marco Polo, Christopher Columbus, Hernando Cortez, Amerigo Vespucci, and Ferdinand Magellan. The maps of Rome and Judea are paired with the personifications of Judea, Jerusalem, Rome, and the Holy land. The juxtaposition of Rome and Judea illustrates not only the span of time from the Old Testament to the present but also the *traslatio religionis* from East to West, from Judaism centred in Jerusalem to Christianity centred in Rome. The pairing of the Holy land and Italy also recalls the early religious history of man and the paramount importance of these two regions in establishing Christianity as a world religion. Similarly, the presence of the prophets alludes to the divine principle that rules all and will, according to Schulz, eventually triumph in Christ.

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This theological order is not however made explicit.\textsuperscript{58}

The \textit{Sala del Mappamondo} is an expression of the Cardinal Farnese’s destiny to reach the top of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Not unlike the \textit{Guardaroba}, the \textit{Sala del Mappamondo} maps are central to this scheme but only as part of a larger theme. Classical, allegorical, biographical, and scientific references work to reveal the known world, as governed by the superior organising principle of the stars, and it is in the stars that the true destiny of Cardinal Farnese is revealed. As is clearly articulated by Partridge, the \textit{Sala del Mappamondo} is based above all on the ideology of status, privilege, service, and merit of its patron.\textsuperscript{59} The maps are both an expression of the realm of his power and an expression of his knowledge and intellectual control of the physical world. Clare Robertson identified one feature of Alessandro Farnese’s patronage that remained constant throughout his life and that was the pursuit of \textit{magnificenza}.\textsuperscript{60} He strove to maintain his prominent social position and advance his ambitions in the ever-changing climate of his times and the \textit{Sala del Mappamondo} is an expression of this \textit{magnificenza}.

The relevance of the \textit{Sala del Mappamondo} to the \textit{Galleria delle Carte Geografiche} is as follows:
The partition into two realms, the vault and the walls, prefigures that of the \textit{Galleria delle Carte Geografiche}. The terrestrial is historical and transient while the celestial is universal. The magnificence of the sky map inspired Gregory XIII’s sky map in the \textit{Sala Bologna}. The \textit{Sala del Mappamondo} is not an example of sacred cartography but a glorification of the patron with implicit reference to the Church only due to the nature of his ambitions.

\textsuperscript{58} Schulz, 1987.
\textsuperscript{59} Partridge, 1995, p.413.
\textsuperscript{60} Robertson, 1992, p.233.
Both the *Guardaroba* and the *Sala del Mappamondo* are cycles which include maps and as such are a genre differentiated from wall maps. This is applicable to the *Galleria delle Carte Geografiche* but it seems that the *Galleria* has its genesis in a different category of maps, namely sacred cartography as exemplified by the *Terza Loggia*.

4.3.3 The Terza Loggia in the Vatican:
The *Terza Loggia* straddles both the *Guardaroba* and the *Sala del Mappamondo* in time, in that it was commissioned by Pius IV (1559-1565) in the early 1560’s, providing a model within the genre of mural maps for both Cosimo I and Cardinal Farnese, and it was completed by Gregory XIII in c1580. It is placed here in this order to illustrate its influence on Gregory XIII and his response within the confines of the set brief. It demonstrates his approach and it highlights the factors that were of greatest importance to Gregory XIII for his own posterity.

Pius IV’s map cycle in the *Terza Loggia* consisted of a series of thirty-seven maps of the modern world with twenty-four surviving. These maps were painted on the inside wall of the loggia and above the maps are landscape views which are related to the mapped territories. These frescoes were open to the elements and suffered great or complete loss in some cases. It was not until the nineteenth century that the loggia was finally glazed. Damage to the cycle also meant a series of restorations complicating the process of deciphering the content of the programme.

Each bay of the vault bears the papal arms of its patron at the centre and this is surrounded by four smalls fields, two with images, one with an inscription, and the fourth with either an inscription or stucco decoration. This vault decoration carried down the whole length of the loggia and into the first three bays of the new wing (Fig. 4.30). It is easily read since the bays make the painted images visible along the loggia without having to look vertically
up onto the ceiling, varying on the way up and on the way down along the loggia just like the Raphael Loggie. The vaults show the Trinity and a succession of personifications: Time, Sun, Moon, Seasons of the Year, Life, Childhood, Youth, Maturity, Old Age, and Death. Each of the ages is shown under two aspects: good and bad reminding the faithful of the consequences of their behaviour leading up to the Last Judgement.\textsuperscript{61} Within the first three vaults of the new north arm of the loggia, the end of time is represented by the destruction of a city, the raising and joining of bones, their clothing in flesh, the resurrection of the dead, and the Last Judgement.

The author of Pius IV’s programme is unknown. Pius IV commissioned the French cartographer Etienne du Pèrac to prepare the cartoons for thirteen maps, which he arranged according to the order of Ptolemy, but he based their cartographic content on Gerardus Mercator map of Europe (1554) and other supplementary maps.\textsuperscript{62} Giovanni Antonio Vanosino, the painter of the maps at Caprarola, painted the cartoons in fresco. The cycle was unfinished at the death of Pius IV and languished through the pontificate of Pius V (1566-1572) until Gregory XIII intervened and had the project brought to completion. He commissioned Danti to design a world map divided into two hemispheres and ten maps of Africa, Asia, and America, which were painted by Giovanni Antonio Vanosino (Fig. 4.31).

Gregory XIII continued the cycle of the vault following the Last Judgement, with the elect in heaven all represented on clouds. These include virgins, saints, popes, patriarchs, martyrs, confessors, Adam and Eve, evangelists, and a representation of the Trinity.\textsuperscript{63} Just as Pius had opened the cycle with the Trinity, Gregory XIII closed it with the Trinity (Fig. 4.32).\textsuperscript{64}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{61} Schulz, 1987, p.106.
\textsuperscript{62} Fiorani, 2007, p.816.
\textsuperscript{63} Taja, Agostino, Descrizione del Palazzo Apostolico vaticano, Rome 1750.
\textsuperscript{64} Schulz, 1987, pp.106-7.
\end{flushright}
As noted by Schulz the vaults can be interpreted as an expression of the life forces that govern the globe (time, sun, moon, youth, maturity, etc.), the heavenly glory of which creation is only a weak reflection. He goes on to note that the frieze below the vault expresses lands and seas as a reflection of an omnipotent God. Gregory XIII’s departed from this theme of lands and seas to include a representation of the *translatio* of Gregory Nazianzeno from the convent of Santa Maria in Campo Marzio to the Gregorian chapel in St. Peter’s basilica painted by Antonio Tempesta and Matthijs Bril (Fig. 4.24, Figs. 4.26-28). The frieze consists of ten panels, which provide a detailed topographical outline of the city of Rome in 1580 as the saint’s relics are moved through the city.

The frieze observes participants’ reactions to the procession and their acts of charity precipitated by the movement of the miraculous relics through the streets of Rome and the mass participation in the event. As noted in chapter 3, Gregory Nazianzeno wrote definitively on the Holy Trinity and here in the loggia the Trinity is overtly implicated in both heaven and earth, Father, Son and Holy Spirit. This reveals a more definite relationship between heaven and earth rather than earth being a mere platonic reflection of the heavens.

Inscriptions on the vaults document papal deeds which include reference to Pius IV’s restoration work in Rome, his fortification of the Papal States, renewal of ecclesiastical discipline, promotion of science and culture, and commitment to the Council of Trent. The selected deeds of Gregory XIII include the Jubilee year of 1575, founding of national colleges, St. Peter’s Basilica and the Gregorian Chapel, the Gallery of maps, and the new calendar promulgated in 1582, Fig. 4.32 (see appendix XVI). These deeds represent the reinvigoration of the faith during Holy Year, his patronage of education ensuring a

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67 Taja, 1750, pp.232-266:
standard capable of ministering to the faithful, the Gregorian Chapel, and the calendar as a means of uniting Christians across the world in this new spiritual dominion, beyond geographic boundaries.

The *Terza Loggia* is an example of sacred cartography composed by two spiritual leaders of the Church around the organising principle of common or universal spirituality. It is not an assertion of religious supremacy as Fiorani has indicated, since the universal spirituality it references is without borders and operative on a spiritual dimension.\(^{68}\) It is apparent, that since Pius IV was the pope who brought the Council of Trent successfully to a close, he is associated with the Council and its broad objectives. Gregory XIII although present at the council and charged with interpreting the decrees for application in the consistory of 1563, manifested his own interpretation of what was necessary to fulfil his mission of regeneration of the Church. This included the establishment of the infrastructure necessary for a singular expression of the faith and clarity of the doctrine of the faith. The reform of the calendar, liturgy, standardised education of the clergy, and mass participation in the Jubilee celebrations in Rome forwarded this mission. The *Galleria delle Carte Geografiche* is included in this list of achievements listed in the vault of the *Terza Loggia* which represents Italy as Gregory XIII’s spiritual dominion of the pious deed of holy men as exemplars of active participation and ministration of the Church.

### 4.3.4 The Sala Bologna:

Gregory XIII commissioned the decoration of the *Sala Bologna* in 1574, for the Holy Year of 1575, which was dedicated to his native city of Bologna (Fig. 4.33).\(^{69}\) It was Gregory XIII’s first solo commission employing terrestrial and celestial mural maps within a mural cycle and as such provides insight into his approach and the purpose of this type of patronage within his repertoire. The Bolognese artist Lorenzo Sabatini (1530-76) was put

\(^{68}\) Fiorani, 2005, p.239.

\(^{69}\) Ibid., p.144.
in charge of the decoration and worked alongside another Bolognese artist, Ottaviano Mascherino (1536-1606). They were accompanied by Antonio Vanosino da Varese (d.1590) and aided by a team of specialist artists.

The Sala Bologna is situated on the third floor of the palazzo di San Damaso (Fig. 4.34). It opens up onto the Terza Loggia and is a short walk from Bramante’s loggia and the Stanze di Raffaello thus connecting with the existing decoration within the Vatican. The room that was to become the Sala Bologna has views of Rome and the surrounding countryside from five windows situated along the north and east walls. It is dominated by a monumental perspective plan of the walled city of Bologna on the south wall. There is a large chorographic map of the city on the western wall and a small view of the city on the north wall with allegorical figures filling the spaces on the north and east walls between the five windows illuminating the room (Fig. 4.35). The vault above, painted by Ottaviano Mascherino and Lorenzo Sabatini, displays a much praised loggia, dal sotto in su, a specialisation of Bolognese painting.\footnote{Urban, Emily, ‘La volta celeste della Sala Bologna’, in Francesco Ceccarelli e Nadija Aksamija (eds), La Sala Bologna nei Palazzi Vaticani. Architettura, cartografia e potere nell’età di Gregorio XIII’, Marsilio, 2011. According to Urban, this quadratura specialisation arose due to the specialist study of the three principle components of this art at the University of Bologna, namely perspective, mathematics, and architecture. P.154.} Mascherino’s loggia in perspective features ten ancient astronomers painted by Sabatini referencing the ancient nature of the science of astronomy (Fig. 4.43). From its inception then, the Bolognese pope had the decoration of the Sala Bologna executed by predominantly Bolognese artists, displaying particularly famed Bolognese artistic skill whose genesis lies in the academia of the University of Bologna and its sciences, all indicative of a genuine pride in Bologna and its credentials, as his native city.

The fictive loggia supports a sky map designed by Antonio Vanosino da Varese who had
just completed the sky map in the *Mappamondo* in Caprarola for Cardinal Farnese. This sky map was modelled on Cardinal Farnese’s sky map but without Caprarola’s astrological references.  

Below two golden trumpeting personifications of fame, the plan of Bologna is flanked by two imposing and elegant images. To the left of the map is a representation of Pope Gregory IX presenting the Decretals of 1234, *Liber extra*, to the doctors of the University of Bologna with Gregory IX depicted in the likeness of Gregory XIII (Fig. 4.36). This not uncommon convention of conflating the facial features of one pope with the thematic presence of another can be observed in Raphael’s *Stanza della Segnatura* and the *Stanza dell’incendio del Borgo* as a glorification of the contemporary popes (Fig. 4.39). The *Sala Bologna* continues this convention, which serves to glorify the deeds of Gregory XIII, not as a ‘Counter Reformation’ assertion of papal power against the Protestant church but as a statement of the continuity of scholarship that Gregory XIII undertook in republishing the Decretals.  

The image to the right of the map is that of Boniface VIII similarly giving the *Sextus liber decretalium* of 1298 to the doctors of the University (Fig. 4.38). A painting by Raphael featuring the Decretals is represented in the *Stanza della Segnatura* on the wall depicting Justice. While the subject is the same as the Decretal images *viz*, the consignment of the Decretals for safekeeping, the treatment and emphasis differ significantly. Raphael dwells on the moment when Gregory IX, with the likeness of Julius II, is handed the completed

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71 From Augustine in *De Genesi ad litteram* and *De civitate Dei* and from Thomas Aquinas’ *Summa Theologica* to the Council of Trent, astrology was condemned as impossible and sinful. God’s foreknowledge and supreme authority and man’s free will were proposed in defense of astrology although the practice persisted.


73 This reference is also biographical in that Gregory XIII practiced law in the *Stanza della Segnatura* under Paul III, Julius III, Paul IV and Pius V. See Jack Freiberg ‘Pope Gregory XIII the Jurist’ in *Memories of the American Academy in Rome*, Vol. LIV, 2009, pp.41-60.
Decretals by St. Raymond of Penafort (Fig. 4.39). The paintings in the Sala Bologna focus on the passing of the Decretals from Pope Gregory IX, in the likeness of Gregory XIII, to the charge of the University of Bologna and similarly in their extended form, from Boniface VIII to the University. The emphasis of the Sala Bologna is on papal approval and ratification of the Decretals. It documents the perpetuation of this process by Gregory XIII’s revision and re-publication of the Decretals ‘without error’ in 1582 inscribing him into the process. This is illustrated in the frontispiece to the Decretals, which was published by Gregory XIII. The image features Gregory XIII in the centre surrounded by jurists and bishops discussing the text (Fig. 4.37). The borders include the Doctors of the Church and Evangelists, Old Testament Figures such as Moses and Job, all the men who were involved in codifying the law. Gregory XIII is cast as the latest contributor to the process and as such is an arbiter of the law.

The images of the Sala Bologna emphasise the continuity and importance of the science of jurisprudence for the Church and the credentials of Gregory XIII’s alma mater that received, maintained, studied, and promulgated the Decretals. Apart from his renown as a jurist and reformer of Canon Law, Boniface VIII’s presence may also refer to his founding of the Jubilee tradition as noted in chapter 2. This interpretation is pertinent to the timing of this commission on the cusp of the Holy Year 1575.

There is a frieze both above and below this map of the city of Bologna. The upper frieze contains thirty-four symbols of the Church specifically referring to the liturgy (Fig. 4.40). The frieze below contains twenty-four panels with scientific instruments and symbols of the academy on one side, and nine ecclesiastical objects on the other side. Gregory XIII’s

74 Frieberg, 2009.
75 Ibid.
dragon with a mirror is placed between these two sets of panels signifying Gregory XIII as an agent of prudence and astuteness between Church and science (Fig. 4.41).

The map of the Bolognese countryside is depicted on the south wall (Fig. 4.42). It is a bucolic portrait emphasising the countryside as a source of food and protection for the city signified by the allegorical figures of peace and plenty flanking the map.77 Below this map there is a frieze containing depictions of produce enriching the depiction of this map as a representation of agricultural prosperity.

The vault is frescoed with forty-eight accurately rendered constellations of Ptolemy, represented within an oval shaped fictive canopy surrounded by a decorative rectangular frame, emphasising the representational nature of this depiction. The rendering of the constellations is extremely precise with differentiated dimensions and outlines of the stars that respect their different sizes or their degree of luminosity represented (Fig. 4.43).78 This had been documented in the maps of Ptolemy and Dürer (Imagines Coeli Septentrionales cum duodecim imaginibus zodiaci, 1515), and illustrated in the globes of Francois Demongenet (Fig. 4.44).79 Such attention to the accuracy of the stars indicates that the stars are given equal if not greater importance than the allegorical form of the constellations.

The final aspect of this portrait of the papacy of Gregory XIII is the allegorical figures that

79 Ibid., p.153.
decorate the room. Each of these allegories is featured on various papal medals issued during Gregory XIII’s papacy and are also represented in the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche signifying their importance as part of Gregory XIII’s iconography. Unfortunately, these figures are partly lost or degraded making a detailed analysis difficult. The figures are: Peace (paxis) holding Gregory XIII’s dragon, and Plenty / Cornucopia (Annona) flanking the countryside on the west wall, signifying abundance and protection precipitated by Gregory XIII’s papal policies (Figs. 4.45-46). The figure of Bologna (Bononia) sits below the small view of Bologna. Similar to the doctors of the University, Bononia wears a cloak of gold with an ermine collar signifying her prestige and academic heritage (Fig. 4.47). Bologna is depicted enthroned surrounded by books including the word Scire meaning ‘make known’, a polyhedron, and a viola signifying the cultural and academic excellence of the city and perhaps the rich curriculum of the university as an exemplar for Rome and Italy.

The figures on the east wall are Security (Securitas) and Justice (Iustitia) (Fig. 4.48). Aksamija argues that these allegories mirror the message represented in the idealised countryside and allegorical message of peace and plenty on the opposite wall. According to Aksamija, the co-dependence of security and justice with prosperity is made explicit. It differs from Lorenzetti’s rendering of good government on the walls of the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena in that it directly implicates the function of Gregory XIII to maintain peace. It is also noted that this view of Bologna as a rather bucolic scene is a metaphorical expression of the good spiritual governance of the people of Bologna who are

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81 Ciappi, 1586, p.11.
83 Ibid.
84 Fresco cycle by Ambrogio Lorenzetti, Allegory of Good and Bad Government, in the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena, 1338.
nourished by the Church and the papacy. Above these figures, there is a shield with the papal key and a processional baldachino over Justice and Gregory XIII’s dragon over Security. These figures and their papal iconography punctuate the windows overlooking Rome perhaps extending Gregory XIII’s good government or charge to nourish his flock emanating in Bologna, to Rome and beyond.

The *Sala Bologna* celebrates Gregory XIII’s native city of Bologna. Central to this celebration is the University of Bologna, the academy’s excellence in the sciences such as mathematics, cartography, astronomy, geography, and jurisprudence, sustained by the good governance of the countryside and the spiritual nourishment of its people.

In this golden moment before the condemnation of Copernicus (1473-1543) or before the writings of Galileo Galilei (1564-1642) were declared as heretical, science was perceived to be a powerful force for good to further the development of the Church. Contrary to Fiorani’s and Urban’s interpretation of the *Sala Bologna* as an expression Gregory XIII’s parochial view of power, symptomatic of weak family credentials, and an unseasoned papacy, it is argued that while the *Sala Bologna* conventionally celebrates the papal hometown, it unconventionally celebrates the unsurpassed credentials of his native city in application and in consequence, which he embodies.85 Bolognese credentials and advances in knowledge, learning, and the natural sciences are embodied in Gregory XIII’s papal mission *viz.*, to further the reinvigoration of the Church by embracing the sciences. This celebration of Bologna rendered with precision, accuracy, and elegance, in plan and in chorography, demonstrates an authoritative application of these scientific advancements.

The mapping of Bologna depended on astronomical measurements just as the algorithm to determine the date for Easter would depend on astronomical measurements, which were

85 Fiorani, 2005, pp.147-150.
now within Gregory XIII’s grasp. The alignment of such knowledge would lead to the Gregorian calendar, a universal date for Easter, and the prospect of a universal spiritual dominion, which is celebrated in the Galleria.

While Courtright and Urban argue that the Sala Bologna, and subsequently the Galleria delle carte Geografiche, exemplify the submission of science to the needs of religion or are an example of the control of science by the Church, here these artistic programmes are interpreted differently. It is proposed that Gregory XIII promoted scientific enquiry and the application of scientific thinking, as exemplified by intellectual milieu with which he surrounded himself, and that such scientific enquiry was based on his belief that it would lead to spiritual enrichment. This is evidenced not by written records but is exemplified by a medal: A papal medal commemorating the founding of the Collegio Romano: BONAS ARTES ALIT, ET VERAE RELIGIONI SUBIICIT meaning ‘Gregory nourishes the liberal arts and under him they support religious truth’ (Fig. 2.71; Fig. 4.49). An image of the allegory of religion enthroned, surrounded by kneeling allegories of theology, astrology, arithmetic and poetry offering her gifts of service, is represented on the face of the coin.

Gregory XIII emerges cloaked in the credentials of the University of Bologna. He is portrayed by his deeds and he emerges as an authoritative advocate of the sciences for the benefit of the Church and its people under the divine protection of God in his heavens.

The significance of the Sala Bologna for understanding the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche is in its demonstration of Gregory XIII’s awareness of the power of cartography as an applied science.

\[86\] Courtright, 2003; Urban, 2013.
\[87\] Maffei, 1742.
He understood that:

a) The representation of space and place is a source of intellectual ‘awe’ precipitated by the ability to stand outside and beyond a known place and to observe it as a microcosm of a macrocosm, mapped onto an immense territory. This experience especially for sixteenth-century viewers was emotionally intoxicating. Gregory XIII harnessed this response to engage the viewer in the *Galleria delle Carte Geografiche*.

b) That accuracy, precision, size and scale in cartographic representations are statements of authority. In the *Sala Bologna* the display of academic excellence was associated with Gregory XIII, establishing his credentials as an advocate of science and its fruit as a force for good in the Church.

c) Maps are not value-free images but are instead a way of conceiving, articulating, and structuring the world, so that it is biased towards, promoted by, and exerts influence upon particular sets of social relations. Maps are polemic and controversial, fluid rather than frozen in time and space.

The scientific framing and infusion of these maps with frieze symbols, allegories, and flanking images evidence Gregory XIII’s awareness of maps as refracted images, which imbue Bologna and its surrounds with the specific qualities that Gregory XIII decided to associate with his papacy. This is the perspective that informs the patronage of the *Galleria delle Carte Geografiche* and it is within this context that its analysis is approached.

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4.4. The Galleria Delle Carte Geografiche:

The fresco cycle of the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche in the Vatican was one of Gregory XIII’s most ambitious commissions (Fig. 4.50). The forty wall maps and eleven geometrically defined vault narratives stretching along the one hundred and twenty metre corridor was unprecedented in scale, size, and subject matter (Fig. 4.1). It represents a paradigmatic shift in the traditional iconography of sacred cartography. Heretofore sacred cartography offered a binary relationship between the represented world and the divine order of things, while the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche includes complex mediating forces of pious men as exemplars of the agency of God’s governance. It is innovative in its assimilation of the shape of Gregory the Great’s writings focusing on Italy and Italian Holy men as a means of engagement and example for the reinvigoration of the faith. It is consistent with Gregory XIII’s style and themes of patronage, and in Gregory XIII’s awareness of the programmes already treated in the Vatican Palaces assuring new and challenging communications and providing a sense of historic unity. It is above all a wondrous place, described in Giovanni Stella’s poem of 1585 Ambulatio gregoriana as a place where Gregory XIII could enjoy a peaceful walk of contemplation and reflection.\(^91\) Its light, bright, colourful exuberance is in itself a reflection of the divine. It is a powerful, optimistic view of the Church and its people that looks to the future.

Gregory XIII was the first patron to commission a single mural map cycle of Italy, on a region-by-region basis, allowing him to conceive, structure, and articulate an Italy according to his point of view and in a manner designed to exert influence on an audience

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of his choosing.\textsuperscript{92} Gregory XIII, sure footed in the accuracy and knowledge of his representation of Italy, took command and ownership of Italy’s spiritual soul. The inscription sited over the north entrance to the \textit{Galleria}, displayed with the authority of a frontispiece or a title page of a book with Gregory XIII’s emblem of the dragon above, surrounded by figures of Justice and Plenty, outlines the nature of this spiritual soul (Fig. 4.51):

‘Just as Italy, the most noble kingdom on earth, is divided by the Apennines, so too this gallery is divided into two parts: from the Apennines to the Alps and the Adriatic, and from the Apennines to the Tyrrhenian sea. The gallery runs from the river Varus [\textit{mod.} Stura di Lanzo] in the north to the furthest Bruttians and Salentians [i.e. those living in \textit{mod.} Apulia and Calabria] in the south, with kingdoms, provinces, jurisdictions, and islands correctly displayed according to their current boundaries, with the entire map presented on a long sequence of panels. Above, a pious vault shows the deeds of holy men that have been done in the different locations represented. In order that consideration of history and geography might be useful as well as enjoyable, Pope Gregory XIII had the gallery completed in the year 1581. It was initiated by him so that with its artistry and beauty it would be of benefit, not to himself, but to the Roman Pontiffs.\textsuperscript{93} (see appendix XVI; Fig. 4.52)

An interpretation of this inscription is aided by Gabriele Paleotti’s (1522-1597) treatment of the usefulness of various representational categories including the scientific, nature, the arts, and the actions of men.\textsuperscript{94} Cardinal Paleotti, archbishop of Bologna, is implicated in the \textit{Galleria} in his association with Egnazio Danti and as a long-standing member of Gregory XIII’s intellectual circle since the Council of Trent.\textsuperscript{95} Paleotti quotes Augustine

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\item Harley, 1988.
\item Fiorani1996, pp.124-148, n.4, p.141.
\item Paleotti, 2012.
\item Maffei, 1742, p.459.
\end{thebibliography}
(354–430) in his treatise, Discorso Intorno alle immagini sacre e profane, in support of his argument that all sciences, arts, and human operations may be useful and serve true wisdom: ‘We are to use this world, not enjoy it, so that, through that which was made, we may discern the invisible things of God; the point is to apprehend eternal and spiritual things out of corporeal and temporal ones...’. 96 Within the context of this inscription, the cycle offers an opportunity to learn more of the arrangement governing created things through the contemplation of representations of science, history, people, places, and events. Italy is portrayed as a noble land inhabited by the pious deeds of Holy men, which is deemed ‘useful’ to the predominantly Italian audience of the ecclesiastical hierarchy who visited the gallery. 97 The nobility of this land, which encompasses all of its history, memory, culture, diversity, art, and beauty stretches back to and persists since antiquity. Pliny captures this notion in a now non-extant inscription over the map of Italia nova, which reads: ‘...a land, chosen by the providence of God to make heaven itself more glorious, to unite scattered empires, to make manners gentle and to become throughout the world the single fatherland of all the peoples’ which in essence refers to the prospect of a universal Church. 98 The nobility of Italy is made evident in the Galleria through the display of the pious acts of its people. Pietas, signifying devotion to family, city, patria, and God, had long been a central Roman, and formerly an imperial virtue, reaching back to ancient times. It encompasses obligations to anything or anyone to which one is bound, but it is not without sacrifice. 99 Such archetypical concepts had resonance for all Italians encouraging their engagement with the subject matter of the Galleria. These pious deeds of Holy men are raised from the land of Italy and are represented on the vault. Their terrestrial location is specified on the regional maps of Italy. This has a twofold effect: First, it grounds the deeds in an historically verifiable context and it connects the deed to the people who live there. Such an engagement is emotional, intellectual, and spiritual.

Second, it frames the pious narrative discretely in a place, aiding an understanding of the connections among the images.

This artistic programme, maps and images, draws on Virgil, Pliny, Livy, Flavio Biondo, Leandro Alberti, Gregory the Great, the Book of Kings, Leviticus, Exodus, Genesis, and Letter to the Hebrews among many other references, sources, and citations. This indicates that the programme was designed to include a learned audience, erudite, and to ensure levels of engagement over time. The display of such scholarship, not unlike the display of scientific accuracy in the cartography, is a statement of authority.
4.4.1 The Construction of the Galleria Delle Carte Geografiche and its structural characteristics:

The Belvedere Corridor, which sits high on top of the western arm of the Belvedere Courtyard in the Vatican, was conceived and commissioned by Gregory XIII in c1579 in order to accommodate the fresco cycle of the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche, as it became popularly known.\textsuperscript{100} The Belvedere Courtyard was originally commissioned by Julius II (1502-1513) and conceived by Bramante to convert the area north of the Vatican into a terraced garden theatre linking the Papal Palace with the Innocent VIII’s (1484-1492) Villa Belvedere three hundred metres north of the Vatican (Fig. 4.53). Bramante drew inspiration from the Imperial palaces on the Palatine, the circuses and oblong hippodromes of ancient Rome, and Nero’s Domus Aurea.\textsuperscript{101} Bramante’s plan sought to recreate an ancient imperial villa complex where visitors could walk around and enjoy the garden as well as the performances, competitions, and games in the lower courtyard as in an imperial circus.\textsuperscript{102} The courtyard was originally articulated into three levels: the lower level served as a theatre (currently the Cortile Belvedere), the middle was a terraced area flanked by two symmetrical towers (currently the Biblioteca Apostolica, Cortile biblioteca, and Braccio Nuovo), and the upper level, which consisted of formal gardens embellished with fountains, flowerbeds, and nymphaeum (Cortile della Pigna). In his plan, Bramante circumscribed the courtyard on both sides, to the east and to the west, with multi-storey loggia corridors. The courtyard was not brought to conclusion under Julius II but was steadily continued under succeeding popes.

Pius IV (1559-1565) brought the east wing to near completion with three orders of arcading designed by Bramante and the west wing as far as the first Ionic order. Pius IV

\begin{footnotes}
\item[100] Ciappi, 1586, p.7.
\item[101] Lotz, 1995; Pinelli (a) p.35.
\item[102] Ackerman, James, The Cortile Belvedere, Vatican City, 1954.
\end{footnotes}
enjoyed the imperial character of the courtyard, which is exemplified by a joust organised in the courtyard in celebration of his niece and nephew’s wedding, as illustrated by Lafrèry (Fig. 4.54). Pius V (1566-1572) however, eschewed the splendid displays and gaiety of the courtyard and sought to shed the courtyard of its more profane character by removing the classical pagan statues from the theatre. He completed the third order of the western corridor, which was embellished with seventeen Palladian bays.

Gregory XIII had his architect Ottaviano Mascherino (1536-1606) add a fourth order to this west wing which consists of the seventeen bays of the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche c1578-79. This covered ‘walkway’, was constructed with a terrace above, so that Gregory XIII could enjoy walking outside along the Belvedere during clement weather (Fig. 4.55). The construction continued beyond the Galleria with a further nine bays housing private apartments above the facade of the middle courtyard and up to and including the Torre dei Venti (Fig. 4.56). After the conclusion of this phase of construction and decoration, Gregory XIII had the porticoed section of the upper courtyard completed.

Gregory XIII transformed the function of the courtyard by replacing festivities and tournaments with religious ceremonies, which included the gathering and blessing of pilgrims in the courtyard. During the Holy Year 1575, Gregory XIII appeared from one of the windows facing the main entrance to the courtyard and blessed the pilgrims gathered there, a practice that he continued throughout his pontificate. At the concluding Holy Year ceremonies, a procession of cardinals entered the courtyard’s theatre and progressed towards the Vatican palace where Gregory XIII gave them his blessing from the alta

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103 Pinelli (a), 1994, p.37. The celebration refers to the wedding of Ortensia Borromeo to Annibale Altemps on the 5th March 1565.
104 Pinelli (a) 1994.
specula seu deambulatorio. With this ceremonial function in mind, Mascherino planned a tripartite window for the Belvedere Corridor. This Palladian window appears at the ninth bay of the corridor and opens out onto small balcony (Fig. 4.57). This is replicated on the opposite side of the Belvedere Corridor with the window opening onto a smaller balcony overlooking the Vatican gardens (Fig. 4.58). Gregory XIII redefined the imperial reference inherent in this Palladian ‘appearance’ loggia. He replaced the imperial with the pastoral and the temporal with the spiritual. The only access to this balcony overlooking the courtyard is through the Galleria. Gregory XIII entered through the Galleria and emerged at the ninth bay where the central panel in the vault above features ‘Pasce oves meas’. This is a charge by Jesus to Peter, to feed his flock. It is a charge to Christ’s representative on earth to tend and nourish members of his Church. Scenes from the lives of the patron saints of Bologna and maps of Bologna decorating the walls reference the Sala Bologna with its advocacy of science, law, and good governance for the nurturing of its people. Gregory XIII breaks through the suspended history represented in the Galleria to embody the persistent, living expression of this message in his interpretation of the pastoral mission. Similarly, on re-entry into the Galleria, Gregory XIII inhabits both the mortality of the temporal and the immortality of the spiritual, as man and as mediator of Jesus’ charge, which culminates in the representation of the now non-extant Eucharist anamorphosis of the Galleria, a symbol of salvation.

4.4.2 The Function of the Galleria:

While it has been noted that the *Galleria delle Carte Geografiche* was a gallery not dissimilar to the newly imported architectural form from Fontainebleau in France with its exuberant use of rich stucco and paintings suitable for promenading, the function of the *Galleria* emerges as distinct.108 It was not designed for the glorification of its patron Gregory XIII per se, nor was it designed as an expression of his personal power. It was instead designed for the glorification of this spiritual dominion exemplified by the pious deeds of the Holy men of Italy, which included their faith and support for the mediating force of the Church as a source of salvation. It was, and remains an unfurnished space without the embellishment of precious *objets d’arts* or possessions reflective of its patron. It was primarily used as a *passeggiata in Italia*, where Gregory XIII could walk and stroll from his papal apartments and meet with his guests entering through the north door at the other end. They may even have met in the middle of the *Galleria* under the painting of the *Pasce oves meas*, although there is no evidence for such an encounter. Gregory XIII and his guests would stroll through the *Galleria* enjoying and learning from the images surrounding them.109 The *Galleria* was a valued and significant commission for Gregory XIII as evidenced by his inclusion of the *Galleria* among his legacy of deeds documented on the vaults of the *Terza Loggia*.

4.4.3 The Structural Character of the Galleria

The experience of viewing the maps was determined by Danti’s creative construction of Italy in cartography. In Danti’s letter to Ortelius, the placement of the maps follows the geographical position of the regions they depict. Danti writes:

‘...having divided Italy by a line following the middle of the Apennine range, I

placed on one wall of the Gallery that part (of Italy), which is bathed by the Ligurian and Tyrrhenian seas, and on the other (wall) that part which is delimited by the Adriatic sea and the Alps, thereupon dividing the states and provinces into forty parts...".  

The viewer is placed on the peaks of the Apennines looking down on the regions mapped to the left and to the right with a view of Genoa and Venice at one end, and Malta and Corfu at the other end. The regional maps conform in perspective to the viewpoint of this viewer. The chorographical representations heighten the sense of naturalism and energy active in the maps with a figure or figures often drawing or guiding the viewer into the region from the bottom of the map (Fig. 4.59). The viewer actively participates in their own transportation into Italy, embraced by the country, its people, and its history by way of this geographical context, its chorographical detail, and by way of memory. The chorography, characterized by Ptolemy as the description of particular regions of the earth without concern for their precise relationship in scale or location to larger geographical patterns, provides all details within these regions, rivers and roads, hills and valleys, fields and lakes, bridges and pathways. The chorography provides the character of the place and here, there are no wild untamed areas, no areas that do not show evidence of habitation, no unwieldy trees blocking the way. These descriptions of the regions, landforms, trees, and buildings are composed to present a naturalistic and authentic scene.

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111 For example, on the map of Picenum or Marche, there is a small figure at the bottom left drawing water at a spring; or Map of Basilicata, there are two shepherds with sheep talking in a small glade by some trees; map of Compagna a hunter with a dog makes his way up a winding path in a rocky outcrop; map of Liguria features two monks in the foreground, a fisherman in a river and small local figures behind, all in a mountain landscape.
113 See for example the map of the territories of Perugia and Città di Castello.
This provides a coherent visual structure onto which beauty and order are inscribed. While these idyllic views with their naturalistic and realistically rendered figures and views might seem to reference a classical pastoral vocabulary, these maps are very much contemporaneous, updated as needed, grounded in the present, offering Gregory XIII’s persuasive view of his spiritual dominion.

It has been demonstrated in studies on the processing of aesthetic information, that the physical context for viewing images has a substantial effect on cognition, *viz.*, interpretation. This is what psychologists call a framing condition. Here the framing condition activated by viewer participation triggers specific expectations regarding the interpretation of the images displayed in the *Galleria*. The greater the participation and positive emotional engagement, the more positive the viewing conditions for the *Galleria* as a whole. This process of active participation persists today. It is common to observe viewers looking at their region, pointing to their hometown, claiming it as their own, and then drawing on their memory or memories to examine further details within the context of this positive emotional heightening. This explains why perhaps non-Italians are not so engaged with the maps. The positive sensory characteristics of the *Galleria*, exuberant colours, lighting, fragrance from the Vatican garden, and emotional engagement precipitated by viewer participation, provide a positive framework within which the rest of the *Galleria* is interpreted. This observation provides a better understanding of the function of these detailed maps. They engage the viewer, establishing participation, which leads to recognition, enquiry, and remembering. The viewer engages with the maps of the *Galleria* leading to identification with the vault as an extension of the maps.

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114 Cosgrove, 1998.
116 Ciappi, 1596, p.8.
The vault’s intricate sets of classical stucco framing patterns and exuberant swirling motifs against vibrant red, blue, and green coloured backgrounds provide opulence and interest reminiscent of a celestial realm (Fig. 4.60). Cherubim surround the frames and within this context they signify the wisdom of contemplation as a means to salvation. The most abundant stucco motif is Gregory XIII’s dragon insignia, a symbol of astuteness.

The pattern of the vault itself evokes an association with the geometric pattern on the ceiling of the Nero’s *Domus Aurea* (64-68AD). The nature of this pattern, with its squares and rectangles framed and reframed, is strikingly similar to the *Galleria* although there is no evidence to suggest that it was directly referenced (Fig. 4.61). If this golden ceiling was cited, replete with allegorical and mythological figures, and monochrome scenes surrounding a central frame, Gregory XIII had the mythological references transformed by mapping the pious deeds of Holy men onto the former imperial displays just as he had transformed the function of the Belvedere courtyard and ‘appearance’ loggia. Alternatively, the design of the vault may have been indirectly influenced by *Domus Aurea* through the decorative conventions in the Vatican. These include the ceilings of Raphael’s *logge* and the *Stanze* or the *Sala Regia* with their rich use of stucco and geometric patterns. However, these patterns do not employ the same rectangular and square pattern making them less likely models. It seems more plausible then that the vault of the *Galleria* was influenced directly by the vault of the *Domus Aurea* (Figs. 4.62-63).

The pattern created by the framing is also a structural aid to interpreting the images on the vault, by geometrically grouping related representations together. The original mosaic floor of the *Galleria* reflected the pattern of the vault.\(^\text{117}\) This highlights the significance of the geometric pattern as an organising principle of the vault.

\(^\text{117}\) Ciappi, 1596, p.8.
The structural character of the *Galleria delle Carte Geografiche* is viewer centred and complex. The audience of invited guests and ecclesiastical hierarchy engages with the *Galleria* both emotionally, spiritually, and cognitively. The viewer ascribes constructs such as home, belonging, and *pietas* onto this uplifting and inviting place. This has particular pertinence within the context of obligatory residence for bishops, archbishops, who under Gregory XIII were forced to take-up residence in their assigned diocese and to stay there. Sometimes these clerics had never visited these dioceses, unfamiliar with the region of the country. This *Galleria* perhaps highlights the spiritual dimension of their new place of residence.
There is no surviving documentation regarding the commission, design, or iconographic scheme of the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche yet discovered. There is also a dearth of sixteenth-century commentary from visitors due to the restricted access to the Galleria under Gregory XIII’s pontificate.\textsuperscript{118} Ciappi features a simple drawing of the exterior of the west wing of the Belvedere Loggia in his 1596 edition of Gregory XIII’s biography and describes the Galleria as follows:

‘... Dalle stanze Papali, per quanto è lungo il teatro di Belvedere, fece tirare à proportione del Corridore a man destra di esso Teatro, un bellissimo spasseggio, volgarmente detta Galleria, la quale con la sopraintendenza del rarissimo Cosmografo, e Theologo E. Ignatio Dante, Perugino, dell’ordine Domenicano,... fece ornare di pitture di Cosmografia, cioè cò la descrittione d’Italia vecchia, e nuova, con tutte le sue Provincie, Città, Terre, Castelli, Abbatie, Commende, Priorati, Mari, Isole, Fiumi, e Laghi, distintamente nell’uno, e nell’altro pariete: e nella volta ripartita con vaghi ripartimenti a stucco,e oro fece dipingere da mano eccellentissima molte historie del Vecchio e Nuovo Testamento e il pavimento parimente fece fare con molto artificio ripartito à corrispondenza delle volte...’.\textsuperscript{119}

Similarly, Maffei mentions the ‘le celebre Galleria’ with its fine and expensive materials ‘... co’ quali fra diversi argomenti di Storie, ed elegante iscrizioni vedesi dipinta Italia l’antica in una spazio tutta da se, la moderna divisa in quante sono le sue Province, quadrate colle misure giuste, e con tutte quelle minuzie, che dalla umana curiosità in questa parte desiderare si possono.’\textsuperscript{120} Both descriptions provide a general outline of the decorative content of the Galleria in terms of materials, maps, inscriptions, and Old Testament and New Testament stories in the vault.

\textsuperscript{118} Milanesi, 1994; Fiorani, 2005; Almagià, 1552, p.80.
\textsuperscript{119} Ciappi, 1596, pp.7-8.
\textsuperscript{120} Maffei, Rome, 1742, p.457.
The *Memories* gathered by Giacomo Boncompagni, briefly mention the *Galleria*. Cardinale di Como (Galli) notes the following in his rather formulaic description of the *Gallerie*: ‘...Ma quel che supera ogni meraviglia è l’haver finite il corridore che sa la banda de le stanze papali passa in Belvedere, che fu opera di grandissima et incomparabil spesa, massime per la galaria che ci si è fatta ornate tutta di stucchi et oro et di carie pitture de la topografia di tutta Italia, tutta distinta in quadri di provincia in provincia con le misure molto giuste, che è forse la più bella cosa che hoggodì si veda in questo genere.’, and Alessandro Musotti remarked ‘... et così nobili fabriche fatte nel palazzo di S. Pietro al Vaticano ... della superba et ricchissima Galeria: non è lingua bastante per esprimere queste magnificenze e grandezze, bisogna che l’occhio le veda per maggiormente stupire.’

Such descriptions provide a sense of the magnificence, *superba e ricchissima*, and wonder, *stupire*, experienced by viewers, even if they lack specific details relevant to the organisational programme or iconography.

The *Galleria’s* audience was restricted to illustrious visitors from the Roman court, the ecclesia, educated travellers, and the occasional invited cartographer. It seems then that Gregory XIII’s primary audience was pre-dominantly the Italian ecclesiastical hierarchy and significant diplomats. It is observed that Gregory XIII sought to augment the non-Italian representation in the College of Cardinals during his pontificate. He made seven non-Italian appointments in 1578. This suggests that Gregory XIII’s international interests would be reflected in the nature of his invited audience to the *Galleria*. Without a broader sixteenth-century audience offering commentary and critique on the *Galleria*, the primary source for analysis and interpretation of the *Galleria delle Carte Geografiche* is the visual data itself.

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122 Almagià, 1952.
123 Mullett, 1999, p.123.
4.5.1 The Conceptual organisation of the Galleria:

Pinelli, in his article ‘Sopra la terra, il cielo. Geografia, storia, e teologia: Il programma iconografico della volta’, proposes a division of the vault into four hierarchically organised categories. This hierarchical attribution has proven influential and is much cited among researchers. It imposes a value system on the vault and therefore requires examination.

Pinelli’s hierarchy is as follows:

1. The first, and what Pinelli regards as the least important, is the category comprising of fifty-two paintings representing the bird life of the peninsula. Pinelli notes that there is little to be said other than that this sixteenth-century convention can be seen in other decorative schemes. He notes also that the execution of the birds in the Galleria lack technical brilliance with the classification of the species being more important than any originality or sparkle in the depiction of the birds. Following Pinelli, other researchers, including Fiorani, disregard the depiction of birds altogether.

Kasper Zollikofer offers a challenge to Pinelli’s interpretation of the ornithological depictions and their significance on the vault of the Galleria. Zollikofer first notes that birds and their representations were a popular tradition within the Vatican palaces. Examples include representations in the Sale dei Palafrenieri e degli Svizzeri, which featured species of parrots. Interest in such representations came from the traditions of Bestiaries, the discovery of ancient pictures in the buried rooms of Domus Aurea, and in the writings of Pliny the younger.

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124 Pinelli (b) 1994, p.128.
126 Ibid., p.163-164.
In 1575, Gregory XIII had the pergola on the vault of Raphael’s loggia repainted faithful to Raphael’s original scheme of 1518-1519 (Fig. 4.64). The birds in the pergola, painted by Sabatini and Matthijs Bril, were made visible among the trees and against the sky. Gregory XIII had a greater number and variety of birds represented than had been represented previously. Their presentation in this natural setting in the open air is a poetic expression as noted by Zollikofer.

In the Galleria, Gregory XIII had all of the indigenous birds of the south Mediterranean area represented on the vault. These birds are presented in profile against a white background creating a clear and objective display of the birds for our examination. The birds are depicted in detail and with great accuracy and beauty, displaying all their beauty and diversity with their feathers of different colours and textures (Fig. 4.65). They invite the viewer to look and linger on the images of the vault. The birds of the pergola and the Galleria represent two diverse modes of representation but are complementary rather than alternative views of nature.

Zollikofer proposes the source of this ornithological observation and documentation as the Bolognese artist Ulisse Aldrovandi (1522-1605) who was a respected naturalist and scholar, observed from life, and depicted natural and accurate representations of animals, including birds. He had worked on the decoration of the Terza Loggia, taught in the Università di Bologna, and knew Ottaviano Mascherino, Lorenzo Sabatini, and Ignazio Danti. Gregory XIII had also commissioned Aldrovandi to set up a new museum of natural sciences in the Vatican.

The birds represented on the vault of the Galleria are scientifically accurate depictions of birds native to Italy. They hover above the maps representing real birds known to viewers, carrying with them all the authority of science and objectivity. The representation of birds
on the vault adds interest, animation, colour, and the authority of scientific accuracy to the other images represented there. It also references all the other birds in the Vatican palaces and their different aesthetics inviting a comparison between them and reminding the viewer of the continuity of nature across time.

The significance of these birds to the overall iconography of the Galleria is twofold. First, they are selected exemplars of different species indigenous to the Italian peninsula and as such are representative models of their type. Flocks of birds were not selected to rise from the terrestrial plains below, only their ideal models. Second, in their timeless, immutable, and exemplary display they reflect the timelessness and immutability of the exemplary spirituality of the Holy deeds documented on the vault. In their natural state, these beautiful birds are a reminder of the Divine in nature. An assimilation of these birds into the overall programme of the Galleria contributes to the interpretation of the function of the vault and Galleria as a whole.

2. The second category, and according to Pinelli the most important one, is that of the ‘Miracles’. Pinelli references contemporary sources, which allude exclusively to these representations as a proof of their primacy. He also references the dedicatory inscription in the Galleria, which cites these representations, and Stella’s dedicatory poem to Gregory XIII, all as supporting their primacy. However, the primacy of these representations is not at issue as they are the biggest and most centrally located images on the vault. It is their definition as ‘miracles’ that is disputed. None of the references Pinelli cites use the word miracle; instead, they variously use the expression holy deeds, histories, New Testament histories, and stories of the Fathers and deeds of the saints respectively.

127 Pinelli (b) 1994, p.129
128 Ibid.
A miracle is an external sign of a hidden reality, a manifestation of power. A miracle shows forth a supernatural power by word or material thing; it literally embodies it allowing it to be outwardly visible to the eye. Miracles are startling and capture our attention so that we notice God’s power as it breaks through our senses.\textsuperscript{129} If the representations on the vault were to be tested against these criteria, few of them would be classified as miracles. By choosing to categorise this central group of images as miraculous events, it sets up an expectation in the viewer and researcher regarding the type of subject matter treated on the vault but it also skews our cognitive conceptualisation towards associations that are not relevant and lead us to erroneous conclusions. For example, Baptism of Constantine, Countess Matilda of Canossa donating her possessions to the Church, or St. Peter Damian writing the rule of his hermit community cannot be considered miraculous. The translation of the Holy House Loreto, the appearance of Christ to St. Peter outside Rome, St. Michael the Archangel on Monte Gargone, can be considered miraculous events. Gregory the Great in the \textit{Dialogues} indicated that even if there is a dearth of miracles, it is virtue that counts and that this is the true measure of worth. In the \textit{Dialogues} holy men and their deeds are displayed in the narrative as models of Christ, as inspiration. This distinction and message is crucial. It is suggested that the pious deeds presented on the vault are a model of Christ and his Church and as suggested by Gregory the Great, are a source of spiritual inspiration. Gregory the Great did not want the concept of Holiness to be equated only with spectacular feats of power.\textsuperscript{130} Instead, he wanted to promote the virtues of good men such as charity, obedience and discipline of the flesh. Looking at the nature of the representations on the vault, it seems that Gregory XIII wanted to do the same. It seems then that Gregory XIII drew on the ideology of Gregory the Great of the sixth and seventh century to inspire his audience just as Ciappi noted when he described Gregory XIII ‘\textit{havia cercato di esser suo vero imitatore e conformarsi ad esso in tutte le sue attioni’}.\textsuperscript{131}

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item[\textsuperscript{129}] Evans, 1986, p.48.
\item[\textsuperscript{130}] Straw, 1988, p. 69.
\item[\textsuperscript{131}] Ciappi, 1596, p.105.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
3. The third categorisation that Pinelli identifies is that of the ‘Sacrifices’ (Fig. 4.66). Sacrifice is a complex concept which refers to the system of worship, which according to D. R Jones, has its most characteristic and effective action in the slaughter of a victim. Sacrifice has a wider connotation and comprehends the surrender to God of some possession for the purpose of appeasement or homage. It may also include the notion of human self-giving in the sense of giving up something for a greater good. Augustine defined true sacrifice as that offered in every act, which is designed to unite us to God. Pinelli’s categorisation while broadly correct, conflates sacrifice with worship. Perhaps the singular ‘Old Testament Sacrifice’ would more accurately connote the notion of a theme rather than a list of sacrificial displays.

It is observed that these Old Testament depictions of sacrifice and sacrament reflect a convention used elsewhere in the Vatican palaces. In the Raphael Stanze, under the main frescoes and framed by fictive Hermes, are gold or sepia coloured fictive reliefs depicting various Old Testament deeds by figures such as Adam, Cane, and Noah for example. While the message of these fictive reliefs in the Raphael Stanze is different to that of the Galleria, their shared format and style signifies a similarity in their function. They offer an amplification of the main message or a gloss on the central communication. A meaningful interpretation of these panels is only achieved within the context of the narrative rather than individually, and this applies to the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche.

4. The fourth category proposed by Pinelli is that of ‘Christian Virtues’ (Fig. 4.67). These depictions include allegories, biblical figures, and Christian figures. This category of over one hundred and twenty eight figures is broad in meaning and significance. They function

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133 Ibid.
as decoration and as an amplification of the main narrative themes. ‘Christian virtues’ is an imprecise and slightly misleading term whose inadequacy is acknowledged by Pinelli.

The notion of four categories or cycles with images numbering 52, 51, 24, 128 respectively, does not seem like a useful model because such a multitudinous list is impossible for the viewer to process in a meaningful manner. Gregory XIII as a patron was concerned with clarity. He corrected errors, standardised education and communication so that a clear universal message could be issued by the Church. In the Gregorian Chapel, Gregory XIII was keen to document fundamental doctrinal issues in order to avoid confusion and the perpetuation of false doctrine. The notion that the Galleria would be a source of confusion is anathema.

The objective of this research is to displace the structural hierarchy proposed by Pinelli on the vault of the Galleria by the images that naturally fall into narrative groups signified by their geometrical pattern. Each of these narrative groups includes the holy deed or deeds of a central character, the sacrificial or sacramental associations, the allegorical contribution, and its terrestrial origins.
4.6 Iconographic Programme of the *Galleria delle Carte Geografiche.*

The decoration of the *Galleria*, walls and vault, was completed in 1581 by teams of artists chosen by Gregory XIII.\(^{135}\) The map cycle was designed and managed by Egnazio Danti (1536-1586) while the vault cycle was overseen and managed by Girolamo Muziano (1532-92) and Cesare Nebbia and executed by Nebbia and Matthijs and Paul Bril along with a vast team of other artists.\(^{136}\)

4.6.1 The Maps:
Danti had worked for Cosimo I in Florence in the Palazzo Vecchio. On the death of Cosimo I, Danti was forced to leave Florence. He moved to Bologna to the Convent of San Domenico and assumed the chair of mathematics in the University of Bologna.\(^{137}\) It was during this time that he met Paleotti who became Danti’s patron.\(^{138}\) Danti went on to dedicate a short treatise, *Anemographia*, to Paleotti, and Danti was a reader of Paleotti’s *Discorso* before its publication, all documenting a positive and reciprocal relationship between two religious men interested in the natural sciences. Danti echoed Paelotti’s views as expressed in the *Discorso* in a thesis of his own in which he cited Augustine, Gregory Nazianzeno and Jerome in his argument in favour of the mixed sciences as a means to elevate the intellect, and sharpen one’s wits to the contemplation of divine things.\(^{139}\) As a Dominican friar, his discernment of the relationship between mathematics and the metaphysical is not surprising nor is his application of this thinking to the art of cartography and chorography and mixed sciences.

\(^{135}\) Cheney, 1989, p.21.
\(^{136}\) Lucio Gambi and Antonio Pinelli (eds), 1994.
\(^{137}\) Centofanti, Mario, ‘Egnazio Danti (1536-1586)’, in Michela Cigola (ed), *Distinguished figures in Descriptive Geometry an its Applications for Mechanism Science. From the Middle Ages to the 17th Century*, Springer International Publishing, Switzerland, 2016. Danti’s classes started with Sacrobosco, continued with Ptolemy’s astronomy, Euclid, and the theory of the planets
\(^{138}\) Fiorani, 2005, p.155.
\(^{139}\) Ibid., p.156-157.
The forty maps of the provinces and major cities of the Italian peninsula including Avignon, were selected, adapted, and scaled to fit the allocated spaces in the *Galleria* by Danti. He had established his credentials through a number of survey and mapping projects in Italy. He had success in mapping the territory of Perugia and producing a chorographic map of the city for the governor, Giovanni Pietro Ghisleri, which brought him to the attention of Giacomo Boncompagni who commissioned him to survey the Papal States in 1578. By the end of 1578, Danti had completed his survey of Bologna and the surrounding area and sent a map to Gregory XIII.\(^{140}\) Danti then went on to complete the survey of the Papal States, made maps which are now lost, and used these maps as the cartographic sources for the wall maps in the *Galleria*, namely Patrimony of St. Peter and Latium. Danti continued to survey areas such as Romagna, part of Umbria and Latium and Sanina, Perugia and Bologna.\(^{141}\) He did not survey or map the whole of Italy.\(^{142}\) Therefore, in the *Galleria* he had to rely on other sources of printed and manuscript maps which he then had to interpret and scale up or scale down to fit the chosen standard of his own maps.\(^ {143}\) Printed sources included Flavio Biondo’s *Italia Illustrata* and Leandro Alberti’s *Descrittione di tutta l’Italia*. Both Biondo and Alberti’s books are examples of literary chorography in which the authors aimed to achieve a vivid and in-depth description of place conjuring up visions of people, places, and lands without visual representations.

Biondo’s work describes the continuity between ancient Rome and ancient ruins and its development into Christian Rome and Christian churches. For Biondo, Italy was the centre of the world. Alberti’s work, first published in 1550 with multiple reprints including a Venetian reprint in 1577, is relevant to the *Galleria* because of its structure and as a source of historical vignettes depicted on the maps. Differing from his predecessors, Alberti

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141 Ibid., p.92.
143 Almagià, 1952. Danti used a variety of sources such as printed sources such as Braun and Hogenbert’s *Civitates orbis terrarium* for city views and plans, Ortelius’s *Theatrum orbis terrarium* for place names and geographical features. He combined his sources for the most accurate rendering.
ordered his description of Italy based on an imaginary circumnavigation of the peninsula beginning from the Tyrrhenian Sea and moving southwards. This meant that the organising principle of places, people, and historic events followed a geographical ordering rather than a chronological or thematic one matching that of the *Galleria*. Similarly, Danti selected some of the historical vignettes from Alberti’s narration although he composed the accompanying cartouches himself.¹⁴⁴

Many of Danti’s chorographic maps were based on manuscript sources that were acquired by way of Gregory XIII’s direct intervention. Gregory XIII wrote to relevant locals such as ambassadors, asking for maps, which often arrived accompanied by verbal descriptions. Danti augmented the chorographic intelligence gleaned from local maps by interviewing locals of various cities.¹⁴⁵ He checked their local knowledge against the literary choreographies of Flavio Biondo’s *Italia Illustrata* and Leandro Alberti’s *Descrittione di tutta L’Italia*. This is evidenced by an inscription written by Danti in a *trompe l’oeil* document on the side of the map of Southern Puglia (Fig. 4.68).¹⁴⁶ It is observed that this process and methodology is similar to that of Gregory the Great. In preparation for writing the *Dialogues*, Gregory sought the help of the ecclesia in gathering local information about holy men and saints of recent memory in Italy.¹⁴⁷ In this way both Gregory XIII and Gregory the Great sought out and used local information of significance, offering texture and authenticity to the narrative they were constructing.¹⁴⁸ Gregory the Great is represented in the decorative cartouche on the map of *Italia nova* with the inscription ‘*Italia artium studiorumque plena semper est habita* meaning ‘Italy has always been considered full of arts and learning’ (Fig. 4.104).

¹⁴⁴ Danti’s letter to Ortelius in which he states that the inscriptions which I made myself...
¹⁴⁶ Lucio Gambi and Antonio Pinelli (eds), 1994, pp.356-357.
¹⁴⁸ Ditchfield, 1995. Ditchfield observes that this method was used and developed by Ferdinando Ughelli’s, in what Ditchfield describes as a written counterpart to the Galleria’s decorative programme.
4.6.2 The Purpose of the Maps:

As noted, the maps are organised topographically in that the western provinces are on the west wall and the eastern provinces are on the east wall, unfolding from the north of the peninsula to the south.\(^{149}\) Thirty-two maps of the regions of Italy including Avignon and the Comtat Venaissin (the papal enclave around Avignon) along with eight smaller maps of the main ports and islands decorate the walls of the Galleria. The presence of Avignon and the surrounding territory, included as part of the Italian peninsula, is explained in a framed cartouche on the map of Avignon to the left of the river Rhone (Fig. 4.69): ‘Though neither the ancient city of Avignon, the Comtat of Venaissin, its capital Carpentras, nor any of its other towns and cities are properly speaking part of Italy, they still belong to Church of Rome, and are for this reason they are shown here ... ‘.\(^{150}\) This inscription defines the Italian peninsula in the Galleria as Gregory XIII’s spiritual dominion. The first function of the maps, as noted by researchers, is to document and display this spiritual dominion of the Church at the time of Gregory XIII’s papacy. This act of documentation made this dominion a contemporary reality.

The administrative function of the maps in the Galleria as proposed by a number of researchers is less clear.\(^{151}\) Danti’s much quoted comment referring to the pope, ‘that he might always have it before his eyes and consider how best to restore that noble, not to say wondrous construction to its original state and use’ in reference to the port of Ostia, is ambiguous.\(^{152}\) Whether this served as an administrative aid or simply acted as a reminder is unclear. There was an established convention of using maps for administrative purposes. This is exemplified by the commission of a map of Venice and the entire mainland state in 1578 by a senator for display inside the Senate chamber of the Doge’s palace. The project was halted a year later for reasons of security because it was believed


\(^{150}\) Lucio Gambi and Antonio Pinelli (eds), 1994, p.200: Avenio urbs antiqua Venaissinus item Comitatus eiusq caput Carpentorace atq aliae urbe set oppida etsi ad Italiam minime perinent tamen quia Ecclesiar Roman sunt propria ideo hic describuntur.’.


\(^{152}\) Milanesi, 1994, p.105.
that such a highly detailed map would give too much away to any enemy.\textsuperscript{153} It is doubtful that the wall maps of the \textit{Galleria delle Carte Geografiche} contained enough clear and relevant detail to serve the administrative function for the governance and protection of the Papal States. Similarly, the papacy had no temporal jurisdiction over a broad swath of territories mapped in the \textit{Galleria}. Alternatively, the original maps, which were portable and could be locked away, perhaps contained sufficient detail for consultation and decision-making. While much has been made of Gregory XIII’s use of his golden dragon to mark territories returned to papal jurisdiction in the \textit{Galleria} as evidence of the administrative function of the maps, it is observed that this was a display of achievement and contemporaneous activity rather than an act of governance. A cartouche on the map of Flaminia explains the meaning of the little gold dragons sprinkled on the territory: ‘I want you to know what the places in the panel marked with a gold dragon like this one, are those restored to the papal jurisdiction by Pope Gregory XIII (Figs. 4.70-71).\textsuperscript{154} It is true that the territories were updated, but an examination of the map of Flaminia highlights the inadequacy of these maps for detailed administration. Rivers, mountains, valleys, main roads, battles, and significant holdings are all rendered on this map. A large stele is inscribed, Cippus with Sanctio, with a pseudo-classical inscription of the 15th century forbidding the crossing of the River Rubicon in arms by order of the Roman Senate.\textsuperscript{155} The stele is situated on the left of the map hiding three quarters of the land territory on the map behind it. A \textit{tromp l’oeil} aerial view of a plan of Rimini is centred on the bottom of the map, and an elaborate celebrative cartouche fills the bottom right of the map both blocking the view of the territory (Fig. 4.72). This is repeated throughout the cycle indicating that the display of achievement seemed more important than the information required for administrative decision-making under the papacy of Gregory XIII. Similarly the golden dragons are small and float in the air above a territory, and while they document an area or a holding in general terms, their exact locations are not precise. Finally, there


\textsuperscript{154} Lucio Gambi, in Lucio Gambi and Antonio Pinelli (eds), 1994, note 310, p.332: Quae loca in depitis (sic) tabulis / draconis aurei signum / huic simile ostendunt / ea Gregorius XIII P.O.M. / Apostolicae ditiono / recuperacit / id vilui nescius ne esses’.

\textsuperscript{155} Lucio Gambi and Antonio Pinelli (eds), 1994, note 313, p.333.
were a number of restorations of the Galleria. Most of the interventions were necessary repair work but some were more significant, such as the restorations carried under Urban VIII (1623-1644). An inscription commemorating his restoration sits over the door to the southern entrance to the Galleria which is surmounted by the Barberini insignia (Fig. 4.73). The inscription indicates that the restoration was precipitated due to water damage and that ‘...He restored the now faded frescoes, correcting and supplementing the geographical information where necessary...’ Urban VIII was more interested in self-promotion and administrative issues than Gregory XIII, changing the reputation and use of the Galleria.

### 4.6.3 Historical Vignettes within the maps.

Included in the maps are historical vignettes depicting eleven ancient and twelve medieval and modern events from 330BC to 1571AD. Most of these events are accompanied by a legend documenting their details (Figs. 4.74-75). It is argued that the historical vignettes described in contemporary Italy are a feature of the territory in much the same way that a local monastery or castle is a feature of that territory. The function of these historical vignettes has been much disputed. They are not arranged chronologically but geographically, just like the maps themselves and the vault scenes above them. The sources for the selection of scenes depicted are Flavio Biondo’s *Italia Illustrata* and particularly Leandro Alberti’s *Descrittione di tutta L’Italia*, and for more modern battles, single printed maps. These narrated choreographies cited descriptions of historical events described at length by Piny and Livy among other ancient luminaries, infusing the maps with a learned legacy.

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Writers such as Almagià and Schulz concluded that the historical vignettes in the maps had little function other than to fill in the empty spaces and therefore functioned as cultural decorative motifs.\textsuperscript{160} The detail and documentation of ancient sources in the \textit{cartelli} accompanying the scenes seems disproportionate for mere decoration. Watts argues that historical scenes were for papal reflection, as a reminder of past threats and heroic defence, but she fails to give a reason as to how this would serve the papacy or the relevance of ancient catastrophic battles to the papacy.\textsuperscript{161} Cheney indicates that the historical vignettes represent threats endured, and overcome so that a unified Italy might come into being while Pinelli proposes a providential view of history.\textsuperscript{162} The catastrophic defeats suffered by the Romans during the second Punic wars or the great loss of life suffered at Cannae or Ravenna do not seem to contribute to a progressive world view and positive papal propaganda. It is difficult to argue that Hannibal was moved by divine intervention. Goffart notes that the Hannibal War was described by Augustine as ‘that war fraught with so much horror, ruin and peril... even the historians who set out to sing the praises of the Roman empire, rather than to recount Rome’s wars, have to admit that the victory resembled a defeat.’\textsuperscript{163}

While the vignettes are accurate representations, in that they record location, date, and identify the opposing forces as documented in historical accounts, they are not a balanced account of history. Many of the most important events to have taken place on the Italian peninsula are included, but many are not. Many battles are well known or have historical significance while others are fleeting, inconsequential incidents. Goffart notes that the historical incidents on the Galleria maps are a lopsided and unrepresentative selection of Italian history. Those, he indicates, from ancient history form an almost unvaried panorama of calamity and suffering; those consisting of very recent events are comparably

\textsuperscript{160} Schulz, 1987.
\textsuperscript{161} Watts, 2004.
\textsuperscript{162} Cheney, 1989.
\textsuperscript{163} Goffart, 1998, p.809.
gloomy. He takes a similarly gloomy view, by contrasting the miracle-laden vault with the earthly maps displaying or implying predominantly dismal and tragic events. The historical vignettes are sorrows and disappointments of history as lived on earth by sinful humanity, he concludes. They teach of the vanity of earthbound strivings. However, it is observed that the world as a ‘place of vain pursuits’ is also the source of the holy men and their pious deeds exemplified on the vault above. This perhaps is the function of the vignettes, to illustrate the context out of which wondrous deeds arise. This is suggestive of an alternative dynamic is at work.

It seems then that the historical vignettes were not an historically accurate account of the history of Italian battles and therefore not objective. For example, there is no documented account detailing Charlemagne’s victory over the Lombards. It was documented that the Lombards were subjugated and their king Desiderius was imprisoned by Charlemagne. This is interpreted by the artist of the vignette on the map of the Duchy of Milan, with the two armies encircling the King cutting him off without a means of escape. This results in a poignant image, true to the sources and sense of the battle, but invented (Fig. 4.76). Neither do the vignettes succeed as papal propaganda. For example, the rendering of the battle of Lepanto can be compared directly with its depiction in the Sala Regia commissioned by Pius V and Gregory XIII and executed by Vasari in 1571-73. Here there are allegorical figures and personifications which serve to give a more general significance to the paintings and present both The Christian and the Turkish fleets on the eve of the Battle of Lepanto and The Battle of Lepanto as the ultimate triumph of Christianity over all infidels (Fig. 4.77-78). The Battle of Lepanto as rendered on the map of Corfu in the Galleria is merely descriptive with canon fire and puffs of smoke indicating that the battle is underway (Fig. 4.79). The fleets seem evenly distributed and the representation records the battle and situates the battle in its location without comment other than it was a victory.

164 Ibid., p.807.
165 Ibid., p.822.
166 Alberti, 1561, p.442.
Finally, the vignettes seem very unlikely decorative motifs although culturally laden with learned accounts. What then was the function of the historical vignettes?

The historical vignettes are documents that record accounts of events marking their historical nature, a history embedded in a contemporary Italy. They are small descriptions differentiated in outline but homogeneous in detail, delicate and intriguing in representation. They are principally rendered to be recognised. No individual faces emerge, no heroes of battle or gruesome scenes of death are featured, no destruction or blood soaked terrains stain the verdant fields or lapis tinted seas. They adhere to the conventional depictions of battle with an economy that implies a multitude of figures signified by an outer row of figures and the rest signified by rows and rows of pikes or flags. 167 The horses whether mounted or pulling carts are rendered accurately in walk or galloping across the planes. Clothing is standardised with weaponry changing as historically appropriate. For all this detail these vignettes are not elaborative, they record. They function to acknowledge and remind the viewer of the historical event that has taken place in a particular location. This notion of engagement on a local level is highlighted by the seemingly marginal events being depicted and the local knowledge gathered by Danti. For example the location of the second triumvirate near Bologna is an incidental detail in Roman history. It is however significant as part of the history of the Bolognese countryside.

The maps of the Galleria function to document and display the spiritual dominion of the papacy at the time of Gregory XIII’s papacy. This act of documentation had the effect of transforming the dominion into a concrete reality. The detail, accuracy, and leading edge scientific approach had the effect of establishing the authoritative nature of this dominion. It is suggested that the purpose of the maps was not administrative in nature but that they were more conducive to the display of achievements which is congruent with the notion of

displaying the authority of the spiritual dominion. It is noted also that the historical vignettes do not serve as papal propaganda or works of glorification, nor are they an accurate account of the history of Italian wars and battles fought. They do not support a providential view of Italy negated by battles both lost and won. Neither does it seem that the historical vignettes are a descent into the pessimism of the terrestrial condition. Instead, the innovation and creativity of the map cycle was a source of re-creation and renewal. It mesmerized the viewer as they became participants involved in their village, town, city, and homeland. They were presented with beautiful and detailed descriptions, which stimulated recognition of places and feelings of empathy. This included a description of the hills, valleys, and mountains, the woods, fields, rivers and brooks. It included houses, town buildings with well-observed details and churches and monasteries with their little golden crosses as markers. It described historical events that shaped these regions.

4.6.4 The Vault and its concomitant relationship with the maps below.

Girolamo Muziano (1532-1592) undertook the management and organisation of the vault. As noted by Patrizia Tosini, it is doubtful that Muziano had any hand in painting the frescoes on the vault but involved himself solely in ordering, conceiving, and organising the paintings with his noted clarity, including the stucco decoration surrounding them, drawing on his experience in the Villa d’Este.\footnote{Tosini, 2008, p.232-235.} The team of artists included Cesare Nebbia who was responsible for designing and executing paintings along with his team. In order to complete the work within the short period given to the artists, a strict division of labour was applied. Matthijs and Paul Bril and Matteo Neroni da Siena were responsible for landscape paintings and passages that distinguish this cycle in terms of its beauty and innovation.

At both ends of the Galleria there is a large lunette over the entrance and exit doors.
Gregory XIII’s golden dragon, centred in a red cartouche crowned with the papal tiara and keys, surveys the gallery recording his patronage of the programme (Fig. 4.80). This papal emblem is flanked by two allegorical figures in stucco, Justice and Plenty over the northern entrance to the gallery (south Italy) and allegories of Security and Vigilance over the southern entrance (north Italy) (Fig. 4.81-82). These allegories, along with the Gregory XIII’s inscription, frame the content of the *Galleria* and specifically the vault.

The focus of the next aspect of research is on the analysis of hypothesised narrative groupings that make up the artistic programme of the vault. The five narratives selected for examination are: The Constantine narrative, the Countess Matilda of Canossa Narrative, *Pasce oves meas*, The House of Loreto cycle, and From the Archangel Michael to St. Paul cycle. Their attendant maps are *Italia nova*, *Italia antique*, Liguria, and Piedmont and Monferrato, Northern Lazio, the jurisdiction of Bologna, Calabria, and Malta and Corfu, respectively.

4.6.5 The ‘Constantine’ narrative:

The Constantine narrative consists of five narrative paintings of the holy deeds of Constantine, and framed by two fictive antique reliefs of two Old Testament subjects and two accounts of the translation and display of relics, all informing the interpretation of the main paintings (Fig. 4.83).

This narrative group is the opening group of the *Galleria* signified by the orientation of the paintings. It consists of three sets of paintings. Preparatory drawings in the Louvre by Cesare Nebbia indicate that these painting were composed by him.\(^\text{169}\) The first set of three

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\(^{169}\) Pinelli (b) 1994. Pinelli notes that eleven drawings have been identified and they form a homogeneous group in terms of style and technique and all attributable to Cesare Nebbia, pp.138-139.
paintings includes the *Pope Sylvester Baptising the Emperor Constantine* flanked horizontally by *The Emperor Constantine Founding the Basilica of St. Peter* and *The Founding of the Basilica of St. Paul*, orientated out over the maps (Fig. 4.84). This is followed by a smaller depiction of *The Emperor Constantine Holding the Reins of Pope Sylvester’s Horse* and flanked by two Old Testament monochrome fictive reliefs depicting the sacrifice of Adam and Eve and the sacrifice of Cain and Abel, which are in turn flanked by allegorical figures, four in all (Fig. 4.94). The final set of paintings in this narrative cycle consists of *Constantine’s Vision of the Cross before the Battle of the Milvian bridge*, flanked by *The Translation of the ashes of St. John the Baptist to Genoa* and *The Exposition of the Holy Shroud in Turin* (Fig. 4.99). The maps associated with the Constantine narrative are *Italia Nova*, Liguria, and Piedmont and Monferrato.

A. The first central fresco painting in this narrative cycle is *Pope Sylvester Baptising the Emperor Constantine* (Fig. 4.85). Constantine is depicted kneeling in front of Pope Sylvester under a cupola, which rests on eight columns of what was to become the Lateran Baptistery, restored by Gregory XIII in 1574. Pinelli identifies a silver statue looking down from high above the proceedings as that of John the Baptist. 170 This baptism is in the left of the painting with pointing figures on the right and left drawing the eye to the sacramental moment. This scene is unusual in that it takes place in a landscape rather than in the interior of a Church. Examples of such interior representations of Constantine’s baptism include the *Stavelot Tryptic* c1165 in New York, an anonymous fresco of the *Emperor’s baptism by Pope Sylvester* c1246 in the *Santi Quattro Coronati*, and Penni’s *Baptism of Constantine* in the *Sala di Costantino* 1523-24 (Fig. 4.86-89). All of these representations are primarily ceremonial with the focus on the Emperor’s naked submission, and take place in a church. Here in the *Galleria* the Baptism is represented as a sacred ceremony, a moment of regeneration witnessed by the public with a sense of wonder. The landscape depicted, leads the viewer to Rome and the hills beyond, clearly locating the event in Italy.

170 Lucio Gambi and Antonio Pinelli (eds), 1994, note 554, p.408.
Two paintings flank the baptism. *The Emperor Constantine Founding the Basilica of St. Peter* and *The Founding of the Basilica of St. Paul* (Fig. 4.90-91). It is documented that eight days after having become a Christian, Constantine went to the shrine of St. Peter and built the basilica over the apostle’s tomb. Having started building St. Peter’s Basilica, he founded the basilica of *San Giovanni in Laterano*. Constantine had inherited the Lateran palace as part of his imperial properties. He gave the palace to Pope Milziade (311-314) as a residence and had the adjacent buildings torn down to make room for what was to become the Basilica of *San Giovanni in Laterano*. Next to the basilica, he built an octagonal baptistery, which is featured in the representation of his baptism signifying the heritage of the Baptistery and the perpetuation of its significance through the patronage of Gregory XIII in its restoration and renewal. Both of these paintings are set in a colourful landscape with busy workers filling the foreground all involved in the process of building and constructing these places of worship. Constantine is depicted working alongside the other workers without reference to imperial paraphernalia, Pope Sylvester, or deference to the Church unlike Penni’s representation of the founding of the Church of Saint Peter’s in Rome (Fig. 4.92).

Stretched out in the background, are views of Rome and its surrounds, verdant and peaceful. These painted scenes establish Constantine as a baptised Christian thus inspired to facilitate the practice of Christianity by building places of worship. Constantine’s patronage of these basilicas signifies imperial support for the devotional practices of Christianity and references his legalisation of Christian worship. The paintings of the construction of the basilicas lean out over the maps of the *Galleria* as a historical reminder for the viewer of the genesis of these important basilicas in Rome where they can still worship. These paintings exemplify the Christian piety of a pious man in his devotion to his city and his faith and offer it in concrete terms to the viewer.

B. The second set of paintings sees Emperor Constantine ceremoniously holding the reins of the Pope’s horse as a token of obedience and obsequiousness, *stratoris officium*. (Figs. 4.94-95). He is represented as submitting to the spiritual power of the Church. This painting is flanked horizontally by two fictive reliefs (Figs. 4.96-97). The first is *The Sacrifice of Adam and Eve* and the second *Cain and Abel’s sacrifice*. The sacrifice of Adam and Eve is represented with Adam and Eve looking to the sky, mouths open, with the youthful Cain and Abel playing at their feet. This is not a blood sacrifice but it is the sacrifice of praise confirmed by the inscription which reads *‘Adam immolat Deo sacrificiu, laudis’* meaning ‘Adam offers God the sacrifice of thanksgiving’ from Psalm 50.\(^{172}\) The sacrifice of praise is deemed to be the greatest sacrifice of all. In the Letter to the Hebrews 13:15 ‘Through him then, let us continually offer up a sacrifice of praise to God, that is, the fruit of lips that give thanks to his name’.\(^{173}\) Pinelli interprets this relief as a summary of thanksgiving of all mankind for the promise of eternal redemption witnessed by Christ.\(^{174}\) The fictive reliefs are however a commentary on the nature of Constantine’s deeds and, Adam and Eve’s thanksgiving is reflected in Constantine’s obedience and thanksgiving to the Church. This is further qualified by Cain and Abel’s sacrifice. Abel is depicted kneeling in front of an altar on which he has sacrificed a newborn lamb. Cain looks on, ready to sacrifice the fruits from the new harvest. God accepts Abel’s sacrifice disregarding Cain’s offerings. As suggested by both Ephrem the Syrian and Origen in their exegesis of the book of Genesis 4:3-5, the main difference between the two sacrifices made was that Abel’s sacrifice was made with care and a good heart, while Cain’s was careless and God knew his heart. This indicates that the nature of sacrifice is unimportant; it is the intention that is of value to God. This is fundamental to Christianity and explains Jesus’ break with the Pharisees.\(^{175}\) It has been noted by Pohlsander that Constantine had a deeply felt need to place himself under the protection of a supreme deity. Professing Christianity gave him no advantage that could not be obtained by mere toleration, and the

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\(^{172}\) Psalm 50:14 ‘Offer unto God thanksgiving; and pay thy vows unto the most High’.


\(^{174}\) Lucio Gambi and Antonio Pinelli (eds), 1994, note 563, p.415.

Christians were still very much in a minority, especially on the West. Purity of heart and piety are expressed by Constantine in his submission to the Church.

The painting of Constantine holding the reins of Pope Sylvester’s horse has been variously interpreted as an interchangeable representation of the Donation of Constantine by Pinelli, Fiorani, and Freiberg. It is interpreted as an acknowledgement of superiority or dominance of spiritual power over temporal power by Watts, Fiorani, and Cheney, and the subjugation of the empire to the papacy. These interpretations sit uneasily within the context of the Galleria and within the context of the fictive reliefs that inform this painting, for the following reasons: First, the issue of the Donation of Constantine and its forgery was a current topic in the sixteenth century. The letter purported to record the legal transfer of cities, lands, and Western regions of the empire by Constantine to the papacy, thus propping up the notion of papal supremacy for centuries thereafter, was exposed by Lorenzo Valla (1407-1457) and Nicholas of Cusa (1401-1464) as an eighth-century forgery in 1439. By the sixteenth century it was widely accepted as a forgery and the papal temporal dominion was acknowledged as being restricted to the Papal States without a sense of entitlement to territories beyond. Gregory XIII did not officially acknowledge the forged nature of the document perhaps for political expediency or for legal reasons but he did support those who did such as Cesare Baronio (1538-1607), Carlo Sigonio (1524-1584), Paleotti, and eventually Sirleto. There is no representation of the Donation in the Galleria contrary to the interpretation offered by Pinelli, Fiorani, and Freiberg, and Gregory XIII did not commission any representation of the Donation during his papacy. This suggests that Gregory XIII was perhaps more interested in historical accuracy than promoting a temporal dominion or papal supremacy over temporal leaders in the Galleria.

178 Carlo Sigonio was commissioned by Gregory XIII to write a history of the Church a task which was eventually taken over by Cesare Baronius. See McCuaig, William, Carlo Sigonio. The Changing World of the Late Renaissance, Princeton Legacy Library, 1989.
Second, the promotion of papal power is expressed in the meeting rooms of the *Sala Regia* and the *Sala Costantino*. These rooms were reserved for honoured guests such as emperors, kings or ambassadors and both rooms were patronised by Gregory XIII. The communication of papal power is appropriate to such an audience and this communication includes a depiction of the Donation of Constantine by Giulio Romano and Gianfrancesco Penni’s (1490-1528) *Emperor Constantine the Great Donating the Western half of his Empire to the Church*, 1523-34 in the *Sala Costantino*. The *Galleria* had no such function and asserted no such power.

Third, it has been argued by Freiberg that Gregory XIII’s frescoes painted by Tommaso Laureti (1530-1602) on the newly constructed vault of the *Sala Costantino* were intended to clarify Penni’s image of the Donation on the lower wall of the room. Freiberg notes that Gregory XIII’s vault fresco, *Christian Triumph over Idolatry*, references the medieval tradition that cast Pope Gregory the Great as destroyer of pagan idols, centralises Constantine’s rejection of idolatry as documented in the Donation document, but also references the eight provinces of Italy, Corsica and Sicily, and continents of Europe, Asia and Africa each named or alluded to in the Donation (Fig. 4.93). This according to Freiberg is similarly emphasised in the *Galleria*. Two observations challenge this interpretation. It is noted that the account of Constantine’s life documented in the Donation was derived from the *Vita S Silvestri* or in the *Actus S Silvestri* and this account achieved legendary status mixing elements from Eusebius’ biography of Constantine. The Donation document was therefore not the only source of such an account. Similarly, if the juxtaposition of the *Sala Costantino* with the *Sala del Concistoro segreto* in which Gregory XIII commissioned a large painting of an expanded Pentecost is considered, then the ambitions of a universal Church, of a universal spiritual dominion rather than temporal dominance becomes more evident and suggests that this is a more accurate interpretation of the message Gregory XIII contributed to the *Sala Costantino* (Fig. 4.98). Gregory

179 Freiberg, 2009, p.49.
180 Ibid., p.50.
XIII’s patronage of the *Christian Triumph over Idolatry* signifies a shift of emphasis in the *Sala Costantino* away from the assertion of temporal power of the papacy through the ‘Donation of Constantine’ to the assertion of spiritual authority, just as there had been a shift of emphasis from the main protagonist Constantine in the first two narratives commissioned by Leo X, to Pope Sylvester I (314-335) in the second two narratives commissioned by Clement VII in the *Sala Costantino*.

Fourth, it had been convincingly argued by Carlo Sigonio (1524-1584) that the medieval donations to the Church were much more significant than the supposed Donation of Constantine.\(^{181}\) Therefore, it seems that the issue at the heart of the Donation controversy was not strictly territory but the manner in which it was used to wield power and exposure of the Church’s deception.

C. The third set of paintings in this narrative is *The Emperor Constantine’s Vision of the Cross before the Battle of Milvian Bridge*, a battle in which Constantine defeated Maxentius as documented by Eusebius (Figs. 4.99-100). Constantine is represented crowned and mounted on his horse at the front of a group of soldiers armed and carrying the imperial standard, and trumpeting their imminent arrival with their ceremonial cornua as the Milvian Bridge comes into sight. A glimpse of the enemy is visible on the other side of the river Tiber in this broad and evocative landscape. In the sky above is written *in hoc vince*, by this (sign) you will conquer, and beside it on a cloud, a host of winged angels point to a cross illuminating the celestial break in the cloud. Constantine looks up in wonder and surprise. According to legend, it was this vision that inspired Constantine to fight under the Christian banner and having won the battle, Constantine then converted to Christianity. This event is bracketed by two flanking paintings *The Translation of the Ashes of St. John the Baptist to Genoa* and *The Exposition of the Shroud in Turin* both paintings narrating historical events, Figs. 4.101-102. The ashes of John the Baptist were

\(^{181}\) McCuaig, 1989.
rescued from Syria after Emperor Julian’s attempt to destroy them and their worship. The crusading Genoese brought back St. John’s ashes in 1098 where John the Baptist became the patron saint of Genoa. The painting depicts a ship and boats at the quayside in choppy waters. On the quay, a crowded procession is shown displaying the relics of St. John the Baptist. *The Exposition of the Shroud in Turin* celebrates the return of the shroud from France on the instigation of Carlo Borromean in 1578. It was translated to the Cathedral of San Giovanni where it remains today. This representation depicts the exposition of the shroud to the whole of the city with worshippers kneeling and praying in reverence to the precious relic, with the cathedral of Turin clearly depicted in the background. The shroud coupled with ashes of St. John the Baptist are both relics with great spiritual power which according to Gregory the Great offer proof of the celestial realm as mediators between heaven and earth. These paintings have three functions. First, they locate these miraculous relics within contemporary Liguria and Genoa. Second, they inform the interpretation of Constantine’s vision as one of faith in the celestial world, in God. Worship and devotion to these relics and the power of God are exemplars of Christian piety and spirituality. Third, it is a reminder through John the Baptist and the Holy Shroud of the significance of Baptism and the Eucharist, and participation in these sacraments, as pillars of Christianity whose ministration was afforded by Constantine. The cycle begins and ends with Baptism.

The legend of Constantine recalled on the vault and the accounts of his life given in his biographies are substantially different. Constantine ended all persecution of the Christians and provided for the restitution of their confiscated property as soon as he came to power. According to Pohlsander he acted alone without consulting his imperial colleagues. In 312, Lactantius reports that the night before the battle of Milvian Bridge, Constantine was commanded in a dream to place the sign of Christ on the shields of his soldiers, widely believe to be Chi-Rho. Constantine complied, won the battle, and thereafter believed in

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183 Ibid., note 568, p.417.
the God of the Christians. This account is represented in Piero della Francesca’s *Legend of the True Cross* (c1452-66) in the Church of *San Francesco* in Arezzo. The account given by Eusebius differs in that he indicates that Constantine’s army was on the march to Rome when a strange phenomenon appeared in the sky, a cross of light and the words *hoc signo victor eris*. That night Christ appeared to Constantine and instructed him to place the heavenly sign on the standards of his army. A combination of the two accounts is perhaps near the truth of what happened. Similarly, it is generally accepted that Constantine was baptised on his deathbed rather than near the beginning of his reign as documented in the *Actus S Silvestri* and the Donation of Constantine. It was not unusual to be baptised just before death and was not a sign of a lack of commitment or sincerity.

Hagiographic accounts in the *Vita S Silvestri* or in the *Actus S Silvestri* make no reference to Constantine’s vision before the battle. Instead they propose that Constantine suffering from leprosy, eschewed the pagan recommendation to bathe in the blood of infants, which when it ‘ran warm I could be cleansed by washing in it’. Then one night Peter and Paul appeared to him in a dream. They commended him for putting an end to the atrocities and showing abhorrence of shedding innocent blood and they promised that in return the emperor would be healed. Bishop Sylvester of Rome would help and cure the leprosy. In return, Constantine would have to give up ‘all idolatrous superstition, and adore and worship the true and living God’. Constantine went to Rome to Pope Sylvester, was baptised and cleansed of his leprosy. Constantine renounced all the demonic gods of the nations and worshiped only ‘the Trinity in unity and unity in the Trinity’.

There are of course other variations to the legend of Constantine all serving different purposes with the *Actus S Silvestri* version serving the account of the Donation of

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185 Ibid., p.23.
187 Ibid., p.138.
Constantine. Here in the *Galleria* a different chronology is presented which too serves a different purpose. Constantine is presented as an enormously significant part of Christian heritage: He converted to Christianity represented by his Baptism. He personally legalised Christian worship thereby recognising the significance of participating in devotional and sacramental practives, contributed to worship in Christian life by building churches, presented as a man of true faith, and adhered to the authority of the Church, representative of the inviolable spirituality of modern Italy and as such is associated with the map of *Italia Nova*.

This narrative group includes what has been identified by Pinelli as allegories of *Modesty, Sacred Choice* and other unidentified ‘Christian virtues’. 188 *Modesty* perhaps refers to Constantine while *Sacred Choice* refers to Constantine’s choice to promote Christianity and precipitate salvation for all.

Constantine’s association with *Italia nova* is contrasted with *Italia antiqua* (Figs. 4.103-104). This represents the transition from pagan Italy to Christian Italy, from imperial rule to self-rule. *Italia antiqua* is celebrated for its historical evolution into the country it is now. It is situated and described geographically using Pliny’s simile of an oak leaf, and the evolution of its organisation is documented from Constantine to Valeria to the Goths, Lombards and Greeks. The decorative cartouche in the upper right hand corner of this map is surmounted by Cornucopia and the inscription reads, ‘*Italy is renowned for its healthy regions, mild climate, and fertile soil*’. 189 *Italia nova* is celebrated for its fertility and richness, its beauty in landscape, topography, and buildings, and for the humanity of its inhabitants. It is praised also for the privilege of heading the Holy Roman Church, now led by Gregory XIII, the servant of God’s servants, a title first given to Gregory the Great.

188 Lucio Gambi and Antonio Pinelli (eds), notes 559-562. pp.412-414.
189 Ibid., p.193.
Gregory the Great, with his attribute of the dove of the Holy Spirit, surmounts the large decorative cartouche on the upper right hand corner, and its inscription reads: ‘‘Italy has always been considered full of arts and learning’’ also favoured and patronised by Gregory XIII.\textsuperscript{190} This cartouche not only implicates Gregory the Great in the iconography of the \textit{Galleria} but also marks a shift to an emphasis on the arts and learning.

The Constantine narrative represents the beginning of the official recognition and promotion of Christian worship in Italy. Constantine is represented as a figure of pious deeds and of faith. He is presented as the instigator of the spiritual dominion that Gregory XIII now lays claim to.

4.6.6 Countess Matilda of Canossa Narrative:

It is from among the people of Northern Lazio and Emilia Romagna that the countess Matilda is raised as an exemplar of pious deeds and as a source of spiritual inspiration. Matilda of Canossa (1046-1115) was a formidable figure and a powerful ruler of Northern Italy. She was noted for her military exploits and as a staunch supporter of Pope Gregory VII against Henry IV, to whom she donated vast territories known as \textit{Patrimonium S. Petri} (Fig. 4.105). She was crowned Imperial Vicar and Vice-Queen of Italy by Henry V in 1111.\textsuperscript{191} Matilda was responsible for the founding of over one hundred churches, hospices, and monasteries and she strategically built key roads and bridges that still impact on the territory of northern Italy today (Fig. 4.107). Urban VIII commissioned a memorial tomb executed by Bernini for Matilda in 1644, which is situated along the right aisle in St. Peter’s basilica (Fig. 4.106). She is one of only six women buried in the basilica.

An original inscription by Danti on the map of Northern Lazio indicates that ‘‘...We know

\textsuperscript{190} Lucio Gambi and Antonio Pinelli (eds), 1994, note.10, p.193.
\textsuperscript{191} Spike, Michèele, \textit{Matilda of Canossa and the Origins of the Renaissance. Art exhibition in honour of the 900\textsuperscript{th} Anniversary of her Death}, Muscarelle Museum of Art, 2015.
that this part of Etruria, and Paglia, and donated to the Roman Church by the Countess Matilda was called the Patrimony of St. Peter.' This inscription was displaced when the map was repainted by Luce Holste 1636-37 under Urban VIII and subsequent restorations explain the presence of a coin bearing the likeness of Pius IX (1846-78). Included in this map of Northern Lazio are the cities of Rome, Orvieto, Modena, Reggio, and Viterbo, the town of Lucca and its surrounds. Lakes, rivers, and seas are prominent but no historical vignettes are included.

This narrative consists of sixteen allegorical and biblical figures plus two fictive reliefs surrounding the main painting of Countess Matilda of Canossa Donating her Possessions to the Church. (Fig. 4.109-110) There is a preparatory drawing by Cesare Nebbia of this painting in the Louvre indicating his hand in the composition of this scene. Such a multitude of figures and representations seems daunting but each figure functions as an interpretive guide to Matilda and her donation, with most figures retaining their original label for identification. The figures are distributed in a patterned square around the central painting of Matilda.

In the central painting, unlike the illuminated illustrations from the twelfth-century manuscript Vita Mathildis where Matilda is represented as resplendent and enthroned, Matilda kneels before the Pope (Fig. 4.108; Fig. 4.111). The painting focuses on the moment when Matilda donates all her possessions to the Church in the person of Pope Gregory VII in c1077 and which was later reconfirmed to Pope Pascal in 1102. The papacy could not hold on to these territories and reluctantly relinquished them to individual families in Tuscany and Emilia. The painted scene takes place outside in a small courtyard set in a landscape which continually reminds the viewer of the territorial region in the associated map. The Pope sits high under a ciborium to the right of the painting wearing a

192 BAV, ms.Vat Lat.4922, Vita Mathildis, written at Canossa by the Monk Donizone 111-1115
papal tiara. He is seated above two steps beside a wall signifying a Church building. The pope gestures a blessing with his right hand and takes the deeds of donation offered by Matilda whose head is covered in a gesture of humility.

The outer corners of the square pattern of this narrative cycle are occupied by allegories of Gold, Frankincense, Myrrh, and Tithes referencing the gifts of the Magi to the infant Jesus (Figs. 4.112-115). Together, these symbols signify Matilda’s offering as one of devotion, a votive offering to the Church and God. The allegory Decimae or tithes is interpreted as an indication of the perseverance of a good deed or referencing one tenth and therefore and actual tithe offered to the Church in thanksgiving for its services. Either interpretation emphasizes the act of making a gift to the Church in deference the Church’s mediation of the spiritual power of God and as a devotional gesture to God. The generosity shown by Matilda is marked as a virtuous example for the people of Italy and for the sustenance of the spirituality of the dominion.

Eight biblical figures flank each of these allegorical figures (Figs. 4.116-123). They are Melchisedek, Miriam, Ruth, a Biblical King, Elisha, the Widow of Sarepta, Rebecca, and Joshua. These figures argue for the generosity shown by Matilda to the Church, through which Christ can offer the gift of redemption and salvation. The Church through the sacraments, particularly the Eucharist as referenced by Melchisedek’s blessed loaves of bread and the biblical King’s reference to the blood sacrifice suffered by Christ, can facilitate redemption. Baptism is signified by Miriam playing the timbal in thanks for those baptised, which when administered by the Church offers us salvation. The Church is also represented as a medium for Divine Grace signified by Widow of Sarepta and Elisha as prefigurations of the Redeemer. Rebecca signifies the generosity of Matilda, and Joshua references Matilda’s gift of land that she distributed just as Joshua allocated the promised-land by lot. Four more allegorical figures further inform the interpretation of Matilda’s gift as being beyond its material significance, namely Substance, Generosity, Gratitude, and
Constant Happiness, as labelled (Fig. 4.124-127). They are situated in the patterned square marking out the sign of the cross, with Matilda in the middle (Fig. 4.109). Substance refers to spiritual nourishment by the Eucharist, signified by the corn and grapes carried by this female figure. Generosity or good works, identified by Chattard and Schutte respectively, are similar enough to be both accepted as attributes surrounding Matilda. Gratitude is the reciprocal attribute of the Church to the generosity be it of Matilda or the Church or both. Finally, Constant Happiness is interpreted by Pinelli as an allusion to the Eternal Salvation or Divine grace that man can obtain from God through the mediation of the Church.¹⁹⁴

Matilda of Canossa is represented as an active force and model of spirituality in her generosity, which was used to sustain the mediation of the Church in its administration of the sacraments as a means of spiritual nourishment. Matilda is highlighted as an historical figure belonging to Italy evoking identification and empathy with this figure and with her deeds. Gregory XIII had her plucked from the landscape of Italy that was so carefully and authoritatively rendered, to engage the viewer in the delight of the senses, reason, and the spiritual as advocated Gregory the Great, Alberti, Paleotti and Gregory XIII himself as indicated in his inscription.

4.6.7 The ‘*Pasce oves Meas*’ Narrative.
The central painting on the vault, *Pasce oves Meas* (John 21:17), is surrounded by ten paintings and directly surrounded by four narratives on each of the four sides of the painting, all informing the central narrative (Fig. 4.128).

A. This central image of Christ charging St. Peter to feed his flock was repainted in the seventeenth century by Battista Romanelli (1612-1662) in the 1630’s (Fig. 4.129).¹⁹⁵ It is

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larger than the original painting as evidenced by the reconfiguration of the frame and the figures are larger in scale than other figures on the vault (Fig. 4.130). The question arises as to whether this was the original configuration merely restyled or whether the subject was changed. Scholars disagree but the majority indicate that it is unlikely that the subject was changed by Urban VIII as indicated by the continuity of theme in surrounding images. There is no documentary evidence documented during the refurbishment of the Galleria completed in 2016 to contradict this assertion. It is worth noting how the composition of this painting differs from Raphael’s cartoon and tapestry representation of the same subject (Fig. 4.131). In the Galleria, Christ gently gestures and points to the sheep or lambs while in the Raphael image, Christ is focused on Peter and his gesture to Peter is highlighted while Peter kneels holding the papal keys. The Galleria painting focuses on the primacy of the care of the flock rather than the charge of responsibility to Peter, Christ’s successor, which is expressed in Raphael’s cartoon and tapestry.

The painting of Pasce oves Meas is surrounded by four paintings also repainted in the seventeenth century (Figs. 4.132-135). They are St. Petronius Reviving a Workman Killed in a Building Accident, The Angels Bring Bread to St. Dominic and his Brethren, who had None, View of the Monastery of San Michele in Bosco near Bologna, and View of the Sanctuary of the Virgin on Monte delle Guardia near Bologna.

Together these five paintings are associated with the map of the jurisdiction of Bologna. In the celebrative cartouche Bologna is noted for its beauty and fertility, as a Roman colony, ennobled by palaces, churches, and eternal scholars of letters and all humanities, a theme well documented in Gregory XIII’s Sala Bologna as his home city.

Each of the four paintings surrounding the Pasce oves Meas elaborates on the theme of

spiritual nourishment of the flock. *St. Petronius Reviving a Workman Killed in a Building Accident* refers to the miracle of the Bishop of Bologna, St. Petronius, but it also signifies resurrection and salvation. *The Angels Bring Bread to St. Dominic and his Brethren, who had None* refers to St. Dominic who spent a long period in Bologna. Pinelli notes that this miracle was often illustrated in the refectories of Dominican monasteries. The painting signifies the sacrifice of the Eucharist as celebrated at the Last Supper. *View of the Monastery of San Michele in Bosco near Bologna.* This image has been tentatively attributed to a pupil of Romanelli, Giovann’Angelo Canini (1609-1666) by Taja. The two monks in the white habits (now black) of the Camaldolite monastery are situated to the south-west of Bologna. It signifies the spiritual nourishment afforded through the ascetic life and the nourishment of the faithful through their prayers. According to Pastor, the Camaldolites had made a great impression on Gregory XIII when he visited them. Monasticism is presented here as a virtuous lifestyle. Lastly, its companion painting, *View of the Sanctuary of the Virgin on Monte delle Guardia near Bologna* depicts the church of *Monte della Guardia.* There are no figures represented in the painting but Chattard in his eighteenth-century description of the Vatican Palaces notes ‘*dipinta viene un alta Collina, ove vedesi espresso la Chiesa della Madonna della Guardia tre miglia lontano da Bologna con una numerosa Processione accompagnata dall’Arcivescovo in abito Pontificale, ed indirizzata alla medesima Chiesa.*’ The seventeenth-century restoration must have suffered erosion and therefore al secco work has simply fallen from the painting. This then is a representation of a procession to the sanctuary to honour the Virgin, mother of Christ, displaying her as an intercessory and devotional figure to aid the ‘flock’. It seems then that the charge to Peter to feed the flock is exemplified in the administration of the sacraments especially the Eucharist, in prayer, through devotion to the Virgin Mary, all as a means to salvation. All these events are associated with Bologna and Gregory XIII the successor to Peter, a Bolognese Pope.

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197 Lucio Gambi and Antonio Pinelli (eds), 1994, Note.672, p.457.
198 Taja, Rome, 1750.
199 Taja, Rome, 1750. The monks appear in black habits in this fresco due to the erosion of the al secco paint but they were originally dressed in white.
200 Pastor, 1955, p.84
201 Chattard, 2015, p.263.
On his first trip to Italy in 1593, the ordained priest, astronomer, and amateur cartographer Jean Tarde (c1561-1636), briefly describes his experience of the *Galleria*, referred to by Tarde as the Gregorian Gallery. He notes ‘*Les murailles sont toutes peintes, à dextre et senestre, de tables de géographie.*’ He also observes that ‘... *la galerie grégorienne, au bout de laquelle est un miroir qui représente un calice avec l’hostie, prenant telle image d’un tableau qui est au-dessous, sans que telle peinture y soit, mais c’est par un artifice de perspective.*’ This now non-extant image of the chalice and host was situated at the end of the gallery, most likely over the south entrance (North Italy), which today is occupied by an inscription commemorating restoration work carried out by Pope Urban in 1631. A further description indicates the necessity of standing under the mirror to reveal the image of the body and blood of the saviour, which is otherwise not visible. This confirms the nature of the image as an anamorphosis. Unfortunately the information on this image is scant. There is no indication of its size or the exact location of the original image. Nonetheless, such an image is congruent with the theme of the *Galleria*. It is a culmination of what Christ offers us and the Church administers; the ultimate sacrifice and sacrament of redemption. This is the *raison d’être* of the *Galleria*. Danti was accomplished in the art of anamorphosis as documented in his edition of Vignola’s *Due regole della prospecttiva practica*, indicating that it was most likely Danti who was responsible for the anamorphosis of the chalice and host in the *Galleria*.

The central message of *Pasce oves Meas* was further reinforced through the agency of Gregory XIII when he stepped onto the balcony under this central painting of *Pasce oves Maes* to bless pilgrims and visitors to the Vatican. The notion of spiritual nourishment was expanded in the reference to the *Sala Bologna*, which documents the value of science and scholarship leading to a spiritual nourishment of the faithful.

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203 Ibid., p.40.
204 Lassels, Robert, *The Voyage in Italy*, 1670, p.39.
B. This message is supported by the three painting cycle below the *Pasce oves Meas* (Fig. 4.136). The paintings are *The manna issuing from the tomb of St. Andrew at Amalfi* with the two fictive reliefs: *The priest sprinkles the blood of the Sacrificial Bull-Calf over the Veil of the Sanctuary Seven Times* and *The priest Prepares to Sprinkle the Blood of the Sacrificial Bull-Calf over the Horns of the Altar* (Figs. 4.137-139).

*The Manna Issuing from the Tomb of St. Andrew at Amalfi* is associated with the map of Southern Campania and Basilicata. This image refers to the miracle of St. Andrew, brother of St. Peter, who was martyred in Patras and brought to Constantinople in 357 and then his relics were stolen from Constantinople in 1210 and brought to Amalfi. In 1304, on the Saint’s feast day, in an opening below the altar a silver goblet appeared. It was filled to with a brownish liquid. This liquid was said to have miraculous qualities including the power to restore sight. This miracle reoccurred on the saint’s feast day or the anniversary of his *translatio*. This miracle signifies the restorative and miraculous properties of the sacrament of the Eucharist, the blood sacrifice of Christ.

The two fictive reliefs consolidate this interpretation (Figs. 4.138-139). *The Priest Sprinkles the Blood of the Sacrificial Bull-Calf over the Veil of the Sanctuary Seven Times*, which signifies Christ’s blood sacrifice and brings to mind St. Andrew’s miracle. *The Priest Prepares to Sprinkle the Blood of the Sacrificial Bull-Calf over the Horns of the Altar* also signifies Christ’s sacrifice but it indicates the sacramental nature of the sacrifice whereby the priest offers the Eucharist to the worshippers.

C. Above the *Pasce oves Meas* are three more images (Fig. 4.140). *St. Benedict Unmasking the Disguised King Totila* and two fictive reliefs, *A Priest who has Inadvertently Sinned Leads a Bull-Calf to Sacrifice, his Hand on his Head* and *The Priest
who has Inadvertently Sinned Leads the Unblemished Bull-Calf to God, collecting the blood in the basin.

The story of St. Benedict is associated with the map of Campania. The scene depicted here is from an account given by Gregory the Great in the *Dialogues*. It illustrates the miraculous power of prophesy that St. Benedict possessed in unveiling deception and in foreseeing the future fate of King Totila (Fig. 4.141). This displays the miraculous power of saints who cannot be deceived and who have the power of prophesy. The two fictive reliefs illustrating the sacrificial rituals as outlined by Leviticus are allegories of Christ’s sacrifice, offered willingly and given for the forgiveness of our sins. (Figs. 4.142-143). The actual sacrifice of the bull-calf and the collection of its blood signify the blood of Christ in the Eucharistic sacrifice. This then is the spiritual nourishment that the priest can offer his flock through their atonement and for their salvation.

### 4.6.7 *The Translation of the House of Loreto* cycle.

This narrative includes seven main paintings and two fictive reliefs (Fig. 4.144). This cycle is organised geographically displaying pious deeds associated with different regions. These deeds are miraculous, virtuous, and expressions of faith in God and his Church. This cycle is less singular than other cycles on the vault but serves to emphasise the persistent message in word and deed of the virtue of deference to the mediation of the Church as a source of Salvation.

**A. The Translation of the House of Loreto.** guided by the Virgin Mary with the infant Jesus and borne by a host of angels being transported to Loreto in 1296, is associated with the map of Picenum or Marche. *The Emperor Henry II Taking Communion and Having His Soldiers Take Communion Before the Battle* is associated with map of Southern

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Calabria where Emperor Henry II’s campaigns mainly took place. *St. Marcellinus, Bishop of Ancona, Saves the City from a Fire* is situated in the map of the territories of Ancona.

The House of Loreto was the actual house of the Virgin and had been miraculously transported from Nazareth after the fall of the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem to the ‘infidel’ in 1291. The angels had it set down many times in different locations but were dissatisfied by the lacklustre response to such an important relic until they deposited it at Loreto in 1296. In Loreto, the Virgin revealed to a holy man that it was her house, where the Annunciation had taken place. Pope Julius II (1503-1513) approved the house as a place of pilgrimage, ‘as it is piously and traditionally believed.’ Gregory XIII supported the promotion of the House of Loreto and as mentioned in chapter 2, Gregory XIII established the Illyrian Seminary (Seminario delli Schiavoni) at the House of Loreto close to the basilica. He had the Laurentian Litany text printed for the first time in 1572 and granted indulgences to those who recited the litany at Loreto. He also built a road, via Boncompagni, to assist pilgrims access the House of Loreto and contributed to the restoration and elaboration of the church.

This painting does not differ in its use of traditional iconography used by other artists (Fig. 4.146). The house is borne over verdant land and calm seas to arrive in Loreto. This image within the context of the *Galleria* is an expression of faith and a display of the spiritual power and importance of this relic. This section of the vault speaks to the power of belief in God and God’s mediator, the Church, which is reinforced by the accompanying paintings.

Two paintings, *The Emperor Henry II Taking Communion and Having His Soldiers Take*
Communion Before the Battle and St. Marcellinus, Bishop of Ancona, Saves the City from a Fire, flank the image of the house of Loreto in the same manner as the Constantine narrative is arranged (Fig. 4.144). Both of these paintings focus on the spiritual power of faith and in the sacraments. The Emperor Henry II Taking Communion and Having His Soldiers Take Communion Before the Battle focuses on the moment before battle when Henry II is about to take communion, administered by Pope Benedict VIII (1012-1024) as a source of divine aid (Fig. 4.147). Pinelli notes that Cesare Baronius documented the exact scene in which Henry II also invoked the protection of the martyr saints Lawrence, George, and Hadrian, indicating the involvement of his work in the iconographic programme.\textsuperscript{208} These saints can be seen in the sky overhead facing the enemy. The scene provides a model of faith in the power of saints and the Eucharist and it underlines the call for intercession as part of the practice of the faith. The map of Picenum (Marche) features an historical vignette documenting a large army with horses and gun carriages on the march (Fig. 4.148). A scroll recalls how in 1527 Piceno sent an army of fifteen thousand men to Rome at the time of the sack of Rome as a sign of loyalty to the Pope. The scroll recounts ‘In its loyalty to the Apostolic See the Province of Piceno of its own free will sent an army of 15,000 men to Rome in 1527 to defend the Pope and Holy City from the dreaded enemy’.\textsuperscript{209} It would seem then that the model of Emperor Henry II has a particular poignancy and resonance for the people of Marche.

The painting of St. Marcellinus, Bishop of Ancona, Saves the City from a Fire is documented in Gregory the Great’s Dialogues (Fig. 4.149). In the Dialogues he says, ‘Marcellinus, also a man of holy life, was Bishop of the same city of Ancona; who was so sore troubled with the gout, that not able to go, his servants were enforced to carry him in their hands. Upon a day, by negligence, the city was set on fire and though many laboured by throwing on water to quench it, yet it did increase and go forward that the whole city was in great danger....the Bishop, carried by his servants came thither, and commanded

\textsuperscript{208} Lucio Gambi and Antonio Pinelli (eds), 1994, Note.731, pp.430-431.
\textsuperscript{209} Ibid., note 337, p.344.
himself to be set down right against those furious flames, ... the fire marvellous strangely turned back into itself and as it were were cried out ... and by this means was it stopped from going forward and went out of itself....’. Gregory the Great goes on to say ‘you see what an argument of great holiness it was, for a sick man to sit still, and by his prayers to quench those ranging flames’.\textsuperscript{210} It is this account that is given visual expression in vault.

These three images of miraculous events and the venerable deeds of holy men, according to Gregory the Great, teach how virtue is to be found. He indicates that by recounting miracles of holy men, we know how that which is found out and possessed, is declared and made manifest to the world. ‘And some there are that be sooner moved to the love of God by virtuous examples than by godly sermons; and oftentimes by the lives of holy fathers, the heart doth reap a double commodity; for it by comparing his own life with theirs, he findeth himself inflamed with the love of heaven, although before he had haply a good opinion of himself, yet seeing now how far others do excel him, he becometh also more humble...’\textsuperscript{211}

B. The next image in this narrative cycle is The People of Corsica Paying Homage to the Papal Legate in Recognition of the Sovereignty of Pope Gregory VII (Fig. 4.150). We have already met Gregory VII (1073-1085) in relation to Matilda. Here the papal legate delivers a message from the pope indicating that the islanders much submit to papal rule under penalty of excommunication, but if they do submit they will be protected by the Holy See from external aggressors (Fig. 4.151).\textsuperscript{212} This is the only image relating to the map of Corsica. It seems relatively uneventful and tame but nonetheless manages to convey the necessity of submitting to Church authority for the welfare of Church members. This communication is informed by two fictive reliefs which feature A King Who Has

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\textsuperscript{210} Gregory the Great, Dialogues, 2013, Chapter VI, p.33.
\textsuperscript{211} Ibid., pp.9-10.
\textsuperscript{212} Lucio Gambi and Antonio Pinelli (eds), 1994, note.734, p.480.
\end{flushright}
Inadvertently Sinned Making a Sacrifice and A Common Man who has Inadvertently Sinned Making a Sacrifice (Fig. 4.140-141). Both of these scenes are from Leviticus and both scenes refer to the need for atonement, specifically drawing on the need for the King or the hierarchy for greater atonement because of his status and because of his influence, than the common man.\footnote{Leviticus IV, 22-24 and Leviticus IV, 27-33 respectively.} It points to the need for everyone to seek atonement in the sacraments for sins, regardless as to whether they are prince or pauper and here both do as does Henry II as he goes into battle. This exemplifies the governance of the spiritual dominion.

C. The last three paintings The Hermit St. Peter Morrone Receiving the News of his Election to the Papacy and the two flanking paintings Pope St. Symmachus Sending Clothes and Other Aid to the Exiled Bishops in Sardinia and St. Bernardino Orders the Bonfire of the Vanities, complete this narrative cycle (Fig. 4.154).

St. Peter Morrone is connected with the map of Abruzzo where he was found in his hermitage by the delegation of the College of Cardinals after being elected pope in his absence at the papal elections in Perugia. It was after a long vacancy following the death of Nicolas V (1288-1292) that the Benedictine monk Peter Morrone was elected as Pope in 1294. Peter had established a monastery on the lonely heights of the Maiella among the peaks of the Gran Sasso d’Italia in Abruzzo. Peter was reluctant to leave his secluded life of asceticism but he allowed himself to be persuaded, and astride a donkey the octogenarian was escorted to his new role. Peter was a complete outsider to organised ecclesiastical life and Peter, now Celestine V, realised that the papal court was not for him and five months after his consecration, he abdicated.\footnote{Coppa, 1999, p.78.} As a contemporary chronicle put it, ‘On Saint Lucy’s day, Pope Celestine resigned, and he did well.’\footnote{O’Malley, 2010, p.134.} He was eventually imprisoned in miserable and cramped conditions by his successor Boniface VII in the
Castel Fumone, where he died in 1296. Celestine had been a visionary who detested wealth, worldliness, legal and political entanglements of the papacy.

The image on the vault celebrates Peter Morrone’s monastic life rather than his papacy per se (Fig. 4.155). This is indicted by the entourage who struggle upward on a snowy and treacherous mountain path in search of the solitary Peter kneeling in the icy cold enraptured in an angelic vision. This image serves as a model of monasticism and asceticism advocated by Gregory the Great and the asceticism practiced by Gregory XIII. Gregory the Great encouraged Christians to abandon their selfishness, only then would their desire for earthly things be transformed into a burning desire for the things of the Lord, only then would Christians be able to imitate the saints. Gregory the Great also advocated a social dimension to aestheticism exemplified by his account of the Life of Benedict in the Dialogues, in which Benedict’s miracles were not purely of an ascetic nature but included the spiritual guidance of others. Charitable works are an important dimension of the social dimension of asceticism.

This painting is flanked by Pope St. Symmachus Sending Clothes and Other Aid to the Exiled Bishops in Sardinia and St. Bernardino Orders the Bonfire of the Vanities (Figs. 4.156-157). These paintings fulfil the geographical ordering of the images in the vault by offering the Sardinian Pope Symmachus (498-514) as an exemplar for the people of Sardinia and by association with the map of Sardinia. The celebrative cartouche references Sardinia’s ancient and linguistic heritage, its fertility and richness in livestock and fame, and its hard working and dedicated warriors. The beauty of the map is embellished by fishing boats and cargo ships, and a sea monster animates the Sardoum sea to the west of the island.

216 Maffei, 1742.
217 Demacopoulos, 2015.
218 Lucio Gambi and Antonio Pinelli (eds), 1994, p.182.
A papal cargo ship is depicted being unloaded on the island. Christian bishops, who had been persecuted and sent into exile on the island of Sardinia by the Arian Vandal King Trasamund from his African Kingdom, unload the supplies. These include necessities such as foodstuffs, clothes, and general provisions, which were sent to the island annually by Pope Symmachus. This act of charity is documented by Baronius in the *Annales Ecclesiastici*.\(^{219}\)

The third painting is associated with the map of Abruzzo where St. Bernardino is especially venerated.\(^{220}\) The image depicts the saint in the town square gesturing towards a bonfire with his right hand and holding a monograph of the sun used frequently in his sermons in his left (Fig. 4.157). St. Bernardino was known for railing against all types of vanities including gambling. The scene shows people running towards the fire, laden with conceits to be burnt. As two young men approach the fire, their load tumbles onto the ground which can be clearly identified as playing cards and books to be destroyed. Gregory XIII expressly forbade gambling with dice or playing cards because he believed that it was the poor who were exploited and suffered the most. It was not the vice per se but the virtue of avoiding such activity that was promoted by Gregory XIII.\(^{221}\)

This cycle displays the miraculous, the venerable, and the virtue of holy men known to their associated region. Unlike Gregory the Great who chose his venerable examples from the spiritual landscape of contemporaneous Italy, rather than her ancient shrines, so that they would have greater poignancy for his audience, Gregory XIII’s *Galleria* visually displays the deeds of pious men located in the familiarity of their homeland. It is argued that this evocatively frames the interpretation of their deed because these pious men are brought close to the viewer through their shared geography or homeland.

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\(^{219}\) Lucio Gambi and Antonio Pinelli (eds), 1994, n.743, p.484.

\(^{220}\) Ibid., p.484.

\(^{221}\) Ciappi, 1596, p.98.
4.6.9 From the Archangel Michael to St. Paul.

The last narrative cycle in the vault includes seven main paintings and two fictive reliefs (Fig. 4.158).

A. The first of the three paintings in this cycle is the rare subject of *The Appearance of St. Michael the Archangel on Monte Gargano* (Figs. 4.159-160). This is flanked by *The Veil of St. Agatha Stopping the Lava on Etna* and *St. Anselm Refuting the Errors of the Heretics during the Council of Bari*.

Monte Gargano, where St. Michael appeared several times in 490, has been an important pilgrimage site on the way to Jerusalem since the middle ages. According to legend, Gargano was chasing a bull on a mountain when he saw the bull disappear into a cave. Pinelli notes that Gargano fired an arrow at the bull but the arrow came back and wounded him in the eye. 222 The Bishop Siponto heard of the event and ordered a three day fast. At the end of the fast, St. Michael reappeared and the cave was declared his sanctuary. On his third appearance, St. Michael promised the inhabitants of Siponto a military victory which they won. Pope Gelasius (492-496) ordered that a basilica be erected to enclose that space and this is now the basilica of *San Giovanni di Tumba*.

The painting depicts a procession to the cave with an apparition of St. Michael and the bull. This image signifies the intercessionary power of saints as proof of the celestial realm. It also commemorates this particular shrine in *Apuglia*, which is noted in the decorative cartouche on the map of Apuglia (Fig. 4.161). The map of Apuglia features the Battle of Cannae between the Romans and the Carthaginians (216 BC). It is noted in the inscription identifying the battle ‘In this bloody battle at Cannae, fought in the 138th year after the foundation of Rome, it is said that 40,000 Roman infantry men and 2,700 Roman

222 Lucio Gambi and Antonio Pinelli (eds), 1994, *note*776, p.496.
cavalry but only 8,000 ... Carthaginians were slain (Fig. 4.162). Within the context of such a history, the notion of intercession in favour of military victory seems a reasonable petition.

The flanking painting of *The Veil of St. Agatha Stopping the Lava on Etna* and *St. Anselm Refuting the Errors of the Heretics during the Council of Bari* treat of the subject of the power of relics and the veracity of the Holy Spirit within the context of the Holy Trinity, respectively.

The image of *The Veil of St. Agatha Stopping the Lava on Etna* captures the moment when one of the elders with Agatha’s veil in hand, having been taken from her tomb, contemplates its power (Fig. 4.163). According to hagiographies, the veil did stop the stem of the fiery lava pouring down the mountain, which can be seen raging towards the people in Catania. This miracle was said to have occurred on the first anniversary of St. Agatha’s martyrdom. This representation provides an exemplar of the power of the relic to intercede. On the map of Sicily, the volcanoes of the region are represented as active and fiery, a reminder of the constant threat to the people and the region (Fig. 4.164). The familiarity with the power of such a fiery deluge among the people of the region would have made this image particularly relevant. While Cheney interprets this as a metaphor for halting the flow of protestant heresy, it is the particularity of this interpretation that negates the universality of the message presented here. After all, what would it mean after the heresy of the Protestants is defeated?

*St. Anselm Refuting the Errors of the Heretics during the Council of Bari* is geographically determined offering a venerable example of piety to the people of Bari and Southern Puglia.

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224 Cheney, 1989, p.27.
The subject of the painting is Anselm’s defence of the doctrine of *filioque* (of the son) in the Nicene Creed at the Council of Bari (1098) against the Greek position, which proposed that the Holy Spirit processes only from the Father. St. Anselm was remembered for his impassioned and logical plea. This signifies the worthiness of those who defend the doctrine of the faith and affirms the doctrine of the Holy Trinity.

B. In the next three painting of this narrative cycle, the central painting is that of *The Emperor Valentinian Compelled by Divine Force to Revere St. Martin, Bishop of Tours* (Fig. 4.166). This unusual subject is recounted in the *Dialogues* of Severus and Gallus, followers of St. Martin. It focuses on divine intervention in the meeting between St. Martin and Emperor Valentinian (Fig.4.167). St. Martin who was at first refused a meeting with the Emperor, spent seven days in acts of penitence. At the end of the seven days an angel appeared to him and told him to visit the Emperor and that he would be received. St. Martin proceeded to the emperor’s house. He entered to find Valentinian dining.

Without warning, the emperor’s throne miraculously burst into flames and he was forced to rise up as if in a greeting, and told St. Martin that he had felt ‘the divine virtue.’ In all the confusion, he paid homage to St. Martin and continued to do so ever after. This event is compared to Constantine’s submission to Pope Sylvester by both Pinelli and Cheney. However, while both events refer to the submission of imperial temporal power to the spiritual power of the Church, the nature of these events is completely different. Constantine submitted freely and faithfully to the spiritual power of the Church while Valentinian’s response was precipitated by divine intervention.

This subject of divine intervention is informed by two fictive reliefs, which flank the

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226 Ibid.
Valentinian painting. They are *The Cleansing of the Leper* and *A Poor Leper Making a Sacrifice* (Figs. 4.168-169). Leprosy was interpreted as representing heresy and or sin, a disease of the soul, which according to Watts, was understood from the time of Innocent III’s decretal *Per venerailem* to be the ultimate threat to Christianity.\(^{227}\) Here two lepers follow the precise prescriptions laid down by Leviticus for the ritual cleansing for the purposes of purification.\(^{228}\) As part of this ritual, a period of quarantine is included. Just as St. Martin had carried out acts of penitence for seven days, which precipitated the purification of the heresy of Valentinian, the lepers analogously purify themselves from sin through ritual washing and must remain outside the tent for seven days. The scene of cleansing shows the leper in the foreground cleansing, ridding himself of his sin. A poor leper, depicted as lame and dishevelled, is able to give ample offerings for his atonement. These two scenes signify the power penitence and of divine intervention to cleanse heresy and sin.

C. The last three images in the cycle are *St Paul Healing the Father of Publius in Malta* flanked by *St. Paul Unharmed by the Bite of the Viper* and *St. Paul Taking a Ship from Malta to Rome* (Fig. 4.170). These scenes from the life of St. Paul, documented in St. Luke’s Acts of the Apostles, are connected to the map of Corfu and Malta. These paintings are situated on the walls either side of the northern entrance (south Italy) to the *Galleria* with the lunette above featuring Gregory XIII’s golden dragon insignia flanked by two enormous stucco allegories of Justice and Plenty signifying prosperity in success. The map of Malta features the defeat of the Ottoman forces at the hands of the Knights of Malta at Valletta (1565) (Fig. 4.172). Above the map, an angel dressed in the red knights’ surcoat with the white cross of the Knights of Malta holds a sword and a book with the inscription, ‘Malta freed from siege’.\(^{229}\)

\(^{227}\) Watts, 2005

\(^{228}\) Leviticus XIII, 1-59 and Leviticus XIV, 1-8.

\(^{229}\) Lucio Gambi and Antonio Pinelli (eds), n.788, p.502.
The map of Corfu documents the Christian victory over the Turks at Lepanto (1571). An allegory of victory hovers over the map, holding the palm of martyrdom and a crown of laurels symbolising the victory of Christendom over Islam. Being able to situate these battles within their regions and within Italy for the first time must have been a mesmerising experience for the viewers.

The three images of St. Paul document three episodes that occurred while St. Paul stayed on the island of Malta having been shipwrecked on his way from Jerusalem to Rome to be tried in a court of law. St. Paul stayed in the house of the governor Publius. In gratitude for his hospitality, he healed his father, just perhaps as the lepers were healed. According the Acts of the Apostles 28: 7-8, ‘The father of Publius was sick in bed, suffering from fever and dysentery. Paul went into see him and after praying and placing his hands on him, he healed the man. After this happened, the rest of the sick on the island went to him and were cured as well.’ This exact scene has few precedents (Fig. 4.171). While depictions of the shipwreck and the miracle of the viper are familiar, such as Nicolò Circignani’s depiction of these scenes in the Torre dei Venti, St. Paul healing the father in Malta is rare (Fig. 4.174). This scene is however central to the interpretation of the other two flanking paintings.

St. Paul stands at the end of the father’s bed, haloed with his hand raised in a blessing. The father raises his hand, reminiscent of the creation of Adam while onlookers in the room kneel and pray. Half of the painting is given over to the lame and sick islanders, arriving to be cured signifying an act of faith. This act of healing the sick then is also an act of conversion to Christianity. St. Paul was the first Christian evangelist to arrive on the island of Malta and this is captured in this scene.

The flanking scenes amplify St. Paul’s significance in Malta. St. Paul Unharmed by the
Bite of the Viper is a well-known episode from the life of St. Paul as described in the Acts of the Apostles (Fig. 4.173). This depiction follows the traditional iconography of the scene with St. Paul and islanders gathered around a fire with St. Paul shaking the viper from his hand. It signifies the imperviousness of St. Paul to the poison of heretics or non-believers because of his faith. Being unharmed by the vipers bite, the witnesses were converted to the faith. St. Paul Taking Ship from Malta to Rome depicts the moment when St. Paul leaves the island of Malta for Rome (Fig. 4.175). Having had a positive impact on the island, the locals fill his ship with supplies and Publius and his father kneel in thanksgiving before St. Paul. His success in forming friendships and converting them to the faith is the spiritual gift that St. Paul brought back with him to Rome.

This narrative cycle from the archangel Michael to St Paul offer exemplars of the power of faith and offer both models in the saints themselves and serve as a reminder of their good deeds, which live within Italy, the regions, the local areas of the viewers.
4.7 Conclusions:

The prologue to the *Dialogues* begins with Peter the deacon’s unrest in his belief that Italy had not produced native thaumaturgies or miracle workers. Gregory the Great replied that the day would not be long enough to recount all he knew about Italy’s saints. The account ‘of all he knew’ that followed is the *Dialogues*. The function of the *Dialogues* was to acknowledge the ordinary holy men of Italy and encourage an integration of ecclesiastical authority with these holy men. Gregory the Great mapped the spiritual landscape of Italy, by plotting the great works of holy men. These men presented as a source of inspiration and models of virtue for ordinary Italians. Markus quotes Gregory the Great as saying, ‘For our mind, when it contemplates the possibility of turning to a better life, seeks out whatever it can discover about the better lives of others, and examines the life now of one, now of another holy person, for imitation; and we duly find ‘holy men frequently doing wonderful things, performing many miracles’. The *Galleria delle Carte Geografiche* similarly aimed to display the virtue of the good men of Italy as part of Italy’s Spiritual heritage by identifying them in their homeland and elevating them to the vault above exemplifying the strength of spirituality in Italy and as such as models of inspiration. In order to be successful in this process, local knowledge had to carry the weight of authority, be accurate and relevant to engage viewers, and raise them up to the virtuous and devout in the vault.

On examination of each of the five narratives selected, a programme emerges which captures the dynamic link between the maps and the vault, and casts them as inextricably linked rather than juxtaposed through happenchance. Researchers have tended to propose an uneasy relationship between the maps and the vault, which portrays one or other as

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being unnecessary in detail or as being associated rather than connected.

The paintings on the vault naturally fall into groups that tell a story, expand on the central idea, and exemplify this idea in concrete examples. This story is Italian and contemporaneously related to the homeland of the viewer, although universal in its message. The narrative of the Galleria begins with the baptism of Constantine, the first place among the sacraments without which one cannot enter the kingdom of heaven. The effect of this sacrament is the remission of all original and actual guilt, also of all penalty that is owed for that guilt. The final image of the Galleria is the anamorphosis of the chalice and the Eucharist, the sacrament ensuring our redemption and salvation. In between these images are a myriad of examples of Italian holy men actively participating in the Church and actively ministering for the Church for their own and others’ salvation.

It was noted on examination of the Sala Bologna and the Terza Loggia that Gregory XIII had revealed his understanding of the power of science to demonstrate authority and that cartography and chorography were constructs rather than objective empirical absolutes that could be cast as protagonists within a context of choice. It is proposed that Gregory XIII chose to tell of the good deeds of Holy men of Italy so that the Italians would be inspired and aspire to such active faith. It seems that the Galleria was inspired by the writings of Gregory the Great, and his experience of witnessing the power of participation during Holy Year, and given visual expression on the walls and vault of the Galleria rather than commissioned as a treatise in defence of the criticisms of Protestantism. The power of the concepts expressed in the vault are such that they can be interpreted as a defence against protestant heresy, which is quite different from saying that they were conceived as a defence against Protestant heresy. They can also be interpreted as a defence against a myriad of attacks on the fundamental doctrines and governance of the Church in the past.

and in the future. It is an assertion of universal and eternal principles impervious to the vagaries of time or politics of a particular period *vīz.*, active faith. This programme accounts for the dynamic relationship between the maps and the vault while ‘Counter Reformation’ interpretations do not adequately account for this relationship.

To interpret the gallery within this expanded framework is to free it from the limits of periodization and allows for a more enduring message. While the analysis provided here does not address all of the complexity, sophistication, and layers of meaning within the *Galleria*, it does reveal that kernel, that idea, that notion that Gregory XIII offered which then took root and found expression in the complexity of the iconography of the *Galleria*. The sheer size of the *Galleria* and the number of examples used and images represented has meant that not every aspect of the *Galleria* has been successful. It is at times turgid and overworked but it is in essence a wondrous and inspiring place.
Conclusions

Gregory XIII emerges as an energetic and committed patron who was methodical and unsentimental in his approach and unremitting in his focus on achieving his ambitions for the Church. There is no sense of colourful scandal, rouge passions, or personal conceit surrounding this pope or his papacy. Instead he emerges as expeditious, driven, and taciturn. He was keenly aware of the sixteenth-century challenges to the Church and responded to these challenges by referring to the long continuum of history stretching back to the ancient Doctors of the Church. He was conscious of his place within this continuum, learning the lessons of history, and looking to his long term legacy within the context of the development of the Church.

Gregory XIII may be regarded as Post-Tridentine pope in the sense that he was buoyed by the spirit of change evident in the disciplinary reform measures affirmed during the Council of Trent. There was a confidence that problems within the institution of the Church could be addressed and that the Church could be mobilized to implement these changes. Similarly, the clear validation of doctrine at the Council of Trent was a clear reassertion of the doctrine of the Church unexpressed for hundreds of years. Gregory XIII’s ambition to reinvigorate and regenerate the Church was informed rather than defined by this context. It was in the interpretation of his ambitions that the individuality of Gregory XIII was asserted. His expansive and learned referential framework coupled with his profound faith led him to look towards a systematic strengthening of the Church through teaching, training, engagement, and the tangible display of spiritual faith as a source of inspiration. His artistic patronage was embedded as part of his overall patronage with the same aims and objectives, infused with the same expansive referential framework.
Gregory XIII was uncompromising in his attitude to heretics and heretical beliefs reflective of the Church’s position since its inception. His main focus however was on the vulnerability within the Church caused by a lack of education and discipline of the clergy, and its consequences for the practice of the faith. This was long recognised. Gregory XIII enforced the decree on the obligation of residence, monitored the quality of pastoral care provided, patronised the education and training of clerics, and provided a standardised liturgical literature in a variety of languages for students. In his patronage of colleges and training, he sought to ensure that the next generation of clerics would have a broad education which would aid in the effective dissemination of the message of God, understand the liturgy, celebrate the sacraments, and fulfil their pastoral duties in a consistent manner. The implementation of such a programme of reform required imagination and ingenuity on the part of Gregory XIII, since such innovations were not prescribed by the council and needed to be interpreted. It required the development of an infrastructure in the form of colleges in Italy, Europe and Japan, the support of the Jesuits to teach the students, and the provision of standardised materials for all students, in all their languages.

The effects of an undisciplined and poorly educated clergy had been a laity unengaged in the Church, unsure of the basic tenets of Church doctrine, and slow to participate in the sacraments. Gregory XIII recognised the need to activate the interest of the laity in the Church and in its doctrine. One of the measures taken was the patronage of the new orders and their evangelical approach to teaching. Another was his patronage of the Holy Year. Gregory XIII drew on the teachings of Gregory the Great who advocated the display of the spiritual through tangible examples as a means of engagement and teaching. Pilgrims were brought on processions and encouraged to take the sacraments. All of his artistic patronage in the refurbishment and embellishment of the churches of Rome focused on the enhancement of the sacred and encouraging pilgrims to participate in the celebration of the sacraments, thereby strengthening their faith and engagement with the Church.
Similarly, roads were widened, running water was brought to newly constructed fountains, pilgrims were welcomed and their physical and spiritual needs were looked after, and the city was presented to them in all its magnificence. All of these acts of patronage were to enable and encourage participation in *Il culto divino* within the context of the formal teachings of the Church.

The accumulated understanding of Gregory XIII as a patron, in addition to his particular approach, was applied in a detailed analysis of two of his artistic programmes, in order gain a more profound understanding of them. The programmes selected were the Gregorian Chapel and the *Galleria delle Carte Geografiche*.

The Gregorian chapel was chosen for analysis because to date it has not been treated as a single artistic programme, although Gregory XIII conceived it as such. To date, research examining the iconography of different aspects of the chapel tends to offer a ‘Counter Reformation’ interpretation which does not provide a full understanding of Gregory XIII’s particular contribution to the chapel or of the complexity and sophistication of the programme. Findings provide a complex reading of the interactive nature of all of the elements within the chapel, which create a sacred place for worship, meditation, and celebration of the liturgy, signified by its magnificence. It creates a place in which the miraculous, in the form of both the *Madonna del Soccorso* and the relics of Gregory Nazianzeno, are offered to worshippers to answer their petitions and in so doing, precipitates their worship of the spiritual as outlined by Gregory the Great. The formal explanation that sustains the sacredness of the chapel is provided by the Doctors of the Church and narrated in the story of the Annunciation, Incarnation, and Crucifixion. This is resolved in the celebration of the Mass. By accommodating the perspective that Gregory XIII’s patronage brought to the chapel, a more profound reading of it is possible, in which Gregory XIII clearly outlines the fundamental doctrine of Christianity and precipitates
worshippers’ engagement in the programme. In conclusion, the approach provided by a ‘Counter Reformation’ perspective in examining the artistic programme of the Gregorian chapel is driven by a need to abstract and identify trends, thus by-passing the complex and specific detail of the programme. More significantly, it suggests that all artistic expression and patronage of the period after the Council of Trent complied with such trends, without testing this argument against the specifics of this artistic expression or the ambitions of this patron. Lastly, the ‘Counter Reformation’ approach fails to make explicit the body of orthodoxy accumulated within the Church as a means of informing the significance of the programme.

The second artistic programme examined was the *Galleria delle Carte*. Despite research conducted in an effort to decipher the programme of the *Galleria*, its theme and the relationship between the vault and the maps remain unresolved. The primary objective of this research was to gain an understanding of how to read this programme and how to interpret its overarching message. Gregory XIII insisted on clarity in all communications and this standard of clarity was applied to the *Galleria*. Given the location of the paintings on the vault above the maps, a clear message rather than one embedded in complex iconography that could easily be misunderstood needed to be identified. Findings from this research indicate that Gregory XIII exercised agency in the artistic style of the *Galleria* by his choice of artists. He chose Danti for his authority and expertise in cartography thus expressing the authoritative strength of his spiritual dominion. The team of artists chosen to execute the paintings in the vault had a particular expertise in painting landscape, and in the naturalism and clarity of their expression. This not only enhances the beauty of the vault but establishes a connection between the landscapes of the vault and the landscape of the territories of the maps. The geometric pattern on the vault provides the organising pattern for the narrative paintings. The paintings are thematically organised making them easily legible and apprehensible in line with Gregory XIII’s methodical
These narratives, as documented in Gregory XIII’s inscription above the southern portal, present deeds of these holy men. These virtuous men advocate participation in the Church and the sacraments, active devotion, obedience to the Church, and faith in the power of the sacred, all for the promise of redemption. The overall theme of the programme is that this land, Italy, is the spiritual dominion of the Catholic Church under the authority of Gregory XIII, and it is constituted out of faith in action, by both the laity and by the Church. It is an assertion of universal and eternal principles, impervious to the vagaries of time or territorial borders. This interpretation of the *Galleria* programme is consistent with the Gregory XIII’s patronage up to this point in his papacy, and it provides a vision of the future for the Church. From an art historical point of view, this expanded perspective provides a coherent reading of the programme as a whole, it accounts for the significance of the maps in relation to the vault, it is legible, it respects the geographical ordering of the programme, and presents a theme that is universal.

In conclusion, the findings from this research indicate that an understanding of the individual interests, influences, and ambitions of the patron Gregory XIII provide a richer understanding of his artistic programmes than conventional ‘Counter-Reformation’ approaches.
Appendix I: The Council of Nicaea II, 787

… To summarise, we declare that we defend free from any innovations all the written and unwritten ecclesiastical traditions that have been entrusted to us. One of these is the production of representational art; this is quite in harmony with the history spread of the Gospel, as it provides confirmation that the becoming man of the Word of God was real and not just imaginary, and as it brings us a similar benefit. For things that mutually illustrate one another undoubtedly possess one another’s message.

Given this state of affairs and stepping out as though in the royal highway, following as we are the God-spoken teaching of our holy fathers and the tradition of the Catholic Church – for we recognise that this tradition comes from the holy Spirit who dwells in her - we decree with full precision and care that, like the figure of the honoured and life-giving cross, the revered and holy images, whether painted or made of mosaic or of other suitable material, are to be exposed in the holy churches of God, on sacred instruments and vestments, on the walls and panels, in houses and by public ways; these are the images of our Lord, God and saviour, Jesus Christ, and of our Lady without a blemish, the holy God-bearer, and of the revered angels and of any of the saintly holy men. The more frequently they are seen in representational art, the more are those who see them drawn to remember and long for those who serve as models, and to pay these images the tribute of salutation and respectful veneration. Certainly this is not the full adoration in accordance with our faith, which in accordance with our faith, which is properly paid only to the divine nature, but it resembles that given to the figure of the honoured and life-giving cross, and also holy books of the Gospels and to other sacred cult objects. Further, people are drawn to honour these images with the offering of incense and lights, as was piously established by ancient custom. Indeed, the honour paid to an image traverses it, reaching the model (St. Basel); and he who venerates the image, venerates the person represented in that image.¹

¹ Tanner, 1990, pp. 135-136.
Appendix II: The Council of Florence, 1439

Also, if truly penitent people die in the love of God before they have made satisfaction for acts and omissions by worthy fruits of repentance, their souls are cleansed ager death by cleansing pain; and the suffrages of the living faithful avail them in giving relief from such pains, that is sacrifices of masses, prayers, almsgiving, and other acts of devotion which have been customarily performed by some of the faithful for others of the faithful in accordance with the church’s ordinances.

Also, the souls of those who have incurred no stain of sin whatsoever after baptism, as well as souls who after incurring the stain of sin have been cleansed whether in their bodies or outside their bodies, as was stated above, are straightaway received into heaven and clearly behold the triune God as he is, yet one person more perfectly than another according to the difference of their merits. But the souls of those who depart this life in actual mortal sin, or in original sin alone, go down straightaway to hell to be punished, but with unequal pains.²

² Tanner, 1990, pp.527-528.
Appendix III: Council of Basel-Ferrara-Florence-Rome, 1443-1445:

For by baptism we are reborn spiritually; by confirmation we grow in grace and are strengthened in faith. Once reborn and strengthened, we are nourished by the food of the divine Eucharist. But if through sin we incur an illness of the soul, we are cured spiritually by penance. Spiritually also and bodily as suits the soul, by extreme unction. By orders the church is governed and spiritually multiplied; by matrimony it grows bodily. ³

…Three of the sacraments, namely baptism, confirmation and orders, imprint indelibly on the soul a character that is a kind of stamp, which distinguishes it from the rest. Hence, they are not repeated in same person. ⁴ The other four, however, do not imprint a character and can be repeated.

³ Tanner, 1990, Session 8, 1439, p. 541.
⁴ Ibid., p.542
Appendix IV: Religious Orders Supported by Gregory XIII


**The Theatines** were founded by Gaetano di Thiene (1480-1547) and Gian Pietro Carafa (1476-1559) in 1524. They were consciously elitist and sought to provide a model of purification and piety for the clergy characterised by frequent Holy Communion and veneration of the Blessed Sacrament. They set norms for holy poverty and were committed to social work which included the establishment of hospitals, preaching and providing a focus for study of the Scripture and the liturgy. Gregory XIII greatly favoured the Theatines evidenced by the briefs and favours granted by him to the houses at Rimini, Milan, Cremona, Padua, Genoa, Naples, and Capua. The Theatines in Rome received two thousand gold ducats to complete their church of *San Silvestro al Quirinale*.

**The Barnabites** were principally founded by Antonio Zaccaria (1502-1547) in 1530. The primary task of the group was the moral regeneration of the clergy, particularly in Milan since they were inseparably associated with the city although they also operated in Naples, Asti and Piacenza, and Rome. They eventually spread to areas such as Hungary, Germany, Austria, Bohemia, Malta, France and Savoy and to missions in China and Scandinavia. They were involved in a range of work: preaching, hearing confession, running missions, visiting hospitals and prisons including a strong academic vocation. Strong academic interests grew among its members in areas such as theology, scriptural hermeneutics, Church history, the study of liturgy, archaeology, philosophy, physics, and mathematics. Their style was a theatrical engagement of the congregation with props and references to popular culture.

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6 Ibid., pp.72-73.
The Ursulines were founded by Angela Merici (1474-1540) in c1535. They were a female group who came together under the patronage of St. Ursula. As a lay group their purpose was to perform social works of charity in hospitals, orphanages, and hostels for prostitutes and to instruct religion to girls. They evolved into a more conventional convent – adopting a habit and communal living for those who wished it - ratified by Gregory XIII in 1582. The Ursulines spread to France to become the single most important influence in female education in France. They became professional educators of girls adapting their monastic regime to suit the demands of their professional work.7

The Oratorians were founded by Filippo Neri (1515-1595) in c1544. The Congregation of the Oratory as they were known was an association of individual priests who were dedicated to the religious needs of their congregation namely in Rome. They emphasized public devotions, preached with zeal and used the resources of popular theatre including the style of the commedia del’art to promote their message as appropriate to the status and capacity of the audience. Like Bernardino of Siena (1380-1444), Neri deployed popular songs and added street humour to his repertoire of ‘crowd-pulling’.8 The standard for entrants to the Congregation of the Oratory was high but their work was aimed at the laity at large and highlighted the attractiveness of worship including music. They approached the Sacrament of Penance with gentleness rather than admonition. They also catered to the needs of large congregations administering Confession and following with Communion. On 15th July 1575, Gregory XIII gave them land and the church of Santa Maria al Pozzo Bianco which was said to have founded by Gregory the Great.9 The same year the construction of the Chiesa Nova began. During this period the church was known as S. Maria in Gregorio. There is an inscription on the entrance to the church which reads, Genitrici Mariae Virgini et Gregorio Magno. He also donated the church of San Benedetto in Piscinula. In the 1590’s the Oratorians expanded into Spain, Portugal, South

8Ibid., p.25.
9Marcello Fagiolo and Maria Luisa Madonna (eds), Roma. La città degli anni santi 1300-2875, Atlante, Modadori, Milan, p.179.
America, Goa and Ceylon. Their most notable member during the pontificate of Gregory XIII was Cesare Baronius (1538-1607).¹⁰

**The Capuchins** were founded by Matteo da Bascio (c1495-1552). They were a group of Franciscans who reawakened the letter of the Franciscan Observant movement, namely Franciscan simplicity. They preached simple scriptural sermons, moral and pious in nature rather than dogmatic. Their simplicity and poverty gave the Capuchins popular appeal among Italy’s poorest and most neglected congregations. They undertook preaching tours to rural areas addressing the illiterate Italians illustrating the lessons of the Gospels in plain and simple language. In 1576-77 they aided Cardinal Borromeo in caring for thousands afflicted by the plague in Milan, and took over hospitals for lepers. Their apostolic regeneration in the form of preaching and poverty was extremely successful. Gregory XIII held the Capuchins in high esteem granting the Order favours and privileges. In May 1574, Gregory XIII revoked the ordinance of Paul III of 1537 limiting the Order to Italy. This allowed the Order to establish themselves in France and Spain, and at the express wish of Gregory XIII they went to Switzerland.¹¹ In 1587 they numbered almost 6,000, becoming second in importance only to the Jesuits.¹²

**The Basilian monks** are monks who follow the rule of St. Basil, bishop of Caesarea (330-379). After the Great Schism of 1054 most Basilian monasteries became part of the Eastern Orthodox Church, although those in Italy remained in union with the Western Church. Gregory XIII united three monasteries in Spain subject to an Abbot-General of the Basilians in Italy. The election of the first Abbot General took place at Pentecost in 1578 and received Papal confirmation in 1579.

¹⁰ Ibid., pp.100-102
**Discalced Carmelites.** From 1562 Teresa of Avila, a Carmelite nun, set out to restore the primary rigour of the Carmelite nuns’ Observance. As an expression of austerity they became shoeless – discalced. By 1582 there were seventeen convents and fifteen monasteries. Once again, medieval asceticism found purchase in conventual and monastic renewal in the sixteenth century and beyond.

**Jesuits:** The Jesuits were founded by the Spanish born Don Iñigo Lopez Recalde de Oñaz y de Loyola (1491-1556). Known as Ignazio of Loyola he founded the Society of Jesus in 1534. The goal of the society, initially directed at Jerusalem, was to spend their lives in the service of souls. In 1539 Loyola sought and was granted papal recognition for the group. In 1540 Paul III (1534-1549) authorised the establishment of the Society of Jesus and Loyola proceeded to work on the new Society’s Constitutions, which were ratified by Julius III (1550-1555). Along with the *Spiritual Exercises* the Constitutions form the other half of Loyola’s literary legacy to the Society of Jesus. The Jesuits were exempt from bishops’ authority, allowing them to administer the Sacraments and preach without needing the permission of parish priests or bishops.

The Jesuit numbers grew rapidly accompanied by geographical expansion. Their success was due to their combined rigorous academic training with a popular apostolate. It was this focus on a broad academic training that encouraged Gregory XIII to charge the Jesuits with the education of young men of limited means and the clergy.
Appendix V: Papal Bull on Plenary Indulgences for Holy Year 1575

Plenary indulgences for Jubilee year

SDND Gregorii PP XIII Indictio Sancti Iubilei & plenissimae remissionis pro uisitantibus Basilicas beatorum Petri & Pauli, necnon ecclesias Sancti Iohannis Lateranensis & Beatae Mariae Maioris de Urbe proximo anno MDLXXV:

Dominus ac redemptor nobis Iesus Christus, qui pro ineffabili charitate sua serui formam accipiens, acerbissimam crucis mortem subire dignatus est, ut Deo patri genus humanum reconciliaret, atque in sortem hereditatis aeternae vocaret, ulens nostrae plenius succurrere imbecillitati, & donum hoc pretiotissimo ipsius sanguine acquisitum copiosius communicare, ne lapsis post regenerationis lauacrum opportunum eiusdem divinae misericordiae deesset subsidium, beato Petro Apostolorum Principi, eiusque; deinceps successoribus suis in terris Vicariis Sanctae Catholicae Romanae Preapositis Ecclesiae (quaee caeterarum omnium caput, mater, & magistra est) potestatem dimittendi peccata plenissimam reliquit, ac thesauro praeterea immenso meritorum eiusdem passionis (cui etiam gloriosissimae semper virginis Mariae, omniumque; sanctorum merita accedunt) idcirco dituit ecclesiam sponsam suam, eumque praedicit beato Petro, & successoribus dispensandum commisit, ut eo caeteri fedele pro temporalibus poenis ex remissis culpis saepius remanentibus ad satisfaciendum adiuti ad percipiendos coelestis gratiae fructus expeditores redderentur.

Quarum rerum consideratione adducti, divinaeque bonitatis exuberantia confisi Romani Pontificis praedecessores nostri, animarumque; saluti toto animi sensu prospicientes, pro facultate dispensandi thesaurum praedictum illis credit, SANCTUM IUBILEUM statis annis, priores quidem longioribus interuallis, alii vero breuioribus, & posteriores vigesimoquinto quoque anno celebrandum decreuerunt, quo scilicet tempore idem Ecclesiae thesaurus ad salutarem eorum laetitiam depromeretur, qui ea causa almam inuiserent Vrbem, quam praedictus Princeps Apostolorum, & Doctor gentium, totque deinceps Christi Martyres suo sanguine consecrarunt. Quocirca nos dictorum praedecessorium pium saluberrimumque institutum securi, de fratum nostrorum assensu, IUBILEI celebrationem proxime sequenti anno millesimo quingentesimo septuagesimoquinto, a primis vesperis, quae vigilia est diei festi proxime futuri NATIVITATIS

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DOMINI NOSTRI IESU CHRISTI, incipiendum, & per totam annum ipsum finiendum, universo christiano populo quanto maiore possimus animi gaudio indicimus.

Quo quidem anno durante qui uere poenitentes & confessi beatorum Petri & Pauli Apostolorum basilicas, & Sancti Ioannis Lateranensis, ac Sanctae Mariae maioris in Vrbe ecclesias triginta continuis vel intermissis diebus semel saltem in die, si Romani, vel Vrbis incolae fuerint, si vero peregrini quindecim diebus deuote eodem anno modo visitaverunt, ac pro ipsorum totiusque Christiani populi salute pias ad Deum preces fuderint, plenissimam omnium peccatorum suorum Indulgentiam & remissionem, quemadmodum etiam praedecessores nostri concesserunt, consequentur. Et qui post iter ad Vrbem huius deuotionis causa susceptum, illud perficere ob aliquod legitimum impedimentum non potuerint, aut in morbum inciderint, & siue in uia, siue in urbe ipsa ab humanis exsesserint vere poenitentes & confessi, hos quoque pro eorum pia & prompte uoluntate ipsius indulgentiae ac doni participes fieri uolumus.

Monemus itaque & hortamus omnes Christi fideles, qui sacro huic coetu interesse poterunt, ut humanae uitae miserias, saeculi huius vanitatem, dierumque paucitatem, qua ad mortem, & districti examinis diem assidue properamus, contra uero immensa celestis vitae gaudia, summanum felicitatem, perpetuam aeternamque beatudinem attente considerantes, & animo reuoluentes, ita conscientias suas examinare, & ab omnium peccatorum uitiorumque maculis, & sordibus purgare studeant, simulque bonis & santis operibus, atque orationi adeo intenti sint, ut tanti huius gaudii & ecclesiasticorum munerationem largitionem ves participes fieri, & in altero postea saeculo praemium uberrimum consequi mereantur.

Quare mandamus omnibus Patriarchis, Archepiscopis, Episcopis, caeterique ecclesiarum Praelatis, ut suos quisque populos diligenter curent ea omnia edocendos, quae ad remissionis & indulgentiae praedictae adipiscendae praeparationem fuerint opportuna, debita in eos pietatis & misericordiae opera exercendo. Rogamus quoque in Domino charissimum in Christo filium nostrum Maximilianus Rom. Regem in Imperatorem electum, ac Reges & Principes omnes Christianos, quo magis merita ipsorum in fouenda hac peregrinantium pietate apud Deum crescant, & tanti tamque boni operis participes efficiantur, ut viarum securitati ad eorundem peregrinorum commodum prospicere, egentibusque beneficentia & eleemosynis succurrere velit.

Ut autem praefentes literae in omnium notitiam facilius perferantur, volumus earum exemplis
etiam impressis manu Notarii publici subscriptis, ac personae in dignitate ecclesiastica constitutae
sigillo munitis eandem prosus fidem haberi, quae haberetur ipsis praesentibus, si exhibita foerent
& ostentae. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostrae indicationis, monitionis,
hortationis, mandati, rogationis, & voluntatis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis
autem hoc attentare praesumpserit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei, ac beatorum Petri & Pauli
Apostolorum eius se nouerit incursurum. Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum, Anno incarnationis
Dominiae millesimo quingentesimo septuagesimo quarto, Sexto Idus Maii, Pontificatus nostri
anno secundo.

Translation – Plenary Indulgences for Holy year 1575:
SDND Pope Gregory XIII Notice of the Holy Jubilee and of the full remission [of sins] for
those visiting the Basilicas of Saints Peter and Paul, as well as the St. John Lateran and S.
Maria Maggiore in the city in the coming year 1575.

Our Lord and Redeemer Jesus Christ, who through his ineffable love accepted a slave’s form and
assented to undergo a most bitter death on the cross, so that he might reconcile the human race to
God the Father, and call us to our eternal reward, wished to help us more fully in our weakness, and
to dispense more widely this gift acquired by his most precious blood, lest after the bath of rebirth
[sic - i.e. baptism?] an opportunity for sinners to gain his divine mercy might lack support. So to
Peter Prince of Apostles, then to his successors on earth – those placed in charge of the Holy
Roman Church (which is the head, mother, and teacher of all others) – he bestowed the absolute
power of remitting sins, and, furthermore, to this immense treasury of rewards gained through his
Passion (to which accrue the rewards of the most glorious Mary ever-virgin and all the saints), he
enriched his Church in this way, and entrusted its dispensation to Blessed Peter and his successors,
so that other faithful Christians might be helped in expiating those punishments which often remain
after the forgiveness of sins, and so may be brought more speedily to enjoy the fruits of heavenly
grace.

In consideration of such things, and trusting in the bounty of His divine goodness, the Roman
Popes, entirely focused on the salvation of souls, and seeking an opportunity of dispensing this
treasure entrusted to them, decreed a HOLY JUBILEE in certain years (initially celebrated at
longer intervals, but then every twenty-five years), at which time this treasure of the Church was
dispensed for the salvation and happiness of those who for this reason had visited Rome, a city
consecrated by the blood of Peter Prince of Apostles and Teacher of the Peoples, and the whole mass of Christian martyrs. And so, following the pious and most salubrious examples of our predecessors, with the agreement of our brothers, we joyfully declare a JUBILEE in the coming year of 1575, beginning from first vespers on Christmas Eve [1574] and running throughout the whole year, for the whole Christian people.

During the Jubilee year those truly penitent members of the faithful who visit the basilicas of St. Peter and St. Paul, and the churches of St. John Lateran and Mary Major in the city (for Romans and those living in Rome the requirement is at least once a day for thirty days, consecutively or non-consecutively; for pilgrims fifteen days) and who offer earnest prayers to God for their souls and the souls of all Christians, shall receive a plenary indulgence for, and remission of, all their sins, just as our predecessors granted. And those who, having undertaken devoutly the journey to Rome, should be unable to complete it due to some genuine impediment or illness, or should die penitent in the faith, either en route to or in the city, these people too we wish to share in the gift of an indulgence for their pious intentions.

We therefore advise and encourage all the Christian faithful, who will be able to partake in this sacred gathering, as they think about and meditate upon the miseries of human existence, the vanity of modern life, the shortness of our time on earth, how we hurry continuously towards death, but also upon the immense joys of heavenly life, its unsurpassable happiness and its perpetual and eternal blessedness, to examine their consciences and to strive to purge them of all stains and marks of sin and error, in tandem with good and holy works, and to be so attentive to prayer as truly to become sharers in this great joy and in the generosity of the Church’s gift, and thus in another age to earn their ultimate reward.

Thus we instruct all Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, and prelates of the Church, to take special care to instruct their congregations in everything which pertains to the best preparation for the obtaining of the aforementioned remission and indulgence, and in carrying out the necessary pious and merciful works. We also ask our most loving son in Christ our Lord Maximilianus, Holy Roman Emperor, and all the Kings and Princes of Christendom, so that their own heavenly rewards may grow through nurturing the piety of pilgrims, and so that they may become participants in such good works, to ensure the security of their roadways for the safety of pilgrims, and to help the needy amongst them with alms and kindness.
So that this letter might more easily reach the attention of all, we wish for copies of it, once signed by the hand of a public notary and sealed by one invested with ecclesiastical dignity, to carry the same weight as this present letter would, were it exhibited and displayed. No one is permitted to infringe upon this message of announcement, admonition, encouragement, instruction, and request, or to rashly disobey it. If anyone should do so, let it be known that s/he will incur the wrath of all-powerful God and of Blessed Peter and Paul his apostles. Decreed in Rome at St. Peter’s, in the year of our Lord’s incarnation 1574, May 10, in the second year of our Pontificate.
Appendix VI: Papal Bull on Suspension of Plenary Indulgences for Holy Year, 1575.

Suspension of Indulgences for Holy Year 1575:

Litterae SDND Gregorii PP XIII Suspensionis omnium indulgentiarum plenarium ad beneplacitum, causa proximi Anni Jubilei:

Quoniam Sancti Jubilei celebrationem proximo anno Millesimo quingentesimo septuagesimo quinto a primis uesperis, quae uigilia est diei festi proximi futuri Nativitatis Domini Nostri Iesu Christi, incipiendam, & per totum illum annum finiendam, uniuerso populo christiano de fratrum nostrorum assensu indiximus, quemadmodum litteris nostris desuper confectis plenius continetur: Nos pro consequenda eo anno indulgentia, quae dictis litteris expressa est, multorum Romanorum Pont. morem seuti, De Apostolicae potestatis plenitudine suspendimus ad nostrum, & Sedis Apostolicae beneplacitum omnes & quascunque indulgentias plenarias etiam ad instar Jubilei, & earum causa facultates concessiones, & indulta quaecunque a nobis, & dicta sede, eiusque auctoritate quibuscunque Ecclesiis, & Monasteriis utriusque sexus, ac Conuentibus, Domibus, Congregationibus, Hospitalibus & piis locis, necnon Ordinibus, etiam Mendicantium, ac Militiarum, necnon Confraternitatis, & Universitatibus, earumque & aliis ciuscunque dignitatis, gradus, & conditionis personis ecclesiasticis, alias quomodocunque perpetuo, uel ad tempus quibusuis modis, & ex quibusuis causis concessas & concessa, quibuscunque illa sint concepta formulis, ac restitutionibus, ac reuocantionibus, mentis attestationibus, aliisque clausulis & decretis communita.

Decernentes interim illa, & litteras desuper confectas nulli prorsus suffragari debere ; necnon irritum & inane quidquid secus per quoscunque contigerit attentari; Indulgentiis Basilicarum; & aliarum ecclesiara urbis nihilominus in suo robore duraturis. Praecipimus igitur atque interdicens, ne uullae aliae quam praedicta a nobis indicii Jubilei indulgentiae, siue publice, siue priuatim ubique locorum & gentium interim publicarentur praedicentur, & vel nuncientur, aut in usum demandentur, qui secus fecerint, in excommunicationis sententiam eo ipso incurrant, & ab Ordinariis locorum pro ciusque arbitrio puniantur.

Non obstantibus praemissis, ac constitutionibus, & ordinationibus apostolicis, necnon Ecclesiarum, Monasteriorum, Conuentuum, Ordinum, Congregationum, Hospitalium, & locorum
praedictorum iuramento, confirmatione apostolica, uel quauis firmitate alia roboratis statutis, & consuetudinibus, priuilegiis quoque, exemptionibus & indultis apostolicis, illis eorumque superioribus, & personis, ac quibuscunque aliis per quoscunque Rom. Pont. predecessores nostros, ac nos, & dictam sedem, eiusque Legatos, & alios sub quoscunque; tenoribus & formis, ac cum quibusuis clausulis, & decretis ex quibusuis causis concessis, confirmatis, extensis, restrictis, & innovatis. Quibus omnibus, eorum tenores, ac si ad uerbum infererentur, praesentibus pro sufficenter expressis habentes, illis alias in suo robore permansuris, hac uice duntaxat specialiter & expresse derogamus, ceterisque contrariis quibuscunque.

Et quia difficile nimis esset praesentes quoscunque illis opus erit perferri, volumus earum exemplis etiam impresis, notarii publici manu, & sigillo personae in dignitate ecclesiastica constitutae obsignatis eandem prosus fidem in iudicio, & extra ubique locorum adhiberi, quae adhiberetur praesentibus, si essent exhibitae uel offensae. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostrae suspensionis, decreti, praecepti, interdicti, derogationis, & voluntatis infringere, uel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attentare praesumpserit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei, ac beatorum Petri & Pauli apostolorum eius se nouerit incursurum. Dat. Romae apud Sanctum Petrum, Anno Incarnationis Dominicae Millesimo quingestesimo quattuoragesimo quarto, Idibus Novembris, Pontificatus nostri Anno Tertio.

Translation of suspension of Indulgences for Holy Year 1575:
Letter of Pope Gregory XIII on the suspension of all plenary indulgences because of the upcoming Jubilee Year.

We have declared the upcoming year of 1575 a Jubilee celebration for the entire Christian community, beginning on Christmas Eve [1574] and continuing through the whole year, with the assent of our brothers, and as explained more fully in a recent letter of ours. In order that the indulgences advertised in that letter can be obtained in the coming year, following the custom of many previous Popes, and with full Apostolic authority, we suspend, at our pleasure and at the pleasure of the Apostolic Seat, each and every plenary indulgence, even those Jubilee indulgences, or opportunities granted for their receipt, either granted by us, by the authority of the Apostolic Seat, or by whichever churches, monasteries of either sex, convents, religious houses,
congregations, hospitals and holy places, orders either mendicant or military, confraternities and universities, and by other ecclesiastical persons of whatever rank, position, or state, regardless of whether granted in perpetuity or for a certain time, the reasons for the grant, and formulae which they were granted, and whether they were backed by restitutions, revocations, attestations, or other conditions and decrees.

We decree that those indulgences and any letters pertaining to them should benefit no one; that anything otherwise decreed, by whomever, should be considered null and void; but that the indulgences of the two Basilicas and the other churches of Rome should nonetheless maintain their efficacy. We therefore instruct and forbid that any indulgence, other than the Jubilee indulgence granted by us, be granted, either publicly or privately and regardless of where or in what country they be advertised or announced, or requested. Those who disobey will incur a sentence of excommunication, and will be punished by their diocesan bishop in a manner he sees fit.

No previous decree or apostolic order should obstruct this edict, nor any oath of church or monastery, convent or order, congregation or hospital, nor of the above-mentioned places, nor any apostolic confirmation, nor statutes or customs, privileges and apostolic exemptions, granted by high-ranking officials or any of our predecessors as Pope, or by us and our ambassadors, in whatever type or form, with whatever conditions, by whomever granted, confirmed, extended, restricted and renewed. In all such cases, their stipulations, taken literally, and considering what we have decreed above – that certain indulgences will retain their force – for the present time we expressly repeal, as well as in any differing cases.

And because it may be difficult for this letter to reach the whole of its intended audience, we wish for printed copies of it, once signed by the hand of a public notary and sealed by one deemed worthy of the Church, to have the same force in law in all jurisdictions, as this present letter would have, were it to be shown or displayed. No one is permitted to infringe upon this message of announcement, admonition, encouragement, instruction, and request, or to rashly disobey it. If anyone should do so, let him know that he will incur the wrath of all-powerful God, and of Blessed Peter and Paul his apostles. Decreed in Rome at St. Peter’s, in the year of our Lord’s incarnation 1574, November 1st, in the third year of our Pontificate.
Appendix VII: Notice of Calendar Reform

A. Notice of Calendar Reform

SDND GREGORII PP. XIII PERMISSIO

Ut quicunque catholici extra Urbem commorantes Calendarium, & Martyrologium postremo correcta imprimere & vendere possint, ac eisdem ad recitandum Officium obligati uti valeant.

GREGORIUS PAPA XIII

Adfuturam rei memoriam

Cum nos mensibus próxime preteritis nostras sub plūbo litteras sub data xxiiii Februarii presentis anni prohibuerimus, ne quisquam Calendarium Romanum mandato nostro postremo correctum, neque Martyrologium sine licentia nostra imprimerem posset: et deinde per alias litteras in forma Breuis tertia Aprilis eiusdem anni datas, ut nemo illa imprimi facere valeret absque licentia dilecti filii Antonii Lillii pariter inhibuerimus: nec iis, qui ad recitationem Officii tenentur ex causis in litteris predictis tunc expressis nullis aliis Calendarii, praeterquam cum eadem licentia impressis, uti liceret, prout in singulis litteris huiusmodi plenius cōtinetur. | Nunc autem considerantes incommoda, ac damna, quae tales prohibiones afferre possint, cum difficillimum sit, ut ex hac Urbe transmitti possit is numeros huius Calendarii, & Martyrologii, qui opus foret in Prouincias magis remotas, minusque ipse Antonius Lillius adeo celeriter, ut oporteret convenire, & pacisci queat cum exerter Impressoribus: motu proprio, & ex certa scientia, maturaque deliberatione nostra, dictas ambas prohibitions tenore presentium omnino tollimus, & penitus abolemus, ac pro nullis esse, & ab omnibus haberi volumus, & mandamus, permittimusque, ut quicunque Catholici extra Urbem commorantes, Calendarium & Martyrologium huiusmodi libere, & impune, ac absque ullius poenae vel censurae incursu imprimere, vendere, ac venalia tenere possit, dummodo illa sint ita impressa, ut nullo modo in aliquo ab exemplaribus Romae impressis different, neque discordent. | Decernentes, quod omnes, qui ad recitandum Officium sunt obligati, eisdem Calendariis sic impressis sine periculo ullo uti valeant. Non obstantibus premissis prohibitionibus, ceterisque cótarius quibuscunque. Volumus quoque quod praesentium transumptis etiam impressis manu Notarii publici subscriptis, & sigillo personae in dignitate Ecclesiastica constitutae obsignatis, ea prorsus fides habeatur, quae originalibus ipsis adhibetur, si forent exhibita, vel ostensae. Dat. Romae apud Sanctum Petrum sub Annulo Piscatoris die xx Novembris. Pontificatus nostri Anno Undecimo. MDLXXXII.
SDND THE PERMISSION OF POPE GREGORY XIII

That any Catholics dwelling beyond the City of Rome can print and sell the Calendar and the Martyrology at last corrected, and be able to use them in reciting the obligatory forms of worship.

POPE GREGORY XIII

For future reference

In recent months we had forbidden anyone, in our lead-sealed letter of February 24th this year, to print the Roman Calendar, by our command finally corrected, or the Martyrology, without our permission: and then in another letter – a papal brief dated April 3rd this year – we forbade anyone to make a copy without the permission of our beloved son Antonius Lilius: and stated that no one in charge of performing worship, for reasons contained in the letter, was allowed to use a Calendar other than the one printed with our permission, as was explained more fully in other letters on this subject. Now, however, having considered the difficulties, and inaccuracies, which such prohibitions can bring about, and since it is extremely difficult to transport a large number of calendars and martyrologies beyond Rome to those distant places where they are needed, and still more because Antonius Lilius has not been able, as is proper, to meet and to come to arrangements with foreign printers with the requisite speed: so on our own initiative, in sure knowledge and after considered reflection, with this letter we lift the two above-mentioned bans entirely, and completely abolish them, wishing them to be considered null and void by all. We furthermore instruct and allow that any Catholics dwelling outside Rome can freely and legally, without any fear of censure or punishment, print, sell, or buy calendars and martyrologies of this kind, provided that they are printed in such a way as to differ or dissent in no way from the Roman exemplar. We make this decree so that all who are obliged to perform worship may be able to use these calendars without any danger. Any prior prohibitions, or other edicts contrary to the above, are also hereby invalidated. We wish also that any copies of this letter, once signed by the hand of a public notary and sealed with the seal of one deemed worthy of the Church’s esteem, should have the same authority as has the original, were it exhibited or displayed. Decreed at St. Peter’s, Rome, under the Ring of the Fisherman, November 20th, 1582, in the eleventh year of our Pontificate.
WHEREBY A CORRECTION TO THE CALENDAR WILL OCCUR CONCERNING THE MONTH OF FEBRUARY 1583

Worship will be ordered in this manner:

On Domenica di Quinquagesima [‘The Sunday of the Fifty Days’, celebrated fifty days before Easter], at second vespers and after the Sunday sermon there should be commemoration of Saint Valentine the Presbyter and Martyr, then of the martyred Saints Faustinius and Jovita, then of Saint Simeon the Bishop and martyr, with an antiphon and verses taken from Lauds. On the second feast day, which falls on February 21st, let there be a simple service for Saint Valentine, with commemoration of Saints Faustinius and Jovita, and of Saint Simeon with an antiphon and verses taken from the second vespers of the one common martyr. The complete vespers will be from the seat of St. Peter. On the third feast day the whole service should be from seat of St. Peter. On the fourth feast day the service should be that of Ash Wednesday. From then on worship will continue as according to the Calendar.
Appendix VIII: Origins of the Icon of the Madonna del Soccorso

The Chronology of the Madonna del Soccorso is constructed from research conducted by the archivists of the Fabbrica di San Pietro in the archives of the Fabbrica di San Pietro, Archivio del Capitolo di San Pietro, Achivio Segreto Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, and the Achivio di Stato di Roma. This work was amplified by scientific findings which emerged during the restoration of the Madonna del Soccorso.

The following is a summary of the research conducted by Pietro Zander, Simona Turriziani, and Lorenzo D’Alessandro.

Seventh Century:
Pope Sergius (650-701) translated the body of Pope Leo I to a new altar built in the south transept of the Constantine Basilica. The painting of the first icon of the Madonna di San Leone could date from this pontificate.

From the Liber Pontificalis I, p.375.

Hic corpus beati Leonis probatissimi patris ac pontificis, quod in abdito inferioribus secretarii praedictae basilicae positum fuerat, factura diligentius tumba, in denominante basilica publico loco, ut sibi fuerat revelatum, reposuit ac locum ipsum ornavit. hic fecit patenam auream maiorem, habentem in gyro gemmas ex albi set in medio ex iacinto et smargado crucem, pens. lib. XX.

Here is the body of blessed Leo, a priest and pope of the greatest integrity, which had been placed secretly in the lower levels of the sacristy of the aforementioned basilica, in a carefully constructed tomb, in a chosen public area of the basilica that had been revealed to him: his body reposed in and adorned that place. He made the large golden paten, which has around it white gems and in the middle a cross of blue gems.

Eight Century:
A pilgrims’ guide from the second half of the eight century makes the first mention of the image of the Mother of God over the altar of St. Leo I.

From De Rossi, Inscript. Christianae, II, pp. 225-226, Line 5-11:

5. iterum ad sanctissimam suam genetricem deducaris
6. ut illa te reddat XII apostolis
7. qui per beatum Petrum principem apostolorum
8. iterum mittunt ad sanctam Mariam
9. Ex cuius latus sinistro te Leo papa accipiet
10. reddit iterum ei
dem genetrici Dei, cuius auxilio
11. tandem pervenies per cryptam ad caput beati Petri principis apostolorum

May you be led once more to his most blessed Mother
So that she might reunite you with the twelve apostles
Who through blessed Peter prince of apostles
again send you to holy Mary
On whose left side pope Leo will receive you
and again return you to the same God the Father, through whose intercession
at last you will arrive through the crypt to the head of blessed Peter prince of apostles.

**Ninth Century:**

Pope Leo IV (847-454) adorned the altar of the *Madonna di San Leone* with a small ciborium and a mosaic image in the small apse.

From the *Liber Pontificalis*, II, p.113:

*Ipse quidem a Deo protectus ac venerabilis praesul, intra basilica beati Petri apostoli oraculum mirae pulcritudinis summique decoris construxit, quod pulcris marmoribus circumdans splendide compsit; absidamque eius ex musibo aureo superinducto colore glorifice decoravit. In quo etiam venerabile corpus beati Leonis atque pontificis recondens, sacrum desuper construxit altare et ciburio cum cruces exauratas ad laudem et gloriam Christi nominis hoc fretus amore perfect, ut sibi dignum in arthera conquereret locum.*

The bishop [of Rome] himself, indeed venerable and under God’s protection, within the basilica of blessed Peter the apostle built a chapel of wondrous beauty and the highest glory, which he decorated splendidly by surrounding it with beautiful marble, and decorated magnificently its apse with a mosaic overlaid with gold. In which he also reinterred the holy remains of blessed Pope Leo, and sanctified it by building over it an altar and a ciborium with ungilded crosses to the praise and glory of the name of Christ, relying on his love, to that he might seek a deserved place in heaven.

**Twelfth Century:**

Pope Paschal II (1099-1118) added the relics of Pope Saints Leo II, III, and IV to the altar of the *Madonna di San Leone*. It is likely that the ancient mosaic image of the *Madonna di San Leone* was retained, if not renewed.

From Alfarano, *De Basilicæ Vatucanae*, ed.1914, pp.38-40:
By the aforementioned door in the walls of the Basilica, to the west, followed the very ancient chapel or altar of Pope Leo, in which there was an image of the Blessed Virgin Mary embracing her son, once a place of great devotion, beneath which Paschal II of the holy high Pontiffs respectfully interred the bodies of the great Leos I, II, III, and IV. And when it was destroyed in the destruction of the Basilica, the bodies of the holy High Pontiffs under the altar had suffered barely any damage, but there until the present day they lie untouched. This altar was one of the seven altars with special status.

1143:
During vigil celebration presided over by the Pope, the altar of the *Madonna di San Leone* was the altar where Popes and prelates assembled before the solemn procession involving the burning of incense (thurification) which was performed before the most important altars in the Constantine basilica.

From *Ordo* di Benedetto canonico n. 8, n. 143:

*/Media autem nocte surgens audito signo dominus papa cum omnibus ordinibus ad sanctum Leonem venire debet, ibique mansionarius preparat thuribulum episcopo et episcopus pontifici, omnibus indutis de suis indumentis … Pontifex autem primum incensat altare sancti Leonis, deinde cum processione incedens per porticum pontificum …*

At midnight, however, the Pope gets up when he hears the call and has to come, with all his retinue, to holy Leo, and there the warden [i.e. the mansionarius, person in charge of the household, presumably a special Vatican role] prepares the thurible for the bishop and the bishop for the Pope, and when all his vestments have been put on … the Pope however censes first the altar of holy Leo, then, approaching with the procession through the pontifical door …

**Fourteenth Century:**

During the first half of the fourteenth-century, estimated c1341, new pictorial detail was added to the old icon of the *Madonna di San Leone* and below it, the figure of Orso dell’Auguillare. Analysis of the technique used for this image adheres to the canons of mural
painting that was typical in the second half of the 1400s in Central Italy, which according to D’Alessandro reflects great care and elevated skill. In 1543 Perino del Vaga (1501-1547) made drawings of these fourteenth-century figures before their destruction.

1343 and 1345:
Accounts record offerings made by pilgrims for the *Madonna di San Leone*.

*Item de ymagine beate Mariae que est retro altari sancti Leonis per mandatum domini Joannis Provincialis ... P.X*

*Likewise about the image of blessed Mary which is behind the altar of holy Leo, on the instruction of Lord John the Provincial ... P.X*

*Item recepimus de ymagine beate Marie que est retro altari sancti Leonis ... PXX*

*Likewise we receive the image of blessed Mary which is behind the altar of holy Leo ... PXX*

1452:

Accanto a questa sedia c’è un altare di Nostra cara Signora (Madonna del Soccorso), che fa grandi miracoli soprattutto a chi ha perso ... li si celebrano tante messe.

*Next to that spot there is an altar of Our Dear Lady (Our Lady of Succour), that is responsible for great miracles, especially for those who have lost ... many masses are celebrated there.*

1466:

Payment was made by a lady from the Orsini family for an iron grating to protect the *Madonna di San Leone*.

From ACSP / I, *Censuali*, 10, f, 163v:

*Sovi Iacobo de Rogeriis aromatario pro ducentis libris ferri donatis domine Ursine pro faciendo gratem ante Virginem Mariam ad altare Sancti Leonis ducatos III bolegninos XXIII*

I paid Jacopo Rogerio the apothecary, in return for two hundred Ducats given by lord Ursino for prayers on his behalf before the Virgin Mary before the altar of Blessed Pope Leo, four ducats [and] 23 bolognini [a type of copper coin from Bologna].

1499

The *castrum doloris* of Cardinal Jean Bilhères de Lagraulas was set-up before the altar of *Madonna di San Leone*.

1500

From Burcardo, *Liber Notarum...*, ed. 1911, p.217

*Tele posite fuerunt sicut in exequis cardinalis Sancti Dionysii, excepta capella muliebri include, ubi posite fuerunt circum imagine beate Marie virgine*
The cloths were placed as at the tomb of the cardinal of Saint Dionysius, with the exception of the women’s chapel, where they were placed around the image of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

1531

Pierino del Capitano is paid for various items of repair work on the altar of Madonna di San Leone.

From AFSP, Arm. 24, F. 4, c. 21:

A di 30 di Giugno 1531. Alla Fabbrica di San Pietro scudi 20 e per lei a mastro Pierino del Capitano et cap mastri a buon conto della reparatione che loro fanno all’altare della Madonna che e presso l’altare degli apostoli.

30th June 1531. To the Fabbrica of St. Peters 20 scudi, and for master Pierino del Capitano and … for the repairs they undertook to the altar of the Madonna that is next to the altar of the Apostles …

1535-1540:

In order to protect the Madonna di San Leone during the construction of St. Peter’s basilica a structure with a covering is built against the west wall of the south transept.

From AFSP, Arm. 24, F. 8, c.3:

Fatto un mandato a ms Bindo che paghi a mo. Pietro Trivisano a compagni capomaestri muratori della Fabbrica di S. Pietro scudi centi, a con conto della reparatione che loro hanno fatto alla cappella della Madonna appresso lo altare maggiore de S.to Pietro.

I made out a bill to Mr Bindo who pays monsignor Pietro Trivisano, a companion of the master stone builder of the Fabbrica of Peters, 100 scudi, for the bill for repairs they have done on the chapel of Madonna next to the larger altar of St. Peter.

1543:

The painting of the Madonna di San Leone was removed from its original location in the south transept of the Constantine basilica. It was moved under the organ of Saint Peter, near the altars of Saints Processus and Marinian, between the ninth and eleventh columns on the right side of the nave. Perino del Vaga and Marcello Venusiti ‘restore’ the Madonna di San Leone supplementing it with decoration in painting and stucco.

1550 and 1560

Vasari, in his biographies of Giotto and Perino del Vago, wrote that the painting of the Madonna di San Leone was saved by Perino and the patron Donato Acciaiuoli.

1575:

Pietro Mongardini executed a baldachino for the Madonna and Child which was described
for the first time as *Madonna del Soccorso*.

ACSP/I, *Sagrestia Mandati*, 11, c118:

*Più per il baldachino della Madona del Sucorso scudo otto... S8.*

Eight scudi more for the Baldachino for the Madonna del Soccorso ... S8.

**1578:**

Gregory XIII moved the *Madonna del Soccorso* to the Gregorian Chapel.

**1581:**

Michel de Montaigne noted a large number of *ex votos* hanging from the walls of the Gregorian Chapel.

From Montaigne, ed. 2014, pp.260

*Presso la cappella Gregoriana, dove si Vedono ex voto appesi in numero sterminato alle parete ...*

Around the Gregorian Chapel an enormous number of ex votos can be seen hanging on the walls....

**1647:**

The *Madonna del Soccroso* is removed from the the wall. A new inlay of precious marble is made for the altarpiece.
Appendix IX: Writings of Leo I included in the Roman Breviary, 1584.

This is a list of writings by Leo I (440-461) included in the Rome Breviary. These readings would have been read out throughout the year during the Divine Office.

Brevarium 1584:
Brevarium Romanum, Venetiis, apud luntas, 1584.
Leo I
p.229., Serm.1., de Epiphania
p.237., Serm.2. de Epiphania
p.304., Serm. 4. De Quadragesima
p.354., Serm. 9. De Quadragesima
p.366. Serm. 10 de Passione Domini
p.432., Serm. 1 de Ascensione Domini post initium
p.473., Serm. 1 Ibid.
p.478., Serm 2 Ascensione Domini
p.480., Ibid
p.786., Serm. De ss. Apost Petro e Paulo
p. 851., Serm.2 de nativit Domini
Appendix X: Inscription on Domenichi’s 1580 engraving of the
Gregorian Chapel.

Inscription on the bottom of Cesare Domenichi’s 1580 engraving of the Gregorian Chapel
Fig. 4.33:

Gregorii XIII Pont Max Auctoritate | Miro Ingeniosiss Architecti Iacobi De La Porta
Artificio | in Sacris Apostolorum Principis Aedibus Erecti | Eiusdenq Pontificis Iussu |
Maximaq Impensa | Maculosq Marmore | Emblemateq Vermiculato Thomae Cavalerii
Nobil Romani Consilio | Operaq Hieronymi Mutiani Pictoris Clariss Ornati | Indulgentiis
Ampliss Reliquisq | D Gregorii Theologi Ditati Ac Dei Genitrici Mariae Virgini
Consecrati | Sacelli Exemplar Aeneis Typiis Romae Incisum et Illustriss Ludovico
Bianchettq Eiusdem Summi Pontificis Sacri Cubiculi Praeposito | Dictiq Sacelli Praefecto
A Caesare Dominico Dicatum Anno MDLXXX.

By the authority of Pope Gregory XIII, and by the wondrous skill of the gifted architect
Giacomo della Porta, this Chapel has been erected in the holy Basilica of the Prince of the
Apostles. By command of the same Pope and with the greatest expense it has been
decorated with stained marble and vermiculated mosaic with the help of Tommaso
Cavalleri, a nobleman of Rome, as well as works by the famous painter Girolamo Muziano
[…] It has been consecrated to the Virgin Mary Mother of God. The inscription was
inscribed in bronze type at Rome by the most illustrious Lodovico Bianchettq, sacristan to
the same High Pontiff, and dictated by Cesare Dominico in the year 1580.
Appendix XI:  Writings of Gregory Nazianzeno in the Roman Breviary, 1584

Brevarium 1584:
Brevarium Romanum, Venetiis, apud luntas, 1584.

Gregory Nazianzeno
p.239. Oratione in Sancta lumina
p.522. In Trac. De fide, post initium

Appendix XII: Writings of Basil the Great in the Roman Breviary, 1584

Brevarium 1584:

Brevarium Romanum, Venetiis, apud luntas, 1584.

Basil

p.342., Homilia 1 de leiuinio, ante med.
p.728., De Sermone sancti Basilii Magni in Psalmim trigesimum tertium
p. 905., In sexto Sancti Basilii Magni, episcopi e confessoris. Duplex
O doctor optime, Ecclesiae sanctae lumen, beate Basili, divinae legis amator, deprecare pro
nobis Filium Dei.
Appendix XIII: Writings of Gregory the Great in the Roman Breviary, 1584

Brevarium 1584:

*Brevarium Romanum*, Venetiis, apud luntas, 1584.


**Gregorio Magnus**


p.221. Homilia 10 in Evangelia.

p.225. Homilia 10 in Evangelia.

p.258. Moralium Lib. 4, cap. 41.


p.286. Homilia 15 in Evangelia

p.294. Homilia 2 in Evangelia

p.305. Homilia 16 in Evangelia.

p.324. Homilia 40 in Evangelia

p.355. Homilia 18 in Evangelia

p.362. Homilia 33 in Evangelia

p.412. Homilia 23 in Evangelia

p.414. Homilia 23 in Evangelia

p.415. Homilia 24 in Evangelia

p.417. Homilia 22 in Evangelia

p.475. Homilia 29 in Evangelia

p.479. Homilia 29

p.546. Homilia in Evangelia

p.559. De expositione sancti Gregoii Papael in Libros Regum. Lib.4.c.5. in 1 Reg.c.10.

p.572. Ex libro Moalium Sancti Gregorii Pape. Lib.4.c.2 & 3.


p.643. Moralium. Lib. 2.c.1; 1.c.1.

p.658. Homilia 33
p.659. Homilia 31
p.896. Homilia 28 hanita is basilica horum SS martt. In die natalis eorum.
p.733. Homilia 34 in Evangelia
p.739. Homilia 10 in Ezech. Ante medium
p.761. Homilia 5 in Evangelia
p.797. Homilia 12 in Evangelia
Appendix XIV: Inscription over the North entrance to the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche

Italia regno totius orbis nobilissima ut natura ab Appennino secta est, hoc itidem ambulacro in duas partes, alteram hinc Alpibus et supero, alteram hinc infero mari terminatas, dividitur a Varoque flumine ad extremos usque Brutios, ac Salentinos regniis provinciis, ditionibus, insulis, intra suos ut nunc sunt finis (sic) dispositis, tota in tabulis longo utrimque tractu explicatur. Formix pia sanctorum virorum facta locis in quibus gesta sunt ex adversum respondentia ostendit. Haec ne iucunditati deesset ex rerum et locorum cognitione utilitas, Gregorius XIII Pont. Max. non suae magis quam Romanorum Pontificum commoditati hoc artificio et splendore a se incoata perfici voluit anno MDLXXXI.

Translation:

Just as Italy, the most noble kingdom on earth, is divided by the Apennines, so too this gallery is divided into two parts: from the Apennines to the Alps and the Adriatic, and from the Apennines to the Tyrrhenian sea. The gallery runs from the river Varus [mod. Stura di Lanzo] in the north to the furthest Bruttians and Salentians [i.e. those living in mod. Apulia and Calabria] in the south, with kingdoms, provinces, jurisdictions, and islands correctly displayed according to their current boundaries, with the entire map presented on a long sequence of panels. Above, a pious vault shows the deeds of holy men that have been done in the different locations represented. In order that consideration of history and geography might be useful as well as enjoyable, Pope Gregory XIII had the gallery completed in the year 1581. It was initiated by him so that with its artistry and beauty it would be of benefit, not to himself, but to the Roman Pontiffs.
Appendix XV: 15th and 16th Century Mural Map Cycles in Italy.

15th and 16th Century Italian Mural Map Cycles. This is a preliminary checklist of map-cycles in the major cities and towns in Italy.

Bologna:

Caprarola, Palazzo Farnese:
1573-1575. Map of the world, maps of Africa, Asia, America, map of the Holy Land, and map of Italy painted by Giovanni Antonio Vanosino in fresco in the Sala del Mappamondo.

Florence, Palazzo Vecchio:
1563-86. Maps of the world, tempera on panel painted by Egnazio Danti and Stefano Buonsignori for the Guardaroba.
Uffizi Palace:
1589. Map of Tuscany and the territory of Siena, map of the Island of Elba painted by Ludocico Buti in fresco for the Sala delle Carte Geografiche.

Mantua:
1506 and 1512. Map of Italy and views of Cairo and Jerusalem in the Gonzaga Place of San Sebastiano. Lost
1510’s. City views in the private apartment of Isabella d’Este. Lost.
1494. Map of the world and map of Italy in the Gonzaga Place at Marmirolo. Lost. Also, 1490’s, views of Constantinople Adranople, the Dardanelles or Bosporus straits, the Albanian city of Vlore and Rhodes in the Greek Room. Lost.

Naples:
1590’s. Maps of the kingdom of Naples in the refectory of the Church of San Lorenzo Maggiore.
Parma:

Perugia:
1577. Map territory around Perugia and a view of Perugia. Fresco painted by Egnazio Danti in the Governor’s Palace. Lost.

Rome, Palazzo Venezia:
c1450’s. Map of the world commissioned by Pope Paul II for his audience hall, Sala del Mappamondo. Lost.

Rome, Vatican Palace:
1560-1580. 1560’s Thirteen maps of British Isles, Spain, France, Italy, Greece, Asia Minor and Holy Land, Germany, Hungary, Scandinavia, Muscovy, Tartary and Greenland commissioned by Pius IV and designed by Etienne Du Pérac, all in fresco.
1580. Ten maps of Africa, Asia and America commissioned by Gregory XII and designed by Egnazio Danti for the Terza Loggia
1574. Map of Bolognese territories, plan of Bologna, and city view with sky map above. Designed by Lorenzo Sabatini in fresco for the Sala Bologna.
1579-81. Maps of Italy designed by Egnazio Danti in fresco in the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche.

Rome, Quirinal Palace:

Venice, Rialto Market:
1459. Map of the world in the loggia near the Rialto Market. Lost.
Venice, Ducal Palace:
1497. Map of Italy by Antonio Leonardi in the Anticollegio. Destroyed in 1574.
1531-36. Map of Cyprus by Alessandro Zori and map of Constantinople, oil on canvas in the Chapel of San Nicolò. Destroyed in 1574.
1553. Map of Asia and America in the Sala dello Scudo. Oil on canvas. On the second floor in 1578 map of Venetian territory, oil on Canvas.
1578, map of Venetian territory in the Sala del Senato, oil on canvas.

Vicenza:
1573. Map of the territory around Vicenza in the Governor’s Palace. Lost.
Appendix XVI: Inscriptions on the Twenty-Four Bays of the Terza Loggia in the Vatican Palace

List of inscriptions, scenes, and patrons displayed in each of the twenty four bays of the vault of the Terza Loggia documenting the deeds of Pope IV and Gregory XIII from Agostino Taja, *Descrizione del Palazzo Apostolico vaticano*, Rome, 1750, pp.232-266. All Latin inscriptions in this thesis were translated by Dr. Charlie Kerrigan, Classics Department, Trinity College Dublin.

**Bay I:**
Scenes: Trinity and Time
Inscription: *Pius III I Medices Mediolanensis Pontifex Maximus*
Translation: Pius III Medici, Milanese, Pope.
Coat of Arms: Pius IV

**Bay II:**
Scenes: Chariot of the Sun
Inscription: *Pacis auctor et custos parta securitate rerum omnium copiam et vilitatem introduxit.*
Translation: The bringer and guardian of peace, with the security of all things established, introduced plenty and want.
Coat of Arms: Pius IV

**Bay III:**
Scenes: Chariot of the moon.
Inscription: *Iustitiam colit causarum explicatione revocata iudiciis ex aequo et bono constitutis.*
Translation: He fostered justice by revising the basis of legal cases and by establishing trials on a just and proper footing.
Coat of Arms: Pius IV
Bay IV:
Scenes: Spring and Summer
Inscription: *Egentes homines molesta et fallaci mendicitate sublata certis locis distrubutos alit.*
Translation: At special dispensaries he fed those in need and hurt by deceit.
Coat of Arms: Pius IV

Bay V:
Scenes: Autumn and Winter
Inscription: *Portam et viam Pias publicae commoditati operuit et munivit.*
Translation: He restored and fortified the Porta Pia and its adjoining road for the public good.
Coat of Arms: Pius IV

Bay VI:
Scenes: Year and Life
Inscription: *Thermas diocletianas Mariae Virgini de’dicatas magnificentissimo templo exornari mandavit.*
Translation: He ordered the Baths of Diocletian, now consecrated to the Virgin Mary, to be adorned with the most magnificent basilica.
Coat of Arms: Pius IV

Bay VII:
Scenes: Genius of life and Century.
Inscription: *Portam et viam Flaminias reficiebat Adriani molem nova munitione cingebat.*
Translation: He repaired Porta Flaminia [now the Porta del Popolo] and its adjoining road. He surrounded Castel Sant’Angelo [originally Hadrian’s Mausoleum, here called ‘Hadrian’s mole’] with new defenses.
Coat of Arms: Pius IV
Bay VIII:
Scenes: Bad children and Good children
Inscription: *Anconam Hostiam Centumcellas moenibus portubus arcibus muniebat.*
Translation: He fortified Ancona, Ostia, and Civitavecchia with walls, gates, and fortresses.
Coat of Arms: Pius IV

Bay IX:
Scenes: Bad youth and Good youth
Inscription: *Viam Aureliam pene inviam restituebat aquam Saloniam deducebat*  
Translation: He restored the Via Aurelia which had been almost impassable, and restored the Aqua Salonia.
Coat of Arms: Pius IV

Bay X:
Scenes: Bad men and Good men
Inscription: *Virtutem et liberalia studia honestabat. Imprimendi artem in urbm inducebatur*  
Translation: He honoured virtue and the liberal arts. He introduced the art of printing to Rome.
Coat of Arms: Pius IV

Bay XI:
Scenes: Bad elders and Good elders
Inscription: *Concilii Tridenti indicato principis ad rem adiucandam cohortatus omnibus evocatis.*  
Translation: Having called the Council of Trent he encouraged the invited princes to adjudicate.
Coat of Arms: Pius IV

Bay XII:
Scenes: Bad seniors and Good seniors
Inscription: *Christianae religionis disciplinam multis locis perturbatam omni ope et contentione corrigendam restituendamque curabat.*
Translation: He focused on correcting and restoring the discipline of the Christian religion with all his resources and efforts, which had been in many places greatly disturbed.

Coat of Arms: Pius IV

Bay XIII:
Scenes: Death and Celestial Glory
Inscription: Sac. Concilii Tridentini legibus firmatis pro earum observantia stenue laboravit.
Translations: With the decrees of the holy Council of Trent affirmed he worked tirelessly to ensure their observance.
Coat of Arms: Urban VIII

Bay XIV:
Scenes: The Burning of the City and The Resurrection of the Bones
Inscription: Galliam dissidio religionis exorto a domesticis hostibus vexatam opibus copiis pecuniis adiuvit ann. iv.
Translation: He came to the aid of France in his fourth year – then troubled by religious dissidence provoked by internal enemies – with resources, military supplies, and financial aid.
Coat of Arms: Pius VI

Bay XV:
Scenes: Restoration of Bones with bones and Restoration of Flesh with Bones
Inscription: Iustitiam restituebat mores emendabat sacerdotia ad veteris formam instituti revocabat
Translation: He restored justice, improved morals, and returned the priesthood to its old form.
Coat of Arms: Pius IV

Bay XVI:
Scenes: The Opening of the tombs and the Last Judgement
Inscriptions: Ravennam urbem civium numero et virtute instructam fortissimis etiam propugnaculis muniebat. General Concilium ante XXVI annos inchoatum summo omnium consensu feliciter absolvit comprobavit
Translation: Prompted by the number and the virtue of its citizens, he fortified the city of Ravenna with the strongest possible defences. The General Council begun 26 years previously he happily concluded and approved with the unanimous consent of all.

Coat of Arms: Pius IV

Bay XVII:
Scenes: Children in Heaven and Widows in Heaven
Inscriptions: Galliae regem contra seditiosos haereticos pecunia iuvit dissentientes Genvensium partes per antiquiorem cardinalem legatum a se missum composuit tumultus metu ab Italia sublato.
Translation: He gave financial aid to King of France in his fight against treasonous heretics, and through a papal legate allayed the dissenting Genoese factions, when the threat of rebellion in Italy had subsided.

Coat of Arms: Gregory XIII

Bay XVIII:
Scenes: Widowers in Heaven and Virgins in Heavens
Translation: The property and places which are the dominions of the Holy Roman Church, and which had been illegally occupied, he zealously recovered and re-affirmed his jurisdiction over them. He repaired the Senatorial Bridge [still partially surviving as the Ponte Rotto], which had been broken for a long time, with new supports, and constructed another in the dangerous shallows at Pallia on the Via Cassia.

Coat of Arms: Gregory XIII
Bay XIX:
Scenes: Doctors of the Church in Heaven and Saint Bishops in Heaven.
Inscriptions: *Annun Jubileum MDLXXV aperuit summaq. pietate atq. erga peregrinos caritate magnoque populorum concursu celebratum clausit. Viam Flaminiam et quae area perpetum diversis ... fecit Anconae arcem dilatatit amplissimum adveniis pestilentia suspectis mercibusque expurgandis aedificium ad Portum struxit Centumcellarum munitionem perfecit.*
Translation: He opened the Jubilee year of 1575, showing the greatest reverence and charity to pilgrims, and closed the celebration at a great gathering of people. The Via Flaminia and … [unclear] … He expanded the fortress at Ancona and erected a large building near its gate for the disinfection of people and goods suspected of carrying plague. He finished the defences at Civitavecchia.
Coat of Arms: Gregory XIII

Bay XX:
Scenes: Patriarchs in Heaven and Popes in Heaven
Inscriptions: *Publica in Diocletiani Thermis horrea ad levandam rei frumentariae inopiam constuxit Portam Caelimontanam a solo in ampliorem formam aedificavit. Germanos Britannos Pannonios Graecos Neophytos in constitutis a se urbanis collegiis doctrina excolendos curabat collegia alia alibi instituebat.*
Translation: He built a public granary in the Baths of Diocletian to relieve a grain shortage, and carried out extensive renovations to the Porta Caelimontana. He organised the hosting of Germans, Britons, Pannonians [mod. Austria & Hungary], Greeks and converts in city colleges set up by him to instruct them in the faith, and established other colleges elsewhere.
Coat of Arms: Gregory XIII

Bay XXI:
Scenes: Martyrs in Heaven
Inscription: *Aquam virginem in celeberrima urbis loca deduxit locubusq. e marmore summo artificio constructis fontes publicae utilitati et iucunditati aperuit.*
Translation: He brought the Aqua Virgine into the most famous parts of the city and, having constructed special fountains of beautifully carved marble, he opened them for the use and pleasure of the public.
Coat of Arms: Gregory XIII
Bay XXII:
Scenes: Martyrs in Heaven and the Four Evangelists in Heaven

Inscription: *Immensam basilicae S. Petri aedificacionem maxime urgebat magnam partem a fundamentis excitatam altius tollebat.*
Translation: He prioritized the great structure of St. Peter’s Basilica, and a great part of it he increased in height from its foundations.

Coat of Arms: Gregory XIII

Bay XXIII:
Scenes: Virgin and the Apostles in Heaven and Choir of angels

Inscriptions: *Ambulationem in Vaticano pictis in ea totius Italiae regionibus urbibus oppidis Rom. Ecclesiae et principatum ditionibus magnifice extruxit. .... sanctissimi Corporis Christi sacellum in Laterano aedificavit Constantini baptisterium ibidem et pro aede Sanctae Mariae Maioris porticum alia atque alia pia loca instauravit.*
Translation: He built a magnificent walkway in the Vatican adorned with images of the whole of Italy, as well as the cities, towns, and jurisdictions of the Holy See. He built a sanctuary of the most Blessed Body of Christ in the Lateran, and restored there the baptistery of Constantine, as well as the portico in front of Santa Maria Maggiore and many other holy places.

Coat of Arms: Gregory XIII

Bay XXIV:
Scenes: Virgin in Glory and Holy Trinity

Inscriptions: *Litteras et praecelara in quovis doctrinæ genere ingenia fovebat academiam romanam sumptuosa et nobilium disciplinarum studiosis commoda aedificatione augebat.*
Translation: He nurtured learning and outstanding talent in all fields, and increased the Roman Academy with exquisite and useful construction work for the students of the noble subjects.

Coat of Arms: Gregory XIII.
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