

# **Sacred Images and Normativity: Contested Forms in Early Modern Art**

**SACRIMA SERIES: The Normativity of Sacred Images in Early Modern Europe**

*This book series aims to foster the publication of original research – in the form of both edited books and monographs – on the topic of image normativity in Renaissance and Early Modern art in a global context.*

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# Sacred Images and Normativity: Contested Forms in Early Modern Art

edited by  
Chiara Franceschini

BREPOLS



The Normativity  
of Sacred Images  
in Early Modern Europe

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# Foreword

This new book series stems from the research project SACRIMA: *The Normativity of Sacred Images in Early Modern Europe*, developed at the Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich and funded by the European Research Council (ERC). It aims to foster the publication of original research — in the form of both edited books and monographs — on the topic of image normativity in Renaissance and early modern art in a global context. This first volume, *Sacred Images and Normativity: Contested Forms in Early Modern Art*, includes a selection of contributions from the first Sacrima conference organized by the project in Munich in 2017, and from the following 2018 seminar series *Forms and Norms in European Art and Beyond*. The scope of these endeavours was to open a dialogue among scholars of different provenances, specializations, and backgrounds on the notion of ‘visual normativity’. For this first book, we focused on ‘contested forms’. Early modern objects, images, and artworks were often nodes of discussion and contestation, expressed in different forms, languages, and contexts. However, if images were regularly contested by competing agencies (such as writers, religious and secular authorities, image theoreticians, various inquisitions etc.), artists and objects were just as likely to impose their own rules and standards through the reiteration or challenging of established visual traditions, styles, iconographies, materialities, reproductions, and reframings. Reversing the paradigms of studies on censorship and iconoclasm, which tend to focus on the passivity of images against external attacks, this volume and series aim to shed light on the active role and capacity of the image as agent — either in actual legal processes or, more generally, in the creation of new visual standards and social behaviours. At present, there is no study that comprehensively discusses the many diverse instances of the multi-layered normative power of images, objects, and art. This collection certainly does not fill this desideratum exhaustively. However, it aims to start a new exploration by means of fourteen case studies, which focus in different ways and from different perspectives on the intersections between the limits of the sacred image and the power of art in early modern Europe and beyond.

This volume has benefited greatly from the collaboration of all members of the Sacrima research team in Munich. In particular, Cloe Cavero de Carondelet and Erin Giffin have contributed with precision and attention to the editing and proofreading of the volume and especially of, respectively, the essays regarding Spanish topics and the English language standards throughout the book. Nelleke de Vries took care of revising the captions and indexes. Miriam Kreischer and Christina Vetter helped with image acquisition and copyrights. I would like to thank all the authors for having accepted to contribute to this project with enthusiasm and competence. The support and advice of colleagues at the LMU, the Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte in Munich, and the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florence have also been crucial for the success of this project at its different stages. The design studio Lupo Burtscher in Bozen has accompanied the manifestations of the Sacrima Project since its beginnings. Finally, warmest thanks go to Johan Van der Beke and his team at Brepols for having accepted the idea of this new series and for his continuous support and advice.

Chiara Franceschini

# **Introduction**

## **Images as Norms in Europe and Beyond: A Research Program**

**Chiara Franceschini**

Two famous stories concerning crucifixes, featured in the 1550 and 1568 editions of Vasari's *Vite*, demonstrate how contested the relationship between artistic renderings and sacred images could be in Florentine visual culture. The witty, maybe fictional, and certainly obscure pupil of Verrocchio, Nanni Grosso, was lying on his deathbed in the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova. When a very clumsy and ugly wooden crucifix ('un crucifisso di legno assai mal fatto e goffo') was brought and shown to him, he begged them to take it out of his sight and to replace it with one by the hand of Donatello. If they 'did not take it away he would die in desperation ('si morrebbe disperato'), so greatly did he love his art'.<sup>1</sup> A mirror image of this story is the more famous anecdote concerning Donatello and Filippo Brunelleschi. According to the latter, who later in the story demonstrated how to sculpt a proper Christ, the former would have 'put on the cross a peasant and not Jesus Christ'.<sup>2</sup> The first anecdote, circulating widely in Europe in various iterations, expresses the always shifting but ever-persistent tension between devotional objects and works of art — a tension that lies at the heart of artistic production, not only in the Renaissance.<sup>3</sup> The second story exemplifies the same tension in a subtler way, revolving instead around the problem of conflicting aesthetics. Both concern the potential clashes between art, aesthetics, and religion — a topic that provoked many discussions not only during the early modern period, but is still an extremely controversial issue today. The majority of the works of art produced between 1450 and 1650 in Europe still refer to religious subjects. Does this mean that, in that period, religion dominated art or that art dominated religion?

This question concerns early modern art well beyond the small world of the Florentine Renaissance. Global sacred images, the power of images, and the manifold relations between powers and images in early modern cultures as well as in other periods have been at the centre of intense art-historical investigations since the last decades of the twentieth century.<sup>4</sup> Art historians have recognized topics at the border of traditional art history, visual and material culture, and anthropology as important research fields (e.g. ex-voto, relics, pilgrimages etc.).<sup>5</sup> They have especially worked on image censorship and iconoclasm, or *Bidersturm*, the 'controversy' and the 'reform' of art, as well as on the relations between art and emotions.<sup>6</sup> Important scientific experiments, at the intersection between art and neuroscience, have explored the physiological basis of emotional responses to images.<sup>7</sup> At the same time, historians of religion, theology, and culture, starting with Hubert Jedin and Paolo Prodi and continuing with Carlo Ginzburg and Adriano Prosperi, have incorporated the realm of the visual into research on the function and scope of the Christian inquisitions, and the mechanisms of power and social control throughout Europe.<sup>8</sup> Above all, recent developments in global and non-European art histories have looked at the variegating landscape of European art from a wider perspective, discovering new materials and shaping new concepts, among which artistic mediation, artistic *metissage*, contact zones, interconnected or 'convergent' cultures.<sup>9</sup> These new waves of studies have created the foundation on which to question the status and functions of the sacred image in relation to institutional and individual artistic agendas and affiliations, as well as in encounters and clashes of cultures, which allows us to comprehend the functions of images at varying distances.<sup>10</sup>

In dialogue with this rich and diverse production, both this new series and this first edited volume suggest to focus in particular on a series of three interconnected questions, which, as such, have not yet been at the centre of previous investigations: In the production and reception of art objects, which are the norms produced and perpetuated by the images themselves (by their forms, techniques, iconography, organization of space, placement, etc.)? How do these norms relate with norms imposed on images by external agents (for instance, in the process of production, use, and placement)? How does artistic transfer enable or activate a fluid geography of visual norms?

## Visual Normativity

The question of visual normativity, that is what standards and regulations (visual and moral) are produced by images, has hardly been addressed in current scholarship on early modern art. There have been important attempts at studying the specific rules of visual communication and image normativity, especially in ancient cultures.<sup>11</sup> In addition, an established tradition has investigated the relations between law and visual culture.<sup>12</sup> In this field, a relevant line of enquiry has concerned the study of the juridical efficacy of medieval effigies of shame in public contexts.<sup>13</sup> This recent discussion has helpfully revolved around the question of ‘how did the *pittura infamante* work?’.<sup>14</sup> It has become clear that, to fully investigate the legal power of images, it is necessary to analyse the differences between textual and visual communication with sharper tools. Nevertheless, in this cross-disciplinary discussion, art historians, historians, and theorists of law have only very recently begun to isolate the possibility of a visual or iconic norm, as opposed to a written norm.<sup>15</sup>

In conversation with these neighbouring fields and themes, which are mainly concerned with medieval and contemporary materials, one open question concerns which devotional and theological ‘norms’ were specifically imposed by art and images themselves, rather than by written texts, in early modern cultures. One starting point for this investigation is the idea that artists were actually entrusted with the task of giving religious notions a definite, and sometimes definitive, form. For example, the final choice about how to represent Christ’s suffering or his triumph was left, ultimately, to them.<sup>16</sup> The limits of the ‘power of images’ in establishing normative visions of sacred things, and, ultimately, in conditioning social behaviours, poses therefore an open question. In order to analyse this perceived power and its limits, the strategy followed in the present volume is twofold. On the one hand, some of the case studies included in this volume (in particular by Yoshie Kojima, Chiara Franceschini, Cloe Caverro, and Mattia Biffis) regard how images and their aesthetics are effective in very different legal and inquisitorial practices. On the other hand, several contributions focus on the textual and visual reactions to images, which were perceived as excessive (Franceschini), unlawful (Kojima), not canonically acceptable (Escardiel González Estévez), or, even, too mild and clean, as in the case of the variations of the depiction of the suffering of Christ in the series of paintings studied by Piers Baker-Bates.

A connected question concerns the relation between the set of constraints for sacred images imposed by religious or political powers and the visual normativity produced by the images themselves, often by breaking existing religious, ideological, or even artistic standards. For several reasons, this issue has also been hardly addressed by early modernists. First, disciplinary boundaries between history and art history have tended to separate studies on images and religion from studies on style, art, and iconography. Several recent interventions have encouraged a closer dialogue between historians of theology, of art, and of literature.<sup>17</sup> Nonetheless, disciplinary boundaries still tend to separate acknowledgment of institutional normativity from studies on the capacity of art to produce not only its own rules, but also normative visions of sacred things.

Second, there is an enduring tendency (already noted by David Freedberg in 1989 and again by Gerhard Wolf in 2010) to impose a three-phase chronological succession of visual cultures, on the basis of an over-simplified reading of Hans Belting's *Bild und Kult*.<sup>18</sup> Such interpretations articulate a succession from 'the age of the image' in the Middle Ages, to 'the age of art' (the Renaissance), into the beginning of the so-called 'art of the Counter-Reformation', with a conventional turning point fixed on the year 1563 — the promulgation of the Council of Trent's decree on images and the cult of saints. However, as argued in this volume especially in the essay by Antonia Putzger, the boundaries between art and image in early modern times are much more ambiguous. Additionally, such a supposed clean succession of eras clashes with the different temporalities we observe when we adopt a multicentric global perspective.

Finally, research on sixteenth- and seventeenth-century European art (that is, the art of the centuries of state formation) still suffers from fragmentation among various national schools, which have often proposed distinct and not always compatible approaches to the study of images and art. Many of the available stylistic studies and cultural investigations of image production, politics, and interconnections with religious history have inevitably focused, apart from a few seminal exceptions,<sup>19</sup> on single areas or countries. In this field, there have been extremely important contributions on the relations between art, social behaviour, and religion, which, even if they focus on specific regions, provide a background for wider-scope and comparative studies.<sup>20</sup> Studies on early modern iconoclasm and censorship have thus far focused mainly on the boundaries between different confessions within a country, while the variations characterizing the apparently uniform Catholic landscape have remained less explored, notwithstanding the richness of visual, textual, and archival materials available for such a project. Several essays in this collection aim to overcome national boundaries by mapping the European and extra-European diffusion of certain objects, styles, and modes. Particularly promising for the study of the normativity of images is, in fact, a focus on copies, reproductions, and adaptations of influential models as forces to establish visual norms (as explained here through different examples in the essays of Kojima, Franceschini, Baker-Bates, Putzger, and Erin Giffin).<sup>21</sup>

## A Landscape of Competing Norms

The present collection aims to go beyond the limits imposed by these three old historiographic paradigms delimiting the ages of the image, art, and the Counter-Reformation, as well as to confront traditional top-down methods of analysis. As already noted above, beginning with the works of Hubert Jedin (1935) and Paolo Prodi (1962), historians and historians of theology have incorporated the realm of the visual into research on the function and scope of the Christian inquisitorial investigations and instruments of social control utilized throughout Catholic Europe.<sup>22</sup> Whether discussing the origins of the 1563 Tridentine decree, or focusing on the activity of single bishops (in particular, Gabriele Paleotti and Carlo Borromeo), these authors have underlined the centrality of images and image regulation in theological thinking and in the practical actions undertaken by Catholic authorities and institutions in response to the crisis of the Reformation.<sup>23</sup> This focus produced extremely important results in the editing and commenting of key sources (including Paleotti, Johannes Molanus, Francisco Pacheco, Louis Richeôme etc.), which complemented, from a different disciplinary perspective, the fundamental work undertaken on art theory and artistic literature from Julius von Schlosser to Paola Barocchi.<sup>24</sup> Especially in the late 1990s and the early 2000s, modern mechanisms of social and cultural control were described in terms of ‘social discipline’ following an approach mainly deriving from Gerhard Oestreich’s notion of *Sozialdisziplinierung*. This notion was adopted and developed by various European historical schools, particularly in Germany and in Italy (by historians such as Wolfgang Reinhardt and Paolo Prodi himself, among others).<sup>25</sup> While this approach responded vigorously to sharper Weberian oppositions between Protestant and Catholic early modern societies, the notion of ‘social discipline’ promoted a top-down vision of social control. This focus on mechanisms of control was more recently complemented by extensive research on the positive forces behind the production of political and religious imagery in the early modern era, which have been studied under the period notion of *propaganda*, which, however, still evokes a top-down perspective for the study of the use and diffusion of images.<sup>26</sup> Focusing more on the constraints from above than on responses and actions undertaken from below, the aforementioned contributions have not fully taken into account artistic responses, adaptations, and reinterpretations of institutional standards.

Recent contributions suggest a more nuanced vision focusing on bottom-up actions and local adaptations and negotiations of social and cultural facts. Proposing a comparative study of the relations between religious and artistic normativity, this series and volume adopt and further develop this perspective for the production and fruition of sacred images in different European centres and peripheries.

In this framework, the desired research outcomes include an attentive investigation of the specific role of early modern artists and images in orienting the debate about religious subjects and hierarchies, as well as the study of the competition between the regulations of religions and the rules of art. Within the *Sozialdisziplinierung* paradigm, the relations between rival agencies in charge of image production and control in early modern Catholic

countries have remained unexplored. As is well known, after the Council of Trent, the degree of intervention of the various European inquisitions in the matter of images was exceptional. According to the Tridentine decree on the veneration of relics, saints, and images (1563), local bishops were in charge of controlling religious imagery.<sup>27</sup> In particular, bishops had to watch over three categories of images: those representing 'false dogma', 'provocatively beautiful' representations, and 'unusual' depictions (*insolitae imagines*). However, these three image categories were vague, and the decree specified that, in case of doubt, bishops should refer to higher authorities. This delegation to the local bishops already created a differentiated geography of norms, since every bishop should theoretically watch over his own local territory; and every geographical area or town in the very extensive Catholic world had its own visual and iconographic traditions.<sup>28</sup> On the one hand, it would be useful to extend the research concerning image production and control promoted by single local bishops in Europe and beyond;<sup>29</sup> on the other, it is necessary to complete, in a comparative framework, the survey of all image-related materials kept in the archives of the various European inquisitions.<sup>30</sup> One partial and short survey in the archive of the Roman Inquisition has confirmed that, by virtue of their exceptionality, key inquisitorial interventions in the matter of sacred images can shed unexpected new light on the life and efficacy of those images.<sup>31</sup> Such an investigation would greatly help a comparative European survey of the different norms in place for images in the face of radical criticism of sacred iconography conducted by the Reformation and by other denominations and non-Christian religious minorities in Europe.

Several of these documentary sources reveal that practices of denunciation spread effectively through Catholic territories, to the point that we encounter cases in which a sacred image was contested or denounced not by the competent authorities (the bishops), but by common devotees, groups of observers, or even political enemies of the patrons involved.<sup>32</sup> Sacred images became therefore the target of individual attacks as well as the agents of religious and political struggle, exactly because they had the power to establish the celebrity of a cult, the fame of an individual (maybe an aspirant saint, a political leader), or the political strength of social groups (nations, allegiances, or cities).

While, as I have argued so far, historians and cultural historians have tended to focus on the constraints imposed on art by external agencies, the 'rules of art' have been central to art history. The period of European culture conventionally labelled 'the Renaissance' is generally understood to be a moment of artistic freedom compared to previous and later periods. However, art historians know that the so-called 'Renaissance' was instead a highly 'normative' period. According to Ernst Gombrich, most rules of art and style in this period are formulated negatively as a catalogue of 'sins to be avoided': 'the artist's freedom was progressively limited and confined by these multiplications of norms.'<sup>33</sup> It might be fruitful to depart from this notion of 'normative criticism' in order to investigate the consequences of the competing normativities of art, art theory, and religion in early modern Europe: when, how, where, and why does a formal artistic language become normative? Rethinking Gombrich's definition of style as a 'principle of exclusion', the aim therefore would be to study the relation between aesthetic norm and

religious images and models in the period between Leon Battista Alberti and Antonio Palomino.

Recent debates have ranged from positions considering art development in Europe between the fifteenth and the seventeenth centuries as mainly inspired by the religious ideals of Reform and/or Counter-Reform, to positions which argue that art became more and more autonomous from external constraints during this period.<sup>34</sup> Two different approaches to the study of stylistic change and pictorial modes have been particularly important. A series of studies have underlined the contrast and co-presence of 'archaism' and 'modernity' in Renaissance and early modern religious painting, stressing in particular the active role and impact of Byzantine icons, schemes, and styles.<sup>35</sup> Another strand of research, aimed at revising the previous schemes of interpretation regarding 'Counter-Reformation art' as a controlled art 'out of time' (as proposed by Federico Zeri), emphasizes the progressively stronger emotional and sensuous appeal of sacred images in this era.<sup>36</sup> Beyond Hans Belting and David Freedberg's pioneering studies, the early modern religious image increasingly emerges today as a field of tensions between tradition and innovation: sacred objects were highly influenced by the moods of the period, but simultaneously acted as autonomous and valid representations; they were *senza tempo*, and yet they remained dependent on the perception of a specific observer at a single point in time. To be able to understand these complex and often extremely attractive nodes of contraries which encapsulate Renaissance and early modern religious images, a study of the documented reactions (not only forensic, but also aesthetic, or emotional) can help us understand their powers, but also their limits as agents of persuasion, conversion, disapproval, or reassurance.

One of the most important challenges for art historians is to frame this study of competing norms and forces outside and inside the image within a multicentric geographic dimension. Apparently, the notion of the 'norm' evokes the idea of a normative center; but how did image normativity function in the increasingly multicentric and interconnected early modern world? In their 1979 seminal essay on *Centro e periferia*, Enrico Castelnuovo and Carlo Ginzburg started to investigate the relationship between normative centres, peripheries, and cultural transfer in Europe.<sup>37</sup> According to them, when a strong system of forms and schemes, supported by a powerful group of patrons, takes over, it determines public demand and expectations. Artists who do not conform have to either give way or leave for less important cultural centres. Subsequent research projects, and especially the studies of non-European art which have developed in the last twenty years, have challenged this binary centre/periphery paradigm, by deepening our understanding of the dynamics between *centres* and *peripheries*, considering their variable intersections with local and global relations.<sup>38</sup> The present study intends to contribute to this discussion, by focusing not only on a deeper understanding of how 'a system of forms and schemes' becomes normative, but also on the development of the geographic dimension of art in a multicentric direction. One strategy, which several essays in this volume employ from different angles (Kojima, Franceschini, Baker-Bates, and Giffin), is to map the transfer of stylistic modes and register local reactions, recreations, and re-appropriations on a global scale. Hopefully, a reflection on the notion of the

geographies of image normativity will significantly contribute to shedding new light, from a distinctively fresh perspective, on previously explored notions such as those of ‘image censorship’, the ‘power of images’, the ‘authority of images’, and the ‘performance of images.’<sup>39</sup> The overall aim would be to reformulate the question of the efficacy of images, contributing to a geographically differentiated and historically contextualized study of the ways in which art is able to impose new normative visions of sacred subjects as well as to produce normative reactions, which tend to vary from place to place, always creating new clusters of standards.

### **The Role of the Artist: Freedom, Sovereignty, Responsibility**

At the core of the problem lies the question of the degree of freedom of the artist, in relation to a series of conflicting norms of aesthetic, political, and religious nature, which changed from place to place. Since the second half of the twentieth century, the theme of the ‘freedom’ of the artist has been central to the debate on the relations between modern art and politics, especially in Germany.<sup>40</sup> However, the complexities and the constraints of art production in pre-modern times have led scholars to work with a more nuanced definition of ‘freedom’ and with a range of different notions, which can describe more appropriately the status of the artist and his work, as well as what an artist could and could not do in this period. The question of image normativity in sacred contexts has to do with a tension between the norm (which can be understood also as ‘tradition’) and the change or innovation in artwork created for religious contexts and uses. Artists asked to produce religious art had to conform to a series of instructions and traditions, but they could also exploit their commissions to introduce degrees of innovation, which could have differing levels of impact on the public. In other instances, artists who worked in, or for, foreign contexts could produce art that was perceived as ‘normal’ in their place of origin, but was received as new, or even shocking, in the location where they were transposed. To evaluate the degree of ‘freedom’ of the pre-modern artist, it would be therefore necessary to observe and study the landscape of rules and regulations in which their work was immersed, as well as the extent to which their own work contributed to create or perpetuate this set of rules and norms.

Two concepts originating in medieval legal contexts are helpful to define the degrees of ‘freedom’ and agency of pre-modern artists. In his essay on *The Sovereignty of the Artist*, Ernst H. Kantorowicz analysed the theological and legal roots of the idea of a *creatio ex nihilo* that later emerges in Dürer’s writings, and of a *plenitudo potestas* as a privilege of the poet and the artist.<sup>41</sup> Echoing Kantorowicz, Horst Bredekamp has more recently analysed the *Souveränität* of the artist, and in particular of Michelangelo, in relation to that of the ruler and patron.<sup>42</sup> In a *motu proprio* from 1549, Paul III established Michelangelo’s unrestricted position as architect of the *fabbrica di San Pietro* and his independence from the building commission; providing Michelangelo with the status of leading architect and with the necessary means to enforce the form against the fierce resistance of the commission,

'led to a microcosmic focus of power of disposal, which can be defined macrocosmically as sovereignty'.<sup>43</sup> This jurisdictional faculty *granted* from the pope to the artist to be *free from* other building authorities gave him 'plenam, liberam, et omnimodam potestatem et facultatem' to freely destroy previous structures and create not only new forms and buildings, but also new building laws and dispositions.<sup>44</sup> A different, but equally important notion, which proves helpful in defining the status of the early modern, is that of 'responsibility'. As Olivier Christin pointed out, the mere fact of being able to put an artist on trial for questions concerning his or her work (and not their behaviour), as happened to Paolo Veronese, is a step forward, if not towards the artist's *freedom*, then at least in the way the artist's status and responsibility were perceived. If artists can be put on trial (either by religious or lay authorities) for their work, it means that they are held responsible for both the form and the content of their work — a completely new fact that first began to emerge in Europe in cases such as the charges against Veronese (1573) or Innocenzo da Petralia (1628-1629).<sup>45</sup>

Ultimately, while the early modern era is certainly not the moment of the advent of the *freedom of the artist*, it is the moment in which a fundamental question concerning the *norm* starts to be asked from different perspectives: who establishes or who is responsible for the visual norms? The artists? The new emerging figure of the art critic? Or the institutions, within which the early modern artistic work took place, such as the Church and the palaces of political power? The period we call the Renaissance is very important in the context of this discourse because it is in this period that the first conflicts arise around who has the right to judge art.<sup>46</sup> The aesthetic dimension of this problem is huge, as has been demonstrated by recent investigations and studies of the status of sacred images in the early modern period, discussed in several essays in this volume, and period sources reporting about image perceptions and reactions: they all reveal the impossibility of disentangling the contents of an image from its form and style.<sup>47</sup>

### **Outline of this book**

The fourteen chapters forming the four interconnected sections of this book explore from diverse angles and perspectives some of the issues discussed above through a series of case studies. The first section (*Images and Trials*) focuses on the normative roles and values of images for trials of various types. The opening essay, by Yoshie Kojima, intentionally departs from the European context, providing a look from afar on the use of images in processes of abjuration of the Christian faith in Japan. The complexities and range of issues stemming from this first essay help us to understand the intrinsic ambiguity of images in the context of trials. The 'trial' in question corresponds to the specific procedure of the rejection of Christianity, which was imposed by Japanese authorities on Christians starting in 1628 or 1629. After the prohibition of Christianity in Japan, a tribunal of officials, either in Nagasaki or travelling from village to village, would compel suspect Christians to trample on a small metal image from a limited and controlled

set of objects bearing crucial Christian iconography (*Ecce Homo*, *Immaculate Conception*, *The Madonna of the Rosary*, *Pietà*, *Calvary*). The form, materiality, and iconography of the images, of which — as Kojima reconstructs — a first set in bronze came from Europe, while a second set in brass was reproduced in Japan around 1669, refer to European standards for sacred images in metal, such as *placchette* and paxes. The first set of images includes, in fact, objects produced in Europe (in Italy or perhaps in Spain) after influential models created by artists of the second half of the sixteenth century, such as Jacopo Sansovino and Guglielmo della Porta. The bronze plaquettes probably formed part of a larger set of objects, which were originally imported by European missionaries in order to be used for their work of conversion. In the *Fumi-e* practice, the function of these same images is reversed, as they became agents of condemnation (as those who refused to destroy them faced dire consequences) or abjuration. Pointing to the precise Italian models for such objects, Kojima explores the possibility that the ‘aesthetic qualities of the *Fumi-e* were eloquent and powerful in the eyes of Japanese Christians.’ Indeed, these truly appealing works of art, either brought by Christians from distant places or replicated in loco adapting the same foreign standards, significantly enhanced the threatening power of *Fumi-e* as agents of renunciation. The ambivalent power of these images is confirmed by the fact that their reproduction was strictly controlled and even forbidden, and simultaneously by the existence of few cases in which *Fumi-e* objects (or objects which were similar to *Fumi-e*) were subsequently venerated by hidden Christians.<sup>48</sup> The chapter also hints at the hypothesis that a European apostate might have been behind the orchestration of the *Fumi-e* practice. Indeed, the idea of a legal performance of abjuration of faith based on the powerful gesture of walking over its more essential images (a gesture that, to Christian eyes, might recall the many images of Christ crushing the Devil), attests to a deep knowledge of Christian image normativity and theory.

The interrelations between aesthetics and normativity are also at the centre of the second chapter. Here, I focus on a series of hyperralistic crucifixes made in 1637–38 by a Sicilian lay Franciscan friar, Innocenzo da Petralia. This little known artist, who was sculpting objects following a very established tradition of Sicilian woodcarving and painting, was exceptionally active in Central Italy. For their extreme visual power, which was also at the origin of the artist’s success in Rome, Umbria, and the Marche, the crucifixes and their maker underwent an inquisitorial procedure in Rome, which, as the chapter will show, offers an extraordinary case study for an investigation of the normativity and varying geography of sacred images from Sicily, to Malta, and into early modern Peru. By using this example, the chapter also proposes one possible formulation of what is an extreme example of a ‘normative image’ in the framework of this project: an image that is able to ‘destroy’ all previous images, becoming the standard. In the third chapter, Cloe Cavero de Carondelet moves into the visual culture of an alleged practice of ritual murder attributed to Jewish communities through aggressive Christian propaganda in Europe. By focusing in particular on the cases of Simon of Trent and Michael of Sappenzfeld, Cavero clearly demonstrates how the constructed visual evidence — namely, one previously little known fifteenth-century miniature reproducing the alleged state of the corpse of Simon, and one

seventeenth-century engraving after an equally forensic visualization of the body of Michael, both visualizing the precise map of their purported wounds — were used to shape the arguments in favour of the canonization of child martyrs. Finally, in the fourth chapter of this section, Escardiel González Estévez explores the complexities of one of the image types that was most successful in the era, but also most subject to contestation and censorship in the Roman Catholic world: the image and the names of the Seven Archangels. The chapter discusses previously unknown censored materials and reconstructs several lost visual connections in Rome. Furthermore, it draws links to the question of the different geographies of visual norms, as González Estévez concludes with the observation that the sharp censorship conducted in Rome contrasts with the large success of the Seven Archangels imagery in New World contexts, from America to the Philippines.

The second section (*Contested Portraits*) focuses on portraits as case studies for image normativity. Although not technically concerned with a sacred image, the opening chapter by Mattia Biffis connects with the previous section on trials, insofar as it offers a study of a virtually unknown judicial episode concerning the legal identification of a person who in 1634 claimed to be an individual who had gone missing from Bologna thirty years prior. A portrait of the returning person was commissioned from the obscure Neapolitan painter Francesco Antonio in Rome, where the trial was taking place, to be sent to Bologna not as evidence but rather as a proxy or substitute for the claimant, in order for him to be recognized (or not) through the portrait in his native city. The painter and friend of the original missing person, Guido Reni, was involved. Although the forensic portrait has yet to come to light, the analysis of the legal documentation allows Biffis to develop a cogent argument concerning the use of portraits in legal contexts and to discuss this genre in relation to the establishment of personal identities in early modern Europe — a reflection that revitalizes, from the point of view of the history of art, the research questions and historiographic methods deployed in Natalie Zemon Davis's classic work *The Return of Martin Guerre* (1983).

The following two chapters in this section, by James Hall and Nina Niedermeier respectively, touch on the core of the problem of image normativity and the portrait in the early modern period: the seriously contested status of portraits of blessed or saints in a culture of procedural standardization and visual norms for sanctity. In Chapter 6, James Hall explores the background to Urban VIII's decrees around living and dead persons whose sanctity had not been established by due process. The author perceptively argues that a force behind this decision, which had great consequences on the subsequent visual culture of sanctity, brought about a wider crisis of decorum and semantics in portraiture, which caused a sort of conflation, or a blurring, between sacred and secular representations. In particular, Hall focuses on and discusses three classes of objects: 'saintly' portraits of non-saints, secular portraits furnished with what the author names 'pseudo-haloes', and portraits 'in disguise'.

Nina Niedermeier approaches a comparable overlapping of genres and visual conventions in the portraiture of new saints from a completely different angle and with diverse materials. This chapter emphasizes a particular mode of representation regarding saints, which became more and more common in

the Counter-Reformation, and which was based on the long-standing *topos* of the humility of a saint who does not wish to be portrayed. This type of portrait shows the saint in a casual or informal pose, with his gaze never encountering that of the viewer, as if it were a portrait inadvertently ‘stolen’ by a close friend of the saintly person, who could catch him, without being acknowledged, in the most common and pious activities — while reading, for example, or while washing the feet to the pilgrims, as in the case of the Oratorian Filippo Neri. Niedermeier discusses analytically the several variations and fortunes of this mode of portraiture, its overlapping with profane portraiture (e.g. with the profile portraits of beautiful women), as well as the moral questions posed by these *ritratti rubati*. Finally, the section ends with an articulate analysis and theoretical discussion by Steffen Zierholz of the visual innovations and conventions through which the portrayed image of Ignatius of Loyola, depicted through different media and in different contexts, became a ‘normative image’: that is, in this compelling understanding, an image which ‘prompts the Jesuit beholder to attempt to transform himself into a living image of Ignatius.’

The third section (*The Norm and the Copy*) investigates in three chapters a relatively large spectrum of types of ‘copies’ as adaptations, re-creations, and agents for normativity. The theme of the ‘copy’, or multiple, as a source for the establishment of a visual norm is already introduced in both Chapter 1 on *Fumi-e* and Chapter 2 on Petralia’s crucifixes. *The norm and the copy* more specifically articulates the modes of replication that facilitated two- and three-dimensional recreation. Antonia Putzger reconstructs the new functions and meanings of a ‘substitute copy’ of an altarpiece attributed to the Augsburg painter Ulrich Apt the Elder for the Augustinian monastery of Heilig Kreuz in Augsburg. By investigating the role that engravings played in this transposition, and the stylistic and iconographic changes that were introduced, this analysis maps the changing meanings attached to altarpieces when translated from a sacred location to a princely collection, and confronts the ways in which sacred objects were reframed within a secular context. Sharing Putzger’s focus on the role of prints as mediators, Erin Giffin presents part of her broader research on the architectonic replicas of the Santa Casa di Loreto, by focusing on a particular type of the Holy House visible in the church of San Clemente in Venice. This local Santa Casa prioritized the cult needs of the community by altering the iconography and hallmarks of the structural exterior. The San Clemente version effectively became a sub-model of the sacred structure, and a competing source of information that was circulated through prints, encouraging structural reproductions across Europe. The resulting Venetian-style Santa Casa type would evolve again as other communities reinterpreted the San Clemente model to meet regional cult interests.

Finally, Piers Baker-Bates shifts the focus from print to painting in his study of the different versions of the *Christ Carrying the Cross* by Sebastiano del Piombo commissioned in Rome for Spanish churches and collections. These intimate paintings served as normative models for sacred images across Spain, with degrees of variation and intensification stemming from Sebastiano’s precedent, especially in the representation of blood droplets conveying Christ’s suffering. Details augmented or removed from copies based on Sebastiano del Piombo’s multiple *Christ Carrying the Cross* paintings

attest to regional empathetic priorities in Spanish communities and patronage circles, while simultaneously marking the artist as an authoritative painter of sacred imagery.

The fourth and final section on *Pictorial and Material Depths* builds from Baker-Bates to further discuss the theme of artist ‘authoriality’ in the redefinition of sacred images, and the effect of material referents upon sacred subject matter. In the section’s opening essay, Josephine Neil explores the theological depths of Hendrick ter Brugghen’s *Crucifixion with the Virgin and Saint John*, a painting of uncertain original context now on display in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. For its subject, and specifically the analysis of the forms and the meanings of the wounds and blood of Christ in Ter Brugghen’s painting, this essay reconnects with the discussion of varying normativities of the represented lacerations of Christ as analysed in Chapters 2, 3, and 11. In the section’s second essay, Livia Stoenescu sets forth Alonso Cano as the brilliant inventor of a new type of sacred art, in which different temporalities, materialities, and styles are combined in novel visions. By exploring the ‘indexical capabilities of seventeenth-century painting’, Stoenescu reveals the archaism invested in Cano’s new compositions that encapsulate generations of cult worship oriented around one of the civic sculptural iterations of the Virgin in Madrid. As the first two chapters of the final section address the effect of materiality of Christ’s blood and archaic forms in cult contexts respectively, the concluding essay by Todd Olson combines the two by suggestively plunging into the depths of the ‘incendiary and geological narrative’ introduced by Jusepe de Ribera and Cosimo Fanzago in the monastic church of the Certosa di San Martino in Naples — a visual narrative, which, at first sight, is in striking contradiction with the Carthusian principles of a contemplative life, austerity, humility, and retreat. As Olson seductively puts it, the material tensions between Ribera’s painted figures and Fanzago’s excessive marble ornamentation simulating flowers and geological formations reduce the human figure ‘as hostage to the lithic’ in a metamorphic world, in which artists and their imagination take the lead.

The varieties of the subjects treated in this volume revolve around a cluster of common questions. The different academic provenances and individual methods employed by each of the contributors will hopefully demonstrate that the combination of a plurality of methods and cross-national academic traditions is instrumental to any fruitful attempt at scratching the surface of the still numerous open questions in the global field of the early modern visual cultures and art histories.

## Notes

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1 Giorgio Vasari, *Le Vite de' più eccellenti pittori scultori e architettori nelle redazioni del 1550 e 1568*, ed. by Rosanna Bettarini and Paola Barocchi, 9 vols, Florence: Sansoni, 1967–1987, vol. 3, p. 542.

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 204–6: 'che gli pareva che egli avesse messo in croce un contadino e non un corpo simile a Gesù Cristo, il quale fu delicatissimo et in tutte le parti il più perfetto uomo che nascesse mai' (p. 204).

3 Norman E. Land, "Famous Last Words: Nanni Grosso to Antoine Watteau", *Source: Notes in the History of Art*, 34:3 (2015), 25–30.

4 Paul Zanker, *Augustus und die Macht der Bilder*, Munich: C.H. Beck, 1987; David Freedberg, *The power of images. Studies in the history and theory of response*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989.

5 Among the most recent contributions, see *Ex Voto: Votive Giving Across Cultures*, ed. by Ittai Weinryb, New York City: Bard Graduate Center, 2016, and *Les ex-voto: objets, usages, traditions: Un regard croisé franco-allemand / Ex voto: Objekte, Praktiken, Überlieferung: Deutsch-französische Perspektiven*, ed. by Ulrike Ehlig, Pierre-Antoine Fabre and Marie-Anne Polo de Beaulieu, Gutenberg: Computus Druck 2019. On relics in the early modern period a collaborative project, based at the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid and directed by Luisa Elena Alcalá and Juan Luis González García ('*Spolia Sancta*. Fragmentos y envolturas de sacralidad entre el Viejo y el Nuevo Mundo'), is currently in progress.

6 As main references on the first three points, see Martin Warnke, *Bildersturm. Die Zerstörung des Kunstwerks*, Munich: Hanser, 1973, followed by *Bildersturm*.

*Wahnsinn oder Gottes Wille?*, ed. by Cécile Dupeux, Peter Jezler and Jean Wirth, Munich: Fink, 2000; Alexander Nagel, *The Controversy of Art*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011 and Id., *Michelangelo and the Reform of Art*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

7 See, among other contributions by the same author, David Freedberg, "Memory in Art: History and the Neuroscience of Response", in *The Memory Process: Neuroscientific and Humanistic Perspectives*, ed. by Suzanne Nalbantian, Paul M. Matthews, and James L. McClelland, Cambridge: MIT Press, 2011, 337–58.

8 Hubert Jedin, "Entstehung und Tragweite des Trienter Decrets über die Bilderverehrung", *Tübinger Theologische Quartalschrift*, 116 (1935), 143–188 (and, in Italian, Hubert Jedin, "Genesi e portata del decreto tridentino sulla venerazione delle immagini", in *Chiesa della fede, Chiesa della storia*, Brescia: Morcelliana, 1973, 340–90); Paolo Prodi, "Ricerca sulla teorica delle arti figurative nella Riforma Cattolica", *Archivio italiano per la storia della pietà*, 4 (1962), 121–212; and Carlo Ginzburg, *Paura, reverenza, terrore: cinque saggi di iconografia politica*, Milan: Adelphi, 2015. For a short overview, with previous bibliography, of the relations between art and the Roman inquisition see Chiara Franceschini, "Arti figurative e Inquisizione. Il controllo", in *Dizionario storico dell'Inquisizione*, dir. by Adriano Prosperi and ed. by Vincenzo Lavenia and John Tedeschi, 4 vols, Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2010, I, 102–5.

9 Starting with the studies by Serge Gruzinski, *La Pensée métisse*, Paris: Fayard, 1999, and the important exhibition *Converging cultures: art & identity in Spanish America*, Brooklyn Museum, ed. by Diana Fane, New York: Abrams, 1996. For two bibliographic surveys see Gauvin A. Bailey, Carla Rahn Phillips and Lisa Voigt, "Spain and Spanish America in the early modern Atlantic World. Current trends in scholarship", *Renaissance Quarterly*, 62:1 (2009), 1–60 (and by Gauvin A. Bailey, *The Andean hybrid baroque: convergent cultures in the churches of colonial Peru*, Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010) and Luisa Elena Alcalá, "'Where do we go from here?': Themes and Comments on the Historiography of Colonial Art in Latin America", in *Art in Spain and the Hispanic World. Essays in Honor of Jonathan Brown*, ed. by Suzanne Stratton-Pruitt, London: Paul Holberton Publ., 2010, 323–348. For a spectrum of current research samples see *Kunstgeschichte global: Europa, Asien, Afrika, Amerika 1300-1650*, ed. by Matteo Burioni and Ulrich Pfisterer, Darmstadt: WBG, 2020.

10 On the latter point, see the interesting argument developed by Stephanie

Porras, "Going Viral? Maerten de Vos's St. Michael the Archangel", *Nederlands kunsthistorisch jaarboek*, 66:1 (2016), 54–79.

11 Maria Luisa Catoni, *La comunicazione non verbale nella Grecia antica*, Turin: Bollati Boringhieri, 2005.

12 Cornelia Vismann, *Akten. Medientechnik und Recht*, Frankfurt/Main: Fischer, 2000, mainly focusing on the modern era and *Bildregime des Rechts*, ed. by Jean-Baptiste Joly, Cornelia Vismann, and Thomas Weitin, Stuttgart: Merz & Solitude, 2007; Peter Goodrich, *Legal emblems and the art of law: obiter depicta as the vision of governance*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014. A project on 'images of law', directed by Carolin Behrmann is currently developed at the Kunsthistorisches Institute in Florence ('Nomos der Bilder: Manifestation und Ikonologie des Rechts': see <https://nomoi.hypotheses.org/>). Also important, on the representation of early modern punishment: Samuel Y. Edgerton, *Pictures and Punishment: Art and Criminal Prosecution during the Florentine Renaissance*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985.

13 See *Images of Shame. Infamy, Defamation and the Ethics of 'oeconomia'*, ed. by Carolin Behrmann, Berlin/ Boston: De Gruyter, 2016. This line of enquiry was opened by Gherardo Ortalli, *Pingatur in Palatio: La pittura infamante nei secoli XIII-XVI*, Rome: Jouvance 1979 (revised French edition: Paris, 1994) and has been recently revitalized by Giuliano Milani, *L'uomo con la borsa al collo: genealogia e uso di un'immagine medievale*, Rome: Viella, 2017, and Matteo Ferrari, "La propaganda per immagini nei cicli pittorici dei palazzi comunali lombardi (1200-1337): temi, funzioni, committenza", PhD diss., Scuola Normale Superiore, 2010-2011 and Id., "Prime pitture d'infamia nei comuni italiani: immagini come documenti, immagini come fatti", in *Images of Shame*, 49–74.

14 Giuliano Milani, "The Ban and the Bag. How Defamatory Paintings Worked in Medieval Italy", in *Images of Shame*, 119–40 (see pp. 121 and 127–28 on the differences of commemorative and performative functions of images), making use of Ortalli, *Pingatur in Palatio* and Jean Wirth, "Performativité de l'image?", in *La performance des images*, ed. by Alain Dierkens, Gil Bartholeyns and Thomas Golsenne, Brussels: Éditions de l'Université, 2010, 125–35.

15 This question is at the center of the innovative research on contemporary advertising as 'iconic norm' by Emanuele Coccia, "La norma iconica", *Politica e Società*, 1 (2015), 61–80. Images are only marginally taken into account in *La fabrique de la norme. Lieux et modes de*

- production de normes au Moyen Âge et à l'époque moderne*, ed. by Véronique Beaulande-Barraud, Julie Calustre and Elsa Marmursztejn, Rennes: Presses Universitaires, 2012.
- 16 For some consideration on this point see Chiara Franceschini, *Storia del limbo*, Milan: Feltrinelli, 2017, pp. 25-33.
- 17 For an example of a refined analysis of these intersections see Ralph Dekoninck, *Ad imaginem: Statuts, fonctions et usages de l'image dans la littérature spirituelle jésuite du XVII siècle*, Genève: Droz, 2005.
- 18 Hans Belting, *Bild und Kult: Eine Geschichte des Bildes vor dem Zeitalter der Kunst*, Munich: C.H. Beck, 1990. See Freedberg, *The Power of Images*; Gerhard Wolf, "Miraculous images between art and devotion in medieval and early modern Europe", in *Miraculous images in Christian and Buddhist culture*, ed. by Akira Akiyama and Kana Tomizawa, Tokyo: University of Tokyo, 2010, 99-115.
- 19 Including Freedberg, *The Power of Images*; Andreas Tacke, *Der katholische Cranach. Zu zwei Großaufträgen von Lucas Cranach d. Ä., Simon Franck und der Cranach-Werkstatt (1520-1540)*, Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1992; Christine Göttler, *Die Kunst des Fegefeuers nach der Reformation. Kirchliche Schenkungen, Ablass und Almosen in Antwerpen und Bologna um 1600*, Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1996.
- 20 Important works were, in particular, the study of the politics and poetics of sacred images in special relation with confessional conflict in 15th-century Spain: Felipe Pereda, *Las imágenes de la discordia. Política y poética de la imagen sagrada en la España del cuatrocientos*, Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2007 (now translated into English as *Images of Discord: Poetics and Politics of the Sacred Image in Fifteenth-Century Spain*, London: Harvey Miller, 2018); and the pioneeristic work on Huguenot censorship, iconoclasm and reconstruction in 16th-century France by Olivier Christin, *Une révolution symbolique. L'iconoclisme huguenot et la reconstruction catholique*, Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit, 1991. A more recent contribution on the Netherlands is Koenraad Jonckheere, *Antwerp art after iconoclasm: experiments in decorum, 1566-1585*, Brussels: Mercatorfonds, 2012.
- 21 An important project on copies ('Copimarch: La copia pictórica en la monarquía hispánica'), especially in Spain but within a larger visual network, was directed by David García Cueto between 2015 and 2017 and has since yielded a series of edited volumes.
- 22 Jedin, "Entstehung und Tragweite des Trienter Decrets über die Bilderverehrung"; and Jedin, "Genesi e portata del decreto tridentino sulla venerazione delle immagini"; Prodi, "Ricerca sulla teorica delle arti figurative".
- 23 See the texts quoted in the note above, and Pierre-Antoine Fabre, *Décréter l'image? La XXVe Session du Concile de Trente*, Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2013. On the influence of the 1563 decree it was also important the short article by David Freedberg, "Johannes Molanus on Provocative Paintings", *The Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 24 (1971), 128-38.
- 24 Prodi, "Ricerca sulla teorica delle arti figurative" is contemporary to the fundamental *Trattati d'arte del Cinquecento: fra manierismo e Controriforma*, ed. by Paola Barocchi, Bari: Laterza, 3 vols, 1960-1962.
- 25 See, for example, Paolo Prodi and Wolfgang Reinhardt (eds), "Il concilio di Trento e il moderno", *Annali dell'Istituto Storico Italo-Germanico*, 45, Bologna: Il Mulino 1996.
- 26 Most importantly by Evonne Anita Levy, *Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004.
- 27 Steffan Kummer, "Doceant Episcopi. Auswirkungen des Trienter Bilderdekrets im römischen Kirchenraum", *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 56 (1993), 508-33.
- 28 This geographical differentiation has been studied in particular for ecclesiastical historiography and liturgy (in particular by Simon Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History in Tridentine Italy: Pietro Maria Campi and the Preservation of the Particular*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); less so for art and images.
- 29 Going beyond the already (partially) known cases of Paleotti and Carlo Borromeo. On Borromeo, cf. in particular Wietse de Boer, *The Conquest of the Soul: Confession, Discipline, and Public Order in Counter-Reformation Milan*, Leiden: Brill, 2001; Grace Harpster, "Carlo Borromeo's Itineraries: The Sacred Image in Post-Tridentine Italy", PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2018.
- 30 Members of the Sacrima Project are currently preparing a review of the already available material and completing new explorations of some important Italian and Spanish archives (Vatican City, Milan, Modena, Toledo, Cuenca, Madrid...). On a small group of interesting cases of objects and prints, which were included as evidences in inquisitorial files in the archive of the Inquisition in Cuenca, see the catalogue of the exhibition organized in 1982 in Cuenca: *La Inquisición*, ed. by Miguel Avilés Fernández, Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura-Raycar, 1982. For some of the materials kept in Rome: *Rari e preziosi. Documenti dell'età moderna e contemporanea dall'archivio del Sant'Uffizio*, ed. by Alejandro Cifres and Marco Pizzo, Rome: Gangemi Editore, 2009. See, also, Agustín Bustamante García, "El Santo Oficio de Valladolid y los artistas", *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología*, 61 (1995), 455-66.
- 31 Franceschini, "Arti figurative e Inquisizione. Il controllo"; Ead., "Volti santi e Trinità triforini: ricerche in corso sullo statuto delle immagini nei procedimenti del Sant'Uffizio", in *L'Inquisizione romana e i suoi archivi: a vent'anni dall'apertura dell'ACDF*, ed. by Alejandro Cifres, Rome: Gangemi Editore: 2019, pp. 279-301, and Chapter 2 in this volume.
- 32 Chiara Franceschini, "Mattia Preti's *Madonna della Lettera*: Painting, Cult, and Inquisition in Malta, Messina, and Rome", *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, 61:3 (2019), 335-63.
- 33 Ernst H. Gombrich, "Norm and Form. The Stylistic Categories of Art History and their Origins in Renaissance Ideals", in *Norm and Form. Studies in the Art of the Renaissance*, London: Phaidon, 1966, 81-98.
- 34 Nagel, *Michelangelo and the reform of art*; Marcia B. Hall, *The sacred image in the age of art: Titian, Tintoretto, Barocci, El Greco, Caravaggio*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011.
- 35 Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*, New York: Zone Books, 2010.
- 36 *The sensuous in the Counter-Reformation church*, ed. by Marcia B. Hall and Tracy E. Cooper, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013; *Religion and the senses in early modern Europe*, ed. by Wietse de Boer and Christine Göttler, Leiden: Brill, 2013.
- 37 Enrico Castelnuovo and Carlo Ginzburg, "Centro e periferia", in *Storia dell'arte italiana*, I, Questioni e Metodi, ed. by Giovanni Previtali, Turin: Einaudi, 1979, 285-352.
- 38 For which see Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Toward a geography of art*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004.
- 39 On the last two notions, also in relation with the theme of the norm, see *Das Bild als Autorität: die normierende Kraft des Bildes*, ed. by Frank Büttner and

Gabriele Wimböck, Münster: LIT, 2004 and Dierkens, Bartholeyns and Golsenne, *La performance des images*.

40 Daniel Graewe, "Die Kunstfreiheit in der deutschen Geschichte unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Künstlervereinigung 'Brücke'", *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 77:3 (2014), 407–26, discussing the genesis and historical background (the totalitarian art policy of the Third Reich with its unlawful riots against unwanted artists and against the products of art discriminated as 'degenerate') of Article 5, Paragraph 3 of the German *Grundgesetz*, granting the right of freedom to art ('Kunst und Wissenschaft, Forschung und Lehre sind frei. Die Freiheit der Lehre entbindet nicht von der Treue zur Verfassung').

41 Ernst H. Kantorowicz, "The Sovereignty of the Artist. A Note on Legal Maxims and Renaissance Theories of Art", in *De Artibus Opuscula XL: Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky*, ed. by Millard Meiss, New York: New York University Press, 1961, 267–79. For a different and larger perspective on the artist as *creator* and *procreator* see now Ulrich Pfisterer, *Kunst-Geburten. Kreativität, Erotik, Körper*, Berlin: Wagenbach, 2014 (translated into Italian as *L'artista procreatore. L'amore e le arti nella prima età moderna*, Rome: Campisano, 2018).

42 Horst Bredekamp, "Antipoden der Souveränität: Künstler und Herrscher", in *Vom Künstlerstaat. Ästhetische und politische Utopien*, ed. by Ulrich Raulff, Munich: Hanser, 2006, 31–41 and Id., "Der Künstler als Souverän (1549)", in *Michelangelo: fünf Essays*, Berlin: Wagenbach, 2009, 59–68.

43 Already in 1540 Paul III had issued a *motu proprio*, which recognized the artist as the first 'inter statuarios totius terrarum orbis', 'liberum et exemptum perpetuo' from the jurisdiction of the corporation of *statuarii* and marble workers: Lucilla Bardeschi Ciulich, *I contratti di Michelangelo*, Florence: S.P.E.S., 2005, pp. 229–31, no. XCV. With the *motu proprio* of 11 October 1549, Paul III granted to him the full authority and jurisdiction on the *Fabbrica di San Pietro*, including the faculty to destroy previous structures and to appoint builders and workers: Bardeschi Ciulich, *I contratti*, pp. 278–80, 286–92 (nos. CXVIII, CXXIV and CXXV) and Bredekamp, "Der Künstler", p. 68: 'führte zu einer mikrokosmischen Fokussierung von Verfügungsmacht, die makrokosmisch als Souveränität definiert werden wird'.

44 Bredekamp, "Der Künstler", p. 67 and Bardeschi Ciulich, *I contratti*, p. 279.

45 For what concerns inquisitorial trials

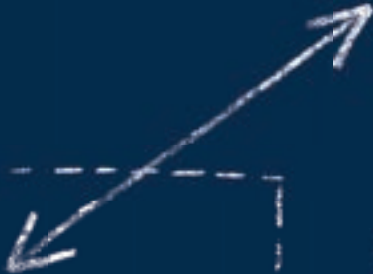
only, a comparison between sixteenth- and seventeenth century Italian and Spanish cases has shown that the great majority of cases of artists under inquisitorial trials in Spain were processed and sometimes convicted for their behaviours or supposed beliefs, and not for the contents of their works, for which more often the patrons were held responsible (for example, in the case of the representations of the Archangels in Spain: see Franceschini, "Arti figurative e Inquisizione", p. 105).

46 Some preliminary remarks on this theme are included in a forthcoming article: Chiara Franceschini, "Giudizi negativi e stime d'artista nel mondo di Vasari", in *Bad Reception: Negative Reactions to Italian Renaissance Art*, ed. by Diletta Gamberini, Jonathan Nelson, Alessandro Nova, and Samuel Vitali, *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* (planned publication: 2021).

47 Cf., for example, Hall, *The sacred image*.

48 See also Akira Akiyama, "Similarities between Buddhist and Christian cult images: on statue dressing and relic insertion", in *Synergies in Visual Culture – Bildkulturen im Dialog: Festschrift für Gerhard Wolf*, ed. by Manuela De Giorgi, Annette Hoffmann and Nicola Suthor, Munich: Fink, 2013, 71–81.


# I. Images and Trials



# *Fumi-e*: Trampled Sacred Images in Japan

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The period between 1549, when Francis Xavier arrived in Japan, and the 1630s, when Shogun Hidetada Tokugawa banned Christianity and expelled and executed priests, is called the ‘Christian century’ in Japan. A vast number of conversions took place in this period, and numerous sacred Christian images were imported from Europe or reproduced in Japan and played an indispensable role in the faith of the early converts. At this time, every household had a Shinto-Buddhist altar, with proper sacred images; once a family converted, these altars had to be abandoned and replaced with Christian images. *Fumi-e*, or “trampled images,” are plaquettes of Christian devotional images that were imported to Japan in this era. (Japanese has no plural markers, so I use *Fumi-e* in both singular and plural cases).<sup>1</sup>

Although the ruler and imperial regent Hideyoshi Toyotomi was the first to place a ban on Christianity, in 1587, Christians themselves — *Kirishitan* in Japanese — were relatively free from harassment until 1614, when the Tokugawa Shogunate banned the religion completely. Still, a number of concealed missionaries survived, under severe inquisition, for several decades. Priests were considered to be extinct by the beginning of the 1640s; after that, most died under torture, and a few abandoned the religion as apostates.

At first, the Tokugawa Shogunate used execution to suppress Christianity. In fact, mass executions of Christians, via burning at the stake or decapitation, were carried out repeatedly during the Genna era (1615–24). However, the Christians in Japan were willing to suffer and die, following the examples of Christian martyrs and of Jesus Christ. Numerous Christians delightedly came forward to proclaim their faith, longing for execution in the belief that it would grant them entrance to heaven.<sup>2</sup> This situation is of great interest regarding the iconography of *Fumi-e*.

The practice of *Fumi-e* was institutionalized after the repeated Genna era mass executions. In the following Kan-ei era (1624–44), however, burning and decapitation were replaced with a more agonizing and drawn-out method of torture, *ana-zuri* or *ana-tsurushi*, in which the victim was suspended upside down in a suffocating and foul-smelling pit. Small holes were put in the skull to reduce brain pressure by allowing bleeding, so the victim would not lose consciousness and would remain in agony for days until turning apostate or dying. This cruel procedure was invented to thoroughly annihilate Christianity in Japan, forcing Christians to really and completely abandon their religion.<sup>3</sup> At the same time, *Fumi-e* were invented to detect hidden Christians.

Reports are inconsistent on the beginning date of the *Fumi-e* practice; it was either in 1628, when Monirobu Mizuno was *Nagasaki-bugyō* (commissioner or governor of Nagasaki), or in 1629, when Shigeyoshi Takenaka held the post. Both were notorious for strictness and cruelty in their crackdowns on Christians. It is said that at first simple crosses were used, along with Christian devotional images on paper and European-manufactured bronze plaquettes confiscated from Christians. Around the mid-1630s, the plaquettes started being framed in wooden boards to avoid degradation. Then in 1669, because of increasing demand, brass *Fumi-e* were made in Nagasaki by a Japanese artisan or artisans workshop copying the original bronze plaquettes.

In the practice of *Fumi-e*, local governments on Kyushu Island, in particular in Nagasaki where the greatest number of Christians lived, forced



citizens to affirm their abjuration of Christianity by walking on *Fumi-e*. This began when the *Kirishitan* communities were still very large. Initially, an astonishing number of people chose death over symbolic abjuration, and subsequently it became a sort of ceremony. The practice lasted for two more centuries, until the authorities were forced to stop it under pressure from Western countries.<sup>4</sup> Here I discuss these *Fumi-e*, focusing on three issues: (1) the categories, materials, and iconography of *Fumi-e*; (2) how the *Fumi-e* ceremony was conducted; and (3) how the images of *Fumi-e* were perceived by Japanese people and by foreigners.

Today there exist twenty-nine *Fumi-e*, all housed in the Tokyo National Museum. Originally these were kept rigidly under lock and key in the religious census repository of the Office of the *Nagasaki-bugyō*; in 1874, under the new Meiji government, they were transferred to Tokyo. Ten of them are European-manufactured bronze plaquettes framed in wood, and nineteen are made of brass **FIGURES 1-8**. While numerous historical studies have been done on *Fumi-e*, especially by Japanese scholars, they have not been adequately studied from an art-historical point of view.<sup>5</sup>

Of the Western-manufactured bronze plaquettes, four represent *Ecce Homo*, two of the *Immaculate Conception*, three of the *Virgin Mary of the Rosary*, and one of the *Pietà* **FIGURES 1-4**. The plaquettes for the same subjects represent nearly identical images. They are all vaguely assumed to have

**FIGURE 1.** *Ecce Homo*, bronze, framed in wooden board, 9.5 × 6.7 cm, 16th century. Tokyo National Museum.

**FIGURE 2.** *Immaculate Conception*, bronze, framed in wooden board, diameter (long side) 11.8 cm, 16th century. Tokyo National Museum.



**FIGURE 3.** *Virgin Mary of the Rosary*, bronze, framed in wooden board, diameter (long side) 11.8 cm, 16th century. Tokyo National Museum.



**FIGURE 4.** *Pietà*, bronze, framed in wooden board, 18.2 × 12.8 cm, 16th century. Tokyo National Museum.

originated in Italy or Spain, and they are regarded as important historical materials. However, one should not neglect their high-quality execution; it is actually possible to attribute most of them to the workshops or circles of important artists of the Counter-Reformation period.

For the *Ecce Homo* and *Immaculate Conception* plaquettes, the Jesuit Diego Pacheco (naturalized as a Japanese citizen under the name Yūki Ryōgo), and later Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann both suggest that the *Ecce Homo* and *Immaculate Conception* plaquettes are of Spanish origin.<sup>6</sup> One can identify very similar works attributed to Spanish artists: nearly identical *Ecce Homo* and *Immaculate Conception* plaquettes exist in private collections in various European countries **FIGURE 9**. Regarding the *Immaculate Conception*, one of the finest examples is in the Metropolitan Museum in New York: a fact that has not been pointed out so far **FIGURE 10**. Although the frame is rectangular and not oval, as in the *Fumi-e*, and New York artefact bears the heads of angels in the four corners, the overall composition is the same. As has been widely discussed, after the Council of Trent, belief in the immaculate conception of Mary became one of the driving forces in Catholic devotion.<sup>7</sup>

Notably, it is clear that the *Fumi-e* version of *The Institution of the Rosary* bears a conspicuous likeness to a silver plaquette now conserved in the Metropolitan Museum, attributed to followers of Jacopo Sansovino on the basis of the Italian artist's characteristic style **FIGURE 11**.<sup>8</sup> Although the details



of the *Fumi-e* version are somewhat simplified, in the Metropolitan Museum plaque it is possible to recognize figures kneeling before the Virgin Mary. On the right, Saint Catherine of Siena is followed by four sisters, and on the left Saint Dominic with two popes wearing the papal tiara, a high-ranking soldier with a helmet, a Venetian doge with the *corno ducale*, and an unrecognizable figure who is likely also a Venetian doge based on the shape of his semi-observed headwear. Famously, this originally Dominican sacred image became a symbol of the victory of the Catholic Church after Pope Pius V acknowledged that the victory of the “Holy League,” including the Venetians, at the Battle of Lepanto (1571) came about by virtue of the Virgin Mary of the Rosary.<sup>9</sup>

The *Fumi-e*’s *Pietà* can also be related to another important Italian artist of the time, Guglielmo della Porta **FIGURE 12**. The *Fumi-e* version appears to have been completed after Jacob Cornelis Cobaert’s work, today conserved in the National Gallery of Art in Washington, DC, that was made from the design of Guglielmo della Porta.<sup>10</sup> As Geber and in particular Riddick noted, there are many variants of this *Pietà*, and the one in Washington seems to be the highest-quality execution. One can observe minute details in the Washington *Pietà*. In the background, Jerusalem is visible, a domed building to the right might be the church of the Holy Sepulchre, and in the foreground at the bottom, the crown of thorns and pliers appear discarded.

**FIGURE 5.** *Ecce Homo*, brass, 18.9 × 13.6 cm, 1669. Tokyo National Museum.

**FIGURE 6.** *Virgin Mary of the Rosary*, brass, 18.9 × 13.6 cm, 1669. Tokyo National Museum.



**FIGURE 7.** *Pietà*, brass, 18.8 × 13.8 cm, 1669. Tokyo National Museum.



**FIGURE 8.** *Calvary*, brass, 18.8 × 13.7 cm, 1669. Tokyo National Museum.

The composition of the Virgin Mary looking skyward and Christ with a limply wrenched body is reminiscent of the late works of Michelangelo, a close friend of Guglielmo, such as the *Pietà* statue in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo in Florence and some drawings of the *Pietà* and the *Dead Christ*.<sup>11</sup>

As for the brass *Fumi-e*, according to the 1669 *Nagasaki-kōsō* — a historical source on the history of the port of Nagasaki — the then acting *Nagasaki-bugyō* Gonzaemon Kōno ordered the production of *Fumi-e*.<sup>12</sup> This order was made because of the heavy wear of the preexisting European-manufactured bronze plaquettes. It is thought that Yūsa Hagiwara, purveying founder to the government of Nagasaki, cast the *Fumi-e*. However, these *Fumi-e* were made not of bronze but of brass, which because of its corrosion resistance better withstands repeated trampling. Today, five brass *Fumi-e* each of the *Ecce Homo*, *Virgin Mary of the Rosary*, and *Calvary*, and four of the *Pietà* exist, and they are all of comparable size **FIGURE 5-8**. One brass *Pietà* was lost during the Edo period.

The number of *Fumi-e* was always small, so they were each used countless times. One can recognize the heavy use of the bronze *Fumi-e* and especially the brass ones, because brass is more ductile in that it has the ability to undergo significant plastic deformation before rupture. When brass *Fumi-e* are examined after undergoing such heavy usage, it is hard to analyse their style. Even so, one can tell that their sculptor tried to reproduce images from



**FIGURE 9.** *Ecce Homo*, gilded bronze, 9.9 × 6.8 cm, ca 1600. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

**FIGURE 10.** *Immaculate Conception*, gilded bronze, 10.1 × 7.1 cm, ca 1600. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

**FIGURE 11.** Follower of Jacopo Sansovino, *Virgin Mary of the Rosary*, silver, 16.5 × 8.3 cm, second half of the 16th century. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.



**FIGURE 12.** Jacob Cornelis Cobaert, from design of Guglielmo della Porta, *Pietà*, bronze, 18.5 × 12.8 cm, ca 1580. Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art.



**FIGURE 13.** Guglielmo della Porta, *Calvary*, gilded bronze, 41.5 × 28 cm, 1570–75. Private collection.



**FIGURE 14.** Guglielmo della Porta, *Calvary* (detail), gilded bronze, 41.5 × 28 cm, 1570–75. Private collection.

the European bronze plaquettes, such as the background landscape of the *Pieta*, the clothes of the Virgin Mary, and the kneeling figures in the *Virgin Mary of the Rosary*, perhaps simplifying details without understanding the meanings of all the components. For example, in the brass *Virgin Mary of the Rosary*, the stairs at the base of the throne and the folds in the draperies of the kneeling people are transformed into typical Japanese representations of a mountain range **FIGURE 6**. In the brass *Calvary*, there are no stigmata wounds on the body of Jesus, and the buildings in the background are incomprehensible.

As for the brass *Fumi-e* of *Calvary*, it is conjectured that they are a reproduction of European plaquettes on the same subject **FIGURE 8**. Several nearly identical reliefs executed by followers of Guglielmo della Porta seem to have been the model **FIGURES 13, 14**.<sup>13</sup> In the brass *Fumi-e*, and probably also the Western plaquettes used as *Fumi-e*, only the distance view of Jerusalem and the hillcrest in front of the city, located at the level of Christ's legs, are emulated.

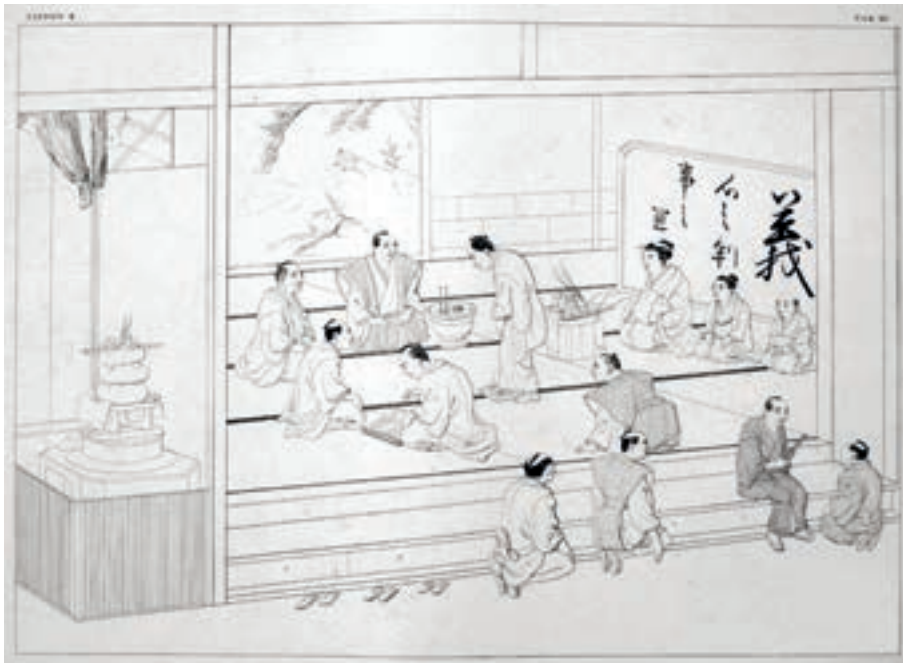
Thus, it appears that many of the European plaquettes used as *Fumi-e* were related to important Italian artists of the Catholic Reformation/Counter-Reformation period, such as Sansovino and della Porta. Interestingly, a silver gilt statuette of Christ crucified, conserved in Osaka in a private collection, demonstrates a remarkable resemblance to della Porta's late work representing the *Crucifixion*, formerly preserved at the Capponi Palace in Rome **FIGURE 15**.<sup>14</sup> This is believed to be connected to the fact that Sendaiji Shimootowa, an area close to Osaka, was essentially under Christian rule by the Takayama family during the Christian century, and various high-quality Christian artefacts have been handed down there.<sup>15</sup>

It is significant that the celebrated Jesuit Alessandro Valignano, visitor of missions in the Indies, repeatedly referred in his reports and epistles to the good artistic taste of Japanese elites, and he made appeals to have talented Italian artists, such as Giuseppe Valeriano, sent to Japan.<sup>16</sup> It is possible that not only the themes but also the aesthetic qualities of the *Fumi-e* were eloquent and powerful in the eyes of the Japanese Christians who were forced to trample them.

The second issue was how the *Fumi-e* ceremony was practiced. In Nagasaki, a once Christian city, the ceremony took place every January. Only when all inhabitants of Nagasaki had finished were the *Fumi-e* then transported to nearby cities and villages in rotation.<sup>17</sup> The ceremony usually took place at the Office of the *Nagasaki-bugyō*, but sometimes a group



**FIGURE 15.** Follower of Guglielmo della Porta, *Crucifixion*, gilded silver, 16th century. Osaka, Private collection.



of inquisitors bearing a *Fumi-e* made the rounds to every house, where all the family members and servants, including babies and invalids, were in attendance. If someone was too small or too weak to stand, the *Fumi-e* were placed under the bottom of the foot while the person remained lying down. Inquisitors ensured from close up that the sole of the foot completely touched the *Fumi-e*. It is interesting to note that verification of the actual act of trampling sacred images was scrupulously accentuated.

Understandably, there were quite a few hidden Christians who trampled *Fumi-e*, particularly in Nagasaki. As I related, it

was only around the beginning of the ban on Christianity, in the middle of the seventeenth century, that very large numbers of people chose death over symbolic abjuration. After that, hidden Christians generally chose to trample the *Fumi-e*, and after such a humiliating act they would quietly mumble words of conciliation, almost inaudibly and in absolute secrecy. At the same time, the *Fumi-e* ritual became a sort of annual New Year ceremony for non-Christians. One can imagine such a scene from the illustrations of Keiga Kawahara (1786–1860), famous for his paintings depicting the manners of Westerners in Nagasaki, in the book *Nippon* by Philipp Franz von Siebold, who was the in-house doctor of the Dutch Trading House of Nagasaki from 1824 to 1828 **FIGURE 16**.<sup>18</sup> Although this image is not considered to be a faithful documentation of a particular *Fumi-e* ceremony, Kawahara must have consulted various oral and visual sources. This print represents the ritual held in a household in Nagasaki. On the far left, triple-stacked *kagami-mochi* (round rice cakes offered to Shinto and Buddhist deities on the New Year) are displayed with other New Year's decorations on the kitchen range. New Year's decorations are also arranged in front of a woman, possibly the mother, sitting on her knees with two children. The painting behind the supervisor depicts a turtle, considered a fortunate symbol in Japan. In this auspicious setting, the father of the household tramples a *Fumi-e* as an officer carefully watches to see that his feet step firmly upon it. Two other officers and a supervisor watch this scene from another angle, and another officer records the procedure in a notebook. On the panel behind the seated woman, a calligraphic script states, 'Path of righteousness. Please judge the creed.'<sup>19</sup> In the foreground to the left, the other officer and an attendant kneel on the ground, and to the right a gentleman holds a conversation with a commoner independent of the *Fumi-e* practice. In this composition, the viewer sees a pleasant New Year's atmosphere contrasted with the rigidity of the investigation, which cannot be ignored.

**FIGURE 16.** Keiga Kawahara, *Fumi-e Ceremony*, in Philipp Franz von Siebold, *Nippon*, Leiden: Bei dem Verfasser, 1832–1852.

It is assumed that the inquisitors recognized the power of sacred images to the hidden religion, and that it was for this reason they invented the *Fumi-e* ceremony. In reality, the Office of the *Nagasaki-bugyō* very strictly controlled custody of the *Fumi-e* in order to prevent their being stolen or copied by hidden Christians who would have venerated them. After the extinction of priests who could administer Mass, the holy images became even more important for the faith of hidden Christians. For instance, hidden *Kirishitan* communities in Ikitsuki, a tiny island in the extreme west of Kyushu, venerate holy objects, including images traditionally known as *Okake-e*, rustic and naïve Christian holy images painted with ink on paper in wall-scroll format, executed by simple and untrained local people **FIGURE 17**. As I would like to discuss at length on another occasion, local communities repeatedly reproduced Christian sacred images brought from Europe by missionaries, and over multiple generations the images gradually assumed indigenous traits.<sup>20</sup>

One might say that the Office of the *Nagasaki-bugyō* acknowledged the symbolic power of the images of *Fumi-e*. Indeed, custody of *Fumi-e* was tightly controlled by the *Nagasaki-bugyō*. Before and after being sent out for ceremonies, the number and images of the *Fumi-e* were rigorously documented, and extreme care was taken in transporting them to other cities and villages in the Kyushu area. For example, when the *Fumi-e* were taken to Omura by sea, they were wrapped twice in secure bags, fastened, and securely looped to corners of the ship that were flanked by huge barrels to avoid their being sunk by any means.<sup>21</sup> Naturally, copying *Fumi-e* was strictly forbidden, because copies could have been venerated by hidden Christians. In 1671, Shin-emon Tsuge, inquisitor of the Oka domain of the Bungo area in Kyushu, had two *Fumi-e* reproduced to cut the need for their transportation, and afterwards he and other high-level officials of the Oka domain were subjected to severe punishment.<sup>22</sup> The reproduced *Fumi-e* were melted down immediately after being discovered.

The third issue was how the images of *Fumi-e* were perceived by Japanese people and by foreigners. The themes of the *Fumi-e* were quite restricted. The *Virgin Mary of the Rosary* and the *Virgin Mary of Immaculate Conception*



**FIGURE 17.** *Madonna with Child*, Biwa-no-kubi Tsumoto, ink on silk, around the 19th century. Ichibe, Ikitsuti.



**FIGURE 18.** *Ecce Homo*, Japanese grass ink on paper, end of the 18th century. Tokyo, Toyo-Bunko.



**FIGURE 19.** *Virgin Mary of the Rosary*, Japanese grass ink on paper, end of the 18th century. Tokyo, Toyo-Bunko.



**FIGURE 20.** *Pietà*, Japanese grass ink on paper, end of the 18th century. Tokyo, Toyo-Bunko.



**FIGURE 21.** *Calvary*, Japanese grass ink on paper, end of the 18th century. Tokyo, Toyo-Bunko.

were of course major subjects for the Catholic Church in the Counter-Reformation period. The Virgin Mary was deeply venerated by Christians during the “Christian Century” and by hidden Christians in the following period, and various miraculous stories of the Virgin Mary were passed down.<sup>23</sup> Therefore, it is no wonder that this image was chosen to be trampled.

For *Fumi-e*, the accentuation of the passion of Christ is particularly notable. In the creation of the brass *Fumi-e*, which were made specifically for the ritual, the number of *Pietà* scenes increased from one to five, and there were five brass images each of the *Crucifixion* and *Ecce Homo*. Currently, no Western bronze versions of the *Crucifixion* are known. Notably, when the *Fumi-e* ceremony started, what was employed most often was a simple cross; after the ban on Christianity and the expulsion of Catholic priests, the reports of English and Dutch merchants, who were the only Westerners allowed into Japan, referred to the ceremony using only the cross.<sup>24</sup> One could argue that the *Crucifixion* was that most important subject for the *Fumi-e*, and so there must have also been a bronze original that was destroyed or lost from heavy use.

For hidden Christians, it must have been deeply important not to trample the image of the passion of Christ, which represents not only the act of redemption but also the highest instance of martyrdom. There is no testimony

on this from the hidden Japanese Christians who trampled *Fumi-e*; in China, however, where the practice was intensified after the White Lotus Rebellion (1796–1804), there is an interesting account. A Chinese Christian from Guìzhōu, named Gù Zhàn'áo, left a statement when he was forced to stomp on *Fumi-e* in 1811: “My Lord hanged himself on a cross to save us, the sinful. So how can I trample and humiliate the cross? I would rather die.”<sup>25</sup> In the end, he trampled the cross with tears streaming from his eyes.

Given such images of *Fumi-e*, one may assume that those themes chosen were determined on a knowledge of Christianity. We cannot exclude the possibility that a European apostate who had been a missionary conceived of the *Fumi-e* ceremony. We have no documentation of this, except a mention in the famous historical studies of Japan by Léon Pagès, a French diplomat who stayed in Japan in the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>26</sup> According to Pagès, the apostate Cristóvão Ferreira (ca 1580–1650) had the idea of the *Fumi-e* in 1641. Given that the practice of *Fumi-e* started around the late 1620s, this claim cannot be entirely correct, but the French diplomat is thought to have had reasons for this assumption. Ferreira mastered Japanese after his arrival in 1609 and became Jesuit provincial of Japan in 1633. In the same year he became an apostate.<sup>27</sup> Thereafter, Ferreira named himself in Japanese *Chūan Sawano*, and he collaborated with the *Nagasaki-bugyō* to uncover hidden Christians, taking part in government trials of other captured Jesuits. Furthermore, he was often present during the *Fumi-e* ceremonies, and in 1636 he wrote a book, *Gikyō-roku* (*The Deception Revealed*), challenging Christian theology. Given these circumstances, it is likely that he had a considerable role in choosing the European bronze plaquettes to be framed in wood during the 1630s.

Before concluding, I would like to relate to two curious testimonials regarding *Fumi-e*. One was by a Protestant American named Ranald MacDonald, who stayed in Japan to teach English. In 1848, he wrote about his own experience of *Fumi-e* at the Office of the *Nagasaki-bugyō* in Nagasaki:

In entering I looked for the plate with the image [...]. It appeared to me to be a bronze plate, round, about six inches in diameter, flat on the ground, with something delineated on it, which — on stooping to examine it — I took to be the Virgin and Child. Told to put my foot on it, being a Protestant, I did so unhesitatingly.<sup>28</sup>

This indifference to a Christian sacred image or icon in the eyes of a Protestant is astonishing.

The other item is four sketches in Japanese ink of brass *Fumi-e* made by an anonymous Japanese officer in the Buzen domain of Kyushu (probably in the last stage of the Edo period), held today at Tōyō Bunko in Tokyo **FIGURES 18-21**. It is clear that the author of these simple sketches was not Christian, given that there are no stigmata wounds on the body of Christ hanging on the cross, and the other motifs are nonsensical. I intend to discuss these images at another time. Interestingly, the period when these sketches were executed was around the time the *Fumi-e* practice had evolved into almost a ceremony. In their curious tone of description, the power of the *Fumi-e* to detect hidden Christians vanished.

1 The fundamental historical study of *Fumi-e* is 片岡弥吉『踏絵・かくれキリシタン』(Yakichi Kataoka, *Fumi-e, Kakure-Kirishitan [Fumi-e and Hidden Christians]*, Tokyo: 智書房 [Tomo Shobō], 2014). This chapter was published for the first time as『踏絵—禁教の歴史』(*Fumi-e: Kinkyō no Rekishi [Fumi-e: History of the Ban of Christianity in Japan]*, 6th ed., Tokyo: NHK出版 [NHK Publishing], 1979). Other significant and comprehensive studies of *Fumi-e* are 岡田章雄『キリシタン風俗と南蛮文化』(Aki Okada, *Kirishitan fūzoku to Namban bunka [Manners and Customs of Christians and Namban Culture in Japan]*, Kyoto: 思文閣 [Shibunkaku], 1993); and 安高啓明『踏絵を踏んだキリシタン』(Hiroaki Yasutaka, *Fumi-e wo funda Kirishitan [Christians Who Trampled Fumi-e]*, Tokyo: 吉川弘文館 [Yoshikawa Kōbunkan], 2018). Primary texts on the history of Christianity in Western languages include Charles Ralph Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1951; Josef Franz Schütte, *Valignanos Missionsgrundsätze für Japan* (2 parts), Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1951–58; and Josef Franz Schütte, *Introductio ad historiam Societatis Jesu in Japonia, 1549–1650, ac prooemium ad catalogos Japoniae edendos ad edenda Societatis Jesu monumenta historica Japoniae propylaeum*, Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1968.

2 Compare 山本博文『殉教：日本人は何を信仰したか』(Hirofumi Yamamoto, *Junkyō: Nihonjin ha naniwo shinkō shitaka [Martyrdom: In What Did the Japanese Have Faith?]*, Tokyo: 光文社 [Kōbun-sha], 2009);『キリシタン迫害と殉教の記録』助野健太郎・山田野理夫編, 上・中・下 (*Kirishitan hakugai no kiroku [Record of the Persecution and Martyrdom of Christians]*, Tokyo: 星雲社 [Seiun-sha], 2010); and 片岡弥吉『日本キリシタン殉教史』(Yakichi Kataoka, *Nihon Kirishitan Junkyō-shi [History of Martyrdom in Japan]*, Tokyo: 智書房 [Tomo Shobō], 2010).

3 It would not be superfluous to recall the purported reason for the ban of Christianity by Hideyoshi Toyotomi and then the Tokugawa Shogunate: the slavery and trafficking of Japanese people by European merchants, the destruction of temples and shrines, which was considered not only hideous but incomprehensible to the polytheistic Japanese culture, and especially the fear of being invaded by European countries. In addition to the studies cited in note 1, above, and elsewhere herein, see also 岡美穂子『商人と宣教師：南蛮貿易の世界』(Mihoko Oka, *Shōnin to Senkyōshi: Namban-bōeki no Sekai [The Namban Trade: Merchants and missionaries]*, Tokyo: 東京大学出版会 [University of Tokyo Press] 2010); 高瀬弘一郎『キリシタン時代対外関

係の研究』(Kōichirō Takase, *Kirishitan-jidai Taigai-kankei no Kenkyū [Japanese Foreign Relations during the “Christian Century”]*, Tokyo: 八木書店 [Yagi-Shotei] 2017); and 五野井隆史『キリシタン信仰史の研究』(Takashi Gono, *Kirishitan Shinkō-shi no Kenkyū [Study of the History of Christianity in Japan]*, Tokyo: 吉川弘文堂 [Yoshikawa-Kobundō] 2017).

4 At the end of Edo period, in 1857, the *Nagasaki-bugyō* was obliged to abolish the *Fumi-e* practice. However, it continued as a purely ceremonial affair in parts of Kyushu Island until the fourth year of the Meiji era (1871).

5 The only academic publications on *Fumi-e* from an art history point of view are the following: 江口正一編『踏絵とロザリオ』(Shōichi Eguchi, ed., *Fumi-e to Rosario [Fumi-e and rosaries]*, Tokyo: 至文堂 [Shibundō] 1978); and Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, “Interpreting Cultural Transfer and the Consequences of Markets and Exchange: Reconsidering *Fumi-e*”, in *Artistic and Cultural Exchanges Between Europe and Asia*, ed. by Michael North, Farnham: Ashgate 2010, pp. 135–62.

6 Kataoka, *Nihon Kirishitan Junkyō-shi* (originally 1979, see n. 1), p. 39; DaCosta Kaufmann, “Interpreting Cultural Transfer”, pp. 149–50.

7 Recent studies on this issue include Alfonso Langello, “La questione dell’Immacolata concezione al Concilio di Trento”, *Theotokos* 22 (2014), 11–50.

8 Compare the site of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/190794>. On Jacopo Sansovino, see Manuela Morresi, *Jacopo Sansovino*, Milan: Electa, 2000, and Bruce Boucher, *The Sculpture of Jacopo Sansovino*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1991.

9 Compare Marino Capotorti, *Lepanto tra storia e mito: Arte e cultura visiva della controriforma*, Galatina, Lecce: Congedo, 2011; Victor Minguez Cornelles, *Inferno y gloria en el mar: Los Habsburgo y el imaginario artístico de Lepanto (1430–1700)*, Castelló de la Plana: Universitat Jaume I, 2018.

10 Anthony Geber, “Name Inscriptions: Solution or Problem?”, in *Studies in the History of Art*, vol. 22, *Italian Plaquettes*, ed. by Alison Luchs, Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1989, pp. 254–59, fig. 12; Susanna Zanuso, “Scuola italiana del XVI secolo, Pieta”, in *La raccolta Mario Scaglia: Dipinti e sculture, medaglie e placchette da Pisanello a Ceruti*, ed. by Andrea Di Lorenzo and Francesco Frangi, Milan: Museo Poldi Pezzoli, 2007, p. 130; Michael Riddick, “A Renowned Pieta by

Jacob Cornelis Cobaert”, in *Renaissance Bronze: Concerning the Study of Plaquettes, Paxes, Crucifixes* 2017, <https://renbronze.com/2017/07/16/a-renowned-pieta-by-jacob-cornelis-cobaert/>.

11 Compare Alexander Nagel, “Observations on Michelangelo’s Late Pietà Drawings and Sculptures”, *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 59 (1996), 548–72.

12 熊野正紹『長崎港草』森永種夫・丹波漢吉校訂 (Seishou Kumano, *Nagasaki-kōsō [Chronicle of Nagasaki]*, ed. by Taneo Morinaga, Kankichi Niwa, Nagasaki: 長崎文献社 [Nagasaki-Bunken-sha], 1973), 43. It is controversial whether Hagiwara Yūsa really made brass *Fumi-e*. Cf. 田中栄一「青銅の基督」論：萩原祐佐の史実について (Eiichi Tanaka, “Seidō no Kirisutoron: Ogiwara Yūsa no shijitsu ni tsuite” [Christ in Bronze: On the Historical Fact of Yūsa Ogiwara], 『新潟大学教育学部紀要』 (*Niigata-daigaku kyōiku-gakubu ken'yū kiyō [Bulletin of the Faculty of Education, University of Niigata]*) 12:15 (1970), 57–66.

13 Rosario Coppel, Charles Avery, and Margarita Estella, *Guglielmo della Porta: A Counter-Reformation Sculptor*, Madrid: Coll & Cortés Fine Arts, 2012, pp. 99–109; Michael Riddick, “Reconstituting ‘Crucifix’ by Guglielmo della Porta and his Colleagues”, *Renaissance Bronze* (2017).

14 Compare Riddick, “Reconstituting Crucifix by Guglielmo della Porta,” pp. 5–7.

15 On Sendaiji Shimootowa, see 藤波大超『千堤寺・下音羽のキリシタン遺跡』(Daichō Fujinami, *Sendaiji Shimootowa no Kirishitan iseki [Kirishitan Remains of Sendaiji Shimootowa]*, Ibaraki Osaka: City of Ibaraki, 1969); and『千堤寺・下音羽のキリシタン遺跡』茨木市教育委員会編 (Ibaraki City Board of Education, *Sendaiji Shimootowa no Kirishitan iseki [The Kirishitan Remains of Sendaiji Shimootowa]*, Ibaraki, Osaka: City of Ibaraki, 2000).

16 Compare Alessandro Valignano, *Il cerimoniale per i missionari del Giappone*, ed. Josef Franz Schütte, Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1946 (the original text was written in 1581); and Pietro Pirri, *Giuseppe Valeriano S.I.: Architetto e pittore, 1542–1596*, Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Jesu, 1970, p. 235.

17 On the practice of *Fumi-e*, see in particular Kataoka, *Fumi-e, Kakure-Kirishitan*, pp. 43–11; 大橋幸泰『潜伏キリシタン：江戸時代の禁教政策と民衆』(Yasuhiro Oohashi, *Senpuku Kirishitan: Edo-jidai no kinkyō-seisaku to Minshū [Hidden Christian: Anti-Christian Policy of the Edo Period and the Common People]*, Tokyo: 講談社 [Kōdan-sha], 2014, pp. 53–58); and Yasutaka, *Fumi-e wo funda Kirishitan*, pp. 58–219.

- 18 Philipp Franz von Siebold, *Nippon. Archiv zur Beschreibung von Japan und dessen Neben- und Schutzländern: Jezo mit den südlichen Kurilen, Krafto, Koorai und den Liukiu-Inseln, nach japanischen und europäischen Schriften und eigenen Beobachtungen bearbeitet*, Leiden: Bei dem Verfasser, 1832–52, vol. 2, p. 15..
- 19 Yasutaka, *Fumi-e wo funda Kirishitan*, p. 223; in Japanese, 義心之判事宜.
- 20 The following, published recently, is the most comprehensive study to date on the hidden Christians from an anthropological point of view: 中園成生『かくれキリシタンの起源：信仰と信者の実相』(Shigeo Nakazono, *Kakure kirishitan no kigen: shinkō to shinja no jissō* [*Hidden Christians: Their Life and Faith*], Fukuoka: 弦書房 [Gen-shobō], 2018). Regarding *Okake-e*, see Yoshie Kojima, "Reproduction of the Image of Madonna Salus Populi Romani in Japan", in *Between East and West: Reproductions in Art* (Proceedings of the CIHA Colloquium in Naruto, Japan, 15–18 January 2013), ed. by Shigetoshi Osano, Cracow: IRSA, 2014, pp. 373–87.
- 21 Kataoka, *Fumi-e, Kakure-Kirishitan*, p. 36. Cf. 『大村見聞集』藤野保, 清水紘一編 (Tamotsu Fujino and Kōichi Shimizu, eds., *Oomura kenbun shū* [*Collection of Documents from the Oomura Domain*], Tokyo: 高科書店 [Tkashina-shoten], 1994), p. 74.
- 22 Yasutaka, *Fumi-e wo funda Kirishitan*, pp. 164–67.
- 23 On those legends, see 谷真介『キリシタン伝説百話』(Shinsuke Tani, *Kirishitan densetsu hyaku-wa* [*A Hundred Legends of Kishiritan*], Tokyo: 新潮社 [Shinchō-sha], 1987).
- 24 Cf. 島田考右・島田ゆり子『踏絵：外国人による踏絵の記録』(Takau Shimada, Yuriko Shimada, *Fumi-e: gaikoku-jin ni yoru Fumi-e no kiroku* [*Fumi-e: Records of Fumi-e by Foreigners*], Tokyo: 雄松堂 [Yūshō-dō], 1994). See also Jonathan Swift, *Gulliver's Travels*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965 (or various other editions; it was first published in 1726), in which the act of trampling on the cross in Japan is mentioned (p. 204).
- 25 顧占鰲：「吾主，尔死于下字架上，为救我罪人，我宁愿万死，不敢践踏凌辱尔之十字架」。『黔信芳跡』(Qián xìn fāng jì, Chóngqing: 重慶巴邑聖家堂[Bāyì shèngjiā tang] 1910), 13. See also 安高啓明・方圓「清朝における禁教政策と絵踏：日中禁教政策の比較」(Takaaki Yasutaka, Fāng Yuán, *Shinchō ni okeru Kinkyō seisaku to ebumi: Nicchū kinkyō seisaku no hikaku* [*Ban on Christianity and Jefumi in the Qing Dynasty: A Comparison of Bans on Christianity in Japan and China*]), 『西南学院大学博物館研究紀要』(Seinan Digaku Hakubutsukan kenkyū kiyō [Research bulletin of Seinan Gakuin University Museum]), 3 (2015): pp. 31–40, part 37.
- 26 Léon Pagès, *Histoire de la religion chrétienne au Japon depuis 1598 jusqu'à 1651*, Paris: Charles Douniol, Libraire-Éditeur, 1869, p. 866.
- 27 On Cristóvão Ferreira, see Hubert Cieslik, "The Case of Cristóvão Ferreira", *Monumenta Nipponica*, 29:1 (1973), 1–54.
- 28 Ranald MacDonald, *The Narrative of His Early Life on the Columbia under the Hudson's Bay Company's Regime, of His Experiences in the Pacific Whale Fishery, and of his Great Adventure to Japan: With a Sketch of His Later Life on the Western Frontier, 1824–1894*, ed. by William S. Lewis and Naojiro Murakami, Portland: Oregon Historical Society Press, 1990, pp. 216–17.

# Too Many Wounds: Innocenzo da Petralia's Excessive Crucifixes and the Normative Image

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In June 1637 a wooden crucifix newly made for the Reformed Friars Minor of the convent of San Damiano in Assisi caught the eyes of several critics, including two representatives of the local inquisition **FIGURE 1**. One of the local inquisitors together with the guardian of Santa Maria degli Angeli, Fra Stefano da Bettona, were convinced that this image, which the San Damiano friars wanted to use for public devotion, was able to provoke ‘scandal’ because there were too many wounds and bruises, and too much blood, on Christ’s body. This made the image ‘altogether different from the other crucifixes we use to see in churches,’ *difforme* and *scontrafatto*. In particular, Fra Stefano deemed the image not to be displayed in public ‘because if it were successful, all the other crucifixes could be removed from churches.’<sup>1</sup> This information is reported in a letter, which the general inquisitor of Umbria, Fra Vincenzo Maria Pellegrini (responsible for Assisi), sent from Perugia to the cardinals of the Holy Office in Rome. Already informed about the troubles, the cardinals had previously sent to the same Pellegrini a *memoriale* submitted to them by the San Damiano friars in defense of the image.<sup>2</sup> Involving also the bishop of Assisi, Tegrino Tegrini (1630–41), who, as we shall see, was rather in favour of keeping the image, the Holy Office initiated a larger enquiry into the works of the author of this crucifix, the wood sculptor and reformed lay friar minor Innocenzo da Petralia (from his hometown, Petralia Sottana in Sicily).<sup>3</sup>

Relatively well known among historians of the Roman inquisition, this inquest consists in a file (later classified as an enquiry into a ‘bloody image of the crucifix painted by fra’ Innocenzo [...] in Assisi and in Pesaro’), which can be studied and analysed from several perspectives.<sup>4</sup> Alejandro Cifres has discussed the historical details and the theological implications of the episode, while the historian Maria Pia Fantini has developed a compelling analysis of the anthropology of censorship in this case.<sup>5</sup> However, the case has not yet been the object of an in-depth art-historical study.<sup>6</sup> The specialized studies available on Innocenzo da Petralia and his works have not so far fully taken into account this documentation, since they mostly predate the wider circulation of this archival material.<sup>7</sup>

I will focus on the significance of this episode for the development of a study on the normativity of sacred images.<sup>8</sup> For such a study, this case is extremely important, not only because it concerns the central image of Christianity, but also because it is one of the few inquisitorial trials into the work of a sculptor, if not the only one we know at present. A close analysis of the Petralia case provides art historians with new tools, viewpoints, and historical language, which allows us to study in new ways the tensions between different types of visual norms, emotions, and artistic techniques, in particular those techniques (or styles) through which an artist could push the limits of realistic effects.<sup>9</sup> Most importantly, it provides new material for a reflection around the notion of the visual norm.

The short abstract of the story presented above already shows what was at stake in this episode. First, an invoked norm, allegedly both theological and visual, that the Sicilian crucifixes would have violated. Second, the power of this image to set a new standard, thus causing not only conflicts between local and central authorities and between different religious communities, but also, the alleged ‘removal’ of all the previous crucifixes. Presenting a small part of a larger research project, I will focus in particular on three points.



First, the ambivalent effects of this excessive image and the legal function of drawings submitted to court. Second, the geography of this type of crucifix and the point of view of the artist. Third, a comparison between the efficacy of the Petralia crucifixes and a previous crucifixion drawing, which will prompt some comments around the notion of the 'normative image'.<sup>10</sup>

### Image Autopsies: Drawing as Visual Defence

Innocenzo da Petralia (born between 1602 and 1603) had learnt the traditional art of sculpting and painting wood in Sicily, together with fellow sculptor Franciscan master Umile da Petralia (d. 9 February 1639, in Sant'Antonino, Palermo).<sup>11</sup> In 1635, Innocenzo contributed a cross of cypress for a crucifixion by Umile for Collesano, near Palermo.<sup>12</sup> Shortly after, probably before 1636, Innocenzo left Sicily for a series of commissions in central Italy. His itinerary, which was quite unusual for a local artist of this type, but it was not uncommon for artists who were linked to religious orders, included at least Rome, Assisi, and Gubbio, the area of Pesaro in the Marche, and later the island of Malta.

The first and most prominent work he produced outside Sicily was certainly the one he made for the church and convent of San Francesco a Ripa, in Rome **FIGURE 2**. Since 1579, this church in Trastevere had hosted the

**FIGURE 1.** Innocenzo da Petralia, *San Damiano Crucifix*, 1637. Assisi, Church of San Damiano.



**FIGURE 2.** Innocenzo da Petralia, *San Francesco a Ripa Crucifix*, 1637. Porretta Terme (Bologna), church of Santa Maria Maddalena.



**FIGURE 3.** Innocenzo da Petralia, *Gubbio Crucifix*, 1637. Gubbio, Convent of San Girolamo.



**FIGURE 4.** Innocenzo da Petralia, detail of signature on the *Gubbio Crucifix*, 1637. Gubbio, Convent of San Girolamo.

**FIGURE 5.** Epigraph appended on the left of the *San Francesco a Ripa Crucifix*, 1651. Porretta Terme (Bologna), church of Santa Maria Maddalena.



convent of the Reformed Franciscans, who refurbished the building, with important commissions (including, years later, Gianlorenzo Bernini's *Ludovica Albertoni*). Fra Innocenzo worked for this church and convent at the time when the vice-procurator of the Reformed Franciscans in Rome was Friar Ascanio Mariani from Assisi, who appreciated his work very much and subsequently sent the sculptor to Assisi; in Rome, Mariani was also instrumental for the San Damiano friars to present their defensive *memoriale* to the Holy Office.<sup>13</sup> Even if we do not know much more about the circumstances leading to this first commission in Rome (we do not know why or by whom he was called to Rome), it seems certain that Petralia's work for this important Roman church was pivotal for his subsequent brief but very intense career in central Italy.<sup>14</sup>

Reading through the inquisitorial files, and so adopting the perspective of the inquisitors, we are surprised by the number of the other crucifixes that, after the denunciation of the one in San Damiano, were subject to the scrutiny of the Holy Office. The investigation developed in several phases between 1 August 1636 and 15 September 1638.<sup>15</sup> To the astonishment of the inquisitors, and of the modern scholar, it emerged that, in the short period between 1637 and 1638, the Sicilian lay friar had produced not just one, but several similar

(but not identical) objects. He had worked for a large number of patrons of different social standing in Rome (in San Francesco a Ripa), Umbria, in the convent of San Damiano in Assisi and that of San Girolamo in Gubbio, where he proudly signed a further work in 1637 **FIGURES 3, 4**, and in the Marche, where he was reported to have executed in the convent of San Giovanni Battista at least four or five works, for different religious and lay patrons.<sup>16</sup>

Received with the highest enthusiasm by many, all these works immediately faced criticism not only in Assisi, but also in Rome, and subsequently in Pesaro. Innocenzo's crucifixes enjoyed full support from the vice-procurator of the Reformed Franciscans Friar Ascanio, but the provincial minister of the order decided to send away the San Francesco a Ripa crucifix, shortly after its completion in 1637, to a remote village in the Apennines, Porretta Terme. There, in the church of Santa Maria, an epigraph from 1651 still recalls this 'gift' and the 'continuous graces' made by the crucifix **FIGURE 5**.<sup>17</sup> It is worth noting that, though the work arrived in Porretta already in 1637, it was blessed only in 1651. We must suppose that during the intervening fourteen years the object faced an ambiguous status, even though the *grazie* celebrated in the epigraph are described as 'continuous'. Whether the decision to get rid of the crucifix in Rome was motivated by aesthetic concerns or by direct or indirect knowledge of the investigation already taking place in Assisi remains unclear; however, it seems plausible that the two events are not independent of the each other. Whatever the reason, the image made for one of the most prominent Franciscan churches in Rome was sent off to the middle of the

**FIGURE 6.** Angelo da Pietrafitta, *San Francesco a Ripa Crucifix*, 1686. Rome, church of San Francesco a Ripa.

Apennines. Interestingly enough for the present argument, fifty years later (around 1686) a new crucifix, different in style but exactly of the same type, executed by the Calabrian sculptor Fra Angelo da Pietrafitta, replaced the Roman image sent into exile **FIGURE 6**.

The *memoriale* written by the San Damiano friars in defense of the Assisi crucifix was sent also to Bishop Tegrini of Assisi, who on 3 August 1637 wrote back to Cardinal Francesco Barberini, the renowned patron of the arts, who was also the secretary of the Roman Inquisition at the time. Bishop Tegrini argued that the Reformed Friars Minor should be allowed to keep the image, because ‘one cannot deny that this figure moves the mind of everyone who looks at it to great devotion and extraordinary compassion for the passion of Christ’.<sup>18</sup> Another source, a local chronicle from the San Damiano convent, which seems to resonate parts of the original defensive *memoriale*, describes the San Francesco a Ripa crucifix as ‘perfectly beautiful and devout’ (‘di intera bellezza e devozione’).<sup>19</sup> The same chronicle narrates that, when the local inquisitor ordered the image confined for forty days in the room where it was created, this order ‘originated a great distaste, above all among the noblewomen, for the reason that they cannot see it’ (‘causò grandissimo disgusto, massime a gentildonne per non poterlo vedere’).<sup>20</sup>

The first question to address must therefore be why these crucifixes provoked such an extreme difference of reactions. Can we know something more about the actual effects produced by these manufactures on different viewers? Thanks to the inquisitorial interest, which these images were exceptionally provoking, the art historian can sit upon a rare vantage point from which it is possible to explore in some detail the actual functioning of what he or she could define, not too anachronistically, as examples of hyperrealist art. The modern stylistic category of ‘hyperrealism’, even if it is not obviously part of the period language, is of interest for a study on image normativity insofar as the prefix ‘hyper-’ points to an overcoming of a standard, which in this instance would be the ‘real’. Of course, not even ‘real’, or ‘realism’, are period words, but we can still try to use this modern label as an analytical tool to study the function of seventeenth-century crucifixes.

The already quoted letter from Bishop Tegrini specifies that the work in Assisi was *carved* in white poplar and *painted* with colours true to life (‘è di rilievo di legname di albuccio ricoperto di colori al naturale’).<sup>21</sup> The technique of Innocenzo was indeed a very traditional one, known from at least two centuries in Sicily.<sup>22</sup> The Petralia crucifixes are characterized by a detailed anatomy and a complexion that, though it slightly changes from exemplar to exemplar according to the specific choices of the artist (the crucifix in Rome looks more robust and fleshy, whereas the ones in Assisi or Gubbio are more emaciated), presents overall a similar structure of the figure, which is always repeated. In particular, the wounds and bruises of Christ always follow the same organization: in addition to the wounds on the hands, feet, and chest, we see a very large central laceration, bruised knees, and other bruises along the body, along with signs of ropes at the ankles and wrists. What characterizes in particular the crucifixes by Innocenzo, and those by Fra Umile, is the excessive amount of painted blood, and especially the blood flow, which pours from the wound on the chest, and seems to be emphasized through the use of mixed materials (red paint, red lacquer, and wax).



**FIGURE 7.** Umbrian artist, copy drawing of the *San Damiano Crucifix*, 1637. Vatican City, Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede.

What is of interest here are the modalities through which this particularly complex conformation of the image together with the precise whole map of wounds and bruises on the flesh and body of the crucifixes were transmitted to the Holy Office in Rome. In order to examine the case, the inquisitors needed precise information on the general appearance of the image and body of Christ and also the position and number of the wounds. Since the objects were too big to be sent over, the local inquisitors and bishops gathered different verbal and visual descriptions to forward to Rome.

In Assisi, two strategies for this communication were deployed: one visual and one verbal. Bishop Tegrini asked a local 'painter', whose name is not given, to make a *ritratto* or copy drawing of the image, which was then sent to Rome **FIGURE 7**.<sup>23</sup> In this copy drawing, the body of Christ appears to be much more idealized in comparison to the original sculpture. Not only is Christ's appearance softened, but the wounds and bruises on his body are rendered much less ugly and bloody. The drawing still conveys the original and exact map of bruises and wounds, but it does so in a very lightened manner. In particular, the amount of visible red blood is rendered in the drawing in a much gentler manner than it appears on the sculpted image; the central laceration in the chest, which is so prominent in the San Damiano sculpture, is diminished. Since the drawing was sent on the bishop's initiative, it could have been the result of a tactical move on his part to save the image; or the idealization might have been due to the maker of the drawing who looked at the wooden image through the lenses of a style more in tune with Renaissance models. Certainly, this is a case in which style and stylistic choices change drastically the effect of an image.

In his turn, the inquisitor Vincenzo Maria Pellegrini sent not an image, but a detailed written description of the same San Damiano crucifix. This written description, which was entrusted to a notary of the Inquisition, constitutes a proper forensic examination of the image that is an 'official examination of all the sores, wounds and bruises' ('solenne processo in tutte le piaghe, ferrite e lividi'). In this text, the notary describes at length every wound, every streak of blood, and every bruise on the flesh of the image as if these were real injuries on a real dead body. The extreme accuracy of this long description, which goes as far as describing the wounds on the back,<sup>24</sup> results in a proper 'autopsy' of the image of Christ's dead body.<sup>25</sup> The agents of the Inquisition, who arrived to describe the image with a judicial preconception assuming nonconformity, were completely caught up in the fiction created by the artist. They write, for example:

On the forehead, above the left eye there is a bruise of three inches, which inflates the flesh [...]. A spine from the [...] crown enters the flesh at the far extremity of the left ear, and, from the puncture of that spine, a large amount of blood comes out, which abundantly flows in three directions, that is, towards the shoulder, the ribs and the chest.<sup>26</sup>

If we look again at the image, after reading this text, we start to understand one of the reasons why it looks so unsettling: the holes and the wounds with their thick clusters of blood appear to be almost isolated, disembodied from the *corpus*, as if they had a separate life of their own.<sup>27</sup>

The image autopsy goes even further. Just like a forensic physician or a modern coroner, the notary also gives with medical precision the *causes* for the damage to the image, which is treated exactly as if it were a real corpse. For instance: “There are two notable wounds, one around the ankle, made, as it seems, from the binding of a rope, and they make the aforementioned leg and foot notably bigger than the other.”<sup>28</sup> In other words, the signs of abuse (more or less evident in the various crucifixes, according to the different works and audiences) are because Christ’s limbs have been bound; that he had fallen on his knees on its way to the Calvary, and so forth. The detached notary’s report provides us the best evidence for the ‘efficacy’ of the artist’s hyperrealist fiction. Furthermore, it helps us to understand what viewers were meant to see on the cross: the physical effects of all the different stages of the story (the Passion), shown in a synthetic way, at once, on the body of a single suffering image.<sup>29</sup>

The contrast between this autoptic and forensic report (‘solenne processo’) carried on the body of the image and the drawing provided by Bishop Tegrini is striking. On 13 August 1637, Pope Urban VIII decided to remit the issue to the judgment of the bishop (who was ordinarily in charge of investigating on images), asking only not to permit a solemn procession in the act of the inauguration of the image.<sup>30</sup> It is therefore possible to argue that in this instance the plea of the bishop together with the submitted drawing, with its softer shape and diminished rendering of the wounds and blood, had a positive effect in softening the judgment.<sup>31</sup> This means that, in this case, the drawing acted not as a mere intermediary of the conformation of the image, but rather as an argument in defense of this same image. Therefore, it would be reductive, and probably wrong, to consider this drawing just as neutral ‘evidence’ used in the trial.<sup>32</sup> The role of this drawing is in fact more similar to a witness for the defence.

### **The Geography of Visual Norms and the Voice of the Artist**

The second act of the story took place in Pesaro and Rimini. In March 1638, Innocenzo is at work in the convent of San Giovanni Battista di Pesaro. A fellow brother, Marco da Sapezzano, spontaneously denounces his presence and activities to the father inquisitor general of Rimini, Fra Agostino da Correggio. The type of ‘synthetic’ image represented by another of the Petralia crucifixes — which, the defenders in Assisi claimed, ‘was made according to the Revelations of St Bridget’<sup>33</sup> — was rejected in the following, crystal clear terms by Agostino da Correggio:

The universal practice of the holy Church of sculpting and depicting crucifixes that conform to the traditional and ordinary practice of the same holy Church is time-honoured [...]. And, although we must imagine in our minds that Christ [...] was entirely covered in blood on the cross [*fosse tutto sanguinolente sopra della croce*], due to the many strokes he received from the evil ministers, the holy Apostles would not allow him to be depicted or sculpted so full of blood [...], probably because such crucifixes do not cause devotion, but only terror and fright.<sup>34</sup>

Leaving aside other considerations concerning the media-specific stronger efficacy of images, as opposed to that of texts (e.g. Saint Bridget's revelations) or the imagination (a topic I would like to develop elsewhere), I will focus on my second main point: the geography of visual norms in Europe. *Pace* the Pesaro inquisitor, it is possible to argue that there was no such a thing as a universal 'theological' norm that could apply to the image of the crucifix. Considering the known instances of contested images of the crucifix, it is in fact debatable whether the limits of acceptability were established on 'theological' grounds, or rather iconographic and 'aesthetic' concerns. In 1305–6 London, a fork-shaped carved cross, probably imported from Germany (Conyhope Cross), was deemed to be a *crux horribilis* not only because of the lack of a proper cross-arm for the gibbet, but possibly also because its aspect appeared extraneous and was disconcerting to local viewers.<sup>35</sup> We have the impression that, in this realm, the limits of the 'normal' were constantly shifting, according to different ideas, viewpoints, and, above all, visual traditions, innovations, and geographies (rather than chronologies). Catholic art theorists were alternatively attacking or defending — as in the case of a passage by one of the interlocutors in Giovanni Andrea Gilio's *Dialogo degli errori de' pittori* — the 'deformities' of the crucifix.<sup>36</sup> Gilio's passage from 1564 would have provided indeed a perfect letter of recommendation for the later crucifixes by Fra Innocenzo.

In the Petralia case, the supporters of the image, in particular a Franciscan friar preaching in Pesaro, claimed that 'in Spain there were many similar crucifixes, which are making and made *many miracles*'.<sup>37</sup> At the present state of the research, it is not entirely clear whether the preacher was referring to a specific class of Spanish objects or not. We cannot exclude that his remark was only a generic reference to Spanish polychrome sculptures of the suffering Christ, of which the preacher might have had notice.<sup>38</sup> However, the reference, in an official sermon, to the many miracles effected by these images in the past and in the present might point to something more specific. Perhaps the preacher was aware of examples such as the famous Cristo de Burgos, a medieval crucifix covered by wounds, which was deemed to be miraculous and whose effect of reality was enhanced by the cow skin covering the surface of the sculpture.<sup>39</sup> However, it would be wrong to think that it was the intention of Petralia to conform to the class of objects to which the Cristo de Burgos pertains. The image in Burgos does not provide a strict iconographic parallel. Furthermore, as several other examples in Italy (first of all, il *Volto Santo* in Lucca) and in Spain, the image in Burgos was traditionally attributed to Nicodemo, while the crucifixes by Innocenzo da Petralia do not pertain to this tradition. On the contrary, they are proudly produced and recognized as the work of this precise sculptor, who signs his works (e.g. in Gubbio, **FIGURES 3, 4**) and is pursued exactly because, in Rome and in central Italy, he is perceived as a disturbing innovator.<sup>40</sup>

It is important to stress, once again, that it was not the artist himself who mentioned the Spanish models in his defense; it was, instead, the Franciscan



**FIGURE 8.** Innocenzo da Petralia's crucifix from the Franciscan church of Santa Maria del Gesù ('Ta' Giezu') in procession, 2013. Malta, La Valletta.



**FIGURE 9.** Peruvian (Chachapoyas),  
Lenten curtain, before 1775. New York,  
American Museum of Natural History.

preacher who made the connection, showing an awareness of the complex cartographies of the image of the crucifix. For this type of suffering Christ, strands also came from northern Europe. Today, the same church of San Giovanni Battista in Pesaro hosts also a fifteenth-century crucifix attributed to Johannes Teutonichus or Paolo 'alamanno', which fra Innocenzo might have seen.<sup>41</sup> The geographical map of the particular type of crucifix he produced extends, actually, even beyond continental Europe, from Malta to New Spain. Malta was the place where, far away from Rome, but at the centre of diplomatic exchanges between European elites in the Mediterranean Sea, Petralia ended his career, with a few extremely dramatic works, including one at La Valletta, which nobody there ever contested **FIGURE 8**. At the other end, and most probably via a Spanish mediation, a Peruvian Lenten curtain shows exactly the same synthetic type, offering an initial basis for a larger circulation and map **FIGURE 9**.

As for Fra Innocenzo, most probably he was simply following and elaborating on a type of crucifix that was well established in Sicily, as we have seen. Characterized not only by the two lacerations on the knees and by the signs of the binding laces at the ankles and wrists, but, in particular, by the central hole in the chest, this sculptural type was widely spread across the island since at least the end of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth.<sup>42</sup> The type was not exclusive of sculpture, but was known also in other media, as is shown by an altarpiece signed and dated 1514 by the Augustinian Friar Simpliciano da Palermo, now in the deposits of the Galleria Regionale della Sicilia **FIGURE 10**. The altarpiece was originally painted for the female Benedictine monastery of Saint Mary Magdalene in Corleone.<sup>43</sup> Surrounded by Mary with the pious women, Saint John, Mary Magdalen embracing the feet nailed to the cross, and a small male donor figure, we see a crucifix with the same 'additional' hole in the chest, which corresponds exactly to the type later depicted by Innocenzo da Petralia.

The question then concerns more the geographies of visual norms in Europe than a theological conflict around the image of the crucifix. This visual geography was clearly variable even inside Catholic Europe. Thanks to the documentation of the Holy Office, it is possible to demonstrate how, for our artist, this type of crucifix was absolutely 'normal'.

The file preserves evidence from both the hand and the voice of the artist, which makes this dossier extraordinary. The drawing submitted by the bishop of Assisi was not the only one to be sent to Rome. A second watercoloured sheet is preserved in the file **FIGURE 11**. This astonishing watercoloured drawing was sent from Pesaro, where, as we have seen, the investigation had continued. Still at the orders of the central office in Rome, Agostino da Correggio



**FIGURE 10.** Simpliciano da Palermo, *Crucifixion, with Mary and the Pious Women, Saint John, Mary Magdalen, and a donor*, 1514. Palermo, Galleria Regionale della Sicilia.



**FIGURE 11.** Innocenzo da Petralia, copy drawing of the *Mosca Crucifix*, 1638. Vatican City, Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede.

had asked the artist himself to ‘make a drawing, or copy, of the crucifix made by him, which was exhibited in the Mosca chapel’ in the Reformed Franciscan church of San Giovanni Battista in Pesaro.<sup>44</sup>

This autograph copy drawing, executed between the 15 and 22 April 1638, appears to be iconographically identical to the model (most probably the one now in Gradara), but stylistically much less true to life.<sup>45</sup> The streams of blood painted *al naturale* on the white poplar flesh of the carved image, which seem almost real in the sculpture, are translated in the drawing in a very stylized and almost abstract way, like a sort of watercoloured spiral rays. If we compare the two drawings, the one made by the anonymous painter in Assisi and the one executed by Fra Innocenzo, the contrast is striking **FIGURES 7, 11**. They seem to refer to two almost completely different images. The three symmetrical blood spirals dropping on each side of the shoulders and all the other details in the Petralia drawing rather correspond with almost scientific exactitude to the detailed written notary autopsy from Assisi. Not only does this drawing exactly convey the structure and map of wounds, but it also starkly renders through its clarity the suffering of the image, in particular the precise use of watercolour red for the blood and of grey crayon for the bruises.<sup>46</sup>

It is therefore clear that the artist did not try to conceal in any way the alleged excessive character of the work. On the contrary, he presented it very proudly to the inquisitors, thus revealing his understanding of the norm for crucifixes. The viewer is particularly struck by the contrast between the wounded and suffering body of the image and the lively and charming rococo putto joyfully flying above it. Most interestingly, when asked in Assisi by the vicar of Inquisitor Pellegrini why he had portrayed Christ so wounded, bloodied, broken, and beaten, he answered — certainly under pressure — that ‘he made this for the sake of proportion’: ‘domandandoli per qual causa più in un luogo, che nell’altro haveva moltiplicate le piaghe, i lividi, et i tumori, e’ li rispose che ciò haveva fatto per la proportione.’<sup>47</sup> The use of this art-theoretical term (*proportione*) in this context is puzzling. We will never know whether or not he really considered his crucifixes to be ‘in proportion’, and what he meant by that; however, by looking at the drawing we are able to recognize a careful and almost symmetrical rendering of all the wounds, bruises, and blood streams on the suffering body. On the one hand, the use of this word shows that the friar was convinced that this was the correct way to execute the image of the crucifix;<sup>48</sup> on the other, it could also show that he had learnt at least some bits and pieces of art theory before starting to sculpt his many images of the suffering Christ.

### **Images of the Crucifix and the Crucifixion of Images: The ‘Normative Image’**

The question is why did Innocenzo’s art, ‘normal’ in Sicily and elsewhere, provoke such a strong reaction in Umbria, in the Marche, and in Rome? First of all, it is arguable that the objection was not fundamentally based on theological grounds, but mainly on visual and aesthetic motifs. The alleged main theological argument — that the image showed *more than five* wounds —

emerges clearly only from one document in the entire dossier: an extremely moving letter in support of the image, written to Cardinal Barberini by Suor Maria, the sister of the duchess of Pesaro, Livia della Rovere. Both noblewomen owned one crucifix each (respectively, two smaller and more refined exemplars), and their letters indicate a particularly aristocratic and female attachment to this extreme image.<sup>49</sup> From the San Damiano chronicle quoted above, we already learned that, when the vicar of the Inquisition in Assisi ordered that the controversial image should be kept out of sight for forty days, this 'caused enormous displeasure, especially among the *gentildonne*'. In particular, in her moving *supplica*, the sister of the Pesaro duchess, who was a nun, wrote that the inquisitor wanted to take her beloved crucifix away with the excuse that the image shows 'many other wounds beyond the five'.<sup>50</sup> The tone of the letters, however, betrays the nun's scepticism about the theological and iconographic position on the number of Christ's wounds. To Suor Maria, this point sounded like an academic remark when compared to the spiritual comfort that the image was able to dispense.

The objections were in fact more of an aesthetic or even an ethic order. The image is considered 'unusual' because it appears to be too much abused with painted blood, and is therefore 'scontrafatta' (ugly, deformed) and too terrible because it frightens instead of causing devotion, which clearly contradicts the opinion of the supporters of the image. In light of these objections, the puzzling defensive answer provided by the artist used one of the central terms of Renaissance art theory (*proportione*), may also look like an attempt on his part to evoke an ideal type of the image of Christ, which the inquisitors, whether run-of-the-mill or more refined (such as Francesco Barberini), might have had in mind. In fact, the central Italian inquisitors were looking at Petralia's works with eyes familiar with the Umbrian and central Italian development of religious art. This could have enhanced their sense of shock and disturbance before Innocenzo's crucifixes.

This observation leads to a second, and stronger reason for the refusal of the image. The main objection against the image was the one I already mentioned in my opening, which was formulated by the guardian of Santa Maria degli Angeli: 'if it were successful, all the other crucifixes could be removed from churches'. Of this argument, we find at least two other formulations. According to Inquisitor Pellegrini, his own intention in writing to Rome was 'to avoid any innovation against the ancient and common style of the Holy Church in the matter of the image of the Crucifix, without the licence of the Holy Congregation, in order not to deprive of the due cult the other similar images in the succession of time' ('acciò all'altre simili imagini in successione di tempo non si togliesse il dovuto culto').<sup>51</sup>

Finally, in the *Storia del crocifisso della Chiesa di S. Damiano* the critics of the image in Assisi said that, because of its success, 'il crocifisso di S. Rufino perderebbe il credito, et non avrebbe più concorso'.<sup>52</sup> San Rufino was the cathedral of Assisi, and the crucifix in it was preserved in a chapel built in 1561.

We could tentatively call such a powerful image 'a normative image'. That is, one that has the potential to 'destroy' all the previous images (therefore, in a certain sense, it is also an 'iconoclastic image'),<sup>53</sup> but, at the same time, by doing this, it is also able to establish a new regime, and therefore it is potentially *normative*. Already in the Middle Ages, but more frequently in the

Renaissance and the early modern times, there are several other images of this type. I have already mentioned the Conyhope Cross, which in 1305–6 in London was suppressed because ‘it had done its job too well.’<sup>54</sup> I will briefly evoke only another prominent example: the famous drawing of *Christ on the Cross*, produced by Michelangelo Buonarroti for Vittoria Colonna around 1538–41, now in London **FIGURE 12**.

After all the broken and bleeding Christs I have discussed so far, it comes as a relief to look for a moment at the undamaged body represented in Michelangelo’s black chalk drawing. Very differently from the *dolorosus* type, Michelangelo portrays a much more bodily and heroic conception of Christ’s resistance to suffering and death.<sup>55</sup> Still, this image may be considered extreme and almost disturbing for the emphasis on the torsion and the excessive expressivity of the body.

Notwithstanding what may seem an unfair juxtaposition between Michelangelo’s crucifix and the ones made by our much more obscure Sicilian sculptor, this comparison allows us to compare their efficacy (and, in this case, also their gendered efficacy, that is, the effect they had in particular on aristocrat female viewers). In one famous passage, Vittoria Colonna describes the effects of the contemplation of this image.<sup>56</sup> She scrutinized the drawing at length with the help of a candle, a magnifying glass, and a mirror. After this very close ‘autopsy’ of this ‘most alive’ image, she let Michelangelo know that this crucifix ‘has certainly crucified in my memory all the many depictions I have ever seen.’<sup>57</sup>

Playing with the rhetorical inversion of ‘image of the crucifix’ and ‘crucifixion of images’, this comment can be compared to the claim of the Assisi inquisitor that were the San Damiano crucifix ‘successful, all the other crucifixes could be removed from churches’. With all the differences between the two cases, in both instances we can observe the same conflict between all previously known images and a single new one, which is believed to have the power to kill all others, establishing a new visual standard. In both cases, the perpetrator (and the legislator) is the artist.



**FIGURE 12.** Michelangelo, *Christ on the Cross*, black chalk, 1538–41. London, British Museum.

## Appendix The Autopsy of an Image

ACDF, St. st. H 3 b, 2, ff. 19r–21v

Die 14. junii 1637

Pater vicarius generalis Sancti Offitii Perusiae frater Augustinus de Imola sacrae theologiae magister accessit ad conventum Sancti Damiani fratrum ordinis sancti Francisci reformatorum prope, et extra Assisium una mecum notario infrascripto et admirando reverendo patre lectore jubilato, et guardiano Sanctae Mariae Angelorum fratre Stephano de Bietonio de mandato reverendissimi patris inquisitoris generalis totius Umbriae ad effectum visitandi et inspiciendi imaginem Sanctissimi Crucifixi noviter fabricati et ad presentiam admirandus reverendissimi patres videlicet fratris Demetrii de Abastia guardiani et fratris Nicolai de Perusia vidit et adnotavit prout ergo notarius quae vidi et adnotavi cum praedictis ut infra videlicet.

Un crucifisso grande sopra della croce representante Christo morto.

Nella fronte sopra l'occhio sinistro un livido che rileva la carne di lunghezza tre dita, e dalla grandezza di detto livido escono fuori due spine della corona, che li soprastanno all'occhio.

Nell'ultima estremità de l'orechia sinistra entra una spina della medesima corona, e dalla pontura di detta /19v/ spina esce tanta copia di sangue che abbondantemente si diffonde in tre parti, cioè verso la spalla, le coste, et il petto.

Sopra la spalla sinistra vi si scopre notabilmente rilevata la carne con livido nella somità del qual livido si vede rotta la carne e ne esce il sangue.

Nella parte detta il pesce di detto braccio si scorge un livido di lunghezza tre dita verso la parte inferiore, e n'esce poca quantità di sangue. Passata la congiuntura di detto braccio verso la mano vi apparisce un altro livido di minor grandezza e n'escono alcune stille di sangue. Sotto detto livore immediatamente vi è un livido grande, come in forma circolare et apparisce rotta la carne con qualche effusione di sangue. Vicino alla detta mano nel polso vi è rottura di carne come piaga da la quale esce il sangue, e sopra di essa immediatamente vi è rottura di carne con effusione di sangue, finalmente viene la piaga fatta dal chiodo nel luogo solito con l'effusione di molto sangue.

Sotto il detto braccio immediatamente nel fine delle costole verso /20r/ la schiena nella parte superiore vi è una piaga insanguinata e con l'effusione di sangue. Nell'istessa parte più abasso ma verso il corpo vi apparisce una piaghetta; e poco lontano un livido et d'ambi doi ne scaturisce copia di sangue.

Sotto la spalla sinistra un livido con due gocce di sangue.

Nel mezzo del petto una piaga con gran copia di sangue, qual piaga è di forma come circolare.

Non molto distante ma dalla parte destra vi è la piaga ordinaria della lancia con notabile copia di sangue che s'alza sopra la carne et alcune gocce di sangue che s'alza sopra la carne, et alcune gocce d'acqua.

Fra il collo e la chioma dalla parte destra esce copia di sangue. Nella parte medesima fra le coste e la schiena vi è un livido grande con elevatione di carne et alcune goccie di sangue.

Sopra il braccio medesimo vi si scorge una spina dalla cui puntura esce sangue.

Poco sopra nel pesce un livido con apparitione di tre goccie di sangue.

Passata la congiuntura e sotto il braccio vi sono due piaghe; una grande e l'altra piccola e l'una e l'altra gietta sangue se ben più la grande che la piccola. /20v/ Doppo ne seguita la piaga ordinaria del chiodo con notabile effusione di sangue.

Nel fine del braccio verso la mano appariscono tre lividi che circondano il braccio, che appariscono fatte da fune che habbino legato il detto braccio.

Nella coscia destra nella parte superior vi è un livido dal quale escono alcune goccie di sangue.

Nella parte più inferiore di detta coscia vi è un altro livido, e ne scappano molte goccie di sangue.

Il ginocchio apparisce notabilmente elevato, gonfio, e livido con apertura nella somità de detto ginocchio, et effusione di sangue.

Sotto il ginocchio nella parte di fuori della gamba vi è livido e tumore con l'elevatione di carne e poca effusione di sangue, sì come nell'istessa gamba nella parte di dentro vi apparisce livido e tumore simile.

Nel collo del piede che apparisce livido, vi sono tre piaghe notabili, se ben una un poco minore dell'altre ma però ne esce sangue alla quali seguita la piaga ordinaria /21r/ del chiodo.

Nella coscia sinistra verso la parte di dietro vi è livido tumore e poca effusione di sangue sì come dirimpetto vi è un simile tumore livido et effusione.

Nel ginocchio vi sono tre buchi che fanno piaga con notabile effusione di sangue, poco più abasso doi lividi dall'una e l'altra parte della gamba con tumore e poca effusione di sangue.

Nella parte di fuori della detta gamba sotto il sudetto livido vi è rottura di carne che fa piaga ed effusione di sangue.

Sotto immediatamente detta rottura seguitano lividi notabili, uno al collo del piede fatto come apparisce da legatura di fune et ingrossano detta gamba e piede più dell'altro notabilmente.

Nel filo della schiena vi è una piaga di lunghezza sei dita in circa e di profondità dua ed molta copia di sangue.

Quae omnia ego notarius infrascriptus cum suprascriptus nominatis testibus vidi et adnotavi ad conventum Sancti Francisci etc.

Frater Zenobius Massinis Sancti Offitii notarius.

[on the back]

Accepi cum litteris patris inquisitoris Perusiae die 3. augusti 1637.

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1 'Havendomi significato il mio vicario d'Assisi con sua lettera delli 6 del passato che li Frati Minori osservanti riformati di San Damiano di detta città havevano fatto un nuovo crocifisso totalmente diverso dalli altri crocifissi, che si sogliono vedere per le chiese e che lo volevano portare solennemente in processione per il quale effetto havevano anco dalla santità di N. S. S. un'indulgenza, io li risposi che ordinasse a detti frati che non portassero detto crocifisso in processione e non l'esponessero a publica adoratione senza licenza speciale di cotesta Sacra Congregazione; come fece. E perché la parte reclamava, mandai il mio padre vicario generale, acciò vedesse detto crocifisso, e me ne desse relatione. Egli si trasferì al convento di San Damiano insieme con il padre guardiano della Madonna degli Angeli (che parimente li faceva istanza, acciò si desse licenza di poter esporre detto crocifisso stante la miseria di detti frati, quali per non avere alcun concorso alla loro chiesa, quasi si morivano di fame) et havendo visto il crocifisso, ne prese la relatione che qui inclusa mando a V. Em.za et in oltre mi riferì che il detto p. guardiano degl'Angeli restò scandalizzato in haver visto d. crocifisso, così difforme e giudicò non esser bene in alcuna maniera che si esponesse, perché se avesse hauto concorso, si potevano togliere dalle chiese gl'altri crocifissi'; Vincenzo Maria Pellegri, General Inquisitor of Umbria to a cardinal of the Roman Inquisition, 1 August 1637, Archivio Storico della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede (hereafter ACDF), St. st. H 3 b, 2, f. 18. The secretary filing and resuming this letter in Rome used the wording 'un crocifisso scontraffatto' to designate the object (*ibid.*, f. 18v). All translations are mine.

2 At present, we have only an indirect knowledge of the original defensive *memoriale* by the San Damiano friars: see the references to it in both a subsequent passage from the same letter quoted above (for which see note 34, below) and in another letter in the file (for which, see note 18, below).

3 Thanks to the discovery of a signed *pergamena* inside a statue of the Immaculate in the church of San Biagio in Enna, it was possible to ascertain the provenance of Fra Innocenzo from Petralia Sottana, and not Soprana, as formerly believed; see Paolo Russo, "Una 'Immacolata Concezione' di frate Innocenzo da Petralia ed altri inediti della scultura in legno del Seicento nella Sicilia centro-meridionale", in *Scritti di Storia dell'Arte in onore di Teresa*

*Pugliatti*, ed. by Gaetano Bongiovanni, Rome: De Luca, 2007, 81–86 (p. 81).

4 ACDF, St. st. H 3 b, 2: 'Circa sanguinolentam imaginem crucifixi depictam a fratre Innocentio Laico ordinis min. observ. in Civitatibus Assisii et Pisauri'. This inquest was first mentioned by Maria Pia Fantini, "Pouvoir des images, pouvoir sur les images: Rites de dévotion et stratégies de censure par l'Inquisition romaine (XVIe–XVIIe siècle)", in *Inquisition et pouvoir*, ed. by Gabriel Audisio, Aix-en-Provence: Presses Universitaires de Provence, 2004, 269–86; and Chiara Franceschini, "Arti figurative e Inquisizione: Il controllo", in *Dizionario storico dell'Inquisizione*, ed. by Adriano Prosperi, John Tedeschi, and Vincenzo Lavenia, Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2010, I, pp. 102–5.

5 Maria Pia Fantini, "Il sangue dei crocifissi: memoria, mimesis, censura di un dettaglio sintomatico", in *Dieci anni dall'apertura dell'archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede: Storia e archivi dell'inquisizione*, Rome: Scienze e Lettere, 2011, 603–63; Alejandro Cifres, "Fra Innocenzo da Petralia, reo dell'Inquisizione: fra critica d'arte e censura teologica", *Frate Francesco: Rivista di cultura francescana*, 79:1 (2013), 97–137.

6 The brief mention of this case in Felipe Pereda, *Crimen e ilusión: El arte de la verdad en el Siglo de Oro*, Madrid: Marcial Pons Historia, 2017, pp. 317–22, derives from the authors and essays mentioned above.

7 Guido Macaluso, "Frate Innocenzo da Petralia Soprana, emulo del Pintorno", *Archivio Storico Siciliano*, s. 3, 18 (1969), 147–215; Grazia Maria Fachechi, "Frate Innocenzo da Petralia Soprana, scultore siciliano itinerante fra Roma, Umbria e Marche", in *L'arte del legno tra Umbria e Marche: Dal Manierismo al Rococò*, ed. by Cristina Galassi, Perugia: Quattroemme, 2001, 135–42; *Manufacere et scolpire in lignamine: Scultura e intaglio in legno in Sicilia tra Rinascimento e Barocco*, ed. by Teresa Pugliatti, Salvatore Rizzo, and Paolo Russo, Catania: Maimone, 2012, pp. 224–30. See also Rosolino La Mattina, *Frate Innocenzo da Petralia: Scultore siciliano del XVII secolo fra leggenda e realtà*, Caltanissetta: Lussografica, 2002.

8 The Petralia case provided the starting point for the larger ERC project titled "The Normativity of Sacred Images in Early Modern Europe" (LMU, Munich), of which this collective volume is one of the first results. For a first and partial presentation of this project, see the introduction to this volume and Chiara Franceschini, "Volti santi e Trinità triforini: Ricerche in corso sullo statuto delle immagini nei procedimenti

del Sant'Uffizio", in *L'Inquisizione romana e i suoi archivi: A vent'anni dall'apertura dell'ACDF*, ed. by Alejandro Cifres, Rome: Gangemi, 2019, 279–301.

9 My use of '-ism' categories, especially 'realism' and derivatives, can be certainly contested and would require a larger discussion. Here I use these words in a commonsensical way, trying to let these abstract concepts react with the available documentation.

10 These points do not exhaust the possible issues and lines of investigation, which are raised by this case; see Fantini, "Il sangue dei crocifissi"; for a different interpretative focus.

11 Cifres, "Fra Innocenzo da Petralia", p. 130.

12 Giocchino Di Marzo, *I Gagini e la scultura in Sicilia nei secoli 15. e 16.: Memorie storiche e documenti*, 2 vols, Palermo: Tip. del Giornale di Sicilia, 1883, II, pp. 419–20 (doc. 334), and Macaluso, "Frate Innocenzo da Petralia Soprana", p. 153.

13 'In quel tempo fu di tutto dato avviso dal guardiano al predetto padre Ascanio, il quale [...] abbracciò nondimeno sì ardentemente questo negozio, che fu rimessa la cosa alla Congregazione del Sant'Offizio'; see *Storia del crocifisso della chiesa di S. Damiano in Assisi "trascritta fedelmente dalla relazione contemporanea che leggesi nel libro manoscritto delle memorie del Convento conservato nell'archivio di detto luogo a foglio 21 tergo a 22" dal P. Antonio Cristofani* (hereafter *Storia del crocifisso*), in Macaluso, "Frate Innocenzo", pp. 202–4.

14 Perhaps the removal of the image had something to do with the fact that the church was to become the centre of a *provincia* of the Reformed Friars Minor. See Father Benedetto Spila da Subiaco, *Memorie storiche della provincia riformata romana*, 3 vols, Milano: Tipografia Artigianelli, 1890–1896, III, p. 95: 'Urbano VIII colla Bolla *Injuncti Nobis*, in data dei 12 maggio del 1639, eresse in Provincie le Custodie della Riforma, ad ai 16 Aprile del 1640 si celebrò in San Francesco a Ripa il primo capitolo provinciale, chiudendosi con il citato P. Berardo da Bologna la serie dei Custodi'.

15 The several stages of the investigation have been very clearly reconstructed by Cifres, "Fra Innocenzo da Petralia".

16 Cifres, "Fra Innocenzo da Petralia", p. 108, n. 31, and see note 37, below.

17 This is the text of the epigraph: 'Questo crocifisso fu donato a me Domenico Iacomelli dal P. Berardo mio

zio a quel tempo ministro provinciale della Riforma di San Francesco di Roma l'anno 1637 e condotto fu collocato in questo altare ove fa continue grate e poi fu benedetto da mons. Vescovo di Nicopoli l'anno 1651'. Philippus Stanislaus was the bishop of Nicopolis, in Bulgaria, since 1648.

18 'Con la benignissima lettera di V. Em.za R.ma ricevo il memoriale dato dal guardiano di S. Damiano di questa città alla S. Congregazione del S. Offitio et per informazione di quanto in esso si contiene dico a V. E. che il crocifisso fabricato da un padre siciliano della medesima religione è di rilievo di legname di albuccio ricoperto di colori al naturale, come V. E. potrà vedere dal congiunto disegno che ho fatto cavare puntualmente dal medesimo crocifisso veduto, et incontrato da me con quella maggior diligenza che richiede un negotio di tanta qualità, et non si può negare che questa figura non muova l'animo di ciascuno che la mira a gran divotione et a commiseratione non ordinaria della passione del nostro Salvatore, che è quanto mi occorre dire a V. E.' (ACDF, St. st. H 3 b, 2, f. 29r).

19 *Storia del crocifisso*, in Macaluso, "Frate Innocenzo", p. 202.

20 *Ibid.*, p. 203.

21 See above note 18.

22 For previous crucifixes of the same type (executed in both wood and *mistura*, that is, papier-mache), see, among other examples, *Manufacere et scolpire in lignamine*, pp. 56–57, fig. 13 (crucifix from the end of the fifteenth century, Oratorio di San Vito in Palermo) and p. 76, fig. 25 (Vincenzo Pernaci, Crucifix, 1539, Museo Diocesano di Monreale, deposit).

23 See, again, note 18, above.

24 'Nel filo della schiena vi è una piaga di lunghezza sei dita in circa e di profondità dua ed molta copia di sangue'. See the Appendix at the end of this chapter for a complete transcription of this document. The expression 'solenne processo in tutte le piaghe etc.' is in *Storia del crocifisso*, p. 203.

25 Here 'autopsy' need not be intended as a metaphor, nor as a mere epistemological notion (compare with *Autopsia: Blut- und Augenzeugen: Extreme Bilder des christlichen Martyriums*, ed. by Carolin Behrmann and Elisabeth Priedl, Padeborn-Munich: Fink, 2014), but as a proper legal action (from the point of view of the Inquisition officers) on the body of the image.

26 'Nella fronte sopra l'occhio sinistro un livido che rileva la carne di lunghezza tre dita, e dalla grandezza di detto livido

escono fuori due spine della corona, che li soprastanno all'occhio [...]. Nell'ultima estremità de l'orechia sinistra entra una spina della medesima corona, e dalla pontura di detta spina esce tanta copia di sangue che abbondantemente si diffonde in tre parti, cioè verso la spalla, le coste, et il petto' (see complete transcription in Appendix).

27 Compare with Angela Mengoni, *Ferite: Il corpo e la carne nell'arte della tarda modernità*, Colle Val d'Elsa: SeB, 2012, passim; but I am not following the same semiotic line of interpretation of the 'wound'.

28 See Appendix.

29 Compare with the description of one of the later Innocenzo's crucifixes in Malta in "Traslazione del SS.mo Crocifisso dalla Chiesa di Sant'Agata alla chiesa cattedrale fatta da M.r vescovo, e dal Reverendissimo Capitolo li 3 mag. 1648", in Macaluso, "Frate Innocenzo", pp. 206–7, doc. no. 4: 'Nella chiesa cat.le di Malta nella cappella laterale al coro alla parte sinistra vi è l'immagine miracolosa di Nostro Signore Gesù Cristo Crocifisso [...] la cui statua è di sette palmi, ed è di maniera pendente in croce, che dal peso del corpo squarciato, e livido l'un e l'altro piede dimostra risaltati delle giunture, nell'istesso modo tiene aggranciate le mani tutte anche livide, e squarciate; ha le braccia molto sottili, perché slogate, e svenate, sostengono il peso del corpo morto, il quale rilasciatosi in giù sporge molto in fuori della croce. Le giunture delle ginocchia, tutte le coste dell'una e dell'altra parte disgiunte fra di loro, e sol coperta di sottilissima pelle si mirano al vivo. Si vede al destro lato la santissima piaga larga quattro diti; alquanto aperta grondante sangue, va la fessura fin dentro il cuore, e in tutta la cavità della piaga si vedono vivissimamente le fibre pendenti con alcune gocce di sangue ed umore.'

30 'Illustrissimus remittit hoc negocium arbitrio ordinarii, et hoc tum, ne permittat solennem processionem fieri in actu expositionis' (ACDF, St. st. H 3 b, 2, f. 29v).

31 A similar hypothesis is advanced by Cifres, "Fra Innocenzo da Petralia", p. 106: 'non è perciò da escludere che tale disegno abbia influito positivamente nel giudizio degli inquisitori'.

32 For a comparison with other drawings examined by the Holy Office and an initial discussion of the functions and meanings of drawings in the inquisitorial context, see Franceschini, "Volti santi e Trinità triformi", pp. 290–95.

33 This detail is present in both the first letter addressed from Vincenzo Maria Pellegrini to the Holy Office (see note 1, above): 'e volendo il d. mio vicario vedere se il crocifisso era fatto secondo le rivelazioni di S.ta Brigida, come dicevano,

et espongono nel memoriale li detti frati, interrogò il fabbricatore di esso, che è un frate laico del medesimo ordine, domandandoli per qual causa più in un luogo, che nell'altro haveva moltiplicate le piaghe, i lividi, et i tumori, e' li rispose che ciò haveva fatto per la proportionione' (see later in the chapter about this puzzling answer), and in *Storia del crocifisso*. It is to assume that the *Storia del crocifisso* corresponds in its contents to the lost *memoriale*.

34 'L'uso universale in S. Chiesa di scolpire, e dipingere crucifissi conforme il consueto, et ordinario d'essa santa Chiesa, egli è immemorabile, et essendo cosa di tanto rilievo come d'effigiare Christo nostro salvatore, rappresentante il principal mistero, col quale ha operato la nostra salute, si deve stimare che, conforme alle traditioni che sono immemorabili in S. Chiesa, habbia hauto origine dall'apostoli o da altri santi, che furono al tempo d'essi apostoli. Et sebene dovemo presupporre nella nostra mente, che Christo nostro salvatore fosse tutto sanguinolente sopra della croce, per le tante battiture, che li furono date dagli empi ministri, niente di meno li santi apostoli, o altri santi loro coetanei, non lo fecero dipingere, né scolpire sanguinolente, così mossi et ispirati dallo Spirito Santo, come stimarsi deve; forse perché detti crucifissi non apportano devotione né spirito, ma solamente terrore e spavento' (ACDF, St. st. H 3 b, 2, ff. 36r-v).

35 Paul Binski, "The Crucifixion and the Censorship of Art around 1300", in *The Medieval World*, ed. by Peter Linehan and Janet L. Nelson, London: Routledge, 2001, 342–60, in particular p. 350 for the observation that 'it seems possible that the Conyhope Cross was problematic not only because of its general form as a symbol, but also in a more fully aesthetic sense'. The cross was shaped like a fork, as in the German type of *Gabelkreuz*.

36 Giovanni Andrea Gilio, *Due dialogi*, Camerino: Antonio Gioioso, 1564, p. 39, laments the way in which artists depict the 'person of our Saviour': 'With regard to the person of our Saviour, there is another abuse [*abuso*], one which seems impossible to rectify. [Contemporary artists] don't know or don't want to know how to express the deformities [*defformità*] that were in Him at the time of his passion, when he was flagellated, when he was shown to the common people by Pilatus saying "Ecce homo", when with much pain he was nailed to the cross, that is, when – according to Isaiah – there was not anymore a man's form in Him'. The conclusion is that: 'It would cause much more contrition [*compunzione*] to see him bleeding and deformed than to see him beautiful and delicate' ('Soglionse M. Troilo: "Un altro abuso anco io trovo circa la persona del nostro Salvatore, il quale non par che ammandare si sappia: et è questo,

che non sanno o non vogliono sapere esprimere le deformità che in lui erano al tempo de la passione, quando fu flagellato, quando fu da Pilato mostrato al popolo, dicendo "Ecco l'uomo", quando con tanta angustia stava fitto in croce, dicendo Isaia che in lui non era più forma d'uomo. Molto più a compunzione moverebbe il vederlo sanguinolento e diffornato, che non fa il vederlo bello e delicato"). This passage applies in particular to the Michelangeloesque figure in the *Flagellation of Christ* by Sebastiano del Piombo in San Pietro in Montorio (see the essay by Piers Baker-Bates, chapter 11, in this volume), but the remark may be easily applied to the drawing of *Christ on the Cross*, which Michelangelo made for Vittoria Colonna; for which see later in this chapter.

37 'Quando detto crocifisso fu esposto per doi o tre giorni che fu lasciato scoperto, vi fu stravagante concorso di popolo, et quelli padri fecero predicare nella quale predica il predicatore disse ch'in Spagna vi erano molti crucifissi fatti in questo modo che facevano o haveano fatto gran miracoli; aggiungo che parimente intendo come la ferita che ha questo crocifisso nelle gambe rappresenta che quelle siano rotte nell'ossa, et che in esso non si scorge altro che pelle et ossa. Io non son andato *supra factum* per non commovere il popolo, e non sapere la sua intentione per la quale causa anche non ho fatto altro circa di frate Innocentio, quale fa quattro crucifissi a particolari, come nella lettera che li mando con l'informazione pigliata' (Frate Agostino da Correggio to Cardinal Barberini, Rimini, 27 March 1638; ACDF, St. st. H 3 b, 2, f. 27v).

38 Scholars who have worked on Fra Innocenzo and Fra Umile da Petralia have tried to suggest parallels between Fra Umile's works and Spanish models, such as the *Cristo de las injurias* in the Cattedrale di Zamora or various sculptures by Gregorio Fernández (in particular, the one from the church of the Vera Cruz di Valladolid); see Simonetta La Barbera Bellia, "Iconografia del Cristo in croce nell'opera di uno scultore francescano della Controriforma: Fra Umile da Petralia", in *Francescanesimo e cultura in Sicilia (secc. XIII–XVI)*, Palermo: Officina di studi medievali, 1987, 400, and Paolo Russo, *Scultura in legno nella Sicilia centro-meridionale, sec. XVI–XIX*, Messina: Società messinese di storia patria, 2009.

39 This connection is developed by Pereda, *Crímen e ilusión*, p. 323. However, we have no documents to affirm that Petralia 'estudia y reproduce el saturado realismo de los crucifijos españoles esperando vincular así sus creaciones a una estirpe milagrosa' (pp. 365–66). It should be in fact repeated that, in the inquisitorial documentation, the connexion with the Spanish crucifixes is *not* proposed by Innocenzo da Petralia itself, but only by the

Franciscan preacher in Pesaro.

40 A later case in which an imported image was causing a similar inquisitorial reaction is the Cristo de Tacoronte in Tenerife in the Canary Islands, which was a copy of the *Cristo de la Victoria* in Serradilla and was the object of an inquisitorial contestation in 1662. I hope to be back on this on another occasion.

41 Matteo Mazzalupi, "Don Paolo alamanno: un contributo per la questione di Johannes Teutonichus", in *Pittori ad Ancona nel Quattrocento*, ed. by Andrea De Marchi and Matteo Mazzalupi, Milano: Motta, 2008, 322–331: p. 322, figg. 5–6, 12.

42 See note 22, above.

43 Teresa Pugliatti, *Pittura del Cinquecento in Sicilia: La Sicilia occidentale, 1484–1557*, Naples: Electa Napoli, 1998, pp. 231–33, fig. 228.

44 'Andarò a Pesaro conforme alli comandi di vostra Eminenza et in compagnia di quel signor Vicario episcopale, farò che frat'Innocentio minore osservante faccia un disegno, o copia del crocifisso fatto da lui et esposto nella capella del signore Mosca, et la mandarò a vostra Eminenza. Parimente eseguirò le sue commissioni circa la persona del signor cavaliere Tomaso de Nobili da Jesi, et al suo tempo gliene darò il dovuto aviso, et per fine li faccio humilissima riverenza, et bacio le sante vesti' (Fra Agostino da Correggio to Cardinal Barberini, Rimini, 15 April 1638; ACDF, St. st. H 3 b, 2, f. 33r); and 'In esecuzione delli ordini di vostra eminenza, monsignor vicario episcopale et io siamo andati insieme alla chiesa di S. Giovanni Battista di Pesaro, quale è chiesa de' padri franciscani minori osservanti riformati, et ivi nella capella del Mosca havemo ritrovato il crocifisso scolpito da frate Innocentio siciliano laico del detto ordine, del quale havemo fatto fare il disegno in tutto rappresentante detto crocifisso, che per questo ordinario mandiamo a vostra eminenza con il nostro parere nel colligato foglio' (Fra Agostino da Correggio and Giovan Antonio Mangili to Cardinal Barberini, Pesaro, 22 April 1637; *ibid.*, f. 35r).

45 The identification of the work now in the church of San Giovanni Battista in Gradara with the one depicted in the sheet and previously in the Mosca Chapel in San Giovanni Battista in Pesaro has been very convincingly suggested by Cifres, "Fra Innocenzo da Petralia", pp. 113–14.

46 On the values and uses of red on such crucifixes and the shock provoked by the excessive use of this colour, see the useful observations by Fantini, "Il sangue dei crocifissi", *passim*.

47 See note 33, above.

48 An additional interpretation of this word could be that the friar meant 'in proportion', also to the suffering of Christ. However, this reading, although very suggestive (I would like to thank Andrew Stuart for it), is slightly unlikely from the linguistic point of view, given the mere reference to 'proportione', without further specifications.

49 Both works were smaller in scale and more refined with an ornamental twist, indicating that Innocenzo was adapting his work to different patrons and audiences (I intend to elaborate more on this point in another instance).

50 'Sotto colore [...] che in detta sacra imagine vi appariscano moltr'altre piaghe, oltre le cinque' (from Pesaro, 30 July 1638).

51 'Di ovviare che non s'innovasse contro l'antico e commune stile di santa chiesa cos'alcuna circa l'immagine del S.mo Crocifisso senza espressa licenza di cotesa Sacra Congregazione acciò all'altre simili imagini in successione di tempo non si togliesse il dovuto culto, la qual cosa pare che anco in qualche maniera appartenga all' Inq.re' (ACDF, St. st. H 3 b, 2, f. 18).

52 *Storia del crocifisso*, p. 202.

53 I owe this suggestion on the 'iconoclastic image' to Michael Cole.

54 Binsky, "The Crucifixion and the Censorship of Art", p. 343.

55 See the observations made by Una Roman D'Elia, "Drawing Christ's Blood: Michelangelo, Vittoria Colonna, and the Aesthetics of Reform", *Renaissance Quarterly*, 59:1 (2006), 90–129.

56 The interpretation of this text is still controversial, because, at first sight, it seems also to refer to a painted copy of the drawing. Nevertheless, there is general agreement that the passage I am about to quote refers to this drawing, and not to a painted copy of it (which, in any case, has not yet been securely identified among the many existing replicas and copies).

57 'Ha crucifixe nella memoria mia quante altre picture viddi mai': *Il carteggio di Michelangelo*, edizione postuma di Giovanni Poggi, ed. by Paola Barocchi and Renzo Ristori, Florence: S.P.E.S. (formerly Sansoni), 1965–1983, IV, p.104.

# Wounds on Trial: Forensic Truth, Sanctity, and the Early Modern Visual Culture of Ritual Murder

**Cloe Caverio de Carondelet**

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From the twelfth century onwards, the accusation of ritual murder levelled against Jewish communities spread across Europe. The mechanics of these accusations were quite simple: as soon as a child went missing or was found dead, the nearby Jewish community was accused of ritual murder. In its fully developed form, the charge spread by Christians alleged that Jews crucified and murdered Christian children and performed magical rites with their blood and hearts in an attempt to destroy Christianity. With or without incriminatory material evidence, Jewish communities had to defend themselves against the accusation of ritual murder in secular and ecclesiastical courts, and in the majority of cases the Jewish defendants were condemned and burnt at the stake.<sup>1</sup> Manuscript accounts and gruesome drawings propagated the accusation of ritual infanticide across medieval Europe. But above all, it was the advent of early modern print culture that helped disseminate the myth of ritual murder and helped convey the idea that the murdered children were innocent and holy. Eventually, some of these infants became the object of religious cults and were increasingly venerated in sacred spaces throughout Europe.<sup>2</sup> In some cases, the weapons allegedly used to torture and kill the children were also venerated as relics along with the children themselves.<sup>3</sup> Material evidence of the purported crime thus became an important part of these cults.

Despite the fact that the cults of children allegedly murdered by Jews gained widespread popularity, they were recurrently contested by Church hierarchies and princely authorities. One of the main reasons why Church and regional rulers rejected the cults was because they were sceptical about the veracity of the ritual murder accusations. Judicial truth, however, was not the only problem. Giving the murdered infants a saintly status was also problematic because as children their intellect was considered undeveloped and they were therefore unable to consciously face martyrdom.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, the promoters of this specific form of infantile sanctity established alternative grounds to obtain support for their cause. The clearest and most convincing argument was the precedent of the Holy Innocents, the group of babies under the age of two that Herod ordered to be murdered in his attempt to kill the Infant Jesus. Proponents of infantile sanctity thought that victims of ritual murder ought to be venerated as martyrs because, like the Holy Innocents, the murdered children had suffered Christ's passion in the flesh.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, whether or not the dead children had suffered Christ's passion had to be demonstrated in court. To some extent, then, the evidence for making these children holy martyrs was often initially presented in a criminal court rather than in an ecclesiastical court, as was customary. To what extent did the judicial origins of these religious cults affect the ways in which the sanctity of the boys was visually established? In this chapter, I attempt to answer this question by exploring the relationship between legal norms and visual conventions.

In recent years, there has been an increasing interest in notions of evidence and truth in early modernity, particularly in terms of how these notions were revealed in, and produced by, images. Scholars have broadened our understanding of the role of images as evidence in early modern ecclesiastical and lay trials. Although only a few images have survived in archival collections, sources indicate that they were often used to sustain criminal

cases dealing with murder and other crimes. A remarkable case is that of sacred images on trial. As Chiara Franceschini shows, religious paintings and sculptures were at times the centre of inquisitorial inquiries, both as the object under indictment and as evidence for the judicial cause.<sup>6</sup> Made by physicians, artists, and other expert witnesses, drawings could be considered as legal evidence and as the correct representations of the facts under examination. The notion of an image as evidence and truth was not confined to the legal sphere. Recently, Felipe Pereda has demonstrated how painters in seventeenth-century Spain frequently used forensic rhetoric to transform their sacred images into conveyors of religious and sacramental evidence.<sup>7</sup> In my view, the visual representation — and religious veneration — of victims of ritual murder is an interesting phenomenon that opens the door to further exploration of the ways in which early modern sacred images conveyed both legal and religious truth.

In ritual murder trials involving a criminal accusation, which was also a charge of crime against Christianity, material evidence was examined both as evidence of criminal actions and as a sign of divine intervention. It is true that accusations of ritual murder were not always based on incriminatory material evidence. In many cases, popular belief in this anti-Jewish legend was evidence enough to condemn the nearby Jewish communities.<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless, whenever a child's wounded corpse was discovered in or near a village, the authorities involved had to provide scientific and religious interpretations of the physical evidence. Reading the corpse's gruesome 'cryptography of wounds', as Mitchell B. Merback has perceptively put it, was fundamental in formulating the accusation of ritual murder that contributed to the creation of religious cults of murdered children.<sup>9</sup> In addition, there were theological grounds to investing this forensic practice with religious authority. The ability to decipher the nature of the wounds inflicted on infantile corpses was related to the belief that Christians possessed a spiritual discernment that Jews lacked.<sup>10</sup> Reading the body as a script and finding evidence of a ritual crime on it was thus invested with an additional layer of religious insight.

Surely, the practice of forensic examination was inextricably linked to the processes of sanctity and canonization, which were carried out by religious institutions. At least since the early fourteenth century, physicians performed autopsies on the corpses of pious people and assessed wounds and stigmata in search of evidence of their alleged supernatural qualities.<sup>11</sup> The bodies of sick people that saints had purportedly miraculously cured were also examined for signs that evinced divine intervention.<sup>12</sup> Throughout the late medieval and early modern period, physicians were thus often chosen as expert witnesses in a variety of legal cases. In criminal trials, forensic examinations were used to trace evidence of human involvement in criminal actions. Physicians analysed bodies, both dead and alive, in search of relevant information, and carefully measured, described, and inventoried wounds and lacerations.<sup>13</sup> To some extent, then, physicians acting as experts in ritual murder trials were expected to perform a double function as witnesses both of criminal and divine intervention.<sup>14</sup> The forensic examination of the wounded corpse thus appears as a point of connection between the sets of norms regulating the creation of saints and those regulating criminal proceedings in early modernity.



What was the relationship between the notions of forensic truth and religious truth in the examination of ritual murder victims, and how was this dual truth visually established? This chapter is built on the assumption that the autopsies of the children allegedly murdered by Jews in the late medieval and early modern period were a driving force in their visual representations as saints. It interrogates the sacred images of child martyrs and the forensic information collected from their wounded corpses in order to understand the process through which the wounds found on the dead body of a child were transformed into evidence of holiness. Interpreting images of child martyrs in light of the boys' contested sanctity, which was largely dependent on establishing a Christological resemblance, may offer new insights into the relationship between forensics, sanctity, and images in the early modern period. I will delve into this

question through the analysis of two overlooked images of two boys: Michael of Sappenheim (d. 1540), and Simon — or Simonino — of Trent (d. 1475). Although different, these two images display the children's wounds in a similar orderly arrangement. Insights into Michael's case will illuminate an earlier, newly discovered miniature of Simon of Trent.

Michael Pisenharter was three and a half years old when he was found dead in a forest near his home village of Sappenheim in the diocese of Eichstätt, in 1540. As was the practice at the time, the Jewish community was immediately deemed responsible for the murder. This time, however, the authorities refused to pursue the inquiry any further. Otto Henry (1502–59), Count of Palatinate-Neuburg and prince-elect of the Palatinate, who had recently converted to Lutheranism, forbade Michael's father from continuing the investigation and accusation. Otto Henry's refusal to investigate the Jews caused a strong reaction in the community. As Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia demonstrates, the accusation that Michael of Sappenheim had been the object of ritual murder emerged at a moment of scholarly debate on the veracity of blood libel accusation in mid-sixteenth century Germany. In fact, Michael's legend was included in the *Ains Judenbüchlins Verlegung*, a systematic defense of blood libels published in 1541 by the Catholic theologian Johann Eck.<sup>15</sup> It was in this context that the murder ballad 'Ein hübsch new lied von Zweyen Juden und einem Kind, zu Sappenfelt newlich geschehen', illustrated with a woodcut **FIGURE 1** and recounting the ritual crime, was printed and disseminated.<sup>16</sup> The woodcut shows Michael tied to a column with his naked body covered in lacerations and is reminiscent of Christ's flagellation. The boy is being tortured by a Jew recognizable by his caricatured features.<sup>17</sup> Despite Otto Henry's rejection of the case, the child's body was carried to the Jesuit church of John the Baptist and John the Evangelist and was displayed there as a martyr. Nevertheless, sources evince that the child's shrine in Eichstätt received only temporary fame, and that his veneration was concentrated in the decades immediately following his death.

**FIGURE 1.** *Martyrdom of Michael of Sappenheim, 1540; detail of the frontispiece of 'Ein hübsch new lied von Zweyen Juden und einem kind, zu Sappenfelt newlich geschehen'.*

The cult of Michael of Sappendorf received new attention in the early seventeenth century with the inclusion of the story of the boy's martyrdom in the large hagiographical compilation *Bavaria Sancta*, written by the Jesuit Matthäus Rader (ca 1561–1634). This richly illustrated hagiographical compilation was commissioned by Maximilian I Wittelsbach, Duke of Bavaria (r. 1597–1651), in 1614. It included saints, blessed, and venerables from the lands ruled by the dukes, but also from the *terra Bavarica* — nearby territories that had been part of the Bavarian patrimony in the early Middle Ages. The collection was first published in Latin, and later translated into German as *Heiliges Beyerland*. Based on a thorough use of primary sources, Rader reconstructed ancient and modern Bavarian sanctity to promote Catholic piety and to enhance Maximilian's political aspirations.<sup>18</sup> Four cases of alleged ritual murder of Bavarian children emphasized the compilation's anti-Jewish leaning.<sup>19</sup> In this context, it seems clear that part of Rader's interest in the story of Michael of Sappendorf was rooted in his interest in promoting local martyrs and specifically those connected with the Jesuit Order.

The legend of the martyrdom of Michael of Sappendorf was included in the third volume of *Bavaria Sancta*, published in 1627.<sup>20</sup> Following the structure used throughout the compilation, his life was illustrated with a sheet-size copper engraving of his martyrdom **FIGURE 2**. The engraving was done by Raphael Sadeler the Younger, possibly after sketches by the court painter Mathias Kager.<sup>21</sup> The composition departs from the woodcut that illustrated the song 'Ein hübsch', and shows the boy tied with ropes to a column. This image does not conform to Michael's legend, as his proportions are those of a ten- or twelve-year-old boy, whereas Michael was three and a half at the time of his death. Moreover, the wounds are represented in a very distinctive way. The mutilation of the hands and feet are anatomically unrealistic, as is the blood that pours from them. Elegiac couplets at the bottom of the page praising Michael and establishing analogies between Jews and beasts complete Sadeler's engraving. All in all, this image appears as a recreation of the legend of Michael's martyrdom according to visual conventions of early seventeenth-century art, which are used throughout this compilation. And yet, Rader's account of Michael of Sappendorf's martyrdom is quite different from that of the lives of most saints and blessed people, and quite different from that of the victims of ritual murder.

Rader did not present Michael's life following the usual succession of anti-Jewish tropes and rhetorical strategies, but instead relied on a long, detailed, and documented account of the purported historical facts surrounding the boy's murder.<sup>22</sup> In the margins and throughout the text, Rader points



**FIGURE 2.** Raphael Sadeler the Younger (engraver), *Martyrdom of Michael of Sappendorf*, in Matthäus Rader, *Bavariae sanctae volumen tertium*, Munich: Sadeler, 1627, p. 177.



out that his study is based on manuscripts, poems (probably including the ballad ‘Ein hübsch’), legal documents preserved in the archive of Eichstätt, and on Eck’s study of the blood libel accusation. Rader further emphasizes the historical authority of his sources by pointing out that Eck himself had obtained forensic information on Michael’s body from the physicians and surgeons involved in the case. As we shall see in what follows, this emphasis on forensic truth is also present in a second engraving of Michael of Sappenheim included in Rader’s work.

In the fourth volume of Rader’s hagiographical compilation, entitled *Bavaria Pia* and finished in 1628 (though published only in 1704), an image of Michael’s wounded corpse engraved by Sadeler the Younger is included as an appendix **FIGURE 3**. This image of Michael is radically different from the one included in the third volume of *Bavaria Sancta*. Before delving into the reasons that led to the creation of this image, let’s take a closer look at what it represents. Michael’s corpse is shown against a black background, and his proportions correspond to those of a toddler. His eyes are closed, and his open mouth shows a faint smile. In this depiction, the wounds are carefully delineated and correspond to those described by Rader as per Eck’s firsthand forensic information. Michael has a cross-shaped wound on his right shoulder, orderly prick wounds on his stomach, legs, and feet, and various parts of his body have been flayed. The inscription below emphasizes the truth conveyed in this image. Instead of the couplets that accompany the rest of the engravings, Rader included the following sentence: ‘The image and proportions of the holy child’s body, who was savagely tortured and

killed in Hietingen by the Jews when he was three years and six months old, reduced here to a ninth of its actual size.’<sup>23</sup>

A measurement line indicating the exact proportion of Michael’s body is engraved between the image and the inscription, allowing future replications of the boy’s image to be made according to his actual size. This engraving is meant to be a forensic presentation of the holy body, Michael’s true image. The purported forensic quality of the child’s image filters through Christological imagery, in this case the Man of Sorrows. This allusion was a common visual strategy used by artists to increase the perceived holiness of the alleged martyrs of ritual infanticide.<sup>24</sup>

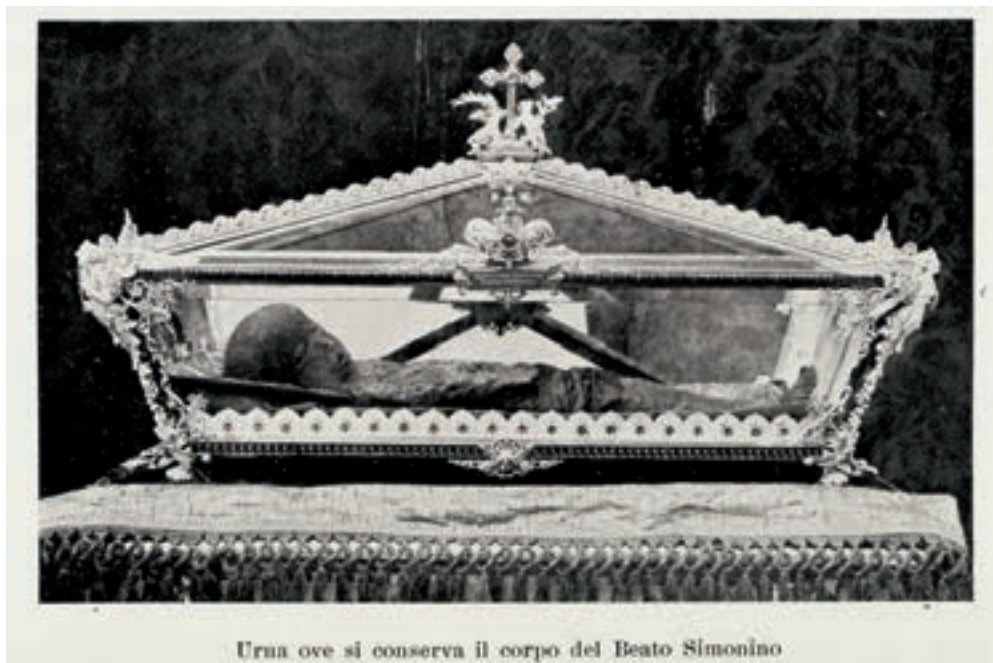
A physician’s intervention can be found in the representation of Michael’s corpse. In the text placed just above the engraving, Rader writes: ‘The image and measures of this child’s holy body have been sent to me from Eichstätt by the most noble and excellent Dr. Thomas Thiermair, physician.’<sup>25</sup>

**FIGURE 3.** Raphael Sadeler the Younger (engraver), *Body of Michael of Sappenheim*, 1628, in Matthäus Rader, *Bavaria pia*, Dillingen, Augsburg: Bencard, 1704, p. 189.

A resident of Munich, Thiermair was particularly interested in venesection, phlebotomy, and other medical areas related to veins and blood.<sup>26</sup> In his dissertation, published in 1608, he even paid close attention to the practice of phlebotomy on the bodies of children.<sup>27</sup> Thiermair's involvement in the hagiography of Michael of Sappenfeld was no coincidence as his family had been closely involved in the accusation of ritual murder against the Jews in Michael's case. Thiermair's grandfather was the secretary and notary for Eichstätt's bishop for twenty years, which likely coincided with the years in which the boy's body was found. Though Rader does not elaborate on this fact any further, it is possible that Thiermair's grandfather was personally involved in the early stages of the blood libel accusation. What is certain is that his uncle Hildebrand Thiermair was one of the fiercest prosecutors of the Jews in this case. In fact, the Count Palatine condemned Hildebrand for writing a poem in which he accused the Jews of Michael's death and, according to Rader, the count even commanded that Hildebrand's tongue be cut off.<sup>28</sup> Without additional evidence, it is impossible to know if Thiermair reconstructed Michael's body from Eck's description or if he copied it from an existing image. However, the obvious stylistic difference between the engraving included in the third volume of *Bavaria Sancta* and the engraving of Michael's corpse in the *Bavaria Pia* strongly suggests that the latter was engraved after a drawing made by the physician Thiermair, and not after sketches of Bavarian court artists.

In order to find the last piece of this story, we must return to Rader's hagiography of Michael of Sappenfeld in the third volume of *Bavaria Sancta*. There, Rader states that five weeks after the body was placed in the church, an artist began to draw an image of his corpse. As the artist depicted the corpse, Michael's bodily wounds started to bleed in what was interpreted as a sign of its incorrupted innocence. Written in a marginal gloss, Rader emphasized the importance of this miraculous event, lamenting, 'Oh! If we could have or find this image of the child!'<sup>29</sup> With this episode, Rader did more than make the artist into the most privileged witness of the miracle; he provided a narrative that invested all representations of the boy's corpse with sacred authority. Personally involved in the case of Michael of Sappenfeld, and with family connections in Eichstätt, Thiermair quickly responded to Rader's call and did not hesitate to provide him with visual evidence of the boy's ritual murder. By declaring that the physician Thiermair had provided the new image which was included in the subsequent *Bavaria Pia*, Rader infused the engraving of the corpse with forensic truth, and consequently gave Michael's sanctity religious authority. Rader's decision to engrave the alleged forensic image of Michael's wounded body and include it in the last volume of his hagiographical compilation was connected to his desire to support the cult that had been created around a child who had been — an maybe still was — displayed in a Jesuit church.<sup>30</sup> The image of the wounded corpse was key evidence of the ritual crime, and thus proof of Michael of Sappenfeld's sanctity.

In my opinion, insights gained from the analysis of the forensic-like engraving of Michael, though produced in the early seventeenth century, can serve as a frame for looking anew at earlier representations of child martyrs with similar judicial origins. Indeed, the connection between an image of an infantile



corpse, a physician, and a claim of sanctity is also present in the case of Simon of Trent, which is arguably the most notorious and the most illustrated account of a ritual murder accusation. Simon was two and a half years old when he was found dead in the water cellar of Samuel, the leader of the Jewish community in Trent, on 26 March 1475. The very next day, Simon was placed at the altar of the church of San Pietro in Trent and venerated as if he were a saint **FIGURE 4**. Popular

accusation and strong support of Bishop Johannes Hinderbach (r. 1465–86) prompted the immediate condemnation of the Jews of Trent. In the following months, a group of Jews were tortured, beheaded, and burnt.<sup>31</sup> Images played a crucial role in the success of this accusation. Soon after Simon's body was found, Bishop Hinderbach promoted the production and circulation of texts and images depicting the ritual murder and the boy's sanctity. Later, following the quick establishment of Simon's saintly cult in the region, parish churches throughout Trent and the Valcamonica area decorated their walls with frescoes and paintings of their new martyr. Some images showed the boy standing and holding the symbols of his martyrdom, while others displayed the cruel martyrdom he had suffered. A smaller group of images presented his dead body as a divine relic, an iconography that some scholars call *Simon victima*.<sup>32</sup> In my opinion, this iconography carries a persuasive message about Simon's holiness and miraculous powers.

The image of Simon's bodily relic is the only visual typology that seems to be inspired by the boy's corpse as it was displayed in the church of San Pietro in Trent.<sup>33</sup> This iconography shows Simon's body lying on a flat surface, with his head turned to the right; however, parallels with his actual corpse end here. Artists enhanced the intensity of the image by representing Simon's dead body on the Jewish liturgical table — *almemar, bima* — where he was allegedly murdered, and with his eyes half open **FIGURE 5**. Moreover, the boy's body appears covered with unrealistic and gruesome drops and splashes of red blood aimed to emphasize the ritual bleeding and his suffering. The number and disposition of Simon's lacerations varies greatly from one image to the next, though for the most part artists tend to represent smaller drops of red blood covering his body, a larger bloody wound on his right cheek, and another wound on his penis. The viewer is immediately struck by the presence of red blood and by the instruments of martyrdom that surround his lacerated body. Similar to what we just saw in Michael's image, the form in

**FIGURE 4.** Simon's body in its crystal procession reliquary, 1935. Trent, Biblioteca e Archivio Storico, T II i 676.



which all these elements are assembled is again rooted in Christological imagery. Contrary to Michael's sanctity, however, Simon's is clearly manifested through a halo of rays of light, and the words *Beatus Simon Martir*.

The forensic accuracy with which Simon's wounds are depicted in a newly discovered Milanese miniature of Simon *beatus* dated 13 October 1475, now preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional de España in Madrid, merits further examination **FIGURE 6**.<sup>34</sup> This image shows details that were not included in the hagiographical texts and descriptions of the crime that circulated in the period. As we shall see in what follows, this drawing introduces details that are only present in the two forensic examinations of Simon's corpse that took place immediately after his body was found. Since Simon appears to be the only venerated child martyr whose forensic examination has been preserved, his case enables further elaboration on the relationship between physicians and the creation of sacred images that we discussed in the first part of this chapter.

The first forensic examination of Simon was done by Giovanni de Sali, the *Podestà* of Trent, and took place in a room of Samuel's house. The trial records describe four groups of wounds: a deep wound between the right cheek and the chin that looked like an abrasion, a second deep wound on the right leg near the shin, a perforation the size of a carpenter drill was recorded at the tip of Simon's penis, and lastly, many small red marks similar to mosquito bites on the chest, right arm, legs, and thighs.<sup>35</sup> The second forensic examination of Simon's body took place on the following day. The

**FIGURE 5.** *Beatus Simon Martyr*, ca 1475. Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, 118239D.



BEATVS · SIMON · M.  
 INCOMENZA LI LAMENTI  
 DEL BEATO SIMONE DA  
 TRENTO VIRGINE ET  
 MARTYRE ET INNOCENE

**S**on quel bel putin Simon da Trento  
 Da zudei occiso la sancta septimana  
 Nel setantacinque: e mil quattrocento

ALditi Signori di fe Christiana  
 Crudelta grande: et inaudita fare  
 Che non po quasi intrar in mete huana

**FIGURE 6.** *Beatus Simon Martyr*, 13  
 October 1475. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional  
 de España, MSS/9769, f. 14r.

physicians Arcangelo Balduini and Giovanni Mattia Tiberino along with the surgeon Cristoforo de Fatis from Terlago were called to examine the corpse. After examining Simon's body, Balduini argued that the wounds might have been the result of human intervention, but that it was difficult to establish exactly what caused the wounds. On the other hand, Tiberino argued that the round shape of the wounds and their orderly position demonstrated that they were inflicted in an organized and careful way.<sup>36</sup> Tiberino's testimony was important because it suggested that Simon's death was the result of an intentional ritual crime carried out by the Jews of Trent, which consequently transformed Simon's body into a crucial

piece of judicial evidence. What makes the Milanese miniature exceptional is that it appears to be the only preserved example in which the wounds clearly correspond with the small marks on the chest, right arm, legs, and thighs, as they were described in these two forensic examinations **FIGURE 7**. What does this coincidence mean in terms of the relationship between forensic examination and sanctity in the cases of children allegedly murdered by Jews?

In the case of Simon of Trent, the answer seems to lie in the involvement of the physician Giovanni Mattia Tiberino (ca 1420–ca 1500), a close agent of Bishop Hinderbach and fundamental actor in the promotion of Simon's sanctity. After acting as expert forensic witness during the trial, Tiberino authored numerous texts about Simon's sanctity and the guilt of the Jews of Trent.<sup>37</sup> As it happens, the miniature under analysis here is part of an illuminated copy of a compilation of early texts by Tiberino. The compilation contains two illustrations and manuscript copies of three different texts on the martyrdom and sanctity of Simon of Trent, all of which are in Italian. The whole volume was created by the Milanese presbyter Tommaso Curzio for his patron the Duchess of Milan, Bona of Savoy, whose stemma and motto are represented in the frontispiece.<sup>38</sup> The first text is a copy of the narration of Simon's martyrdom (better known as Tiberino's 'Letter to Brescia'), expanded with an account of the condemnation and execution of the Jews which was carried out from 21 to 23 June 1475.<sup>39</sup> Here, Tiberino enhanced Simon's holiness by making a connection between the description of his wounds to Isaiah's (1:6) description of the Man of Sorrows, covered with wounds 'From the sole of the foot even unto the head'.<sup>40</sup> In 1476, a revised version of Tiberino's 'Letter to Brescia' was published as the *Hystoria completa de passione et obitu pueri Simonis*.<sup>41</sup> In the Madrid volume, Tiberino's 'Letter' is followed by a short account of the miracles that occurred because of Simon's saintly intercession between March and August 1475, and by a poem *in terza rima*



**FIGURE 7.** *Beatus Simon Martyr*, 13 October 1475. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, MSS/9769, f. 14r (detail).



entitled *Li lamenti del beato Simone da Trento*, written in the first person as if it was sung by Simonino himself.<sup>42</sup> The image of Simon's body is depicted on the first page of this poem.

The original texts on Simon's martyrdom, which were copied by Tommaso Curzio, must have arrived at the court of the dukes of Milan after August 1475. That is, around the time that Bishop Hinderbach increased his efforts to stimulate and popularize the cult of Simonino. In July 1475, and thus after the execution of some of the accused Jews, Pope Sixtus IV della Rovere (r. 1471–84) ordered that the trial be suspended. On 2 September 1475, the pope sent the Dominican theologian Giovanni Battista de' Giudici to Trent in the role of apostolic commissioner to investigate the recent execution of the Jews and the growing cult around Simon. In order to neutralize papal opposition to the cult, Hinderbach sought support for his cause by sending open letters and envoys to the princes of the Holy Roman Empire. Hinderbach also commissioned, printed, and circulated images and texts of Simon's martyrdom in an extraordinary propaganda operation. The earliest known cycle of images of Simon's martyrdom, included in the *Geschichte des zu Trient ermordeten Christenkindes* and printed by Albrecht Kunne in September 1475, was in fact part of this operation.<sup>43</sup> Bishop Hinderbach sent another early image of Simon, which has since been lost, to the humanist and poet Raffaele Zovenzoni of Trieste. In a letter sent on 7 October 1475,

**FIGURE 8.** *Pilgrims Visiting Simon's Body*, ca 1475. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Rar. 338.

Zovenzoni thanked the bishop for the ‘bellissima immagine’ and praised the impressive likeness of the image.<sup>44</sup> The emotional effect of the visual and textual accounts of Simon’s martyrdom on the people of the region was so intense that on 10 October 1475, Pope Sixtus IV sent a letter to all the princes of Italy in which he prohibited calling Simon beato, preaching about his sanctity and his ritual murder by the Jews, and also from writing, representing, printing, selling, and/or possessing images and/or texts about Simon’s martyrdom.<sup>45</sup> Curzio’s manuscript compilation on Simon of Trent for the Duchess of Milan is dated only three days later.

The date of this volume, 13 October 1475, pushes back the traditional date given to a group of prints representing *Simon victima* (Simon’s bodily relic surrounded by the instruments of his martyrdom). One of these is the woodcut possibly printed in Nuremberg, which can be found today in the Staatliche Graphische Sammlung in Munich **FIGURE 5**. The inscription *Beatvs Simon Martir* and the boy’s halo pushed David S. Areford to date the Munich woodcut around or soon after 20 May 1479, when a formal (and unsuccessful) request for Simon’s canonization was submitted to Rome.<sup>46</sup> The clear formal relationship between this woodcut and the Milanese drawing of Simon, however, makes it now possible to suggest that the woodcut was made around October 1475. It also establishes October 1475 as a possible *post quem* date for the production of a woodcut of Simon’s body surrounded with *ex-votos*, and approached by pilgrims, which was printed in Nuremberg by Friedrich Creussner **FIGURE 8**. In the miniature and in these two prints, Simon’s proportions and the spatial relationship between his body and the needle pricks, the knife and the other instruments of his martyrdom are identical or very similar. This raises the complicated question of whether the authoritative model was the drawing, one of the prints, or a now lost image.

One element that may point to the fact that the Milanese drawing was based on an existing woodcut is the relationship between text and image. Some of the Latin and German versions of *Li lamenti del beato Simone da Trento* that circulated on printed broadsides were illustrated with woodcuts comparable in proportion and structure to the Milanese miniature. The *Epithafium gloriosi pueri Simonis Tridentini novi martyris*, dated around 1476, is illustrated with an image of Simon sitting on a throne and crowned by angels, set in a square frame.<sup>47</sup> A German broadside dated around 1498 is decorated with a woodcut of Simon represented with a halo and surrounded by the initials *BS* (*Beatus Simon*) and the symbols of his martyrdom **FIGURE 9**.<sup>48</sup> These poems were similar to the popular Italian poetic ephemera in *terza rima* defined as ‘murder ballads’, which were also often illustrated with woodcuts. Usually written in the form of a lamentation spoken from the perspective of a crime victim, murder ballads were as much a form of entertainment as a vehicle for propagandistic and didactic messages.<sup>49</sup> The proportions of Simon’s miniature and the fact that it is on the first page of the poem rather than on the frontispiece to the whole volume may indicate that the Milanese artist copied the image from a coloured woodcut printed on a broadside that was unfortunately lost over time.

The Milanese drawing of Simon, which is the second earliest dated image of Simon preserved today, prompts a reconsideration of the early stages of his visual construction as a holy child. The early date of this drawing

**S**imon ain kind bin ich genant  
 zu triende wol in dem walschen lant  
 Mein vater mit der wunung was  
 auß welschen landen er geborn was  
 von diebes auß der schleinger lant.  
 andreas so was er genant  
 Mein mäter von art ain wälbin was  
 vnd sy zu triende mit wesen was  
 Maria so was sy genant  
 sy erloch mich symon wol on alle schant  
 Tach meines vater vnd mäter sagen  
 so han ich gehabt nach den tagen  
 zway iar vnd sunff monat  
 als es doch hie geschriben stat  
 Drey vñ zwainzig tag ym october sy mich gebat  
 nach ir bayder sagen das ist war  
 Vnd als man hie die weyßen sagen  
 sol nyman sein layd zu wasl klagen  
 Wann dem vnbillichen geschichte gewalt  
 er sey lung oder alt  
 Als mir armen symon geschichen ist  
 ewiger güttiger got vnd crist  
 Was habe die vngerechten iuden an mir gerochen  
 Das sy mir mein lung tag haben ab gebrochen  
 Der mir ist gewesen vngerecht  
 als ich vor oben han nemet

ich doch nit verschuldet han  
 oder dem ich ain layd doch het gethan  
 Als man zalt vñster hundert vnd lxxv  
 da namen mein die vngerechten iuden war  
 Vor meines vaters thet ich so  
 an ainem biot ich do as  
 Das gab mir die liebstemäter mein  
 dar nach kam ich in schwere pein  
 Rauffen ihet ich nyman er mee  
 wann mir geschach da ach vnd we  
 Der vlsche iud thebia  
 der kam vnd nam mich da ich saß  
 Mit ainem kreuzer er sich gegen mir pog  
 Da mir mich der walsche iud betrog  
 Er schickte es an nach seinem süg  
 vnder seinem mantel er mich trug  
 Bis das er kam zu samueles haus  
 der stünd vnder der thür vnd lügt her auß  
 Verboogen er mich ym da gab  
 Das geschach an dem reichspfinztag  
 In der marter nach vmb die vesper zeit  
 Das kam mir armen symon wol zilleyt  
 Drey vnd zwainzig tag ym merzen als man list  
 Das mir der gewalt geschichen ist  
 Samuel hiet mich biß die nacht her bach  
 vnd er zu dem vngerechten theobias sprach  
 Du waisst wol was wir haben zeschaffen  
 das wir nit dar über soln schlaffen  
 Des wir vns haben angenommen  
 vor der schäl sy all zeshen komen  
 Samuel mir mit ine klayder ab ziehen thet  
 ye wir me ystey mäter an gelegt het  
 Da stünd ich vor in nact vnde plas  
 ich gebacht vñ um thed in sy das  
 Den anan helff sy mir da verbunde  
 mit ainem rüchlein das ich nit schreyen künde



Da hab ich an mein erst pein  
 da gedacht ich an die ir chsten mäter mein  
 Da mit da stengen sy in ein marter an  
 kain erbarmung wolen sy über mich has  
 Der alte moyses mich in die schopf nam  
 er plicte mich gar grymlich  
 zain andern mal sy mir mein gemacht aufzeten  
 über mich sy kain erbarmung heten  
 Da mit das das plät vass von mir schoß  
 das was die dat marter groß  
 Die vierd marter was mit ainer zangen  
 da mit zerissen sy mir mein gerecht wangen  
 zain sunfften mal stupffen sy mich all gemais  
 wol vmb die puß vnd vmb die bain  
 Mit nadden vnd mit glassen flaches an  
 da mit das plät vass von mir ran  
 In ain schiff iheten sy es vaden  
 die sechst marter begand mir nahen  
 Mit der zangen auß dem gerechten bain  
 da rissen sy mir ain stücklein kain  
 Das thet mir armen kind so wee  
 der marter müß ich leyden mee  
 So lang bis das ain ping tropff in mir was  
 die noyl so erdgen mir die iuden has  
 Do ich schiet mir nit mer macht  
 an mein liebste mäter ich gedacht  
 Das sy mir nit schüß mocht komen  
 mein vater het dennoch nit vernomen  
 Mein leyden vnd mein große not  
 mein sterben vnd mein patern todt  
 Den ich da von den iuden müß leyden  
 mein sil thet sich von dem leib scheyden  
 Die empfalch ich got dem schöpffer sein  
 da het ain end mein große pein  
 Die sy mir nact hetzen gethan  
 meine klayder legten sy mir wider an  
 Das theten sy all wol vmb den list  
 das man es von in mir hat den gewillt  
 Da nun ir müßwill ward an mir verpocht  
 Jeslicher ain besündern spot erdacht  
 Den sy got vnd mir an theten  
 auff ainem stül sy wils gelegt hetten

Da triben sy auß mir den irn spot  
 Sy sprachen das thet wir dir zelayd vnd got  
 Vnd der cristen haget zu mach  
 an dir h aben wir den zungen vñser ra ch  
 Die iuden alle sam gemein  
 die trügen mich in die schäl bin ein  
 Also lag ich die nacht biß an den morg  
 an die karfreitag sy mich in ain heu vaporgen  
 Do mocht ich nit vedeckt beleyden  
 got wolt wunder zachen mit mir treyden  
 Wann sein gselich genad zu der selben silt  
 nach der zeit and gemartat ward  
 Dar nach trügen sy mich in ain wasser  
 da geschach den iuden angst vnd schwe  
 Das ich nit rinen mochte vñ  
 got das wouder durch mich gewirkt hat  
 In dem vnd ich als verlor was  
 mein vater vnd mein mäter sprachen das  
 Wa ist vnser liebes kind symon  
 solen wir in darn also verlogen hon  
 So künden wir nit gewissen wol  
 wer in genommen hat  
 In dem was ich also verboogen  
 biß an den oser montag zu morgen  
 Vnd als es got vñ wolt er an  
 das ich mit sinen g...den frölich  
 zwen iuden stengen da gen h  
 vnd sagten es dem bischoff  
 Die selben neuen mere  
 wie das das kind gefanden wa  
 Wie das es wer versunken  
 vnd in dem wasser ertrunken  
 Der bischoff sprach die iuden wider h  
 vnd sprach nun halter die roo in geh ym  
 Da mit das kain außschuff nit ward  
 so legt man das kind in die erd  
 Das thet er als mit synen  
 da mit die iuden nit solten estrimen  
 Also schüß der bischoff mit dem haubt man  
 das er solt die iuden nemen an  
 Vnd auch mit ym der poetst  
 vnd dar zu die herren von dem rae  
 Die kamen in des samuels haus gegangen  
 da ward in gegeben der lon  
 als sy mir armen symon haben gethon  
 Dar vmb ir werden cristen leide  
 mein große marter ich eich bedelite  
 Die ich vmb vnschuld erlitten han  
 nun lat eich die zu herrgen gan  
 Vnd gedendet an das sterben mein  
 so wil ich ewer trewer verspueher sein  
 Wol gegen dem almechtigen got  
 der mag vns wol helffen auß aller not  
 Vnd maria die heylig unckfraw  
 die helff vns an der engel schar  
 Das wir vns dou frölichen samen  
 in dem ewigen h yndreich spreche amen

FIGURE 9. Triumphant Simon, in *Historia S. Simonis Tridentini*, Ulm: Johann Zainer, ca 1498. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, GWM42241.

strongly suggests that the iconography of Simon's dead body was not derived from the cycle of prints included in Kunne's *Geschichte des zu Trient*,<sup>50</sup> but was instead produced as an autonomous invention probably modelled on the boy's wounded corpse. Notwithstanding the specific model used by the Milanese artist in this case, the accurate replication of the dimensions and extent of the prick wounds on Simon's corpse clearly indicate that the image of Simon as a saintly martyr that was circulating at the time came from the child's forensic examination. Most compellingly, this miniature is a specific visual argument for Simon's sanctity since, as I have already noted, Tiberino's interpretation of the wounds as 'orderly' was key forensic evidence in the accusation of ritual murder against the Jews of Trent. In my opinion, the forensic accuracy with which the wounds are depicted strongly suggests that Bishop Hinderbach or the physician Tiberino, two of the few people involved both in the judicial records and in the promotion of the child saint, intervened in the creation of Simon's holy image.

Although the images of Michael of Sappenheim and Simon of Trent analysed in this chapter were produced in different European regions and at different times, the objective was similar: serving as evidence to support the boys' religious cults and to support their promotion to sainthood. Indeed, Simon's and Michael's cases are two of the very few in which the body of a murdered child was found, examined by physicians, and later venerated as a miraculous bodily relic. In my view, part of the function of the forensic aesthetic of their images must be understood from the scepticism that existed around giving sanctity to the victims of ritual murder. The fact that physicians, expert witnesses who had the legal authority to discern the criminal and divine nature of the wounds, contributed to the creation of the images only reinforced their purported authenticity. We do not know if sketches of the corpses were indeed produced during the development of the trials, but the aesthetic value of the images we have analysed here suggest that they were produced with the intention of functioning as conveyors of the forensic evidence that was key for the development of the religious cult. The images of the children's orderly arranged wounds bear the true evidence of Simon's and Michael's sanctity.

## Notes

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1 There is vast literature on ritual murder. Fundamental studies are the following: Israel Jacob Yuval, *Two Nations in Your Womb: Perceptions of Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008, pp. 135–204; *The Blood Libel Legend: A Casebook of Anti-Semitic Folklore*, ed. by Alan Dundes, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991; Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, *The Myth of Ritual Murder: Jews and Magic in Reformation Germany*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1988. On the parallel legend of host desecration, see Miri Rubin, *Gentile Tales: The Narrative Assault on Late Medieval Jews*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999.

2 The most complete compendium of images of ritual murder remains Eric Zafran, "The Iconography of Antisemitism: A Study of the Representation of the Jews in the Visual Arts of Europe", PhD diss., New York University, 1973, see esp. pp. 30–118.

3 Mitchell B. Merback, *Pilgrimage and Pogrom: Violence, Memory, and Visual Culture at the Host-Miracle Shrines of Germany and Austria*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012, pp. 125–31.

4 Building on these arguments, the Dominican friar Giovanni Battista de' Giudici refused to accept the sanctity of Simon of Trent. André Vauchez, "La nascita del sospetto", in *Finzione e santità tra medioevo ed età moderna*, ed. by Gabriella Zarri, Turin: Rosenberg & Sellier, 1991, 39–51; Diego Quaglioni, "Il procedimento inquisitorio contro gli Ebrei di Trento", in *Processi contro gli ebrei di Trento (1475–1478)*, ed. by Anna Esposito and Diego Quaglioni, Padova: CEDAM, 1990, 1–52 (pp. 26–29); André Vauchez, *La santità nel Medioevo*, Bologna: Il Mulino, 2009 [1st ed., Rome, 1981], pp. 104–6. On the broader relationship between infancy and sanctity, see *Bambini santi: Rappresentazioni dell'infanzia e modelli agiografici*, ed. by Anna Benvenuti Papi and Elena Giannarelli, Turin: Rosenberg & Sellier, 1991.

5 Anna Esposito, "Lo stereotipo dell'omicidio rituale nei processi tridentini e il culto del 'beato' Simone", in Esposito and Quaglioni (eds), *Processi contro gli ebrei di Trento*, 53–96 (pp. 73–76).

6 See Chiara Franceschini, "Arti figurative e Inquisizione: Il controllo", in *Dizionario storico dell'Inquisizione*, 4 vols, ed. by Adriano Prosperi, Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2010, I, 102–5, and her essay in this volume, chapter 2.

7 This is one of the main arguments explored in Felipe Pereda, *Crimen e ilusión: El arte de la verdad en el Siglo de Oro*, Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2017, see esp. chaps. 4 and 7.

8 Vauchez, *La santità*, p. 104.

9 Merback, *Pilgrimage and Pogrom*, pp. 139–40.

10 Uri Z. Shachar, "Inspecting the Pious Body: Christological Morphology and the Ritual-Crucifixion Allegation", *Journal of Medieval History*, 41:1 (2015), 21–40 (here p. 35).

11 Katharine Park, "Holy Autopsies: Saintry Bodies and Medical Expertise, 1300–1600", in *The Body in Early Modern Italy*, ed. by Julia L. Hairston and Walter Stephens, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010, 61–73; Nancy G. Siraisi, *Medicine and the Italian universities, 1250–1600*, Leiden: Brill, 2001, pp. 356–80; Katharine Park, "The Criminal and the Saintry Body: Autopsy and Dissection in Renaissance Italy", *Renaissance Quarterly*, 47:1 (1994), 1–33; Vauchez, *La santità*, pp. 489–510.

12 Fernando Vidal, "Miracles, Science, and Testimony in Post-Tridentine Saint-Making", *Science in Context*, 20:3 (2007), 481–508; Joseph Ziegler, "Practitioners and Saints: Medical Men in Canonization Processes in the Thirteenth to Fifteenth Centuries", *Social History of Medicine*, 12:2 (1999), 191–225.

13 Among others, see Joanna Carraway Vitiello, *Public Justice and the Criminal Trial in Late Medieval Italy: Reggio Emilia in the Visconti Age*, Leiden: Brill, 2016, pp. 127–32; Silvia De Renzi, "Medical Expertise, Bodies, and the Law in Early Modern Courts", *Isis*, 98:2 (2007), 315–22; Alessandro Pastore, *Il medico in tribunale: la perizia medica nella procedura penale d'antico regime (secoli XVI–XVIII)*, Bellinzona: Ed. Casagrande, 1998, pp. 25–65.

14 Gianna Pomata defines 'double vision' as the observation by which physicians simultaneously assessed the corporeal and the spiritual in canonization

processes; see Pomata, "Malpighi and the Holy Body: Medical Experts and Miraculous Evidence in Seventeenth-Century Italy", *Renaissance Studies*, 21:4 (2007), 568–86 (p. 585).

15 Hsia, *The Myth of Ritual Murder*, pp. 125–31.

16 'Ein hübsch new lied von Zweyen Juden und einem Kind, zu Sappenfelt newlich geschehen', s.l., ca 1540. See also Charles Zika, "Violence, Anger and Dishonour in Sixteenth-century Broadsheds from the Collection of Johann Jakob Wick", in *Violence and Emotions in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Susan Broomhall and Sarah Finn, London: Routledge, 2015, 37–58 (pp. 45–46); and Zafran, "The Iconography of Antisemitism", pp. 98–99.

17 On the violent use of images of Jews in Christian art, see Zafran, "The Iconography of Antisemitism", esp. pp. 5–28.

18 Howard P. Louthan, "Imagining Christian Origins: Catholic Visions of a Holy Past in Central Europe", in *Sacred History: Uses of the Christian Past in the Renaissance World*, ed. by Katherine Elliot Van Liere, Simon Ditchfield, and Howard P. Louthan, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012, 145–64 (pp. 153–58); Alois Schmid, "Die 'Bavaria sancta et pia' des P. Matthäus Rader SJ", in *Les princes et l'histoire du XIVe au XVIIIe siècle: Actes du colloque organisé par l'Université de Versailles – Saint-Quentin et l'Institut Historique Allemand, Paris (Versailles, 13–16 mars 1996)*, ed. by Chantal Grell, Werner Paravicini, and Jürgen Voss, Bonn: Bouvier Verlag, 1998, 499–522; Hsia, *The Myth of Ritual Murder*, p. 218.

19 Matthäus Rader, *Bavariae sanctae volumen alterum*, Munich: Sadeler, 1624, pp. 313–15 (anonymous child of Munich) and 331–33 (Heinrich of Munich); and Matthäus Rader, *Bavariae sanctae volumen tertium*, Munich: Sadeler, 1627, pp. 172–75 (six children of Regensburg) and 176–80 (Michael of Sappenfeld). On the engravings of the Munich cases, see Mitchell B. Merback, "Cleansing the Temple: The Munich Gruktkirche as Converted Synagogue", in *Beyond the Yellow Badge Anti-Judaism and Antisemitism in Medieval and Early Modern Visual Culture*, ed. by Mitchell B. Merback, Boston: Brill, 2014, 305–45 (pp. 334–39).

20 Rader, *Bavariae sanctae volumen tertium*, pp. 176–80.

21 Matthias Mayerhofer, *Kupferstiche im Dienst politischer Propaganda: Die "Bavaria Sancta et Pia" des Pater Matthäus Rader SJ*, Munich: Komm. für Bayerische Landesgeschichte, 2011,

pp. 31–39. The engravings of Bavaria Sancta were carried out by Raphael Sadeler the Elder and his son. Isabelle de Ramaix gave the engravings of the first and second volumes and one of the engravings in the third volume to Raphael Sadeler I the Elder. See Isabelle de Ramaix, *The Illustrated Bartsch: Raphael Sadeler I*, vol. 71, part 2: Supplement, Norwalk, CT: Abaris Books, 2007, pp. 93–122. The Hollstein refers to Raphael Sadeler II in the *Bavaria Sancta* only briefly, and fails to recognize the image of Michael as a relic as part of it. See *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts ca. 1450–1700*, ed. by Friedrich Hollstein, 71 vols., Amsterdam: Van Gendt & co., 1980, vol. 21: Dieuwke de Hoop Scheffer, *Aegidius Sadeler to Raphael Sadeler II*, pp. 267–84.

22 Rader, *Bavariae sanctae volumen tertium*, pp. 176–80.

23 Matthäus Rader, *Bavaria pia*, Dillingen, Augsburg: Bencard, 1704 [finished in Munich, 1628], s.f.: 'Forma et modus corpusculi S. Pueri et M. Michaelis trimuli et semestris in Hietingensi pago ab Iudaeis crudelissime excarnificati et interfecti ex nona proportione iustae staturae'.

24 Other Christological iconographies frequently used are the Circumcision, the Flagellation, and the Crucifixion. See Zafran, "The Iconography of Antisemitism", pp. 30–18.

25 Rader, *Bavaria pia*, s.f.: 'Submissa est mihi forma & magnitudo corporis S. huius pueri Eystadio per Nob. & Excell. D. Doct. Thomam Thiermair Medicum'. This text varies slightly in the 1714 German edition, but the references to and measurement of the child's proportions are maintained.

26 See a biography of Thiermair in Erich Rudolf Stockbauer, "Ärztbiographien (Thomas Thiermair – Franz Ignaz Thiermair) aus dem Elenchus quorundam Bavariae medicorum des Münchener Hofbibliothekars Andreas Felix von Oefele", PhD diss., Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg, 1968, pp. 8–17.

27 Thomas Thiermair, *Conclusiones medicae de phlebotomia seu venae sectione*, Ingolstadt: Ederiano, 1608, p. 9.

28 Rader, *Bavariae sanctae volumen tertium*, p. 180.

29 *Ibid.*: 'O si possit haberi, aut reperi ista imago pueri!'

30 Sources examined do not indicate the whereabouts of Michael's bodily relic in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

31 Two fundamental readings on this case are Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, *Trent 1475:*

*Stories of a Ritual Murder Trial*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992; and Esposito and Quaglioni (eds), *Processi contro gli ebrei di Trento*.

32 The imagery of Simon of Trent has been studied by Jeanette Kohl, "A Murder, a Mummy, and a Bust: The Newly Discovered Portrait of Simon of Trent at the Getty", *Getty Research Journal*, 10 (2018), 37–60; Valentina Perini, *Il Simonino: Geografia di un culto* (Studi trentini: 91,2, Suppl.), Trent: Società di Studi Trentini di Scienze Storiche, 2012; David S. Areford, *The Viewer and the Printed Image in Late Medieval Europe*, Farnham: Ashgate, 2010, pp. 194–27; Dana E. Katz, *The Jew in the Art of the Italian Renaissance*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008, pp. 119–57. Also see the essays by Laura dal Prà and Dominique Rigaux in *Il principe vescovo Johannes Hinderbach (1465–1486) fra tardo Medioevo e Umanesimo: Atti del convegno promosso dalla Biblioteca comunale di Trento: 2–6 ottobre 1989*, ed. by Iginio Rogger and Marco Bellabarba, Trent: Istituto di scienze religiose, 1992.

33 On this specific iconography, see Urte Krass, *Nah zum Leichnam: Bilder neuer Heiliger im Quattrocento*, Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2012, pp. 260–69; and Areford, *The Viewer*, pp. 199–208.

34 Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España (hereafter BNE), MSS/9769: Giovanni Mattia Tiberino and Tommaso Curzio, *Passione dil beato innocente et martyre Simone* (ff. 1–13v) and *Li lamenti del beato Simone da Trento, virgine et martyre et innocente* (ff. 14–16v), 13 October 1475. Previously, it was part of the manuscript collection of the Marquis de Cambis-Velleron (1706–22), in Avignon. See Raymond Étaix, "Le cabinet des manuscrits du marquis de Cambis-Velleron", *Scriptorium: Centre d'Étude des Manuscrits*, 37 (1983), 66–91 (p. 77). This manuscript has been overlooked by scholars working on Simon of Trent and is not included in Stephen D. Bowd and J. Donald Cullington, "On everyone's lips": *Humanists, Jews, and the Tale of Simon of Trent*, Tempe, AZ: ACMRS, 2012. Wolfgang Treue mentioned the manuscript but did not address the contents nor the illustrations; see Treue, *Der Trienter Judenprozess: Voraussetzungen, Abläufe, Auswirkungen (1475–1588)*, Hannover: Hahn, 1996, p. 343.

35 Quaglioni, "Il procedimento inquisitorio", pp. 33–34; Esposito and Quaglioni (eds), *Processi contro gli ebrei di Trento*, pp. 112–15, doc. 5. The small red marks covering Simon's body were described as 'Item cum magna rubedine circa umbilicum et circa brachium sinistrum, et cum multis parvis signis rubeis in pectore, tibiis, coxis, in brachio dextro, que videbantur puncture

pulicum, licet essent aliquanto minores; ac etiam cum multis maculis rubeis sive sanguinolentis ad magnitudinem unius manus circa corpus, videlicet in spatulis, pectore in coxis'.

36 Esposito and Quaglioni (eds), *Processi contro gli ebrei di Trento*, pp. 116–18, doc. 7: 'Item dicit quod vulnera que sunt in dicto cadavere, credere suo, sunt manufacta, quia si fuissent vulnera facta ab aqua per collisionem ad lapides, dicta vulnera non essent vulnera, sed essent contusiones, et non essent in eorum rotunditate in qua sunt, quia aqua dum abduceret dictum cadaver non servasset ordinem in percutiendo precise illa vulnera, [...]'. Also see Pastore, *Il medico in tribunale*, pp. 60–64.

37 A short biography in Bowd and Cullington, "On everyone's lips", pp. 24–26.

38 The numerous laudatory references to the duchess incorporated at different parts throughout the entire manuscript suggest that Curzio translated and modified Tiberino's original Latin text, at least in part. In a transition between different sections, Curzio writes that 'li ho reduti tuti in uno volume: & al vostro felice nome consecrato', BNE, MSS/9769, f. 10. References to the few Italian texts on Simonino can be found in Bowd and Cullington, "On everyone's lips", pp. 215–18. Treue, *Der Trienter Judenprozess*, pp. 290–91.

39 An English translation of the Latin text can be found in Bowd and Cullington, "On everyone's lips", pp. 41–57. For a precise chronology of the inquisitorial procedure, see Esposito and Quaglioni (eds), *Processi contro gli ebrei di Trento*, pp. 467–76.

40 BNE, MSS/9769, ff. 5v–6v: '& comenzando da la pianta del pie: fina a lo capo: trapassavano quello con spessi colpi'.

41 Giovanni Mattia Tiberino, *Hystoria completa de passione et obitu pueri Simonis*, Trent: Albrecht Kunne and Hermann Schindeleyp, 1476.

42 Latin printed versions where circulating as early as 9 February 1476. See Tiberino, *Hystoria completa*, ff. 10v–11v. A textual analysis and an English translation of the poem can be found in Bowd and Cullington, "On everyone's lips", pp. 64–69 and 217–18.

43 Krass, *Nah zum Leichnam*, pp. 239–58; Hsia, *Trent 1475*, pp. 69–80.

44 Treue, *Der Trienter Judenprozess*, p. 357 (note 24); Anna Esposito, "Il culto del 'beato' Simonino e la sua prima diffusione in Italia", in *Il principe vescovo*

Johannes Hinderbach (1465–1486) fra tardo Medioevo e Umanesimo: Atti del convegno promosso dalla Biblioteca comunale di Trento: 2–6 ottobre 1989, ed. by Iginio Rogger and Marco Bellabarba, Trento: EDB, 1992, 429–43 (p. 438, note 47).

45 Areford, *The Viewer*, pp. 166–68; Esposito, “Lo stereotipo dell’omicidio rituale”, pp. 80–81.

46 *Origins of European Printmaking: Fifteenth-Century Woodcuts and Their Public*, ed. by Peter W. Parshall and Rainer Schoch, Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, in association with Yale University Press, New Haven, CT, 2005, p. 209.

47 Areford, *The Viewer*, pp. 199–200; Christine Magin and Falk Eisermann, “Two Anti-Jewish Broadsides from the Late Fifteenth Century”, *Studies in the History of Art*, 75 (2009), 190–203.

48 Triumphant Simon, coloured woodcut, Giovanni Tiberino, *Simon ain Kind bin ich genant* (Ulm: Johannes Zainer the Younger, ca 1498), Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Unter den Linde, Inc. 2605.5; see Areford, *The Viewer*, pp. 201–3.

49 Rosa Salzberg and Massimo Rospocher, “Murder Ballads: Singing, Hearing, Writing and Reading about Murder in Renaissance Italy”, *Murder in Renaissance Italy*, ed. by Trevor Dean, and K. J. P. Lowe, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017, 164–85.

50 Areford, *The Viewer*, p. 204.

# The Image and Cult of *Sette Arcangeli* facing Roman Censorship

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The cult of the *Sette Principi degli Angeli* was based on an image, a *miracolosa invenzione*, discovered in an old chapel near the cathedral of Palermo in 1516: a mural painting dated, according to the sources, around the late thirteenth century.<sup>1</sup> The image depicted seven angels: Michael was at the centre flanked by Rafael, Uriel, and Gabriel to his right, and Sealtiel, Jehudiel, and Barachiel to his left. The building and the paintings disappeared before the year 1600; however, the surviving engravings made after the 1516 discovery allow us to know its iconographic composition. The style of these engravings has replaced what might have been a more archaic representation.

The most detailed source about its discovery came from the discoverer himself, the then vicar of Palermo, Tommaso Bellorusso, whose manuscript *Opus divinum et incognitum de septem spiritibus in conspectu troni dei assistantibus* (ca 1535) remained unpublished.<sup>2</sup> The authorship of the document belongs to Bellorusso, and not to his Sicilian disciple, Antonio Duca, as has been mistakenly reported in the art-historical discourses following Émile Mâle.<sup>3</sup> Actually, Duca silenced his mentor by plagiarizing his unpublished manuscript.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, we cannot deny Duca's role in another, no less important, enterprise: the dissemination of the Seven Archangels imagery in Rome, especially after the 1540s. Among the initiatives of Duca,<sup>5</sup> which are of special importance to us, are the engraved images that are included in the editions of his *Septem principum angelorum* (princeps 1543), with three subsequent editions, enlarged and modified.<sup>6</sup> Curiously, the engraving of the archetype, that is, the original image, is not included until the 1594 edition

**FIGURE 1.**<sup>7</sup>

This chapter reflects on two problematic points of the visualization of the Seven Archangels: the novelty of the iconography, and its partially apocryphal nature. Furthermore, I discuss the effects of Roman censorship on early modern books and, especially, on images of the Seven Archangels in several Roman cases: the paintings in the churches of Il Gesù, Santa Maria degli Angeli, and Santa Maria della Pietà, all in Rome; and the engravings in different editions of Antonio Duca's booklet.

Through an analysis of written sources, including unpublished manuscripts and surviving images, I will discuss how this cult and image evolved in the Roman context from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. Ultimately, I will address how post-Tridentine censorship affected the dissemination of the iconography of the Seven Archangels in Rome, offering a case study that enriches our understanding of early modern visual normativity.

### **A New and Apocryphal Cult**

Despite certain precursory imagery that could have existed in the Byzantine orbit, the image of Seven Archangels was new in sixteenth-century Italy. According to the Council of Trent, such *insolitae imagines*, along with the indecorous or superstitious, were considered an abuse and therefore were prohibited.<sup>8</sup> This iconography developed shortly before the convening of the Council of Trent, which prevented it from giving this image the status of tradition. The theoretical pioneer Bellorusso, almost anticipating the Tridentine

recommendations, attempted to justify the aspect of novelty by clarifying that ‘the wise men should not be surprised if some hiding elements of this arcane school were veiled and obscurely covered.’<sup>9</sup> He also recalled the recommendation by the Pseudo-Dionysius (fifth to sixth century AD) ‘that what is holy and arcane should not be spread among the vulgar,’<sup>10</sup> a common leitmotiv when accounting for biblical *lacunae*. Moreover, the novelty of the Seven Archangels’ iconographic program offered a loophole when conditioning its approval by the judgment of the bishops. Even so, there was another pitfall, namely, its apocryphal character, which had already been attacked by Catholic theologians prior to the Council of Trent.<sup>11</sup> The council did not use the term ‘apocryphal’ for what concerns images, but later writers, namely, Gabriele Paleotti (1522–97), defined as ‘apocryphal’ those paintings in which the contents were not authenticated by the Church, nor damned; that is, those configurations where truth is in doubt.<sup>12</sup>

An overview of the written sources for and against the Seven Archangels reveals that the main issue resided in the four apocryphal names of Uriel, Jehudiel, Sealtiel, and Barachiel, while the remaining three — Michael, Gabriel, and Rafael — were canonically sanctioned by their presence in the scriptures. The apocryphal names derived from a controversial text of revelations and prophecies: the *Apocalypsis nova*, written by the blessed Friar Minor Amadeo Menezes de Sylva between 1472 and 1482 with interpolations until 1513, a text that remained unpublished, but several handwritten copies circulated throughout Europe.<sup>13</sup> This affiliation with such a problematic work would become one of the weapons used by the detractors to push for censorship of the iconography; nonetheless, the ambiguity of arcane precedent still granted a bit of space. The censors took a range of positions with regard to the images of the Seven Archangels: from intransigence to permissiveness, that is, from total elimination to the deletion of only the names, allowing the figures with the identifying attributes that Antonio Duca’s engravings had originally disseminated.

In response to opposition to the cult, we have evidence from Antonio Duca himself. To reply to those who presented the Tridentine argument of novelty, Duca drafted a defense in 1562, with alleged supervision by *uomini dottissimi*.<sup>14</sup> Furthermore, he explained that the angelic names were found in the Bible ‘in their entirety or syncopated as proper nouns of different people.’<sup>15</sup> It is interesting to note that this text was written by order of Pope Pius IV, who was responsible for the culmination of the council, coinciding with the last phase of it. This demonstrates the pontiff’s concern, and although we do not know the effects of Duca’s text on his opinion, we can sense the pope’s disapproval, given his decision to dedicate the basilica to Santa Maria degli Angeli and not to the Seven Archangels, as Antonio Duca had pleaded on several occasions. Simply put, it would be too problematic for the pope of Trent to justify an apocryphal cult. The first failure of the Seven Archangels was that they did not gain the support of the pontificate despite the efforts of



**FIGURE 1.** *Seven Archangels of Palermo*, in Antonio Duca, *Septem principum angelorum* [...] Naples: ex officina Horatij Saluiani: apud. Io. Iacobum Carlinum, & Antonium Pacem, 1594.

Antonio Duca. What would have happened if they had arrived in Rome only a few years before, without the pressure of Counter-Reformist rigor?

Around the same time that Duca pleaded for support for the cult of the Seven Archangels, an anonymous, undated manuscript entitled *Sacramentum Septem stellae* also betrays an opposition to the new angelic names.<sup>16</sup> The unknown author (probably in the circle of Duca) tried to counteract the attacks with vehemence, even by erroneously including the four apocryphal names in several biblical passages. The reckless affirmations will be refuted a century later by the Cistercian Hebraist Giulio Bartolucci in his *Bibliotheca magna rabbinica*<sup>17</sup> denying the names and not hesitating to call the Amadeite revelations and the Palermo mural unworthy.<sup>18</sup> Bartolucci is the first author to publish his rejection of the cult, but until then the publications supporting the cult were more numerous, stemming chiefly from the hands of the Jesuits.

The entire list of authors of the Jesuit Society who collected the history of the Seven Archangels in their works exceeds my space here.<sup>19</sup> Among the dozen publications, this argument will be limited to the first writers on the subject at the end of 1600s, who were predominantly Italian Jesuits. We will only mention the author who enjoyed a wide fame: Cornelius Lapidus or Lapidius, who dedicated an extensive excursus to the Seven Spirits in his *Commentaria in Apocalypsim*.<sup>20</sup> Here he recognized that the four names are insecure, but considering that 'the difficulty and the issue is minor [...] they assume them because of the ministry they undertake among men.'<sup>21</sup> These words, which take up the argument of Duca, have a crucial relevance for spreading the most common and main argument used by the supporters of the cult.

### **Post-Tridentine Censorship on the Seven Archangels**

Post-Tridentine writers delving into these discussions, such as Johannes Molanus (1533–85), Paleotti, or Carlo Borromeo (1538–84), the last two of which were active participants in the politics of Clement VIII during the 1590s in Rome, added to these regulations at the most effervescent moment of censorship.<sup>22</sup> They and many other authors tried to fill the gaps left by the Council of Trent and raised the need for regulations of sacred iconography, both from theoretical-doctrinal and didactic-pastoral perspectives.<sup>23</sup> This censorious position will be dominant in the Holy See towards the end of the sixteenth century. The Clementine curia was determined to guarantee the principle of *decorum*, both by channelling the uneducated devotee and by standing up to the criticism of the reformers, especially in the face of the jubilee of 1600. The jubilee celebrations and the image of Rome as an *exemplum* for all Christendom could not be subject to controversy in the face of such an important event. To carry out these theoretical approaches, a policy of control over the sacred image was activated through two main measures: regulating visits to the churches (decreed in 1592) and an edict on ecclesiastical art (1593).<sup>24</sup> Of these two tools, the visits had the most direct effect on one of the images of the Seven Archangels I discuss: canvas from Il Gesù. These pastoral visits, which took place in Rome between 1592 and



1596, resulted in fourteen rules that affected the images, mainly in terms of *decorum*, and usually based more on correction than elimination.<sup>25</sup> In such terms, they precisely affected the Jesuit painting. However, other reasons might have caused its censorship.

For the specific case of the angelic theme, we should keep in mind that in 1599 Cardinal Baronio published the eighth volume of his *Annales Ecclesiastici*, which contains news of the conviction of the French monk Adelberto in the eighth century for invoking apocryphal angelic names,<sup>26</sup> this, surely, should have fuelled the debate. Paleotti, in his *Discorso*, also mentions the angelic issue as an example of 'reckless images' (*pitture dette temerarie*): images that present as certain those things that the Church has not yet defined.<sup>27</sup> Along with the Immaculate Conception, or the number and quality of the blessed and condemned ones in the Last Judgment, the Bolognese cardinal also includes the angels, not because of their names, but because of their number. It is surprising that, in view of Paleotti's concern with iconographic orthodoxy, he did not articulate any serious problem with the names or the attributes of the Seven Archangels, which were spreading contemporaneously. In all likelihood, this iconographic issue had not reached Bologna.<sup>28</sup>

Roman censorship of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries does not have the extensive bibliography that the Cinquecento enjoys, therefore it is

**FIGURE 2.** *Barachiel adiutor* and *Sealtiel orator* in two scenes of Abraham Receiving the Three Angels, in Antonio Duca, *Septem principum angelorum*. Venezia, 1543. Palermo, Biblioteca Centrale della Regione Siciliana.

difficult to offer a general panorama of the phenomenon. Of the four censorship cases that I address, three are situated after the sixteenth century. Even if Clement VIII's Counter-Reformation zeal and the effluence of treaty writers would not repeat in subsequent eras, other protagonists with the same and even greater concern for orthodoxy did appear. In what remains, I will approach the work of Cardinal Francesco Albizzi in the Seicento and of Francesco Bianchini in the Settecento. A systematic study of these texts and other documentation is a task yet to be tackled. In short, Counter-Reformist rigor, whether immediately after the council, or later, had an influence on the evolution of this iconography, which had flourished in the previous period. Such restriction imposes itself on the more fluid panorama of the previous era, when the cult of the Seven Archangels had been conceived.

### Censorship on Antonio Duca's Booklet

Censorship is clearly visible in several editions of Antonio Duca's *Opus*, as evidenced by the *cancellature* of noncanonical names or the elimination of images. Although we do not know the date (not even approximate) in which these interventions took place, we can speculate that they first appeared in the last decade of the sixteenth century, a time of great activity for the Sacred Congregation of the Index of Forbidden Books that, after several attempts, would only be published in 1596.<sup>29</sup> The degree of damage to such copies is related to their location.

On the frontispiece of a 1543 copy preserved at the Biblioteca Centrale di Palermo we can see this handwritten pen inscription: 'Note that in addition to the three names Michael, Gabriel and Rafael, the other names are not allowed, as they are not found in the Holy Scriptures, and may be names of demons.'<sup>30</sup> The censor dares to identify, therefore, the apocryphal angels with demons. The same hand takes care to cross them out wherever they appear **FIGURE 2** and to tear out the folios corresponding to the Angelic Mass, a word that is also crossed out in the title.<sup>31</sup> However, the same edition preserved at the Archivo Histórico Nacional does not present the slightest scratch.<sup>32</sup> On the other hand, the copy of the second edition (1555) kept by the Vatican Library shows a radical mutilation, and not only in the text, but also in the images.<sup>33</sup> Something similar happens with the edition of 1595 treasured by another library in Palermo, the Comunale, in this case, with a less lethal attack, but another copy from this same library (the 1555 edition) does not present any type of intervention.<sup>34</sup> These testimonials, along with the scarcity of preserved copies, indicate the inconvenience of the archangels' names in the face of increasing orthodoxy, but the attacks seem to diminish as we move away from Rome. The selection of Naples for the last editions confirms this assessment. Perhaps in fear of this growing antagonism, the editor's name was purposefully omitted and the author camouflaged in the first Neapolitan edition (but both appear in the later editions). Perhaps for this same reason, Antonio Duca persisted on his quest to have the Angelic Mass approved, thus obtaining validity through *più autorità*. Unfortunately for Duca, Pope Julius III did not grant it.<sup>35</sup>



**FIGURE 3.** Federico Zuccari,  
*Kneeling Seven Archangels*, 1600.  
Rome, Il Gesù, Cappella degli Angeli.

## The Changes in the Cappella degli Angeli del Gesù (1592–1600)

In addition to such blunt obliterations and mutilations of texts, the rejection of apocryphal names provoked censorious interventions on at least four other occasions in Rome, specifically on the names and images, including altar paintings, with different degrees of censorship. In the move towards architecture and painting, censors chose to eliminate only the names while maintaining the figures. Nonetheless, the deterrent effect would curtail the cult's future development.

The first measure to be documented is the one that affected a painting in the Cappella degli Angeli of the Gesù, which ended up being eliminated and replaced. Scipione Pulzone painted it in 1591; this work was substituted within a decade by the *Kneeling Seven Archangels* by Federico Zuccari, still in place **FIGURE 3**. Only three years after completion, the Decree of the Apostolic Visitation of Clement VIII (1594) sentenced Pulzone's canvas: 'That the images of the Holy Angels be concealed with more decency'.<sup>36</sup> Writing shortly

after the painting's alteration, Giovanni Baglione (1566–1643) pointed out that 'they were in the chapel of the Angels on the altar, some of those standing angels, so beautiful, but as they were natural portraits, representing various people known to all, they were removed in order to eliminate the scandal, and they were so beautiful that they seemed to breathe life and move'.<sup>37</sup>

Both documents refer not to the apocryphal character, but to *decorum*, albeit in distinct ways. In one case, the concern was nudity, one of the greatest issues of Counter-Reformist rigor;<sup>38</sup> in the other, the 'allegorical portraiture',<sup>39</sup> that is, the representation of religious figures or saints with the faces of donors, a practice that had also been sharply rejected for several years by writers such as Borromeo or Paleotti.<sup>40</sup> The judgments given are shocking if we keep in mind certain aspects: the supervisory zeal of the Jesuit Order over its headquarters at the Gesù, the fame of the post-Tridentine painter Pulzone, and the well-known impartiality of Baglione.<sup>41</sup> Moreover, if the painting was so scandalous, why did it remain for three years presiding over an altar without any adverse attention? The disappearance of the painting of Pulzone prevents us from confirming the accuracy of these accusations, but the inscription that now appears in a ribbon of the dome, interpreted by Howard Hibbard in relation to 'its iconoclastic context', seems to support Baglione's account.<sup>42</sup>

We must not fail to consider the conditions of patronage of the chapel. Ownership was transferred in 1594, the same year of the papal decree, to Curzio Vettori because of the financial problems of the first owner, Gaspare Garzonio. There is no doubt that the new patron preferred to get rid of a contentious



**FIGURE 4.** Domenico da Modena, *Seven Archangels Kneeling before the Divine Word*, 1575–85. Rome, Santa Maria degli Angeli, Cappella del Salvatore.

painting, replacing it with an irreproachable one. And indeed he did, since the new painting by Zuccari scrupulously counters the two accusations brought against the previous composition: the clothes of his angels show the minimum amount of flesh, and their anonymous and idealized faces do not reveal any portraiture. Probably, the kneeling position before the monogram of God also attempted to counteract the prominence of the Seven Archangels, which in its Palermo codification represented all seven standing. On this occasion the visit was clearly effective, as it entailed the substitution of an acceptable image. One could ask: Would the substitution have been the chosen procedure if the change of patrons had not occurred, as a few simple alterations would have satisfied the request for the apostolic visit?<sup>43</sup>

Without underestimating the arguments for *decorum*, I understand that the novel and apocryphal character of the iconography should have also had an effect on the decision, as shown by the changes experienced by the iconographic program of the dome of the chapel itself.<sup>44</sup> Between the painting of the dome (1592–95) and its original *disegno*, also by Zuccari, noticeable differences can be seen: the Seven Archangels, around the Assumption, are replaced by an undifferentiated multitude of angels in the final version, thus losing the individualization of the drawing **FIGURES 5, 6**.<sup>45</sup> Incidentally, the Trinity was replaced by the more traditional setting with the zoomorphic Holy Spirit. Zuccari, who proves to be a compliant artist to the new demands of sacred art, dilutes the notoriety of the Seven Archangels. In this composition he grants importance to the canonical triad to the detriment of its apocryphal peers in order to overcome the heterodox error. This leads me to wonder if the canvas that today presides over the altar of the Cappella del Salvatore in Santa Maria degli Angeli **FIGURE 4** was the result of a similar conjunction; above all, because we know that previously there had been a painting of the Seven Archangels. This latter painting, which was executed after the original image was discovered in Palermo, was commissioned by Antonio Duca in Venice in 1544, along with the image of Mary **FIGURE 7** that today dominates the high altar. The Marian image presided over one of the two provisional altars in the still ruinous Baths of Diocletian. Today, the 1544 painting of the Seven Archangels is not preserved, and we do not know its fate, but we can suspect another prohibition or substitution, given that the image of Mary remains. The painted decoration of the chapel was executed between 1575 and 1585 by Domenico da Modena, and, as in the Gesù, the existing canvas with the Seven Archangels constitutes the central part of the



**FIGURE 5.** Federico Zuccari, *Triumph of Mary Surrounded by Seven Archangels*, before 1592. Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada.



angelic pictorial program of the chapel today.<sup>46</sup> The Seven Archangels also appear here in kneeling position, but in this case, they kneel before the Divine Word incarnate in the Infant Jesus. The degree of obscured individualization intensifies to such an extent that not even the three orthodox archangels are disclosed, in addition to the lesser skill of Domenico da Modena in comparison to Zuccari. Was this composition, *inventione del Catalani*,<sup>47</sup> an inspiration for Zuccari's painting that would replace Pulzone's in the Gesù a few years later?

### The Later Cases of Santa Maria degli Angeli and Santa Maria della Pietà

The further Roman actions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries opted for a more permissive solution: erase, cover, or eliminate the apocryphal names, but retain the figures. One of these cases concerns the inscriptions of the names of the Seven Archangels that Antonio Duca had on the columns of the *tepidarium* in Diocletian's Baths. The sources do not agree on when and who was responsible for the deletion. Andrea Vittorelli relates that in 1606, Duca's own collaborator Matteo Catalani's had a vague memory of the situation: 'two very literate and very religious cardinals, Bellarmino (if memory does not deceive me) and Baronio, had sought them

to be erased, and, perhaps, by the Roman Council';<sup>48</sup> however, a century later, Francesco Cancellieri refuted this censorship by pointing out that the names 'remained for more than a century' and 'those crossings-out should not be attributed to Cardinals Baronio and Roberto Bellarmino, but to Francesco Albizzi'.<sup>49</sup> Ottavio Panciroli corroborates this when he says that he contemplated the inscribed names still visible in the year 1625.<sup>50</sup> In any case, the names were ultimately erased, but the memories related by Catalani are revealing, no matter if the final culprit ended up being another rigorist of the following century such as Albizzi.

Albizzi ordered another *cancellatura* of the names, on this occasion more sensitive and relevant with regard to the high altar of Santa Maria degli Angeli.<sup>51</sup> The altarpiece **FIGURE 7** still reveals the traces of the action, especially in the inscribed bands, according to Caterina Bernardi Salvetti, but its current location precludes verification.<sup>52</sup> As I mentioned, this anonymous painting was commissioned in Venice by Antonio Duca, around the same time of the first edition of the booklet (*Septem principum angelorum*, 1543), and of the now disappeared Seven Archangels canvas exposed in a provisional altar in the Baths of Diocletian.<sup>53</sup> The fact that the latter painting is no longer extant, while the Marian altarpiece survives, suggests another elimination or

**FIGURE 6.** Federico Zuccari, *Triumph of Mary Surrounded by Angels*, 1592–95. Rome, Il Gesù, Cappella degli Angeli.

substitution by Domenico da Modena, as I have already pointed out.

For the canvas of Santa Maria della Pietà (no longer extant),<sup>54</sup> Francesco Bianchini decided to erase the names that appeared under the effigies, leaving *le sole figure*, according to his letter to Clement XI (between 1700 and 1721).<sup>55</sup> His recommendation was carried out, as it was shortly recorded by Cancellieri: 'For the most wise men proposed that only the names of the three archangels named in the sacred letters be retained, although they thought that the cult of the Seven Archangels should not be disapproved at all.'<sup>56</sup> Though the tone of Cancellieri's text is purely informative, it nonetheless suggests a more moderate position. Cancellieri's text continues: 'But as what appears in the apocryphal, although they have no authority, sometimes however it is not bad, and the Church uses not few opinions of them.'<sup>57</sup> The phrase, which departs from the concern for the apocryphal inspiration of the 1500s, demonstrates the oscillation of positions and inconsistency of arguments used by the Church to treat ambiguous images in its orthodoxy.



## Conclusion

The response of Roman Counter-Reformation censorship over the iconography treated here is clear: the Church prevented development of the iconography revolving around the cult of the Seven Archangels. The effect of the restrictions was to such an extent that despite the determination of its promoters, today not a single image of the Seven Archangels in their Palermo codification remains in the city of Rome. This absence stands out in comparison with the wide catalogue of Seven Archangels imagery that exists (in spite of the losses) across southern Italy, especially in Sicily and, overwhelmingly, in the Hispanic world.<sup>58</sup> To be kept in mind is that only three paintings preserve the iconography in Rome: the altarpiece with the *Madonna degli Angeli* and the Seven Archangels before the Divine Word **FIGURE 7** in Santa Maria degli Angeli, and canvas with the painting of the same type in the Cappella degli Angeli of the Gesù. All three paintings dilute the identification of the Seven Archangels with modifications or eliminations and configure an orthodox transposition of the image. Although the censorship measures were not particularly aggressive, the interventions mentioned here were sufficient to dissuade promoters and stop future development.

Therefore, this case study supports the idea that the Counter-Reformation had an influence on certain sacred iconographies, but it also shows that this influence affected mostly the territories controlled by Rome, and did not

**FIGURE 7.** *Madonna degli Angeli*, 1544. Rome, Santa Maria degli Angeli, main altar.

extend to other areas, such as southern Italy or the wider Hispanic world. The fact that a series of 'norms' for the iconography of the Angels were applied only in Rome underlines the 'acentric' and regionalist character of the post-Tridentine Reformation and questions the leading role of the pontifical See, as Ruth S. Noyes has indicated.<sup>59</sup> What fate would the Seven Archangels in Rome have had if they had not been affected by Counter-Reformation guidelines? Probably, several paintings would continue to dominate altars in the aforementioned churches, and might have even spread to others. On the other hand, the censorship's effects on religious art production well into the middle of the eighteenth century contradict, in the cases studied, the generalized thesis of a relaxation in ecclesiastical control over the visual arts in Rome during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>60</sup> In this case, the post-Tridentine rigorist climate determined the failure of the image and cult of the Seven Archangels in Rome. Under less adverse conditions and with more powerful patrons than a mere Sicilian priest, they could have instead overcome the handicaps of novelty and apocryphal ambiguity. Nevertheless, the Seven Archangels were compensated after their voyage to the New World, from America to the Philippines: here they unfolded without restrictions and enjoyed a prominent role in the devotional panorama, due perhaps also to inquisitorial laxity.<sup>61</sup>

I owe the Latin translation to José Antonio Bellido Díaz and the English translation to the present text to Cristina Cabrera Lema.

1 Escardiel González Estévez, "Los Siete Arcángeles: Historia e iconografía de un culto heterodoxo", PhD diss., Universidad de Sevilla, 2014, pp. 431 and 446; and González Estévez, "Príncipes alados en el trono hispánico: Cultos angélicos para la Casa de Austria", in *La piedad de la Casa de Austria: Arte, dinastía y devoción*, ed. by Victor Mínguez and Inmaculada Rodríguez Moya, Gijón: Trea, 2018, 123–36. I offered an interpretation of the *invenzione* of the Seven Archangels based on the politics of the image, linking the origin of the cult to the Philo-Habsburg elite of Palermo. This cult was plunged into a turbulent panorama of revolts, plots, and anarchy, which required divine intervention to maintain order and power of the Spanish Crown in the viceroyalty, despite the dynastic change that predetermined the arrival of Charles V.

2 The *Opus divinum* is divided in two parts: an introduction and the three first books, with the signature Ms. X G. 5, and the fourth book, identified with the Ms. XIV F. 4 at the Biblioteca Centrale della Regione Siciliana, Palermo (hereafter BCRS). For an analysis and partial translation of the work in Spanish, see González Estévez, "Los Siete Arcángeles", pp. 92–101 and 545–650.

3 Émile Mâle, *El arte religioso de la Contrarreforma: Estudios sobre iconografía del final del s. XVI y de los siglos XVII y XVIII*, Madrid: Encuentro, 2001 (1st ed., Paris, 1984), pp. 261–81.

4 The entire booklet, except for the epistles and the mass, are copied from Bellorusso's manuscript from ff. 108r–120r; see González Estévez, "Los Siete Arcángeles", pp. 102–3.

5 We know of Duca's initiatives thanks to a text by Matteo Catalani, his Sicilian collaborator. See Matteo Catalani, *Istoria dell'erezione della chiesa di S. Maria degli Angioli in Roma nelle Terme Diocletiane cavata dagli scritti originali di Antonio Duca di Cefalu Sacerdote siciliano*, in Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (hereafter BAV), Ms. Vat. Lat. 8735/0108 [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Vat.lat.8735/0108](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.8735/0108). On this work, see Crispino Valenziano, "Introduzione e Annotazione a Matteo Catalani *Istoria dell'erezione della chiesa di S. Maria degli Angioli in Roma nelle Terme Diocletiane cavata dagli scritti originali di Antonio Duca di Cefalù Sacerdote siciliano*", *Ó Theólogos: Cultura cristiana di Sicilia*, 3:7-8 (1976), 29–250 (pp. 146–47). In addition to the engravings, a total of six canvases were ordered in Rome as gifts to important

people and temples. The first, in 1531 (gift to Cardinal Antonio del Monte); 1544 (the first exposed to public veneration in a provisional altar of the Baths of Diocletian, together with the Madonna surrounded by the Seven Archangels that today presides over the basilica); *post quem* 1544, for the temple of Santa Maria di Loreto; and *ante quem* 1550, as a gift to Cardinal Giovan Maria del Monte, future Julius III; in addition to another sent to the monastery of Montecassino around the same time.

6 The first edition was published in Venice in 1543; and other four editions exist with title variations, published in 1555 in Rome, and three posthumously in Naples: 1594, 1595, and 1604. See Antonio Duca, *Septem principum angelorum. Orationes & eorum missa cum antiquis imaginibus, ab Antonio Duca Cephaludensi rectoris ecclesiae Septem archangelorum Panormitanane in lucem editae*, Venice: s.l., 1543; and Rome: in Campo Florae ex officina d. Vicentij Luchini, 1555; and also Antonio Duca, *Septem principum angelorum orationes cum antiquis imaginibus opera Antonij Ducae presbiteri Cephaludensis olim editae*, Naples: ex officina Horatij Saluiani: apud. Io. Iacobum Carlinum, & Antonium Pacem, 1594 and 1595; and Naples, ad instantia di Martino Fiamengo, 1604.

7 The 1594 edition therefore predates the known work by Hieronymus Wierix, datable to around 1610, which has been erroneously considered the oldest image by the historiography on the image of the Seven Archangels; see González Estévez, "Los Siete Arcángeles", pp. 17 and 453–57.

8 For an English translation and critical study, see *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. by Norman P. Tanner, 2 vols, Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 1990, II, pp. 774–76. Session XXV, second decree, with the title *De invocatione et veneratione, et reliquiis sanctorum et sacris imaginibus*: '[...] they be utterly abolished; in such wise that no images, (suggestive) of false doctrine, and furnishing occasion of dangerous error to the uneducated, be set up. [...] no one be allowed to place, or cause to be placed, any unusual image, in any place, or church, howsoever exempted, except that image have been approved of by the bishop'. We also must not forget the pioneering essay by Hubert Jedin, "Entstehung und Tragweite des Trienter Dekrets über die Bilderverehrung", *Tübinger Theologische Quartalschrift*, 116 (1935), 143–88, 404–29, on the genesis and the reach of the decree.

9 BCRS, MS X G. 5, f. 1v: 'non est mirandum viris doctis si velate et nimis obscure obvolutum est quibusdam latibilis hoc arcanum collegium'.

10 BCRS, MS X G. 5, f. 1r: 'ne panderet vulgo ea quae sancta et arcana sunt'. In f. 89r, Bellorusso also justifies ignorance based on the tendency of negligence among the Jewish people.

11 For example, the Dominican Ambrogio Catarino raised controversy against Erasmus and Luther, recommending extirpating the abuse of apocryphal text as the basis for sacred imagery, see *Opuscula* (Lyon, 1542), in Giuseppe Scavizzi, *Arte e architettura sacra: Cronache e documenti sulla controversia tra riformati e cattolici (1500–1550)*, Rome: Casa del libro, 1981, p. 201.

12 Gabriele Paleotti, *Discorso intorno alle imagini sacre et profane*, Bologna: Benacci, 1581, in *Trattati d'arte del Cinquecento*, ed. by Paola Barocchi, 3 vols, Bari: Laterza, 1961, II, 117–517 (p. 287): 'chiamaremo apocrife quelle [pitture] che contengono cose di religione non autenticate dalla santa Chiesa, ma né anco dannate, e della cui verità si dubita, né si può dare certo iudicio; dalle quali bene faranno i pittori ad astenersi'.

13 The *Apocalypsis nova* is a controversial text that stands out in the sea of apocalyptic and prophetic writings of the time. Divided into eight *raptus*, the names of the Seven Archangels are revealed in the second section. For its analysis, see Anna Morisi-Guerra, *Apocalypsis Nova, ricerche sull'origine e la formazione del testo dello pseudo-Amadeo*, Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 1970, esp. pp. 50–51. As prophetic work, the Franciscans never wanted its publication, but they allowed its circulation (today sixteen copies remain). The *Apocalypsis nova* was considered a dangerous source from the beginning (1517 marks the first mention of its censorship) by personalities such as Pietro Galatino, Ignatius of Loyola, and Roberto Bellarmino; even by the Franciscans themselves (Luke Wadding), not to mention the Dominicans (Abraham Bzovius). For the treatment of the apocryphal names of the angels in the *Apocalypsis nova* and in the paintings of the Pseudo-Bramantino, see González Estévez, "Los Siete Arcángeles", pp. 65–89. In BCRS, MS X G. 5, f. 90r., Bellorusso acknowledges that the names did not appear in the mural painting, but applies the Amadeite names because 'the revelation corrects and supplies what seems to be missing' ('emendat et supplet ea quae deesse videntur, sicut infra patebit').

14 Valenziano, "Introduzione e Annotazione", p. 168.

15 *Ibid.*, p. 160: 'Tutti questi nomi che non sono nella scrittura, come nomi d'Angeli, ritrovandosi nella scrittura, ut iacent, o sinopati, come nomi propij di diverse

persone particolari, perciò non si potevano dire nomi novi, et incogniti'.

16 The text can be found in BAV, Ottob. Lat. 2366, transcribed by François Secret, "Paulus Angelus descendant des empereurs de Byzance et la prophétie du pape angélique", *Rinascimento*, 2 (1962), 211–24.

17 Giulio Bartolucci, *Bibliotheca magna rabbinica: De Scriptoribus & scriptis Hebraicis, ordine Alphabetico Hebraicè & Latinè digestis*, Rome: Typographia Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, 1675, pp. 227a–245b. Specifically see chap. XII, vol. 1: 'De Angelis prolusio: ubi Omnia angelorum nomina reiciuntur praeterquam Michaelis, Gabrielis y Raphaelis'.

18 Bartolucci, *Bibliotheca magna rabbinica*, p. 241, blurted out: 'The holy fathers have never mentioned the names of Yehudiel, Barachiel and Scealtiel, and if they mentioned their names, they did not have them as holy angels' ('Respondit negando, SS. Patres meminisse aliquando nomen lehudielis, Barachielis, & Scealtielis, & si meminerunt, pro Sanctis Angelis eos non habuerunt').

19 González Estévez, "Los Siete Arcángeles", pp. 103–9.

20 Cornelius a Lapide, *Commentaria in Sacram Scripturam, Tomus X complectens commentaria in Acta Apostolorum, Epistolas Canonicas et Apocalypsin*, Naples: Apud I. Nagar editorem, 1859. The editio princeps was only jointly published for the first time in 1682 in Antwerp.

21 *Ibid.*, p. 780: 'Verum de nominibus hisce parva est difficultas et quaestio, cum de re et personis constat. Angeli enim inter se non habent nomina, cum se invicem vident facie ad faciem, itaque colloquantur; sed ea assumunt pro ratione ministerii quod apud homines obeunt'. The author also recognizes that the revelations of Amadeo were 'not so clean' after he had studied them.

22 Giuseppe Scavizzi, *The Controversy on Images from Calvin to Baronius*, New York: Peter Lang, 1992.

23 Alessandro Zuccari, *Arte e committenza nella Roma di Caravaggio*, Torino: ERI Edizioni-RAI, 1984, pp. 9–30.

24 Opher Mansour, "Offensive Images: Censure and Censorship in Rome under Clement VIII 1592–1605", PhD diss., The Courtauld Institute of Art, 2003. The edict was reissued, with some changes, in 1603 and in 1610. The gaps in the archives, according to the author, make it impossible to analyse completely (only one case is preserved), but Mansour believed that a strong incidence was unlikely. The author also

considered among the measures Paleotti's attempt to implement an Index of images based on the unknown fourth book of his *Discorso*, but this objective was aborted by Paleotti's death.

25 Diego Beggiao, *La visita pastorale di Clemente VIII (1592–1600): Aspetti di riforma post-tridentina a Roma*, Rome: Libreria Editrice della Pontificia Università Lateranense, 1978; Zuccari, *Arte e committenza*; Mansour, "Offensive images", notes that the visit is short and slow: twenty-eight temples in four years, compared to the subsequent Urban VIII: 338 in 1630 alone. The author considers the visit with a low level of intercession in censorship, with few works affected and trivial measures.

26 Alessandro Zuccari, "Bellarmino e la prima iconografia gesuitica: La cappella degli Angeli al Gesù", in *Bellarmino e la Controriforma: Atti del Simposio internazionale di studi*, ed. by Alessandro Zuccari, Sora: Centro Studi Sorani, 1986, 609–28 (pp. 617–18). However, the historian clarifies how much Bellarmine was inclined to the cult of the angels in conjunction with that of the Virgin. In the church that was erected in Sora, a canvas depicting the Virgin of Vallicella is worshipped by seven angels.

27 Paleotti, *Discorso intorno alle immagini*, pp. 270–71: '[I teologi] chiamano proposizione temeraria, quando una cosa che è possibile, ma non ha ragione certa più per una che per altra parte, alcuno si muove ad affimarla sicuramente in favore di una parte; si come seria, chi facesse una pittura con qualche motto che significasse che il mondo debba finirsi tra cinquanta anni, certo tal pittura seria temeraria, perché, se bene può ciò avvenire, è però arroganza e temerità grande il volerlo assicurare, non ci essendo ragione efficace per provare questo. [...] Chi rappresentasse per certe alcune cose che la santa Chiesa non ha voluto determinare, come della concezione della gloriosa Vergine, o che Salomone sia in gloria o nello inferno, o quanto sia il numero delli angelici spiriti, o altre simili materie sinora non risolte, incorreria nel medesimo errore'.

28 In the index of the unfinished fourth book, Paleotti only indicates the three canonical angels. From the five books projected, only the two first were edited, but including the full index. Paolo Prodi, *Ricerca sulla Teorica delle arti figurative nella Riforma cattolica*, Bologna: Nuova Alfa editoriale, 1984, p. 30: 'per i libri che furono progettati e non stampati è rimasto assai poco: alcuni fogli semibruciacchiati dai quali è molto difficile dedurre fino a que punto essi erano elaborate'.

29 Gigliola Fragnito, *Church, Censorship and Culture in Early Modern*

*Italy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001. Valenziano, "Introduzione e Annotazione", determines a Seicento hand through paleographic analysis of the copy of 1545 stored in Palermo. Curiously, all the editions by Duca, with exception to the last (1604) are before 1596, and this 1604 version takes place in Naples.

30 BCRS, PA0064: 'Adverte quod praeter tria nomina Michael, Gabriel, Raphael[], coetera nomina non admittuntur, ut pote qua[e] [non?] reperiuntur in Scriptura sacra, et forte nomina sunt daemoniorum[m]'.

31 Valenziano, "Introduzione e Annotazione", errs when affirming that, of this edition, the unique conserved manuscript is the one of the then Biblioteca Nazionale di Palermo, where it arrived in the nineteenth century from the Library of the College of the Jesuits, as revealed by the old catalogue signature: Rari Sic. 126. Today, we know another copy exists in the Biblioteca Comunale Augusta de Perugia, which I have not been able to consult, in addition to the one in Toledo (see note 32). The copy of Palermo is reproduced in part by Valenziano in his article and by online access now; see [http://www.biblioteca-centraleregionesiciliana.it/rari\\_sic\\_126.pdf](http://www.biblioteca-centraleregionesiciliana.it/rari_sic_126.pdf). Three copies exist at present, and therefore the text is quite rare.

32 The book accompanied an anonymous letter that asked the ambassador of Rome in Madrid for funds to build a hospital for Sicilians in Rome. Both documents are catalogued as "Memoria sobre la Iglesia de Santa María de los Ángeles en Sicilia" in Archivo Histórico Nacional, Sección Nobleza (Toledo), Fernán Núñez, C.2061.D.19. Also see González Estévez, "Los Siete Arcángeles", pp. 111–13 and 652–61.

33 BAV, Racc. I. V 133 int. 6, 30–33.

34 The copy of the Biblioteca Pere Marés Oriol, Barcelona, does not refer to the 1594 edition, Naples.

35 Valenziano, "Introduzione e Annotazione", p. 138.

36 *Decreta Sancti mi D. ni Clementis Pape Octavi facta in visitatione Ecclesiarum Urbis, Archivio Segreto Vaticano*, recorded by Zuccari, "Bellarmino e la prima iconografia gesuitica", pp. 613–14, who states: 'È indubbio che si alluda alle figure angeliche dipinte del Pulzone, perché gli affreschi di Federico Zuccari ancora non erano stati realizzati, mentre i dipinti di Gaspare Celio erano rimasti allo stato di abbozzo'.

37 Giovanni Baglione, *Le vite de' pittori scultori et architetti. Dal pontificato di Gregorio XIII del 1572. In fino a' tempi*

di Papa Urbano Ottavo nel 1642, Rome: Stamperia d'Andrea Fei, 1642, p. 154: 'E stavano nella capella degli Angeli sopra l'altare alcuni di essi Angioli in piede assai belli, ma perché erano ritratti dal natural, rappresentanti diverse persone da tutti conosciute, per cancellare lo scandalo, furono tolti via: et eran si belli che parevano spirar vita e moto'. Addressed by Howard Hibbard, "Ut picturae sermones: The First Painted Decoration of the Gesù", in *Baroque Art: The Jesuit Contribution*, ed. by Rudolf Wittkower and Irma Jaffe, New York: Fordham University Press, 1972, 38–47; Paola Mangia, "La SS. Trinità venerata dai Sette Arcangeli", in *La regola e la fama: San Filippo Neri e l'arte*, ed. by Claudio Strinati, Milano: Electa, 1995, 506–10; and Gauvin A. Bailey, *Between Renaissance and Baroque: Jesuit Art in Rome, 1565–1610*, Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2003, pp. 357–58.

38 Scavizzi, *The Controversy on Images*, p. 252: 'the commonly voiced criticism of the nude, which by mid-sixteenth century was common in secular as well as in religious paintings, was part of this antiseccularism'. Also in the visit of Santa Maria Maggiore (6 July 1592), the wooden statues of angels in the tabernacle were ordered to be decently clothed or else removed. See Steven F. Ostrow, *Art and Spirituality in Counter-Reformation Rome: The Sistine and Pauline Chapels in Santa Maria Maggiore*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, p. 129.

39 Edgar Wind, "Studies in Allegorical Portraiture", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 1:2 (1937), 138–53.

40 Ruth S. Noyes, "'Aut numquid post annos mille quingentos docenda est Ecclesia Catholica quomodo sacrae imagines pingantur?' Post-Tridentine Image Reform and the Myth of Gabriele Paleotti", *Catholic Historical Review*, 99:2 (2013), 239–61 (pp. 248–49). The author considers the practice as 'rampant in post-Tridentine art that has high-ranking clerical patrons such as Cardinal Ferdinand de Medici, Pope Gregory XIII', in addition to the Jesuit community at the Gesù, which we will discuss later. See also the contribution herein by James Hall (chapter 6).

41 Luigi Spezzaferro, "Il recupero del Rinascimento", in *Storia dell'arte italiana: Dal Cinquecento all'Ottocento*, ed. by Federico Zeri, Turin: Einaudi, 1981, 183–274 (p. 236). Spezzaferro argues it is impossible that the painting would have been accepted by the Jesuits, had the similarity been so remarkable. Also see Federico Zeri, *Pittura e Controriforma. L'arte senza tempo di Scipione da Gaeta*, Turin: Einaudi, 1957.

42 Hibbard, "Ut picturae sermones", p. 47: the inscription, in the dome above

the altar, reads: 'Adorate eum omnes angeli eius Psal XCVI'. This is the last part of the passage: 'Confundantur omnes qui adorant sculptilia: et qui gloriantur in simulacris suis', that is to say, 'those who adore the images take pride in their own appearance'. Mangia, "La SS. Trinità venerata", p. 508, interprets the inscription as a manifestation of 'un dissenso dalla casata e dalle scelte iconografiche della corte romana del cardinale Alessandro Farnese'.

43 Mansour, "Offensive Images", p. 140. Mansour also invokes the well-known enmity between the two artists as one of the possible causes for the decision.

44 Zuccari, "Bellarmino e la prima iconografia gesuitica", p. 614; and Hibbard, "Ut picturae sermones", p. 47. Both authors underscore the high probability that Pulzone had labeled the apocryphal angels.

45 Mangia, "La SS. Trinità venerata", p. 508; David McTavish, "Trinity Surrounded by Angels", in *Master Drawings from the National Gallery of Canada*, ed. by John Spicer, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988, 31–33; and E. James Mundy, *Renaissance into Baroque: Italian Master Drawings by the Zuccari, 1550–1600*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990, pp. 276–77.

46 It is flanked by two canvases of the Piacentino, one of them, a collective portrait of the Roman benefactors of the cult, among them, Antonio Duca or Matteo Catalani; and with mural paintings on the angelic episodes of the Apocalypse, painted by Arrigo Fiamingo. See Caterina Bernardi Salvetti, *S. Maria degli Angeli alle Terme e Antonio Lo Duca*, Rome: Desclée, 1965, p. 122; Valenziano, "Introduzione e Annotazione", p. 167; and Mangia, "La SS. Trinità venerata", p. 509, image 66d.

47 Andrea Vittorelli, *Dei Ministerii et operationi angeliche, Libri Sei. Nei quali si tratta esattamente de' carichi de' gli Angeli, & della Custodia, delle Apparizioni, de' Giri de' Cieli, & in specie de' gli officii de' sette Angeli Prencipi & di molte altre particolarità in questo soggetto, non meno devote che curiose*, Vicenza: Pietro Paolo Tozzi, 1611, pp. 223–24, clarifies that this was said by the same Catalani 'in età senile l'anno 1606', and he makes the most of it in order to take it into account for another canvas with the same scheme that was in the house of the great patron Pietro Aldobrandini.

48 *Ibid.*, p. 275: 'due letteratissimi & religiosissimi cardinali, Bellarmino (se non m'inganna la memoria) & Baronio, havevano procurator che fossero cancellati &, forse, per il Concilio Romano'. A contemporary author, Francesco Caracciolo (see citation of the manuscript *Vita e gesti di*

*Giovan Pietro Carafa* by Romeo De Maio, *Michelangelo e la Controriforma*, Rome-Bari: Laterza, 1978, p. 349n108), also collects this testimony, pointing out that the names 'erano stati scolpiti', and provides different information from the one issued by Vittorelli, who says they were painted with red colours.

49 Francesco Cancellieri, *De secretariis veteris basilicae vaticanae*, Rome: Officina Salvioniana ad Lyceum Sapientiae 1786, p. 1029: 'Nam descriptae liturae non Cardinalibus Bellarmino, et Baronio tribuendae sunt, sed Cardinalis Francesco Albitio'. See also Zuccari, "Bellarmino e la prima iconografia gesuitica", pp. 616–17, who estimates the responsibility of Albizzi, contrary to what was expressed by De Maio, *Michelangelo e la Controriforma*, p. 330. Francesco Albizzi (1593–1684) was an advisor to the Holy Office, becoming the main Roman adversary of Jansenius.

50 Ottavio Panciroli, *Tesori nascosti dell'alma città di Roma con nuovo ordine ristampati & in molti luoghi arricchiti da Ottavio Panciroli*, Rome: Alessandro Zannetti, 1625, p. 310.

51 Francesco Albizzi, *De inconstantia in iure admittenda, vel non Opus in varios tractatus divisum: Primus nunc typis editum inscribitur de inconstantia hominum circa virtutes fidei, spei, et charitatis [...]*, Amsterdam: Ioannis Antonii Huguetan, 1683, p. 156 (chap. XL, bk. I). Benedict XIV, *De servorum Dei beatificatione et Beatorum canonizatione*, Venice: Antonio Fogliarini, 1764, also cites him in chapter XXX of book IV, entitled "De angelis et eorum cultu": 'As Antonio Duca, a Sicilian pious priest, he tried to place it on the main altar of the church of St. Mary of the Angels of the city a painting with the written name of each of the angels drawn on it, specifically Uriel, Barachiel, Sealtiel and Jehudiel, was ordered that those names be erased, according to Cardinal Albitio in his treatise *De inconstantia in Fide*, chap. 40, 156'. See Valenziano, "Introduzione e Annotazione", p. 131.

52 Bernardi Salvetti, *S. Maria degli Angeli*, p. 119.

53 See note 5, above.

54 Mangia, "La SS. Trinità venerata", pp. 503 and 509. The temple, linked to an asylum, was founded in 1561 by the Spaniards Ferrante Ruiz, and Angelo and Diego Bruno, and supported by the Jesuits. Mangia has noted the relationship of the cult with the forms of apostolate and Jesuit assistance of the Oratorians in Rome and, especially, with their brothers of Spanish nationality.

55 Francesco Bianchini, "Lettera scritta alla Santità del Sommo Pontefice Clemente

XI sopra alcuni nomi di VII Angeli. Esposti in un quadro d'Altare della chiesa di S. Maria della Pietà di Roma", in Francesco Bianchini, *Opuscula varia, nunc primum in lucem edita ex ejus manuscriptis libris autographis, qui ex testamento adservantur in archivo amplissimi capituli sanctae Veronensis ecclesiae. Tomus Secundus*, Rome: Typographia haeredum Jo. Laurentii Barbiellini in foro Pasquini, 1754, 17–25 (p. 24). It should be noted that Bianchini was appointed secretary of the commission by Clement XI for the reform of the calendar, a project that led to the construction of the gnomon or meridian line in the Basilica of Santa Maria degli Angeli.

56 Cancellieri, *De secretariis veteris basilicae*, p. 1030: 'Nam viri doctissimi trium dumtaxat Archangelorum nomina retinenda esse propugnarunt, qui in sacris literis nominantur, etsi VII Angelorum cultum minime improbandum esse duxerint'.

57 *Ibid.*, p. 1031: 'Verum, quum quae in apocryphis occurrunt, auctoritatem licet non habeant, interdum tamen mala non sint, ac nonnullis eorum sententiis utatur Ecclesia'.

58 It remains to be seen whether this greater development is because the provincial councils or diocesan synods in Sicily or southern Italy neglected the application of the conciliar guidelines, unlike other more rigorous centres, such as Paleotti's Bologna or Borromeo's Milan. Prodi, *Ricerca sulla teorica delle arti*, pp. 18–19, pointed out the need to advance in this line of research.

59 Noyes, "Aut numquid post annos", p. 256.

60 Scavizzi, *The Controversy on Images*, p. 259: 'Around 1600, or shortly before, a more self-confident Church relaxed her rules'.

61 Escardiel González Estévez, "La controversia en torno a los nombres apócrifos del Septenario angélico y su incidencia sobre la iconografía", in *Arte barroco y vida cotidiana en el mundo hispánico: Entre lo sagrado y lo profano*, ed. by Paula Revenga, Michoacán: El Colegio de Michoacán-Uco Press, 2017, 159–68: the judges of the Holy Office in New Spain in the studied files reveal an absolute defense, even ordering 'that there be room for the disguise of the Holy Tribunal'; in front of the files of the metropolis: 'painting giving names to the angels has superstition and is guilty'.

## II. Contested Portraits



# The Return of Andrea Casali: Legal Evidence, Imposture, and the Portrait in Late Renaissance Italy

**Mattia Biffis**

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In January 1634, a sensational case shook the city of Bologna. An individual made his appearance in Rome claiming to be one Andrea Casali, a scion of a noble and wealthy family from Bologna who was presumed to have died thirty years earlier in Ostend, in Flanders, while serving as a soldier in the Spanish army. The rumour immediately reached Bologna, capturing extraordinary attention and sparking widespread controversy in the public opinion. Pamphlets and poems were published in support of, or in opposition to, the claims of the supposed Casali, and eminent lawyers and jurists were invited to present their views on the case. Images, too, were mobilized to test the identity of the *redivivus*. A legal case was filed in Rome for the purpose of determining his personal identity. Who was this man, and how reliable were his declarations? In the absence of any codified registration of his external appearance, how could his identity be determined? How could a norm — a legally determined version of truth — be *visually* established?<sup>1</sup>

Here I discuss this critical case in early modern legal history, exploring the substantial body of documents it produced, and in particular the role that images had come to play during the trial. What I think is at stake here — and what I hope to be able to tease out in this project — is not just a curious case of *extranormal* use of an image (namely, of a portrait), conceived and employed outside a standardized form of patronage and fruition. More decisively, what this episode tells us is the ability of certain images to be invested with legal values, and to support the assessment of truth and reality, their capacity to be used as a piece of forensic evidence, as a key vehicle for establishing the veracity of a fact. Recent years have seen a growing interest in truth — and facts, either hard or alternative — in visual studies and beyond. In a recent book, for example, Felipe Pereda argued that some religious images produced in seventeenth-century Spain were not intended as mere illustrations of facts, but were considered as bearers of evidence and truth, as ‘arguments to believe.’<sup>2</sup> Although I, of course, deal with portraiture and lay trials, this notion proves important here, because it provides a background to the fact that in late Renaissance Europe visual representations (or, as in this case, images depicting a face) could function as tools for generating ‘truth’ (either in terms of a religious belief, or as a more empirical and factual version of it). In the present context, the assessment of truth via images is further intertwined with the problem of individual recognition, and with what Valentin Groebner has called ‘the narratives of identification’ used in early modern Europe to register and control the population in an era of increasing mobility.<sup>3</sup> The case of Casali, therefore, invites us to reflect upon notions of truth, reality, and identity in a context where such notions were constantly disputed and negotiated, both visually and textually.

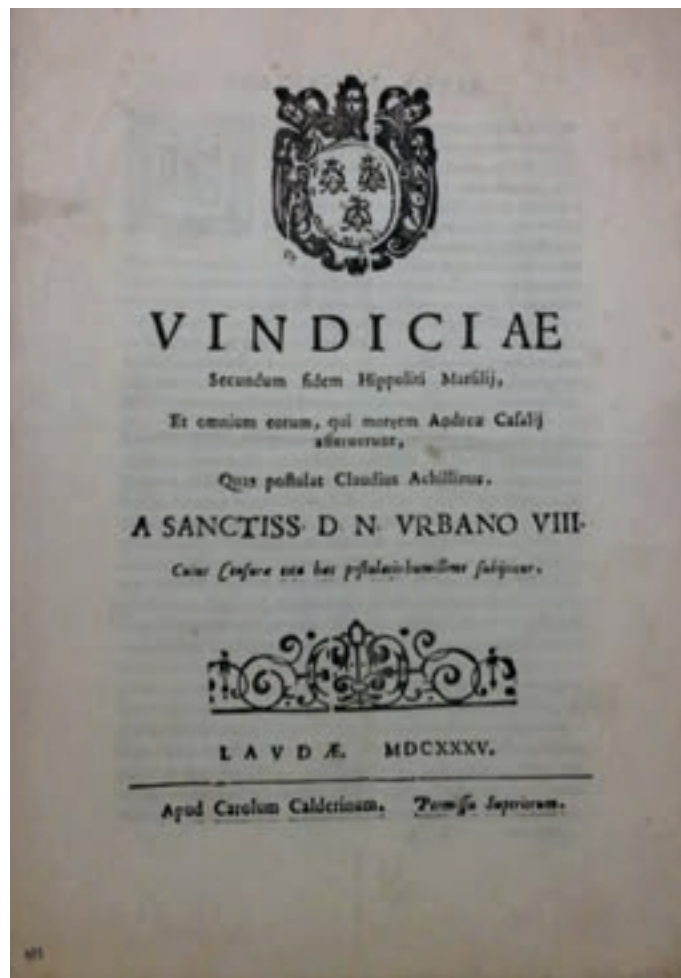
### **The Curious Case of Andrea Casali**

Brought up in a patrician family with long administrative and diplomatic traditions, Andrea Casali had all the right credentials to play a leading role in his native Bologna. Originally from Imola, the Casali settled in Bologna in 1434, where they had obtained local citizenship twenty years later through

the efforts of Andrea the elder, a man engaged in various mercantile businesses.<sup>4</sup> By the end of the fifteenth century, the family had already achieved a considerable social status, climbing the ladder of the local oligarchy by building up strong connections with other patrician families. This ascent allowed the Casali to play a key role during the Italian wars of the 1520s and afterwards, when they gained a reputation as skilled diplomats and successful bureaucrats. A figure of relevant standing among them is the one of Gregorio Casali (d. 1536), who acted as the permanent representative at the Curia of Henry VIII of England in the negotiations over his divorce from Catherine of Aragon. Also instrumental in the family's ascent was Gregorio's cousin, Andrea (d. 1547), who was appointed senator by Pope Clement VII in 1525, thus establishing the senatorial rank of the Casali household in Bologna.<sup>5</sup>

Born in 1584, the firstborn male heir of senator Mario Casali and Barbara Malvezzi, Andrea was probably predestined, like most of his relatives, for a prestigious political career.<sup>6</sup> This was already clear in 1600, when, at the age of only sixteen, he took up the senatorial seat formerly of his father, who had died that same year. But the political arena did not fit Andrea's own ambitions and his desire to stand out. Either for his family's pressure or as a way to assert his own independence, Andrea decided to embark on a military career, one that was usually the prerogative of younger sons. As far as we know, his choice was not dictated by external reasons (such as, for example, a civic ban), but was probably predicated on those values of honour and masculinity that were crucial to enhance social prestige and civic reputation in early modern society.

According to the official records, Andrea Casali had left Bologna in July 1603, at nineteenth, with a squad of fellow noblemen willing to join the Spanish troops in Flanders as a mercenary company.<sup>7</sup> After a long journey through Europe, the group finally arrived in Ostend, where in February 1604 Andrea Casali enlisted in the army as a soldier of fortune under the command of the Genoese captain Ambrogio Spinola. At that time, Ostend was under siege by the Spanish troops that were fighting against the rebellious provinces of the Netherlands in what is known today as the Eighty Years' War. Casali's service in the conflict was, however, much shorter, and ultimately ill-fated. On 19 July 1604, he was shot in the arm by an arquebus during the assault on the walls of Ostend, and the wound proved fatal, causing his premature death at twenty. Versions of his final hours are disputable, but all agree that Casali was still able to communicate on his deathbed and to dictate his last will to his comrades.<sup>8</sup> A few days later, his remains were interred in the church of Saint Dominic in Bruges, and the sad news of his passing reached his family in Bologna.



**FIGURE 1.** Claudio Achillini, *Vindiciae secundum fidem Hippoliti Marsilij et omnium eorum qui mortem Andreae Casalij asserverunt*, Parma: Carolum Calderinum, 1635. Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria.

This is the most likely version of the story, or at least the one that was reported in official accounts and held true in Bologna for three decades. Yet, the reappearance of a man identifying himself as Andrea Casali, who had survived the war and returned from the Netherlands after almost thirty years of peregrinations and captivity, complicates our understanding of the story. According to the new version put forward by the claimant, Andrea Casali did not die on the battlefield on July 1604. Shot by the friendly fire of his compatriots, who intended to rob him of his money, he was abandoned lifeless on the enemy's field in front of the walls of Ostend. Rescued by the Oranges, he was then imprisoned in a local fortress, where he spent the subsequent five years in jail regaining his health. It was only in 1609 (when the truce between the Habsburgs and the Dutch was signed) that Casali was finally granted his freedom. From the Hague, the Bolognese moved to Barcelona, where he embarked for Sardinia, but during the crossing his ship was intercepted by pirates, and he was taken into slavery in Barberia, where he would remain for the following twenty-five years. According to his own testimony, during the captivity he had tried several times to reach out to his family in Bologna, sending messages to let them know that he was still alive and in extreme need of help. Some evidence did indeed back this up, since rumours of his survival seem to have occasionally reached Bologna, but were mostly believed to be false and unreliable.<sup>9</sup> It was not until May 1634 that the Fathers of Our Lady of Mercy were able to redeem Casali in Algiers and to bring him back to Italy, where he started to petition his cause in the Roman courts, hoping to have his legal rights acknowledged and his position reinstated.

Stories of miraculous homecomings must have appeared wondrous to contemporaries, and this one was no exception.<sup>10</sup> Eyewitnesses recorded the return of Casali with a mix of incredulity and fascination, as if it were an inexplicable natural phenomenon defying a logical explanation: something forcing the natural order of things, the apparent rationality of nature. In September 1634, for example, Lorenzo Ceccarelli mentioned the case of Casali in a letter to his patron, Galileo Galilei, describing it as a 'miserable story, but also curious to be narrated'. He reported that several proofs of Casali's identity had been collected, including the wounds that he allegedly suffered from the arquebus shot in Ostend, and that many believed that 'if this man is not the devil, he's the real Andrea Casale'.<sup>11</sup> Yet — the letter goes on — some noblemen in Bologna were already trying to interfere with the investigation, fearing that the newcomer could claim back his sizeable legacy, worth 150,000 ducats. Other sources took a more realistic approach to the affair, as in the case of the Roman erudite Giovanni Pietro de' Crescenzi, who in his *Corona della Nobiltà* (1642) interpreted the story as nothing more than a failed effort to extort money from the Casali. The case, he wrote, excited the irrational fantasy of the *popolo minuto* in Bologna, who, believing that 'the dead Andrea was resuscitated, offered him prayers, ex-votos and alms [and] displayed such a keen desire to see him, that they were waiting for him to come from Rome with extraordinary joy and honour'.<sup>12</sup> Crescenzi's account reveals how divisive the case was in a city like Bologna, characterized by bitter factionalism and strong social tensions. Several sources report that the case was embraced by the local population of Bologna, who would come

to identify themselves with the figure of Casali *redivivus*, who became a sort of banner to support their claims against the dominant class.<sup>13</sup> The same tensions are also attested by a large production of verses and poems (often conceived as fictive dialogues between the claimant and his opponents), which helped to popularize the case, playing on the notions of identity, interrogation, and misrecognition:

Come ha potuto far Vossignoria,  
Ch'io già mai non sia stato Andrea Casale,  
Potessi almen saper chi sono e quale,  
E chi mio padre, e chi mia madre sia [...].<sup>14</sup>

### A Portrait in Court

For its social and fiscal significance, the dispute was soon brought before the court, where the different versions could be discussed and assessed. The case was filed in Rome in the Apostolic Camera, the court responsible for the administration of justice, shortly after the claimant's reappearance in May 1634, and it went on for a subsequent three years.<sup>15</sup> During much of this time the claimant, having been accused in the meantime of imposture and identity theft, was kept in jail in the prison of Tor di Nona near the Vatican. The long duration of the trial, which was held in Rome, but at the same time also closely followed in Bologna, is also reflected in the large amount of surviving records, which include not only depositions, counsels, and letters, but also printed material destined to circulate widely, such as the *Vindiciae* ('legal claims') composed against the claimant by Claudio Achillini (1574–1640), a distinguished jurist and professor of jurisprudence in Bologna **FIGURE 1**.<sup>16</sup> The case opposed the supposed Andrea Casali (assisted by his procurator, Antonio Pellegrino), versus Ferrante Casali, a cousin of Andrea who inherited his vast patrimony. The latter's strategy was to discredit the plaintiff, showing that he was an unreliable witness, an impostor, and a fraud, and that his position was untenable for the many contradictions and ambiguities, let alone for the existence of a testament drawn up in front of noble witnesses. On the other side, the *redivivus* tried to collect as much evidence as possible of his identity to prove the equivalence (both physical and social) between his person and the Andrea Casali who he was claiming to be. Evidence was divided into *natural markers* ('indizi or contrassegni naturali'), such as stature, age, accent, and other individual bodily signs, and *incidental markers* ('indizi accidentali'), such as particular episodes of life and shared memories.<sup>17</sup> Other material evidence was brought forth, including letters and other autographs, which were analysed by expert calligraphers.<sup>18</sup>

Despite the great impression that the claimant and his assertions made on the court — some were struck by his detailed knowledge of personal facts, which was deemed possible only by direct experience — and the large support that the case was in the meantime gaining in his native Bologna, none of the produced evidence was considered decisive. A visual proof of identity was at this point considered necessary to settle the issue. It was for this



reason that, at the instigation of the accusers, it was decided to commission a painted image of the claimant from one Francesco Antonio of Naples, also a convict in Tor di Nona, to be later sent to Bologna in order to be carefully considered by relatives of Andrea Casali:

[Antonio Pellegrino] said that it was brought to his attention that the judge had asked the auditors out of court to have a painted image — commonly called *ritratto* — of the person of said Andrea for a scope that is not yet clear, and that the judge commissioned one Ciccio Antonio, a painter from Naples, also jailed in prison, to execute the said image, or portrait, which is now kept locked; and because the adversaries want to have the said image in order to be sent to Bologna, Pellegrino said that the image should not be conceded to the adversaries except through the court.<sup>19</sup>

Unfortunately, the portrait does not seem to have survived, nor is there any extant visual documentation in the proceedings. One can argue that it was a rudimentary record of the claimant's face, probably executed with poor

**FIGURE 2.** Gerlach Flicke, *Double portrait of Gerlach Flicke and Henry Strangwish*, 1554. London, National Portrait Gallery.

technical resources by a painter of presumably limited skills.<sup>20</sup> Surviving evidence for images made in prison is very scant, but a possible comparison can be found in Gerlach Flicke's *Double Portrait of Gerlach Flicke and Henry Strangwish* **FIGURE 2**, a 1554 diptych that, according to its inscription, was produced in prison and that has been assumed to represent 'the physical isolation it effects' on the sitters.<sup>21</sup> Characterized by a very basic outline of the face, this double portrait shows abbreviated facial features against a neutral background that fits the limitations of detention in its psychological and circumstantial aspects. It is possible that the work executed by Ciccio Napoletano responded to similar visual imperatives, reproducing the claimant's face as a simple outline and reducing his features to a set of signs in order to facilitate legibility.

The face of the claimant thus became the contentious site where the identity could be assessed and defined. This strategy marks a strong distinction with previous cases of returned individuals (whose features were rarely registered in any visual format),<sup>22</sup> at the same time also complicating the task of recognition. As a record of one's life, the face is never a neutral medium — every year, every experience is transcribed for all to see in lines and marks on the visage, all substantially altering one's external appearance. This is especially true in the case of young adults, which inevitably document a rapid physical change from ageing even over a limited span of time.<sup>23</sup> The returned Casali faced the same problem, as he left home a clean-shaven young man and returned a white-haired adult. In order for his external identity to be revealed, his features had to be broken down into different segments, or identification markers, that were examined individually. All the external surfaces of the body — from the shape of the nose, to the width of the forehead and the colour of the skin — were therefore inspected to determine the uniqueness of the face, or the normative aspect of the individual. Witnesses had to read the face constantly moving between the particular of the *individuum* and the universal of physiognomic rules, as if the face itself 'had a way of speaking and conveying an inner truth that the suspect's words concealed'.<sup>24</sup>

In late 1634, the portrait (or additional copies of it) was brought to Bologna. As if it were a votive image for public worship, one version of the effigy was carried in procession along the streets of Bologna and publicly displayed to market vendors in the hope of currying their favour and thus influence the judges.<sup>25</sup> Another version was shown to Casali's relatives and acquaintances, who were confronted with the portrait and asked to decide whether or not the face corresponded with the one they used to know. Some were in favour of the claimant, but the vast majority contested or questioned the identification, primarily on account of the likeness — or, rather, the lack thereof — of the painting. Most depositions addressed aspects of physiognomy, establishing a connection between the vulgar tracts of the portrait and the consequent nature of the fraud. The lawyer of the Bolognese family, Andrea Albani, offered the most detailed and insightful reading of the painting, which he denied was a portrait of his long lost friend Andrea Casali:

1. While the real Andrea had a sharp nose, this person has a flat one.
2. The tail of the eye of the real Andrea was pointed, as it is in general common for everyone, while the outer corner of the eye of this person

is oval. 3. The real Andrea had the lower lip protruding over the upper one, but with delicacy, whereas this person has the lips upside-down. 4. The forehead of the real Andrea was double the size of the one of this person — and yet it is known that over time the forehead becomes larger and rises [...].<sup>26</sup>

A similar tone is also to be found in other depositions. Marcello Bolognini, for example, declared that ‘all things well considered, I cannot see any look, or form, or shape, or aspect in the face of this person similar to that of the said Andrea, because in his forehead, eyes, nose, and mouth this person has no similarity whatsoever with him.’<sup>27</sup> Another witness, a professor of humanities called Orazio, admitted that the painting could not do justice to the face of the late Casali for its poor quality and lack of likeness.<sup>28</sup>

A common feature of these reports is the emphasis on the single tracts of the face, a unity that was broken down into its constituent parts and then re-assembled as a whole in a discourse. Witnesses must have been familiar with recent developments of physiognomy, a discipline that, according to one of its most acclaimed practitioners, Giovanni Battista della Porta (1535?–1615), was devoted to the study of ‘the signs that are fixed in the body, and accidents that transform into signs, [teaching how] to investigate the natural habits of souls.’<sup>29</sup> In fact, descriptions often exceed the mere facial recognition, making general claims on the sitter’s character on account of his vulgar features. What is even more striking is the fact that a similar approach of subdivision and reunion of bodily fragments was also used in artistic practice, as attested in contemporary drawing books.<sup>30</sup> As a result, in this case the idea of resemblance is not based on the analogy between a face and its model (as in modern biometrics, for example), but rather on the significance of an exterior appearance that was deemed to reveal interior truths. This marks a potential contradiction in the use of visual instruments, one between the search for reliable means of identification from the judges and the awareness that bodily confirmation was still elusive, and permitted no certain and final conclusions.<sup>31</sup>

### **The Role of Guido Reni**

The Casali were confronted with a criminal mugshot *ante litteram*, but the claimant’s supporters continued to petition his cause in Bologna, trying to gain popular support by brandishing the motto *vox populi, vox Dei*.<sup>32</sup> Graffiti cheering for Casali appeared along the city’s streets, and poems were composed and recited in markets and shops.<sup>33</sup> A potential major advocate for the cause was identified in Guido Reni (1575–1642), then undoubtedly Italy’s leading painter, one whose opinion — especially in matters of visual recognition — was regarded as probative and influential.

It is not clear whether Reni was actually called to testify, but one report asserts that he firmly believed to the claimant’s identity, ‘as much on account of his true marks, as for the portrait sent to him, where Guido recognized Casali’s physiognomy after a portrait he had in his house.’<sup>34</sup> Perhaps Guido’s identification remained limited to a personal conviction, and his reluctance

to publicly endorse the identification can be explained as a desire on his part to avoid a direct participation in a case that had become so divisive and quarrelsome.<sup>35</sup> Another indication of his personal involvement is that, upon hearing of Casali's return, Guido had sent 25 *scudi* to Rome, in order to help him to pay for his trip back to Bologna, a donation that was taken as a key evidence of the artist's own belief about the claimant's identity.<sup>36</sup> Such a gift also marks a typical tract of Guido's liberality that is underlined by his biographers. Carlo Cesare Malvasia stressed that Guido was always willing to assist indigent people, providing poor unmarried women with dowries, sponsoring children at baptism, and sustaining people in need with charitable donations, 'which he was not able to keep secret, for it was known to everybody, the amount being calculated on the basis of the religious men and other third parties whom he employed (so as not to be found out) to deliver money.'<sup>37</sup>

Guido's interest in the case was primarily due to his old friendship with Andrea Casali, whom he had known in his youth. According to the claimant's statement, Guido had taught the rudiments of his art to the young Andrea, who learned painting as part of his education: 'Yes Sir', he said, 'I attended painting classes, but now I know nothing anymore; I attended painting with Guido Reni for (if I remember correctly) two or three years, but I never exercised myself with the brushes, nor did I paint anything in colours, but only practiced with the pencil.'<sup>38</sup> This statement seems to suggest that Guido Reni may have held drawing schools open to young noblemen or, alternatively, that he may have taught painting in a context of private gatherings of *litterati* and *virtuosi*, a role that complies with the frequent episodes in Malvasia in which the artist is mentioned in connection to local academies and learned meetings in Bologna.<sup>39</sup> This reference may also indicate a genuine interest of the family in the arts. Even though the Casali are not traditionally recorded as major collectors in Bologna, there is some evidence that they did indeed own a collection of paintings, which also included — according to Francesco Cavazzoni — a work by Raphael.<sup>40</sup> In addition to that, Ferrante Casali, the claimant's opponent, is also remembered for his friendship with the Carracci, to whom he granted in 1620 the right to place a memorial slab on his family chapel in San Domenico in Bologna commemorating Ludovico Carracci, 'pittore famosissimo ed amicissimo dei Casali'.<sup>41</sup>

Finally, the friendship between Guido and Andrea is also confirmed by another relevant piece of information that was included in the proceedings as proof of the latter's handwriting. A letter by Andrea Casali addressed to



**FIGURE 3.** Guido Reni, *Virgin and Child Appearing to Saint Dominic, with the Mysteries of the Rosary*, 1600. Bologna, Santuario della Madonna di San Luca.

Guido (dated to an unspecified month of 1600) shows that the young nobleman was instrumental in soliciting the artist to complete an altarpiece for the nuns of Santa Lucia in Bologna:

To the very excellent and most respected, my Lord Guido Reni painter in Bologna, very excellent as a brother. The mother superior, having been asked by sister Aurelia delli Orsi to urge your excellency to complete or, to better say, to start the altarpiece of the Rosary for sister Vincenza of the convent [of Santa Lucia], has tasked me with this duty, hoping that, for the friendship that there is between me and you, she will be easily served, and in doing so either of us will remain obliged, and will have from those mothers as many prayers as we will give thanks. I would like you to do me the favour of sending me one of those young men, and to do so as soon as possible, and in case you do not have any mounts, I will write to Giovanni Battista to find one. I would be greatly pleased if sir Francesco could come. I humbly kiss the hands of sir Aldo Gandino, and yours as well, and I recommend myself to all of you. From Monte Vecchio, 19 of the month, 1600  
Yours as a brother and servant.<sup>42</sup>

The letter is related to one of the first, most acclaimed achievements of the artist, the *Virgin and Child Appearing to Saint Dominic, with the Mysteries of the Rosary*, an altarpiece executed for the Madonna di San Luca, a Marian sanctuary not far from the centre of Bologna **FIGURE 3**.<sup>43</sup> This missive is indicative of the close association and camaraderie between the two men — significantly emphasized by the repeated use of the word ‘brother’ — and bears witness to the possible role of Andrea Casali in promoting Guido’s early career in Bologna before the latter’s trip to Rome in 1601.<sup>44</sup> Against this backdrop, it comes as little surprise that Guido Reni felt personally committed to the case, and that he tried to the best of his abilities — but not from a legal point of view — to support the claimant and his contentions with the court of Rome.

## Conclusion

The story of the returned Casali had no happy ending or — as in *The Return of Martin Guerre* — a final coup de théâtre. Despite all the evidence presented, the *redivivus* ultimately failed to convince the court, was convicted of imposture, and served a long sentence in prison, where he died in 1639. Some people later insinuated that his real name was Sante de’ Santi, a soldier who may have known Andrea Casali during his service in Flanders.<sup>45</sup> Be that as it may, the case attests to the difficulties in assessing one’s identity in a world without standardized forms of registration and identification, where identity thefts, dissimulations, deceptions, and impostures were a widespread phenomenon: one that was further increased by the growing mobility of individuals of all sorts of backgrounds.<sup>46</sup> As Natalie Zemon Davis has shown in her magisterial work on Martin Guerre — the sixteenth-century peasant whose case presents strong similarities with Casali’s — strategies of recognition in a

premodern society were mostly based on oral assessment. It was for this reason that the case of Martin Guerre could be solved only thanks to the last-minute return of the real person, which settled the dispute appearing before the court 'like a miracle'. Images (or portraits, for that matter) were never mentioned in contemporary reports of the case, meaning that either it was considered wiser to make use of oral statements, or, alternatively, images and artists were not widely available in some areas of sixteenth century rural France.

On the other side, Bologna was a main artistic centre obsessively preoccupied with portraits and faces. The idea that the visual arts can offer a reliable and faithful representation of the self is somehow inherent to the Bolognese school of painting, as is its innovative way of learning to draw 'dal vivo'. This quest for veracity was implemented by such figures as Gabriele Paleotti (1522–97) or Ulisse Aldrovandi (1522–1605), who believed that images had the mandate to represent 'truth', be that theological or naturalistic.<sup>47</sup> Yet, at the same time, this attitude also prompted artists to recognize the deceptive qualities of the self. Images such as the *Portrait of an Actor* by Domenico Fetti (Saint Petersburg, Hermitage Museum; 1621–22) or Agostino Carracci's *Portrait of Giovanni Gabrielli Called Sivello* — an actor who would play various roles within the same play **FIGURE 4** — are important here, as they show how faces and masks can be interchangeable and can conceal or reveal identities.<sup>48</sup> We cannot be sure which one the sitter is wearing, and whether the identity is reflected on the mask or the face. What the case of Casali seems to suggest, therefore, is that identity is a field under constant negotiation and contestation, is the result of social conventions or verbal discourses, and that once an image is brought to court, in this case in substitution of the claimant, its power can be challenged by the words spoken on its behalf.



**FIGURE 4.** Agostino Carracci, *Portrait of Giovanni Gabrielli Called Sivello*, engraving, ca 1599. Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art.

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1 The case was first examined by Lodovico Frati, the librarian of the Biblioteca Universitaria in Bologna. See Lodovico Frati, "Un morto redivivo", *Nuova Antologia di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*, 505 (May 1912), 305–10.

2 Felipe Pereda, *Crimen e ilusión: El arte de la verdad en el Siglo de Oro*, Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2017, pp. 21–56, in particular p. 53 ('las obras de arte [...] como argumentos, como formas para creer').

3 Valentin Groebner, "Describing the Person, Reading the Signs in Late Medieval and Renaissance Europe: Identity Papers, Vested Figures, and the Limits of Identifications", in *Documenting Individual Identity: The Development of State Practice in the Modern World*, ed. by Jane Caplan and John Torpey, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001, 15–27; more extensively, see also Valentin Groebner, *Who Are You? Identification, Deception, and Surveillance in Early Modern Europe*, New York: Zone Books, 2007.

4 For a short summary of the family, see Pompeo Scipione Dolfi, *Cronologia delle famiglie nobili di Bologna*, Bologna: Gio. Battista Ferroni, 1670, pp. 249–52, and Pompeo Litta, *Famiglie Celebri di Italia*, Milan: Sonzogno, 1819–1883, Casali di Cortona, tav. III.

5 On the life and career of Gregorio Casali, see Catherine Fletcher, "War, Diplomacy and Social Mobility: The Casali Family in the Service of Henry VIII", *Journal of Early Modern History*, 14:6 (2011), 559–78, and Catherine Fletcher, *Our Man in Rome: Henry VIII and His Italian Ambassador*, London: Bodley Head, 2012, *passim*. For Giambattista Casali, see Megan K. Williams, "'Dui Fratelli ... con Dui Principi': Family and Fidelity on a Failed Diplomatic Mission", *Journal of Early Modern History*, 14 (2010), 579–611, and Megan K. Williams, "The *Piacevoli Notti* of Giambattista Casali: diplomats and fairy tales in early modern Italy", *Renaissance*

*Studies*, 27:5 (2013), 705–23. Studies on other members of the family include also Catherine Fletcher, "Notes on Catellano Casali", *The Medal*, 54 (2009), 35–36.

6 For a summary of the life of Andrea Casali, see Gian Paolo Brizzi, "Casali, Andrea", *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 21 (1978), 63–65. More specifically, on the episodes connected to the trial, see Frati, "Un morto redivivo"; Gino Evangelisti, "Un morto 'redivivo' del Seicento: Andrea Casali", *Strenna Storica Bolognese*, 38 (1988), 179–204; and Fabio Martelli, "Le anomalie del 'Nostos' e un caso giudiziario nella Bologna di età moderna: La vicenda di Andrea Casali", *Strenna Storica Bolognese*, 47 (1997), 357–66.

7 Besides the articles listed above, the story of Andrea Casali is summarized in the *Discorso sopra la causa che verte tra il signor Andrea Casale carcerato in Torre di Nona e il signor Ferrante Casali bolognese*, a full report of the 1634 trial that is now held in Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria (hereafter BBU), MS 1229.V (unnumbered pages).

8 This version was corroborated by the testimony of two of Casali's fellow soldiers, the Bolognese noblemen Ippolito Marsilio and Filomeo Bianconi, who also acted as witnesses to his testament. See BBU, *Discorso sopra la causa*, MS 1229.V (unnumbered pages).

9 The whole narrative of the slavery (including the occasional letters sent to Bologna through merchants, begging his compatriots not to be forgotten) corresponds perfectly to the increasing problem of slavery and captivity in early seventeenth-century Mediterranean. For a recent account, see Robert C. Davis, "Slave Redemption in Venice, 1585–1797", in *Venice Reconsidered: The History and Civilization of an Italian City-State, 1297–1797*, ed. by John Martin and Dennis Romano, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000, 454–87.

10 Natalie Zemon Davis, "From Prodigious to Heinous: Simon Goulart and the Reframing of Imposture", in *L'Histoire grande ouverte: Hommages à Emmanuel La Roy Ladurie*, ed. by André Burguière, Joseph Goy, and Marie-Jeanne Tits-Dieuaide, Paris: Fayard, 1997, 274–83.

11 Galileo Galilei, *Le Opere di Galileo Galilei*, ed. by Antonio Favaro, 21 vols. Florence: Tipografia Barbera, 1890–1909, V (1895), p. 134 (Lorenzo Ceccarelli from Rome to Galileo Galilei in Florence, 16 September 1634).

12 'I semplici credevono che il morto Andrea fosse risuscitato; offrivansi in Bologna prieghi, voti, e limosine; la plebe se dimostrò si vogliosa di vederlo, che con

atti di non ordinaria allegrezza e d'honore l'aspettava di Roma, dove costui fu ritenuto prigionero'; Giovanni Pietro De' Crescenzi, *Corona della nobiltà d'Italia, ovvero Compendio dell'istorie delle famiglie illustri*, 2 vols, Bologna: per Nicolò Tebaldini, 1642, p. 553 (my italics).

13 This point is especially developed in Martelli, "Le anomalie del 'Nostos'".

14 Francesco Melosio, *Poesie e prose di Francesco Melosio da Città della Pieve*, Venice: Iseppo Prodocimo, 1695, p. 36.

15 For the details concerning the institution of the trial, see BBU, *Discorso sopra la causa*, MS 1229.V (unnumbered pages).

16 For a summary of sources, see Brizzi, "Casali, Andrea". On the *Vindiciae*, see Gino Evangelisti, "Nel IX centenario dello Studio: Il prof. Claudio Achillini e il nuovo corso del Processo Casali", *Strenna Storica Bolognese*, 37 (1987), 179–97.

17 See, for example, BBU, MS 1229.III, ff. 11r–12v.

18 Among the writing evidence there was a sonnet and a letter addressed to Guido Reni, on which, see BBU, MS 1229.I, ff. 15v–16v (for the transcriptions) and 22v–24v (for the reports).

19 '[Peregrinus] dixit ad eius aures devenisse quod dicti auditorii extrajudiciali petierunt ab Ill.mo D.no iudice habere imaginem personae dicti Andreae depictam, quae vulgo dicitur *ritratto*, ad finem et effectum adhuc non penetratum, et quod dominus meus iudex confici fecit dicta imaginem, seu retractum a quidam Ciccio Antonio pictore Neapolitano similiter carcerato dicto domino Andrea adhuc in secretis existente, et quod pars adversa dicta imaginem habere intendit ad effectum transmittendi Bononiarum, ideo dictam imaginem dicit non esse dictis adversariis concedendam nisi judicialiter ex via iudicii' (BBU, MS 1229.II, f. 7v).

20 I found no record of this painter in any biographical accounts of Neapolitan painting.

21 On the portrait, see Tricia Bracher, "Partners-in-crime: A Reading of Gerlach Flicke's 1554 Prison Diptych", *Word & Image*, 23:2 (2007), 195–210. I wish to thank James Hall for pointing out this case to me. Although evidence of paintings and drawings executed in prison is scarce (but see also Jacopo Bassano, *Portrait of a Man in Prayer*, Genoa, Palazzo Rosso, as a possible additional example), there is more abundant material concerning graffiti and other forms of scribbling made on prisons' walls. See, most recently, Giovanna Fiume, "Soundless Screams: Graffiti and Drawings

in the Prisons of the Holy Office in Palermo”, *Journal of Early Modern History*, 21 (2017), 188–215.

22 In discussing the case of Martin Guerre, Zemon Davis argued that, in the absence of painted portraits, it was more acceptable for the Guerres to overlook the changes in physiognomy that the newcomer underwent with over the time of his absence, believing that it was natural for a peasant ‘to be changed by years of soldiering’; Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Return of Martin Guerre*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983, p. 43.

23 This problem typically arises when one confronts paintings of the same person executed over a long span of time, a question that is fittingly thematized in Carlo Maratta’s *Portrait of Giovanna Garzoni* (Ascoli Piceno, Pinacoteca Civica), in which the elderly sitter is shown holding a self-portrait as a young woman.

24 John Jeffries Martin, “Francesco Casoni and the Rhetorical Forensic of the Body”, *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 45:1 (2015), 103–30, in particular p. 104.

25 See the deposition of one Vincenzo de Loattis: ‘Io viddi una volta negli orefici questo sig. Ulisse [Turriani] con un ritratto in mano in modo di un quadretto che lo andava mostrando a quelli orefici con coadunanza di varie persone, e diceva pubblicamente “questo è il ritratto del sig. Andrea Casali!”’ (BBU, MS 1229.II, f. 181v).

26 BBU, MS 1229.I, f. 73v.

27 ‘Io ho veduto il ritratto e [...] non so scoprire abbenchè ben considerato l’abbino non havere né sembiante né forma né lineatura né positura di volto simile a quello che haveva il detto signor Andrea, poichè nella fronte, negli occhi, nel naso, nella bocca, nel profilo non ha sembianza alcuna’ (BBU, MS 1229.II, f. 117v).

28 ‘Io ho veduto benissimo questo capo dipinto [...] e giudico che questo ritratto non mi pare altrimenti che sia niente confrontante alle fattezze che aveva il signor Andrea Casale’ (BBU, MS 1229.II, f. 119r).

29 See Bronwen Wilson, *The World in Venice: Print, the City, and Early Modern Identity*, Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2005.

30 See, for example, Guercino’s drawing book of 1619, which includes a number of plates representing eyes, noses, and other facial expressions that would have provided visual models for students of art.

31 Casalis’s portrait presents interesting similarities with the *portrait parlé*

(‘spoken portrait’), developed by Alphonse Bertillon, a pioneer of legal photography who introduced standardized forms of descriptions and abbreviations of bodily features that allowed the easy transmission of physical description over distance. See Simon A. Cole, *Suspect Identities: A History of Fingerprinting and Criminal Identification*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001.

32 ‘Codesta esclamazione del popolo “Viva, viva il signor Andrea” è forse voce di Dio, poichè Vox Populi, Vox Dei’ (BBU, MS 1229.III, f. 15v).

33 ‘Long live to Andrea Casali, down with the tyranny and injustice’ (BBU, MS 1229.II, f. 191v). On graffiti as a subversive writing practice, see Maartje van Gelder, “Graffiti in Venetië: Teksten, tekeningen en posters in een vroegmoderne Italiaanse stad”, *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, 131:1 (2018), 73–94. More in detail, on the Bolognese context, see also Claudia Evangelisti, “Libelli famosi: Processi per scritte infamanti nella Bologna di fine ‘500”, *Annali della Fondazione Luigi Einaudi*, 26 (1992), 181–239.

34 ‘È stato conosciuto da Guido Reni, tanto per contrassegni sacrali [sic, perhaps for *sincer*] quanto per il ritratto mandatogli, havendo riconosciuto nella fisionomia per havere detto signor Guido in casa sua un ritratto quando era giovinetto’ (BBU, MS 1229.V, f. 90v). From this reference it appears that Guido Reni had a chance to inspect the version produced in Rome by the Neapolitan painter Francesco Antonio, and to compare it with a portrait of Andrea Casali that he probably executed more than thirty years earlier, when the artist and the young nobleman were friends (see p. 96, note 38).

35 Martelli, “Le anomalie del ‘Nostos””, p. 361.

36 See the deposition of Luca Aretusi, who said, ‘andai a trovarlo [i.e. Andrea Casali] alla detta carcere che stava alla larga in una stanza da alto per contarli 25 scudi monetta [...] e li diedi da lui e me per ordine che tenevo da Bologna del signor Guido Reni con ordine che gli dessi a quattro occhi acciò se ne servisse per il viaggio che doveva fare a Bologna’ (BBU, MS 1229.III, ff. 52r–52v).

37 Carlo Cesare Malvasia, *Felsina Pittrice: Vite de’ pittori bolognesi*, 2 vols, Bologna: per l’erede di Domenico Barbieri, 1678, II, p. 72.

38 ‘Io in Bologna di pittore conosco Guido Reni, ch’era mio maestro. Signorsi ch’io ho alla pittura atteso, ma adesso non so più niente, se mal non mi ricordo ho atteso alla pittura con Guido prefato due

tre anni, ma non mi son mai essercitato in pennello, né fatto pittura in colori, ma solo mi sono essercitato in lapis’ (BBU, MS 1229.I, f. 7v). The memoir goes on by enumerating the different disciplines in which the young man was trained, from poetry to dance.

39 See, for example, Malvasia, *Felsina Pittrice*, II, p. 5.

40 See Francesco Cavazzoni, *Scritti d’arte*, ed. by Marilena Pigozzi, Bologna: CLUEB, 1999, p. 79. There is no firm agreement on this issue (Cavazzoni may be referring to a copy after Raphael), but some scholars have suggested that this may be a reference to Raphael’s *Madonna della Quercia*, now at the Prado; see Silvia Ginzburg Carignani, “Una fonte antica e un possibile committente per la ‘Madonna della Quercia’”, in *Il più dolce lavoro che ci sia: Mélanges en l’honneur de Mauro Natale*, ed. by Frédéric Elsig, Noémie Etienne, and Grégoire Extermann, Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana Editoriale, 2009, 103–12. It is therefore no coincidence that the Casali do not appear in Raffaella Morselli, *Collezioni e quadre nella Bologna del Seicento*, Los Angeles: The Getty Provenance Index, 1998. For other inventories of the Casali, see also Fletcher, “‘Uno palazo bellissimo’”.

41 Giuseppe Guidicini, *Cose notabili della città di Bologna, ossia storia cronologica de’ suoi stabili sacri, pubblici e privati*, Bologna: Tipografia delle Scienze, 1868–1873, I, p. 218.

42 ‘Al molto magnifico signor mio osservandissimo, m. Guido Reni pittore Bologna, molto magnifico come fratello. Essendo da suor Aurelia delli Orsi pregata la signora madre a sollecitare v.s. a fornire o per dir meglio a cominciare l’ancona del rosario per suor Vincenza da Santa Lucia, m’ha imposto a me questo carico sperando che per l’amicizia che è tra me e lei facilmente venghi servita, il che facendo l’uno e l’altro ne resterà obbligato e averà da quelle madri tant’orazioni quanto noi ne renderemo grazie. Vorrei mi faceste favore di mandarmi uno di quei giovani, e quanto prima, e non havendo cavalcature scriverò a m. Gio:Batta che le trova una. Se m. Francesco vi potesse venire, mi farebbe gran singolare. Bacio le mani humilmente al sign. Aldo Gandino, come a lei faccio, e a tutti mi raccomando. Monte vecchio, 19 del mese 1600, Di V.S. servitore e fratello, Andrea Casale’ (the letter is transcribed in BBU, MS 1229.I, f. 16v). On Casali’s country house at Montevecchio, see Fletcher, “‘Uno palazo bellissimo’”, pp. 23–24.

43 See Stephen Pepper, *Guido Reni: L’opera completa*, Novara: Istituto Geografico de Agostini, 1988, pp. 214–15. This reference, which has escaped the

notice in the literature after Frati, "Un morto redivivo", allows for a clarification of the chronology of the painting, which was still in progress in the year 1600.

44 Besides the reference to the Rosary altarpiece, the remainder of the letter is still rather elliptical. With the word 'giovane', Casali might be referring here to a young assistant of Guido. It cannot be ruled out that the 'messer Francesco' refers to Francesco Albani (1578–1660), who had been mentored by Guido Reni while in Denys Calvaert's studio and was one of his dearest colleagues at the time.

45 'Resta pienamente e legalmente provato e conosciuto il supposto Andrea Casali essere Sante da Bologna, che nell'anno 1618 et seguenti serviva per soldato alla Serenissima Repubblica di Venezia' (BBU, MS 1229.III, f. 121r).

46 See Miriam Eliav-Feldon, *Renaissance Impostors and Proofs of Identity*, London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012. See further Perez Zagorin, *Ways of Lying: Dissimulation, Persecution, and Conformity in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990, and Miriam Eliav-Feldon "Introduction", in *Dissimulation and Deceit in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Miriam Eliav-Feldon and Tamar Herzig, London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015, 1–8.

47 On the reappraisal of realistic imagery, and especially portraiture, in late Renaissance Bologna, see Bronwen Wilson, "The 'Confusion of Faces': The Politics of Physiognomy, Concealed Hearts, and Public Visibility", in *Making Publics in Early Modern Europe. People, Things, Forms of Knowledge*, ed. by Bronwen Wilson and Paul Yachnin, New York: Routledge, 2009, 177–192, and Bronwen Wilson, "Visual Knowledge/Facing Blindness", in *Seeing across Cultures in the Early Modern World*, ed. by Dana Leibsohn and Jeannette Favrot Peterson, Farnham: Ashgate, 2012, 97–123. It is important to note that Paleotti himself in his *Discorso intorno alle Immagini Sacre e Profane* (1582) had considered the legitimacy of portraits executed for judicial reasons with an example that fits Casali's case: 'Another would be the case in which litigation in a distant location requires proof of the physical resemblance between a father and sons or brothers or someone else'; see Gabriele Paleotti, *Discourses on Sacred and Profane Images*, Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2012, p. 204.

48 On faces and masks, see most recently Hans Belting, *Face and Mask: A Double History*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2017.

# Simulating and Appropriating the Sacred: The Background to a Papal Ban on Saintly Portraits of Non-Saints

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When Maffeo Barberini (1568–1644) was elected Pope Urban VIII in 1624, he immediately set about centralizing and systematizing the procedures for canonisation. The first two decrees of 1625 (printed 1642) attempted to control religious cults that had formed around living and dead people whose sanctity had not been established by due process. The Holy Office prohibited veneration of anyone who had not been canonized or beatified. They banned the display of portraits (*imagines*) ‘in oratories, churches, or any other public or private place, adorned with laurel leaves or rays or glowing lights’. Miracles, revelations and intercession must not be credited to them, or recounted in books. Lamps and other lights must not be displayed near their tomb or near a painted or sculpted portrait, or anything else testifying to their beneficence. Anyone who painted, sculpted, or made such images in whatever media (including wax and silver) would be fined and face corporal punishment. Publishers of hagiographic material (which included printmakers) would be severely punished too.<sup>1</sup> The second decree added a proviso that permitted the gathering of evidence and images of those who had lived holy lives, and who might be eligible for future canonization, on condition that it was held ‘in secreto’.<sup>2</sup>

This essay explores the background to the ban. I will argue it was motivated not just by an upsurge of new religious cults, as is usually assumed,<sup>3</sup> but by a wider crisis of decorum and semantics in portraiture. Pope Urban, as a significant patron of the arts, would have been well aware of the porous boundary between sacred and secular portraiture. Indeed, the presumptuous hagiographic imagery produced by the new religious orders was itself symptomatic of a massive increase in the production of portraiture, some of it imbued with sacred connotations and pretensions. The portraiture boom coincided with a fashion for physical imitation of saints by worshippers and artists: this too caused further blurring of boundaries.

Altogether, I will identify three types of artefact that involve the simulation and appropriation of sanctity: saintly portraits of non-saints, secular portraits furnished with what I call ‘pseudo-haloes’, and ‘disguised portraits’ in which either the artist or patron masquerades as a sacred personage. This will provide a deeper understanding both of portraiture in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries and of the motives for Pope Urban’s ban.

### **Policing Portraits**

Pope Urban’s ban was one of several attempts by the papacy to control religious cults and imagery since the Council of Trent’s brief decrees on visual images in the twenty-fifth session of 1563.<sup>4</sup> At Trent the emphasis was on decency and decorum in religious images.<sup>5</sup> Altarpiece designs had to be approved by Church authorities. During the papacy of Clement VIII (r. 1592–1605), there was a flurry of legislative activity to tighten up the rather vague decrees.<sup>6</sup> The pope made pastoral visits to check up on twenty-eight Roman churches between 1592 and 1598. He wanted to ensure decency and decorum before the jubilee of 1600, when 3 million pilgrims would visit the city. In 1593, an edict, *Editto per gli altari et pitture*, stipulated that artists must

submit drawings for altarpieces to the pope or his vice-regent for approval on pain of fines, imprisonment, or exile. Clement was also very concerned about the depiction with saintly attributes of men and women who were not canonized or blessed.<sup>7</sup> One reason for the increase in such portraits was the resumption of canonizations. From 1524 to 1588, no new saints were made, a defensive measure resulting from Protestant attacks on the cult of saints, though fourteen nonuniversal local cults were sanctioned. But then in 1588, 1594, and 1600 three medieval men were canonized: the Spanish Franciscan missionary Diego of Alcalá (d. 1463), the Polish Dominican Hyacinth Odrovaz (d. 1257), and the Spanish Dominican missionary Raimundo of Peñafort (d. 1275).<sup>8</sup> The renewal of canonizations seems to have encouraged lobbying for new saints, especially by new religious orders striving to establish the sanctity of their founders.

On 2 June 1601, Pope Clement VIII ordered the Jesuits to stop publishing prints showing their founder Ignatius Loyola and his deputy Francis Xavier performing, respectively, twenty-nine and twenty-eight miracles because the miracles had not been accepted as authentic or approved **FIGURE 1**. Both were depicted with haloes and rays, and described as ‘Beatus.’<sup>9</sup> The prints were likely made in tandem, because Ignatius performs one more miracle, as if to pull rank on Xavier, his deputy. According to the papal decree, all impressions and plates were to be seized. This punitive action followed the edict of the Maestro del Sacro Palazzo of 27 May 1599, which forbade all printers and printmakers in Rome to publish without having procured a licence, even though both of these prints had been licensed, presumably mistakenly.<sup>10</sup> Pope Clement was initially sympathetic to the cult that had formed around Filippo Neri, founder of the Oratorians, and a licensed print — with an even better thirty miracles — seems to have escaped censure. Indeed, in 1597, Clement had requested a portrait of Neri from the Oratorian Cardinal Cesare Baronio. Baronio gave him his own picture, and the portrait was later kept in the papal studio in a gilded frame covered by a silk veil.<sup>11</sup>

Pope Clement’s stance changed in 1602 when the Oratorians’ transferred the remains of their founder to a dedicated chapel in the Chiesa Nuova, which would later be furnished with an altarpiece by Guido Reni.<sup>12</sup> Veneration in private of those with a reputation for sanctity could be tolerated, but not public demonstrations. At a meeting of cardinals and theologians on 25 November 1602, Clement said, ‘We are speaking of a certain Philip in the Chiesa Nuova, who is held in such veneration, that they have erected altars, ornamented his tomb, set up his image with lamps, candles, and ex-votos: they could do no more. Likewise, father Ignatius is held in such veneration, it is the same [in his case]: and even though we have told the father



**FIGURE 1.** Francesco Villamena, *Ignatius Loyola and Scenes of Twenty-Nine Miracles*, 1600. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

general at the Gesù not to permit it, nonetheless they would [canonize him] without us.<sup>13</sup> In December, Clement compiled a detailed dossier, *Dubia de beatis non canonizatis* (*Doubts Concerning Non-canonized Saints*), which had twenty-four sections. This was circulated at the second gathering of the *Congregazione dei Beati*, set up to examine such issues.<sup>14</sup> The Oratorians had just claimed it was an accepted tradition to venerate those with ‘fama sanctitatis’, and in September 1602, Antonio Gallonio authored and circulated a discussion paper: ‘Whether it is permitted to display near images of those with a reputation for sanctity but not yet canonised depictions of miracles and visions which are said to have occurred during their lives.’<sup>15</sup> Neri was eventually beatified in 1609 and canonized in 1622 by Pope Gregory XV, along with Isidro the Labourer, a medieval Spaniard, and three other modern figures connected with the foundation of new religious houses: Teresa of Ávila, Francis Xavier, and Ignatius of Loyola.<sup>16</sup>

### **The Rise of the Pseudo-Halo**

Clement’s edicts have been the subject of much recent scholarly interest, but the presumptuous claims for sanctity made by new religious houses during his reign, and the production of hagiographic portraits, should not be treated in isolation. A related and much broader phenomenon is the similarity of so much secular and sacred portraiture. This is not to say that there had ever been a ‘golden age’ of clear demarcation. Roman emperors were depicted enthroned, and were deified, and this same iconography was used for Christ in majesty, and then again in the late Middle Ages by European kings keen to assert divine sanction.<sup>17</sup> In the later sixteenth century, however, unprecedented ingenuity was brought to bear on sanctifying a multiplicity of male and female sitters with what I shall term ‘pseudo-haloes’ (an umbrella term that includes rays and lights).<sup>18</sup> The emergence of would-be absolute rulers, and centralized nation states, involved not just the exploitation of Roman imperial imagery but an increasing emphasis on the divine right to rule.<sup>19</sup> The Protestant notion of the ‘elect’ may also have been influential.<sup>20</sup> Equally important is the emergence and proliferation of print portraits, the genre of imagery most likely to be censored.<sup>21</sup>

In 1593, the Roman Inquisition arrested the philosopher Giordano Bruno and tried him for heresy, burning him at the stake in 1600. Bruno had lived in Protestant England from 1583 to 1585, and one of the crimes of which they accused him was having called Queen Elizabeth I ‘diva’, and of having praised many heretical princes. He argued that he had praised them not as heretics but for their moral qualities. He had called Queen Elizabeth ‘diva’ using the epithet given to princes by the ancients rather than as a religious attribute; further, it was her customary title in England.<sup>22</sup> This highlights a growing phenomenon after the Reformation whereby monarchs, Protestant and Catholic, asserted their divinely sanctioned status (for example, a print portrait of Queen Isabella of Portugal calls her ‘diva’).<sup>23</sup> In 1590, the Rome-based engraver Philippe Thomassin was arrested and imprisoned by the Inquisition for publishing a portrait of the French Protestant King Henry IV with an inscription praising

his piety, courage, and good faith. The print was successfully suppressed and no copies survive, so we don't know how his piety was visually expressed.<sup>24</sup>

No monarch was more sanctified in portraiture than the English queen **FIGURE 2**.<sup>25</sup> Her sacred status and function had to be emphatically affirmed precisely because of her gender and unmarried state (she was known as the Virgin Queen), and a surrogate English icon was needed in the aftermath of Reformation iconoclasm: royal arms had replaced religious images in churches from Henry VIII onward.<sup>26</sup> The monarch was head of the English Church.

Queen Elizabeth's costume asserted her quasi-divine status. Via spectacular clothing and jewellery, her silhouette and that of her female courtiers expanded exponentially during the course of her reign, while men's fashions slimmed down.<sup>27</sup> White pearls and black and white colour schemes affirmed her purity and constancy.<sup>28</sup> During the 1570s and 1580s, the use of starch enabled white neck-ruffs to become large radiant cart-wheels, inspired by but far exceeding French and Italian court fashions.<sup>29</sup> Elizabeth's court painter Nicholas Hilliard and other artists monumentalized her ruffs still further so that they haloed the head. Martyr saints, Church doctors, and virgins were traditionally given a crown and a halo, and in the royal portraits the jewellery that 'crowns' her hair may allude to this double designation: she is both saint and virgin.<sup>30</sup> Hilliard, writing in around 1600 in his treatise on miniature painting, reiterated Pope Gregory I's quip that the English (the Angles) were angels because of their pale beauty.<sup>31</sup> Some of the queen's veils, cantilevered in the French fashion using wire or cartilage from the mouth of the baleen whale, resemble 'huge, ethereal wings'.<sup>32</sup> These veils and neck-ruffs worn open at the front make her decidedly angelic. In court masques with a pagan mythological theme, her portrait was sometimes set up on an altar.<sup>33</sup>

Popes were playing a similarly self-aggrandizing game. An allegorical print of Pope Gregory XIII (r. 1572–85) celebrating his election, endows him with an extraordinary scalloped halo that resembles a peacock's fan tail or a wired veil **FIGURE 3**.<sup>34</sup> His throne is surmounted by statuettes of Charity and Justice, while Prudence holds a globe and a mirror: hemmed in by virtues, he cannot but be, or become, a saint. Many of the early popes had been canonized, and a model for the print may have been the saints among the series of full-length papal portraits painted on the walls of the Sistine Chapel (ca 1480); they were set in niches surmounted by scalloped caps. But these niche caps were more shadowy and curved, and began above the pope's head.<sup>35</sup> A closer precedent is Baccio Bandinelli's seated statue of the worldly Medici pope Leo X in Palazzo Vecchio, Florence (installed 1565) where the ridges of the scalloped niche cap are gold and resemble rays.<sup>36</sup> Pope Gregory XIII clearly took his lineage seriously and commissioned the first complete print series



**FIGURE 2.** Francis Delaram after Nicolas Hilliard, *Portrait of Queen Elizabeth I*, 1617–19. London, British Museum.



**FIGURE 3.** Domenico Tibaldi after Bartolomeo Passarotti, *Allegorical Portrait of Pope Gregory XIII*, 1572. London, British Museum.

of papal portraits, Giovanni Battista de' Cavalieri's *Pontificum Romanorum Effigies* (Rome, 1580). He was number 230, but now, like his immediate predecessors, without halo, and depicted in dour profile.

In 1606, a memorial statue by Giacomo Silla Longhi for the censorious Pope Clement VIII (r.1592–1605) was erected by his successor in the Cappella Paolina in Santa Maria Maggiore, with a similarly scalloped pseudo-halo at the back of the niche, exploding from a horizon line level with his earlobes. But even during Pope Clement's lifetime, in 1599, a print had been produced to celebrate the five most important events in his papacy **FIGURE 4**.<sup>37</sup> Biographical reliefs had featured in the earliest, aborted scheme for Michelangelo's tomb of Pope Julius II, which was meant to be finished during the pope's lifetime (their first post-antique use was on the sarcophagus of the *condottiere* Cangrande della Scala, who died in 1329).<sup>38</sup> They were utilized on the tomb of Louis XII and Anne of Brittany (1515–31), and of Francis I and Claude of France (1548–59).<sup>39</sup> The first appearance of such reliefs on a papal tomb was in Domenico Fontana's for Pope Pius V (ca 1585–87). By the 1580s, living popes and other illustrious people were becoming the subject of epideictic oratory, held up as exemplars. A print was published celebrating the exploits of Pope Sixtus V (r.1585–90), seemingly in conformity to the antiquary Paolo Ugonio's insistence on the propriety of eulogizing popes during their lifetime.<sup>40</sup> In Ugonio's inaugural lecture *De Lingua Latina Oratio* (1586), the city of Rome cajoles her citizens: 'Let them put up statues to Sixtus. Let them decorate Sixtus with titles. Let them commend the name of Sixtus to posterity etc.'<sup>41</sup> In 1595, one year after becoming Pope Clement's private secretary, Marcello Vestrio Barbiano published a similar piece of epideictic oratory in praise of his master.<sup>42</sup>

A format broadly similar to the one used in Clement's (and Sixtus's) celebratory print was deployed in those of Loyola and Xavier. In the scene on the left, where Clement reconciles the kings of France and Spain, divine radiance floods down from heaven through the pope to the divinely sanctioned monarchs. The central oval portrait is unnaturally backlit, with the light having a wide crescent shape, and a hard edge. This back-lighting, like a partial solar eclipse, is one of the most popular kinds of pseudo-halo, possibly implying that the sitter is on the way to a full halo, if not quite there yet. A pioneering example of spiritualized back-lighting is Petrus Christus's *Portrait of a Carthusian Lay Brother* (ca 1446), one of the first Netherlandish portraits to eschew a blank, dark background **FIGURE 5**. The pool of light thrown behind the sitter's head is unnaturalistic, midway between being divine illumination and an off-centre halo (it would be more central if we looked at the sitter from his front). The remains of an incised contour ring for a frontal halo can still be seen encircling the head; since fif-



**FIGURE 4.** Francesco Villamena after Mario Arconio, *Pope Clement VIII with Scenes of His Life*, 1599. London, British Museum.



**FIGURE 5.** Petrus Christus, *Portrait of a Carthusian Monk*, 1446. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

teenth-century Netherlandish naturalistic painters rarely depicted saints with haloes, and no lay brother was canonized in this period, it is likely to be a later addition made when Bruno of Cologne, founder of the Carthusians, was canonized in 1623.<sup>43</sup> The uplifting back-lighting alone may have convinced the owner that the sitter was indeed a saint, counterbalancing the depressingly admonitory presence of a fly on the bottom edge of the picture frame.

It was only in the later sixteenth century that this kind of back-lighting was widely exploited. Printmakers deployed back-lit pseudo-haloes to elevating effect.<sup>44</sup> They were systematically used in portrait series and books not just of European rulers but of Bolognese lawyers **FIGURE 6** and Italian artists.<sup>45</sup> The second edition of Vasari's *Lives* (1568) was illustrated with 144 portraits, where the adopted convention of back-lighting suggests both inspiration and even divine favour, regardless of their character. Vasari describes Pontormo, for example, as melancholic, solitary, and unreliable **FIGURE 7**; Pontormo's print portrait was adapted from a supposed bystander self-portrait in his *Deposition* altarpiece, where there was no back-lighting.<sup>46</sup> Vasari's revised and expanded text gave far greater emphasis to portraiture. In the first part of the 1550 edition, for example, which deals with Giotto and the fourteenth century, Vasari identifies about a dozen Tuscan bystander portraits, and all but one of these are cited in earlier sources. In the 1568 edition, he came up with more than fifty others, none of which seem to have been referred to in earlier written sources.<sup>47</sup> Giotto, hero of the first part, is credited with dozens, and the first self-portraits (three): one was supposedly inserted into a fresco at Assisi of the life of Saint Francis; another near Christ's cross in a fresco in Gaeta.<sup>48</sup> Vasari is the true founder of the popular pastime of finding portraits in religious paintings. All this attests to the explosion of demand for and supply of portraiture in the later sixteenth century, much of it dubiously glorifying the sitter. In print collections, secular portraits were often catalogued with 'portraits' of Christ and the Virgin.<sup>49</sup>

The cardinal archbishop of Bologna, Gabriele Paleotti, in his *Discorso intorno alle imagini sacre et profane* (1582), swam against the portrait tide when he insisted that only virtuous people should be honoured with a portrait. He singled out the way in which portrait statues of 'Sardanapalus or Pharaoh or Mohammed or someone else of the sort [were] placed, as the custom is, in a room or some other impressive setting [...] surrounded with gold and precious ornaments; it may be assumed that this statue renders honour to that individual, contrary to all that is due and fitting.'<sup>50</sup> No specific example like this is recorded, and Paleotti is likely caricaturing mannerist room decoration, rich with *trompe l'oeil* effects and stucco sculpture, and collectors' *studioli*.<sup>51</sup> The gold setting is akin to gilded picture frames (like the one surrounding Pope Clement's portrait of Filippo Neri); it creates a resplendent aureole for the subject, glinting in the candlelight.<sup>52</sup> Paleotti also objected to coats of arms placed in churches and on sacred objects.<sup>53</sup>



**FIGURE 6.** Domenico Zenoi, *Portrait of Dino del Mugello in the Year 1300*, in *Illustrium jureconsultorum imagines quae inveniri potuerunt, ad vivam effigiem, expressae*, Venice: Donato Bertilli, 1569. London, British Museum.



**FIGURE 7.** Portrait of Pontormo, in Giorgio Vasari, *Le Vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architetti*, Florence: Giunti, 1568.

Two years later, in 1584, Giovan Paolo Lomazzo complained that whereas in the past only noble and virtuous people had their portrait made, now anyone in a republic or aristocracy could be 'immortalised for eternity', and demand was such that 'any crude dauber could set up as a portrait painter'. As a result, idealizing portraits were now being painted of imposters, bandits, and other sordid and infamous men.<sup>54</sup> It has been said that 'in no other period [sixteenth century] do we have such a great number of portraits of Italians.'<sup>55</sup>

### Saintly Masquerades

Another aspect of this same problem is the depiction of saints with the features of living people. By this means, a vainglorious non-saint usurps the body of a saint in a manner akin to demonic possession.<sup>56</sup> Complaints about the living masquerading as saints were not new. Savonarola had delivered a Lent sermon in 1496 in which he criticized the practice of using recognizable models for the figures of saints.<sup>57</sup> Vasari gives many examples of such masquerades, not least by artists such as Michelangelo when he used his own features for Nicodemus in a *Pietà*. Savonarola's complaint was forcibly reiterated by Cardinal Paleotti. Saints should on no account be represented with the faces of worldly or recognizable persons; the result would be laughable, 'like a king sitting on his throne in majesty wearing the mask of some charlatan or other ignoble person.'<sup>58</sup> Federico Borromeo, in *Sacred Painting* (1624; drafted 1590s), rather muddied the waters by only proscribing the inclusion of portraits of people with bad reputations for images of saints.<sup>59</sup> This proviso may be because he was based in Milan, controlled by the Spanish Hapsburgs, who claimed divine protection and election.<sup>60</sup> Margarita of Austria, queen of Spain, and her daughter Ana Mauricia, featured as the Virgin Mary and the Archangel Gabriel in an Annunciation of circa 1603 by court painter Juan Pantoja de la Cruz. There are no haloes, but Margarita's glowing veil haloes her head, which is surmounted by a dove of the Holy Ghost, while the clouds part above Anne's head.<sup>61</sup> In the mid-1620s, the Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia, archduchess of Austria and governess of the Spanish Netherlands, would celebrate her victory at Breda by masquerading as her glowing namesake Saint Clara, which name means 'light'. She was a lay nun, entitled to wear the habit of a Poor Clare, but the inscription says that Belgium has now found the peace it sought 'in the rays of the shining Isabella.'<sup>62</sup> She is a 'diva' crowned by angels with a victor's oak wreath, through which heavenly light pours.

An angelic masquerade on a large scale seems to have taken place in Rome in the 1590s. In 1594, after a visit to the Jesuit church in Rome, Il Gesù, Pope Clement VIII censured an altarpiece by Scipione Pulzone in the Cappella degli Angeli. It showed the seven archangels venerating the Trinity.

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A report on the matter, written at the church on 4 January, said that the images of the sacred angels needed to be more suitably covered, which is similar to the complaints that had been made against the nudes in Michelangelo's *Last Judgment*,<sup>63</sup> however, as Pulzone's altarpiece was replaced circa 1600 by one by Federico Zuccaro,<sup>64</sup> it would seem there were additional objections that could not be remedied by repainting skimpy clothing.<sup>65</sup> Fifty years later, Giovanni Baglione published a biography of Pulzone, in which he claimed that the archangels were portraits of well-known people.<sup>66</sup> Some scholars believe he was mistaken, but not only did Baglione know Pulzone in the 1590s,<sup>67</sup> the latter was a renowned portrait painter, praised by Lomazzo for his portraits of Pope Gregory XIII and Cardinal Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle.<sup>68</sup> Masquerading as archangels was very much of the moment: their veneration as intercessors and guardians was promoted by Ignatius of Loyola. The cult lies behind Nicholas Hilliard's insistence on the angelic nature of his English sitters, and Anne of Austria's turn as the Archangel Gabriel.<sup>69</sup> The portraits may have been of high-ranking Jesuits or lay males keen to be sprinkled with angelic gold dust. A print by Jan Wierix showing seven standing, haloed archangels is frequently said to record its appearance.<sup>70</sup> But another Wierix print of four kneeling Jesuits prematurely depicted as saints, which is far closer in format to Zuccaro's replacement painting, may give a better idea of what Pulzone's altarpiece looked like (if you add three more figures, alter clothes, and remove facial hair) **FIGURE 8**.



### Maffeo Barberini, Patron of the Arts

Cardinal Maffeo Barberini, the future Pope Urban VIII, was a major participant in this culture of pseudo-haloes and saintly masquerade. His intimate understanding of the ambiguous nature of so much modern portraiture, and the difficulty of distinguishing between the saintly and secular, may help explain why he gave it such high priority, adding new stipulations. He was a moralizing poet and patron of poetry, and the frankly sanctifying nature of the portraits in Giovanni Ferro's *Teatro d'Imprese* (Venice, 1623), which he sponsored, is remarkable **FIGURE 9**. Each poet is back-lit with a pseudo-halo, the oval held by a (guardian) angel-putto.<sup>71</sup> Two of the authors — Giulio Cesare Capaccio (1552–1634) and Bishop Paolo Aresi (1574–1644) — were still alive. The halo effect is complicated by the fact that the sun is a key Barberini emblem, along with the laurel and bees; Cardinal Barberini's

**FIGURE 8.** Hieronymus Wierix, *The Life of the Infant: The Infant in a Nimbus with the Jesuits Ignatius of Loyola, Francis Xavier, Louis of Gonzaga and Stanislaus Kostka*, before 1619. London, British Museum.



**FIGURE 9.** Frontispiece from Giovanni Ferro, *Teatro d'Imprese*, Venice: Giacomo Sarzina, 1623.

profile portrait on a separate page is back-lit, its oval frame circumscribed by Apollo and the Muses, crowned with laurel wreaths; a rising sun and a laurel tree are framed at the bottom. Is it Cardinal Barberini who illuminates these authors or a divine light? The answer must be both.

Cardinal Barberini, a Florentine, was also a close friend of Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger, great-nephew of Michelangelo.<sup>72</sup> In 1622, the latter published the first, censored edition of his great uncle's poetry, which he dedicated to the cardinal. He was busy turning Casa Buonarroti into a shrine to his ancestor, transforming him — in Gismondo di Regolo Coccapani's ceiling painting of circa 1620 — into a heroic art saint, crowned with laurel leaves beneath a heavenly spotlight. Hagiographic punning on the great man's name (*Michelangelo*) had been standard since Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* (1532) — 'Michel piu che mortal Angel divino' — while Federico Zuccaro had portrayed him in the guise of his statue of Moses in 1593.<sup>73</sup>

Laurel leaves (*laureolis*) are the first saintly attributes to be proscribed in Pope Urban's decree. This is notable on two counts. First, these symbols of virtue and victory were hardly a common saintly attribute,<sup>74</sup> even if 'laureola' was sometimes used as a generic term for triumphal wreaths. Second, as far as I know none of the decrees during Pope Clement VIII's reign or any Counter-Reformation art treatises mention laurels or

wreaths. This may be why later commentators felt the need to explain it: the great scholar Pope Benedict XIV, in his commentary on the decree, claimed it meant a circle of light or a diadem.<sup>75</sup> Laurels were commonly used for secular and cultural heroes, poets, monarchs, emperors, and generals. Teresa of Ávila derided the worldly aspects of laurels in a poem: 'My laurel wreath is woven of scorn; / In sorrows all my joys reside.'<sup>76</sup> It doesn't seem to be a typographical error for 'aureole' as the word *laureolis* is repeated later in the first decree, and twice in the second one; short papal decrees are unlikely to make major typographical errors. The innovation is partly explained as an attempt to head off *secular* wreath-bestowing of any kind, not just of laurel but also of oak: Vasari's dazzling apotheosis of Duke Cosimo (1519–74) in Palazzo Vecchio (1563–65) shows him up in the clouds with full aureole being crowned with an oak wreath.<sup>77</sup> Wreaths, which also had ancient Roman symbolism, became pseudo-haloes insofar as they were conduits and catalysts for a blaze of heavenly light as manifested in the print of the Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia.

Laurels also happened to be one of the key Barberini emblems, so if we consider the Barberini sun as equivalent to glowing lights, two of the three items proscribed in Pope Urban's decree were family symbols, and the decree — by chance or by design — helped maintain Barberini exclusivity. Barberini laurel leaves controversially replaced the traditional Eucharistic

vine on the columns of the Baldacchino in Saint Peter's (1624–33), commissioned by Pope Urban from Bernini; a vast laurel wreath hovers at the centre of Pietro da Cortona's ceiling fresco, *Allegory of Divine Providence and Barberini Power* (1633–39), in Palazzo Barberini; the wreath ascends to heaven along with bees, a starry crown, and papal symbols.

### Artists as Sacred Actors

It was in fact Bernini himself who offered some of the most extreme examples of saintly masquerade, and some were witnessed by Cardinal Maffeo Barberini. Artists had commonly used themselves as models for relevant saints, whether Saint Luke painting the Virgin or Nicodemus (who was a sculptor) holding the body of Christ. In the second half of the sixteenth century, however, the idea became embedded in art theory that unless the artist experienced the emotions he was depicting, he would not make a convincing likeness. Although Horace's neat distillation of the idea was usually cited — 'if you would have me cry, you must first grieve yourself' — a vital catalyst was the rediscovery during the sixteenth century of Aristotle's *Poetics*, which features the earliest version of the idea (he associates it with madness), and of Longinus's *On the Sublime*, which contains the most emphatic formulation.<sup>78</sup> The *Spiritual Exercises* (1548) by Ignatius of Loyola was another conduit. Ignatius required the meditator to feel the same emotions and sensations as Christ, and even of the damned in hell.<sup>79</sup> However, the Jesuit Antonio Possevino, in the art section of his encyclopaedic *Bibliotheca Selecta* (1593), preferred to cite Horace rather than Ignatius when insisting that religious artists should feel the suffering of the martyrs in their most intimate senses.<sup>80</sup>

This new fashion for what we can call sympathetic mimicry ran in parallel with an emphasis on heroic sanctity, developed in relation to Teresa of Ávila.<sup>81</sup> Sanctity could now be proved not just by causing miracles, but by imitating and enduring the suffering of the martyrs and above all by the imitation of Christ during his Passion. Teresa often used paintings of Christ as her inspiration. So the typical saintly pose in this period is not praying, but the open armed 'orans' pose made famous by Saint Francis when receiving the stigmata.<sup>82</sup>



**FIGURE 10.** Attributed to Francesco Borromini, *First Plan for Tomb of Pope Urban VIII*, ca 1627. Windsor, Royal Collection.

In his teens, Bernini made a virtue of heroic enactment. According to the biography written by his son Domenico Bernini, when making a sculpture of his namesake saint, *The Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence* (1617), he stood in front of a mirror with pencil and paper and burnt his thigh on a brazier so he could appreciate what the burning sensation felt and looked like.<sup>83</sup> Probably in the same year, Cardinal Maffeo Barberini commissioned a voluptuous sculpture of the martyrdom of Saint Sebastian (1617–18) that evokes the Christ in Michelangelo's Florentine *Pietà*. It is likely that Bernini made *Saint Sebastian* in a similar way to his earlier sculpture, possibly by cutting or pricking himself to simulate the pain of arrows. Cardinal Maffeo later helped out when Bernini made his statue of *David* (1623–24) for Cardinal Borghese: he is said to have held up a mirror for Bernini so he could mimic the pose and expression of the youthful giant-killer.<sup>84</sup>

Close contacts with writers and artists must have brought home to the future pope just how easy it was to imagine yourself to be a saint, and how this saintly enactment might get out of hand. Pre-1625, we know that three Roman religious artists — Caravaggio, Domenichino, and Bernini — acted out the subjects of their work.<sup>85</sup> After 1625, no further examples are cited in relation to Bernini; Domenichino, who died in 1641, had to perform in private in case he caused a scandal.<sup>86</sup> In this respect, the ban seems to have marked the end of an era, both curtailing the veneration of images of non-saints, and making saintly masquerade seem disreputable.

But as so often, popes, monarchs, and aristocrats could do pretty much what they liked, and in the heart of Saint Peter's we can see the greatest pseudo-halo of them all on a papal tomb, planned only two years after Pope Urban's ban **FIGURE 10**.<sup>87</sup> This saintly masquerade was in fact the closest the pope came to being officially canonized: his spendthrift, nepotistic, war-mongering ways had left the papacy virtually bankrupt. On his death, a crowd of protestors attempted to destroy Bernini's marble statue of the pope in the Palazzo dei Conservatori on the Capitoline Hill, and on being thwarted, they instead destroyed a stucco image in the courtyard of the nearby Jesuit College. A mock epitaph was placed on his tomb: 'While the bees feasted the flock starved.'<sup>88</sup>

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1 *Urbani VIII Pont. Mar. Decreta servanda in canonizatione et beatificatione sanctorum*, Rome: Reverenda Camera Apostolica 1642, pp. 2, 4–5, 7: ‘si neque Canonizationis, neque Beatificationis honore insigniti sint ab Apostolica Sede, eorum tamen Imagines in oratoriis, atque Ecclesiis, aliisque locis publicis, ac etiam privatis, cum laureolis, aut radiis, seu splendoribus proponuntur, miracula, et revelationes, aliaque beneficia à Deo per eorum intercessionem accepta, in libris rerum ab ipsis gestarum enarrantur, et ad illorum sepulchra, Tabelle, Imagines, et res aliae ad beneficia accepta testificanda, et lampades, et alia lumina apponuntur; p. 17: ‘cum Diademate, laureolis, aut radiis, seu splendoribus’. Miguel Gotor, *I beati del papa: Santità, Inquisizione e obbedienza in età moderna*, Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2002, pp. 285–308; Anne Jacobson Schutte, *Aspiring Saints: Pretence of Holiness, Inquisition, and Gender in the Republic of Venice, 1618–1750*, Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2003, pp. 161–62, 166–67, 284n75; Helen Hills, “The Face Is a Mirror of the Soul: Frontispieces and the Production of Sanctity in Post-Tridentine Naples”, *Art History*, 31:4 (2008), 547–73; Christopher F. Black, *The Italian Inquisition*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009, pp. 153–57; David Gentilcore, *Healers and Healing in Early Modern Italy*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998, pp. 156–76; Giovanni Papa, *Le Cause di Canonizzazione nel Primo Periodo della Congregazione dei Riti (1588–1634)*, Vatican City: Urbaniana University Press, 2001, pp. 321–23.

2 *Urbani VIII Decreta*, pp. 165–70.

3 See, e.g., Schutte, *Aspiring Saints*; Hills, “The Face Is a Mirror of the Soul”.

4 *Italian Art 1500–1600*, ed. by Robert Klein and Henri Zerner, Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1989, pp. 120–22; *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 2 vols, ed. by Norman P. Tanner, London: Sheed & Ward 1990, II, pp. 149–51.

5 Maria Elena Massimi, *La cena in casa di Levi di Paolo Veronese: Il processo riaperto*, Venice: Marsilio, 2011, pp. 179–81. Klein and Zerner, *Italian Art 1500–1600*, p. 131.

6 Opher Mansour, “Censure and Censorship in Rome ca. 1600: Visitation

of Clement VIII and the Visual Arts”, *The Sensuous in the Counter-Reformation Church*, ed. by Marcia B. Hall and Tracy E. Cooper, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013, 136–60; Ruth S. Noyes, “On the Fringes of Center: Disputed Hagiographic Imagery and the Crisis over the Beati moderni in Rome ca. 1600”, *Renaissance Quarterly*, 64:3 (2011), 800–846; Ruth S. Noyes, *Peter Paul Rubens and the Counter-Reformation Crisis of the Beati moderni: Sanctity in Global Perspective*, New York: Routledge, 2018.

7 Alessandro Zuccari, *Arte e committenza nella Roma di Caravaggio*, Turin: ERI, Edizioni Rai, 1984, pp. 16–19; Noyes “On the Fringes of Center”, pp. 811–13.

8 Pierre Delooz, *Sociologie et Canonisations*, Liège: Faculté de droit, 1969, annexe pp. 1–6; Peter Burke, *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy: Essays on Perception and Communication*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987, pp. 60–62: list of new saints 1588–1767; Papa, *Le Cause di Canonizzazione*; Noyes, “On the Fringes of Center”; Clare Copeland, “Sanctity”, in *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation*, ed. by Alexandra Bamji, Geert H. Janssen, and Mary Laven, Farnham: Ashgate, 2013, 225–42.

9 E. Leuschner, “The Papal Printing Privilege”, *Print Quarterly*, 15 (1998), 359–70 (pp. 130–31), fig. 11; Michael Bury, “Los retratos en estampa en la Europa del Renacimiento” (“The Portrait Print in Renaissance Europe”), in *El retrato del Renacimiento*, ed. by Miguel Falomir, Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2008, pp. 146–63 (English trans. 455–60) (pp. 130–31).

10 Leuschner “The Papal Printing Privilege”, p. 339. For printmaking in Rome, see Christopher Witcombe, *Print Publishing in Sixteenth-Century Rome*, London: Harvey Miller, 2008.

11 Noyes, “On the Fringes of Center”, p. 815. Noyes, *Peter Paul Rubens and the Counter-Reformation Crisis*, pp. 35–87.

12 Olga Melasecchi and Stephen Pepper, “Guido Reni, Luca Ciamberlano and the Oratorians: Their Relationship Clarified”, *The Burlington Magazine*, 140 (1998), 596–603.

13 Papa, *Le Cause di Canonizzazione*, p. 57. Noyes, “On the Fringes of Center”, p. 817. Benedict XIV, *De servorum Dei beatificatione et beatorum canonizatione*, 2 vols, Prato: Typographia Aldina, 1839, II, p. 56: ‘Un p. m. Filippo intendiamo nella Chiesa Nuova, che sia tenuto con tanta venerazione, che vi habbino eretto altare, ornatogli

il suo sepulcro, posto fuori la sua immagine con lampade, lumi et voti: che se fosse canonizzato non potrebbe quasi haver più: et se bene l’habbiamo detto al p. generale del Giesù, che non lo permetta, pur tuttavia si vuol fare il tutto senza di noi’.

14 Noyes, “On the Fringes of Center”, p. 817.

15 *Ibid.*, pp. 819–20. ‘An liceat circa imagines eorum qui habentur pro sanctis antequam sint canonizati defingere miracula aut visiones, quae loquuntur in vita eorum’.

16 Massimo Leone, *Saints and Signs*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010; Copeland, “Sanctity”.

17 Galienne Francastel, *Le droit au trône: Un problème de prééminence dans l’art chrétien d’Occident du IVe au XIIe siècle*, Paris: Klincksieck, 1973; Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe*, trans. by Eva Pálmai, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002. Byzantine emperors, from Constantine onward, and members of their immediate family, were depicted with haloes: see Andre Grabar, *L’empereur dans l’art byzantin*, London: Variorum, 1971; Christopher Walker, *The Iconography of Constantine the Great*, Leiden: Alexandros, 2006: the earliest example is a coin with a nimbus, dated 316 AD, illus. 2. Andrew Stewart, *Greek Sculpture*, 2 vols, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990, vol. 1, pp. 45–46, for Hellenistic ruler cults.

18 Marthe Collinet-Guérin, *Histoire du nimbe: Des origines aux temps modernes*, Paris: Nouvelles Éditions Latines, 1961, p. 723, uses the term ‘Pseudo-Nimbe’, but in a neutral way.

19 Roy Strong, *Art and Power*, Woodbridge: Boydell, 1984, pp. 65–97.

20 J. P. Somerville, “Absolutism and Royalism”, in *The Cambridge History of Political Thought, 1450–70*, ed. by J. H. Burns, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991, 347–73; John Neville Figgis, *The Divine Right of Kings*, New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1965; Sergio Bertelli, *The King’s Body: The Sacred Rituals of Power in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, trans. by R. Burr Litchfield, University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001.

21 Bury, “Los retratos en estampa”.

22 Francis Yates, *Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century*, London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1975, p. 84.

23 Martino Rota, circa 1555–80. Milan Pelc, *Martin Rota Kolunić*, Zagreb: National

- University Library, 1997, p. 109: 'Diva Isabella Augusta Caroli Ux'.
- 24 Michael Bury, *The Print in Italy, 1550–1620*, London: British Museum Press, 2001, p. 131.
- 25 Helen Hackett, *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen: Elizabeth I and the Cult of the Virgin Mary*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1994; Anthony Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain, 1603–1689*, London: British Museum, 1998, no. 11.
- 26 Sydney Anglo, *Images of Tudor Kingship*, London: Seaby, 1992, pp. 10–39.
- 27 Eleri Lynn, *Tudor Fashion*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2017, p. 56.
- 28 Janet Arnold, *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe Unlock'd*, Leeds: Maney, 1988, p. 1. Black symbolised constancy.
- 29 *Ibid.*, p. 123. For Medici neck-ruffs, see Karla Langedijk *The Portraits of the Medici*, 3 vols, Florence: Studio per Edizioni Scelte 1983, II, pp. 1241–51, 1273–1300 (Marie de Medici), 1273–1300 (Maria Maddalena of Austria); the latter masqueraded as Mary Magdalene, 1288–89, no. 28.
- 30 E. Hall and H. Uhr, "Aureola super Auream: Crowns and Related Symbols of Special Distinction for Saints in Late Gothic and Renaissance Iconography", *The Art Bulletin*, 67 (1985), 567–603 (p. 567); E. Hall and H. Uhr, "Aureola and Fructus: Distinctions of Beatitude in Scholastic Thought and the Meaning of Some Crowns in Early Flemish Painting", *The Art Bulletin*, 60 (1978), 249–70.
- 31 Nicholas Hilliard, *A Treatise Concerning the Arte of Limning*, ed. by R. K. R. Thornton and T. G. S. Cain, Ashington: Mid Northumberland Arts Group, 1981, p. 73.
- 32 Arnold, *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe Unlock'd*, pp. 156–57, 132: Venetian noblewoman with nimbus-like wired veil from Jost Amman, *Trachtenbuch (1577)*. Lynn *Tudor Fashion*, p. 52.
- 33 Hackett, *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen*.
- 34 Bury, *The Print in Italy*, no. 152; Angela Ghirardi, "Indagini per Bartolomeo Passerotti: I ritratti di papa Gregorio XIII", *Il carobbio*, 15 (1989), 125–30.
- 35 See Frank Zöllner, *Sandro Botticelli*, Munich: Prestel, 2005, p. 220, for reproductions of six popes.
- 36 *Baccio Bandinelli: Scultore e maestro (1493–1560)*, ed. by Detlef Heikamp and Beatrice Paolozzi Strozzi, Florence: Giunti, 2014, pp. 203–11; Langedijk, *The Portraits of the Medici*, II, pp. 1419–20, no. 43. The pope is flanked by standing figures of Giovanni dalle Bande Nere and Alessandro de' Medici, with similar scalloped caps. See also Andrea Ferrucci's tomb of Marsilio Ficino erected in the Florence Duomo in 1522.
- 37 Bury, *The Print in Italy*, no. 105. See also Karen Meyer-Roux, "The Entry of Clement VIII into Ferrara: Donato Rascicotti's Triumph", *Getty Research Journal*, 3 (2011), 169–78.
- 38 Ascanio Condivi, *Vita di Michelagnolo Buonarroti*, ed. by Giovanni Nencioni, Florence: Studio per edizioni scelte, 1998, p. 25. Erwin Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, London: Phaidon, 1992, p. 75.
- 39 Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, pp. 74–76, 80.
- 40 F. C. McGinniss, "The Rhetoric of Praise and the New Rome of the Counter-Reformation", *Rome in the Renaissance: The City and the Myth*, ed. by P. A. Ramsey, Binghampton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1983, 355–70 (pp. 362–66); cited by Bury, *The Print in Italy*, 2001.
- 41 McGinniss "The Rhetoric of Praise", p. 365.
- 42 *Ibid.*, p. 370, note 56.
- 43 Maryan W. Ainsworth, "Intentional Alterations of Early Netherlandish Paintings", *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, 40 (2005), 51–66 (pp. 51–52, 64n4, figs 1–2). She posits a Spanish owner. The "Pius Joachim" is a remarkable example of a halo and inscription added to a portrait circa 1512. Stephan Kemperdick and Andreas Beyer, *Das frühe Porträt: Aus den Sammlungen des Fürsten von und zu Liechtenstein und dem Kunstmuseum Basel*, Munich: Prestel, 2006, p. 45. See James Hall, *The Sinister Side: How Left-Right Symbolism Shaped Western Art*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008, for left and right in relation to the lighting of painted portraits.
- 44 They were rare in painting: see, among the few examples, Bronzino, *Portrait of Eleonora of Toledo and Her Son Giovanni*, and Giulio Clovio, *Portrait of Pope Pius V*.
- 45 Bury, "Los retratos en estampa", pp. 457–58. Milan Pelc, *Illustrium Imagines: Das Porträtbuch der Renaissance*, Leiden: Brill, 2002. Around thirty-nine 'haloed' portraits of European Rulers in ovals (1555–56) were published by Hieronymus Cock, made by Pieter van der Heyden and Frans Huys: see F. W. H. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts c. 1450–1700*, vol. 9, Amsterdam: M. Hertzberger 1949, pp. 92–118, Huys no. 94–118, Heyden no. 140–58; Marco Mantova Benavides, *Illustrium jureconsultorum imagines quae inveniri poterunt, ad vivam effigiem, expressae*, Rome: Antonio Lafreri, 1566: twenty-three 'haloed' portraits of Italian lawyers published by Donato Bertelli, made by Domenico Zen. Twenty-four standard portraits of different lawyers without back-lighting, attributed to Enea Vico, had been used in the first edition published in Rome by Antoine Lafréry in 1566. They were based on painted portraits collected by the Bolognese lawyer Marco Mantova Benavides. For the distinctive tombs of Bolognese lawyers, with scenes of lecturing, see Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, pp. 70–71; Renzo Grandi, *I monumenti dei Dottori e la scultura a Bologna (1267–1348)*, Bologna: Istituto per la storia di Bologna, 1982.
- 46 Wolfram Prinz, *Vasaris Sammlung von Künstlerbildnissen*, Florence: Kunsthistorisches Institut, 1966, p. 139, no. 125. See also p. 87, no. 50 (the murderer Andrea dal Castagno). The woodcut portraits were also issued alone in 1568 as *Ritratti de' piu eccellenti pittori, scultori et architetti*; see Matteo Burioni, "Vasari und das Quattrocento", in *Florenz und seine Maler*, ed. by Andreas Schumacher, Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 2018.
- 47 Charles Hope, "Historical Portraits in the 'Lives' and in the Frescoes of Giorgio Vasari", in *Giorgio Vasari tra decorazione ambientale e storiografia artistica*, ed. Gian Carlo Garfagnini, Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1985, 321–38 (pp. 322, 336).
- 48 Prinz, *Vasaris Sammlung*, p. 52, no. 7; Patricia Lee Rubin, *Giorgio Vasari: Art and History*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995, pp. 287–320.
- 49 Bury, "Los retratos en estampa", p. 459.
- 50 Gabriele Paleotti, *Discourse on Sacred and Profane Images*, intro. by Paolo Prodi, trans. by William McCuaig, Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2012, p. 185 (book 2, p. 15). Gabriele Paleotti, *Discorso intorno alle imagini sacre et profane* (1582), facsimile ed. and intro. by Paolo Prodi, Bologna: A. Forni, 1990, p. 136: 'se si vederà una statua di Sardanapalo, ò di Faraone, ò di Mahometo, o d'altro simile posta in una sala ò in una altro luogo riguardevole [...] piu tosto con oro et ornamenti di pretio attorno si potrà giudicare, che questa statua renda honore a questi tali contra ogni debito, et convenevolezza'.

- 51 The ceiling by Pellegrino Tibaldi in the Stanza di Ulisse, Palazzo Poggi, Bologna (1550–51). For satires of collectors, see Dora Thornton, *The Scholar in His Study: Ownership and Experience in Renaissance Italy*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997, pp. 116–19.
- 52 G. Morazzoni, *Le cornici bolognesi*, Milan: Edizioni Luigi Alfieri, 1953, for Bolognese examples.
- 53 Paleotti, *Discourse on Sacred and Profane Images*, pp. 298–307 (book 2, pp. 48–50). Paleotti, *Discorso intorno alle immagini sacre et profane*, pp. 261–72.
- 54 Giovan Paolo Lomazzo, *Scritti sulle arti*, 2 vols, ed. by Roberto Paolo Ciardi, Florence: Marchi & Bertolli, 1973–75, II.6, pp. 51, 375. See specifically the *Trattato dell'arte della pittura, scoltura et architettura*. These types of portraits are ruled out by Paleotti, *Discourse on Sacred and Profane Images*, p. 203 (book 2, p. 19); Paleotti, *Discorso intorno alle immagini sacre et profane*, p. 153.
- 55 Federico Zeri, *La percezione visiva dell'Italia e degli italiani*, Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 1989, p. 69.
- 56 Lorne Campbell, *Renaissance Portraits*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990, pp. 2–3, 137.
- 57 *Italian Art, 1400–1500: Sources and Documents*, ed. and trans. by Creighton Gilbert, Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1992, p. 157.
- 58 Paleotti, *Discourse on Sacred and Profane Images*, p. 214 (II, p. 24); Paleotti, *Discorso intorno alle immagini sacre et profane*, p. 168; *Scritti d'arte del Cinquecento*, 3 vols, ed. by Paola Barocchi, Milan: R. Ricciardi, 1971–77, III, p. 2735: 'verrebbe a rassomigliare un Rè'.
- 59 Federico Borromeo, *Sacred Painting; Museum*, ed. and trans. by Kenneth S. Rothwell, Jr., Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010, II:8, pp. 10, 109–11.
- 60 For Habsburg legend about devotion to the Eucharist, see Anna Coreth, *Pietas Austriaca*, West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2004, p. 15.
- 61 Günther Heinz and Karl Schütz, *Katalog der Gemäldegalerie: Porträtgalerie zur Geschichte Österreichs von 1400 bis 1800*, Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum, 1976, no. 103, pl. 124.
- 62 Alexandra Libby, "The Solomonic Ambitions of Isabel Clara Eugenia in Rubens's *The Triumph of the Eucharist Tapestry Series*", *Journal of Historians of*
- Netherlandish Art*, 7:2 (Summer 2015) (doi:10.5092/jhna.2015.7.2.4). 'Hanc tibi Chaoniā textam de fronde Coronam / Invictā donat BREDA recepta manu. / Optatamque diu felix sibi BELGICA Pacem / A Radijs sperat, clara Isabella, tuis'. 'She was crowned with the oak wreath after capturing Breda, bringing the longed-for peace to Belgium, the peace it had sought in the shining rays of Isabella' (trans. by Libby).
- 63 Alessandro Zuccari, "Bellarmino e la Prima Iconologia Gesuitica: La Cappella degli Angeli al Gesù", *Bellarmino e la Controriforma: Atti del simposio internazionale di studi*, ed. by Romeo De Maio, Sora: Centro di Studi Sorani, 1990, 609–28 (pp. 613–14).
- 64 Gauvin Bailey, *Between Renaissance and Baroque: Jesuit Art in Rome, 1565–1610*, Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2003, p. 212; Golda Balass, "Five Hierarchies for Intercessors for Salvation: The Decoration of the Angels' Chapel in the Gesù", *Artibus et Historiae*, 47 (2003), 177–208. Claudio Strinati and Roberta Rinaldi (eds), *La regola e la fama: San Filippo Neri e l'Arte* (Rome, Museo Nazionale del Palazzo di Venezia), Milan: Electa, 1995, p. 509. This was itself over-painted by Vincenzo Dandini in the first half of the seventeenth century. For more on the replacement painting by Federico Zuccaro at Il Gesù, see chapter 4 of this volume by Escardiel González Estévez.
- 65 Pope Clement made a similar complaint about a picture of Mary Magdalene in the Cappella della Passione on the same visit; see Zuccari, "Bellarmino e la Prima Iconologia Gesuitica", p. 614, note 10: 'Imago Beatae Mariae Magdaleneae hic depicta ad speciem magis devotam, et modestam redigatur'.
- 66 Giovanni Baglione, *Le vite de' pittori, scultori et architetti: Dal pontificato di Gregorio XIII del 1572 in fino a' tempi di Papa Urbano Ottavo nel 1642*, ed. by Jacob Hess and Herwarth Röttgen, Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1995, p. 54: 'E stavano nella cappella de gli Angeli sopra l'altare alcuni d'essi Angioli in piede assai belli, ma perche erano ritratti dal naturale, rappresentanti diverse persone da tutti conosciute, per cancellare lo scandalo, furono tolti via; et eran si belli, che parevano spirar vita, e moto'; Zuccari, "Bellarmino e la Prima Iconologia Gesuitica", pp. 613–18. Cristina Acidini Luchinat, *Taddeo e Federico Zuccari: Fratelli pittori del Cinquecento*, 2 vols, Milan: Jandi Sapi, 1998–1999, II, pp. 18–190. Mangia, *La regola e la Fama*, p. 508, cites a document saying that when Clement VIII visited in 1594, 'fu disposto che nella pala pulzonesa si coprissero con piu decenza le immagini degli angeli forse abbiagliati con poca convenienza'. Il Celio,
- Memoria delli nomi dell'Artefici delle pitture che sono in alcune Chiese, Facciate, e Palazzi di Roma* (ca 1620), facsimile ed. by E. Zocca, Milan: Electa, 1967, p. 40: 'fu guasta dal Cavalier Passignani'. Bailey, *Between Renaissance and Baroque*, pp. 70–71.
- 67 Baglione was in his late twenties at the time of the pope's visit; he knew Federico Zuccaro, who was commissioned to replace Pulzone's altarpiece. Zuccaro, Pulzone, and Baglione were in 1593 founder members of the Accademia di San Luca. See references to the artists in minutes of the Accademia, *The History of the Accademia di San Luca*, c. 1590–1635, available at the online CASVA research project: The Early History of the Accademia di San Luca ([www.nga.gov/accademia/en/documents/ASRTNCUff1115930307.html](http://www.nga.gov/accademia/en/documents/ASRTNCUff1115930307.html)).
- 68 Lomazzo, *Scritti sulle arti*, II, 6:51, p. 379.
- 69 Balass, "Five Hierarchies for Intercessors for Salvation"; Howard Hibbard, "Ut picturae sermones: The First Painted Decorations of the Gesù", in *Baroque Art: The Jesuit Contribution*, ed. by Rudolf Wittkower and Irma B. Jaffe, New York: Fordham University Press, 1972.
- 70 Hibbard, "Ut picturae sermones", p. 38, note 30.
- 71 Giovanni Ferro, *Teatro d'Imprese*, Venice: Sarzina, 1623; John Beldon Scott, *Images of Nepotism: The Painted Ceilings of Palazzo Barberini*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991, pp. 58–59, 70.
- 72 Catherine M. Soussloff, "Imitatio Buonarroti", *The Sixteenth Century Journal* (1989), 58–602.
- 73 Federico Zuccaro, *Michelangelo as Moses* (ca 1593), Palazzo Buonaccorsi, Macerata.
- 74 Only Saint Vigile of Trent, an early Christian martyr. Louis Reau, *Iconographie de L'Art Chretien: Iconographie des Saints*, 3 vols, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1955–1959, II:3, p. 1323.
- 75 Benedict XIV, *De servorum Dei beatificatione et Beatorum canonizatione*, Venice: Antonio Foglierini, 1764, 2:11:31.
- 76 *The Complete Works St. Teresa of Avila*, trans. by E. Allison Peers, 3 vols, London: Burns and Oates, 2002, III, p. 306: 'Mi lauro esté en el desprecio, / en las penas mi afición'.
- 77 Langedijk, *The Portraits of the Medici*, p. 516, no. 213. Nicole Garnier-Pell and Jacques Perot, *Henri IV: Portraits d'un*


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***Ritratti rubati:***  
**Portraits of Post-Tridentine Saints**  
***as pia fraus***

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The production of portraits representing still-living persons regarded as saints has always been a contested act. In the early Christian period, portraits of that kind were considered to be offensive when installed in church interiors. Paulinus of Nola's (354–431) scrupulous response to his friend Sulpicius Severus, who intended to place the portrait of the virtuous bishop vis-à-vis the representation of Saint Martin of Tours (316/17–397) in the baptistery of the basilica in Primuliacum (Gaul), displays the anxiety for soiling sacred spaces by earthly countenances.<sup>1</sup> In the post-Tridentine period, this concern was reflected in the papal disapproval of portraits placed above tombs of not yet canonized persons intending to initiate local cult practices.<sup>2</sup> Reacting to the precocious decoration of Ignatius of Loyola's and Filippo Neri's tombs with portraits, ex-votos, candles, and lamps, Pope Clement VIII (1592–1605) summoned an extraordinary meeting of the Congregazione dei Riti in 1602 to document, critically, Jesuit and Oratorian activities.<sup>3</sup> It was not until the pontificate of Paul V (1605–21) that both order founders were beatified and finally canonized in 1622. In 1625, Pope Urban VIII (1623–44) established new rules for the veneration of not yet canonized persons: public veneration could delay considerably the opening of canonization trials as in the case of François de Sales (1567–1622), whose trial had been stalled for decades.<sup>4</sup>

Besides its placement in sacred space, the portrait as commissioned production was perceived as a basically mundane genre and for this reason it brought members of religious houses in conflict with spiritual ideals. The classical attitude of refusing the production of portraits established by Paulinus was boosted by the notorious reference of Tridentine authors to models of early Christian sanctity. Becoming a hagiographical *topos*, the refusal of portraits served as demonstration of humility and distinction from the mundane clergy. Accordingly, the earliest portraits of potential candidates for a canonization trial were usually said to be painted either posthumously or produced in the manner of *ritratti rubati*, that is portraits said to be done secretly during the saintly figure's lifetime.<sup>5</sup> The *ritratti rubati*, also called portraits *alla macchia*, were a common but morally contested, barely accepted way to produce portraits. The hagiographical tradition of the earliest portraits of a saint as, alternatively, images *post mortem* or 'robbed' images, legitimated them in a twofold way and provided a possibility of justifying them in a period in which canonization practices went through a crisis. To respond to Protestant criticism and concerns about images, the art production of the Catholic Reform had to deal with newly propagated ideals of sanctity: humility and *simplicitas* based on early Christian models.<sup>6</sup> To balance opposed ambitions — the display of humility by refusing the portrait, and at the same time the need for early representations to establish the candidate's *fama* — hagiographic narratives adopted the model of 'pious fraud' (*pia fraus*) to dispel doubts about the candidates' virtuousness. Pious fraud as behavioural norm had been quite common to early Christian authorities, who in certain cases agreed on its judgement as minor offence: telling lies for pious purposes or the benefit of the Christian community could be seen as merely a venial sin — or even agreeable to God.<sup>7</sup> Here I shall contextualize this mode of justifying deceptions and frauds with hagiographic narratives of portraits as *ritratti rubati* in order to deepen the understanding of

references to discourses on moral behavioural norms against the background of post-Tridentine canonization politics.

In accordance with their ideal of humility, some post-Tridentine saints were recorded as having avoided being observed during mystical ecstasies and situations of unintended 'self-profiling'.<sup>8</sup> In the preface of Ignatius of Loyola's dictated autobiography, known today as the *Acta*, the young Jesuit Luis Gonçalves da Câmara described his desire to gaze directly into Ignatius's face while his spiritual father related the story of his soul.<sup>9</sup> To satisfy his wish, Câmara approached Ignatius several times. Ignatius rebuked the young Jesuit not to look into his face but to observe the monastic rule. Referring to the Rule of Saint Benedict, Ignatius limited the young writer to the sense of hearing.<sup>10</sup> This followed the common theological attitude of preferring listening to religious contents and rejecting the visual sense as a too sensuous form of perception.<sup>11</sup> Approximately at the same time when Câmara wrote down the *Acta*, he tried to organize the portrait theft of his spiritual father. As handed down by Pedro de Ribadeneyra, Câmara's commission of a *ritratto rubato* was not accomplished successfully: the painter who was observing Ignatius secretly resigned after trying to memorize Ignatius's appearance several times. He gave up his work, referring to the will of God, who apparently had been against a portrait painted during Ignatius's lifetime.<sup>12</sup>

A quite similar unapproachability was displayed by Filippo Neri when repelling observers during mystical experiences. As recorded repeatedly in his biographic tradition, Neri used to cover his face and flee observers, who tried to recall him back to present reality.<sup>13</sup> After a vision of Mary, when he realized other persons were observing his rapture, he hid his face in the sheets of his bed. He also forbade his young altar boy, Francesco Zazzara, to observe his face during the Holy Mass. Testimonials of his canonization trial report that Filippo was often seen covering his face with both hands because he did not want to expose his altered features to others.<sup>14</sup> This attitude of hiding away the mystically altered face recalls cult images covered or hidden away from the viewer.<sup>15</sup> But more than this, Neri's shy attitude corresponds with the hagiographical topos of solitary rapture observed secretly by spiritual pupils that is represented frequently in the saints' illustrated lives

#### FIGURE 1.

Even though Filippo Neri is among the few post-Tridentine saints portrayed voluntarily during his lifetime, the legend of a portrait robbery was added to a painting regarded as a *ritratto vivente*, one of his earliest portraits.<sup>16</sup> The life-size painting in the sacristy of the Roman pilgrim church Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini represents Filippo without signs of sanctity but wearing a white apron **FIGURE 2**. Presumably on the occasion of a restoration in 1720, a wood panel with an inscription was placed nearby the painting.<sup>17</sup> The inscription states that the portrait was done secretly by a devout painter while Filippo was washing the feet of pilgrims ('furtivamente fu espressa sopra una tavola da un devoto pittore penitente'). Hosting pilgrims that came to Rome was one of the most important activities performed personally by Filippo and his Oratorian circle (members of the Congregazione dell'Oratorio di San Filippo Neri founded by Neri as a religious community of priests and lay brothers), and a common ritual to demonstrate humility. The inscription interprets Filippo's gesture, his raised hand towards the viewers, as a reaction



**FIGURE 1.** Luca Ciamberlano, *Filippo Neri in Ecstasy*, ca 1609-1614, in *Vita S. Philippi Neri Iconibus expressa*, Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, MS O. 14, no. 13.



**FIGURE 2.** *Portrait of Filippo Neri*, end of 16th century. Rome, Chiesa della Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini, sacristy.

to his discovery of the portraying painter. Laughing — so tells the notice — Filippo named the painter a thief who had robbed him secretly (‘gli disse, ridendo: che l’aveva di nascosto rubato’).<sup>18</sup> The introductory phrase (‘questa antichissima immagine’) makes it easy to detect that the legend was added later, probably in order to legitimate the painting retrospectively as a portrait taken during the life of the saint.

Like Filippo, the Roman Capuchin friar Felice da Cantalice (1515–87) was portrayed secretly during his everyday spiritual practice of collecting alms in Roman households. According to the friar’s biographic tradition, the *ritratto rubato* was commissioned by Filippo Neri, being close friends with Felice.<sup>19</sup> As indicated by a letter fixed on the back of the portrait drawing, Felice came into the atelier of the Roman painter Giuseppe Cesari to beg for some bread.<sup>20</sup> Cesari pretended to finish another drawing and told Felice to sit down and wait, but he took the occasion to portray the waiting friar. Imitating a portrait session, the painter’s deceit produced an ideal situation of motionless rest, which can be observed in Cesari’s drawing **FIGURE 3**. The friar is represented with slightly bowed head and sunken chest imitating the typical pose of a waiting person. His expression is contemplative with his lips smiling vaguely and displaying his absent-minded state of distraction. According to Felice’s *vita*, Cesari framed the drawing and sent it together with the letter to Filippo, who kept the portrait in his private collection until his death. On the occasions of Felice’s beatification in 1625 and his canonization in 1712, engraved portraits were published displaying the *ritratto rubato* as a half-length figure. The added attribute of a bag filled with alms reminds the viewer of the secret portrait production **FIGURE 4**.

An early portrait of Camillo de Lellis (1550–1614), the founder of the Roman-based order of the Camillians, was also accomplished by Giuseppe Cesari **FIGURE 5**.<sup>21</sup> The painting, lost today but formerly conserved in the Mantuan religious house of the Camillians, was regarded as a *ritratto rubato*. During his first stay in Milan, Camillo found accommodations in the home of a local family in anticipation of founding a religious house for the Camillian Order. The family conserved some of his objects as secondary relics and commissioned also the production of a portrait, which was to be carried out unbeknownst to him (‘senza di lui saputa’).<sup>22</sup> Possibly based on a sketch, Cesari produced a profile portrait in his Roman atelier and sent the painting to the Milanese family. The Fondazione Opera San Camillo in Milan conserves a half-figure representation, based on Cesari’s profile portrait, but representing Camillo focused intensely on the celebration of the Holy Mass **FIGURE 6**. By adding a specific setting the painting reinforces Camillo’s hagiographical representation as a decliner of portraits. As Regi mentions in his *vita* of Camillo, the portraits of the order’s founder were done



**FIGURE 3.** Giuseppe Cesari (Il Cavaliere d’Arpino), *Ritratto rubato* of Felice da Cantalice, ca 1580. Lost since the 1960s; formerly Rome, Fondazione Camillo Caetani.



secretly when he was absorbed in celebrating Mass.<sup>23</sup> Regarding the importance of sacred dread and humility as essential ingredients of post-Tridentine representations of saints, the Milanese painting challenges ideas of *decorum*. Particularly the actual circumstances of its production appear as a highly questionable issue. The most obvious versions — that Camillo permitted his portrait during Mass or that he was portrayed together with the Eucharist as atelier work commissioned by Camillo himself — seem not to be plausible or in accordance with post-Tridentine ideas of saintliness. In addition, the inscription on the tablecloth of the altar mensa in the foreground identifies the portrait as an *iconica imago*, that is, a likeness made after the living appearance (*ad vivum*).<sup>24</sup> At first sight this reference to the model — the Mantuan *ritratto rubato* — seems to be contradictory, but actually it served as a declaration of the production process on a moral level, and at the same time it served to increase the value of the painting as resembling likeness. At this point, Camillo's hagiographic tradition together with the reference to its origin as *ritratto rubato* on the painting help to meet both highly desired requirements: the suggestion of resemblance and virtuousness.

Being absorbed in pious activities constitutes a recurrent narrative detail in *ritratti rubati*, suggesting an absent-minded moment of introversion instead of an artificial posture. This way of representing was formed by a long literary tradition. Apart from the apocryphal legend of the Apostle John, great influence was wielded upon early modern rhetoric by the biography of the Neoplatonic philosopher Plotinus (205–70) and the *vita* of the Byzantine ascetic saint Theodore of Sykeon (6th–7th century). On occasion of his stay at a friend's home, the Apostle John's appearance was sketched during a conversation about theological issues. When he discovered the completed portrait in his friend's bedroom, he contrasted the image of his body painted by an artist as 'the dead portrait of a dead' with the celestial image of the Christian soul painted by Jesus Christ.<sup>25</sup> A similar discourse is found in the Neoplatonic version of when Porphyry, Plotinus's philosophic disciple, opened the *vita* of his master with the uncommon subject of his *ritratto rubato*. Porphyry skipped the usual mode of introducing a person by summarizing descent, family background, and infancy, starting instead with Plotinus's somatophobic attitude: 'Plotinus, the philosopher of our times, seemed ashamed of being in the body.'<sup>26</sup> As a further consequence, he rejected the production of his portrait. Consequently, his portrait was produced secretly by a painter, who was introduced to his lectures and instructed to gaze attentively at Plotinus while he was engaged in philosophic dispute. By doing so, the painter was able to memorize his likeness. This 'moment of portraiture' was described as a moment of exaltation during which Plotinus's true character flourished and became visible: 'When he was speaking his in-

**FIGURE 4.** Johann Jakob Sartor, *Vero ritratto* of Felice da Cantalice, 1713. Benediktinerstift Göttweig, Graphisches Kabinett.

tellec visibly lit up his face: there was always a charm about his appearance, but at these times he was still more attractive to look at: he sweated gently, and kindness shone out from him.<sup>27</sup> Not only a moment of absorption in his activities, the moment of portraiture was described as a moment of beauty, a revelation of inner qualities exposed during intellectual activity.

Another recurrent aspect of this narrative tradition is that the act of deceit passes commonly into the discourse on the morality of the *ritratto rubato*. The production of a *ritratto rubato* was usually organized by friends or persons who were part of the saints' entourage. The atmosphere of familiarity illustrates the insistent demand for portraits among the saints' followers. Moreover, it displays the virtuous attitude of the unaware portrait model who fully trusts his spiritual disciples. The question of morality becomes apparent especially in legends containing the later discovery of the likenesses by the saints themselves. Crucial models for this legend type were the already mentioned legends of the Apostle John and Theodore of Sykeon. John referred to the celestial image of the Christian soul impressed in his friend's mind, whereas Theodore demonstrated his acceptance of the portrait robbery by his clement attitude. The episode in Theodore's *vita* narrates that after having organized the painting of the *ritratto rubato*, the monks of his convent desired further the recognition of the resemblance of the portrait by Theodore himself. For that purpose, the painter had to show the painting to the ascetic monk in order to get it consecrated by Theodore personally. The climax of the story is Theodore's surprisingly relaxed response. He smiled while looking at the painting, blessed it, and said to the painter, 'You are a perfect thief. And why are you still here, certainly because you want to steal something else?'<sup>28</sup> Theodore's calm, even joking reaction and his recognition of the portrait as *his* likeness confirm its resemblance and his acceptance of the monks' *pia fraus*.

The Byzantine precedent persisted in the narrative tradition of the *ritratti rubati*. Filippo Neri's relaxed attitude towards the discovery of his *ritratto rubato* seems to be based on this narrative model. Smiling, he recognized the unauthorized production of his portrait ('mi hai di nascosto rubato') and balanced moral doubts about illegitimate access with his joking attitude. In post-Tridentine narratives, pious reactions towards portraits taken during one's lifetime can also be found in the cases of François de Sales (1567–1622), bishop of Geneva, and Teresa of Ávila (1515–82). Revealingly, these saints are exceptions among the *santi moderni*, who were normally portrayed *post mortem*. This indicates that legends about the discovery and acceptance of illegitimate portraits justified retrospectively the already existing *ritratti dal vivo* without reducing the saints' *fama* of heroic virtue and humility. François de Sales's acceptance of a portrait session was represented by his hagiographical tradition as a kind of mortification and his willingness as evidence of his plain and humble character. The painter of his *vera effigies*,



**FIGURE 5.** Giuseppe Cesari (Il Cavaliere d'Arpino), *Portrait of Camillo de Lellis*, 1594 (?). Lost since the 1930s; formerly Mantua, Casa Religiosa dei Camilliani.



**FIGURE 6.** *Camillo Celebrating the Holy Mass.* Milan, Santuario San Camillo de Lellis, sacristy.

Jean-Baptiste Costaz, asked him for a portrait session in order to rework numerous copies he had produced without the bishop's official permission. François allowed Costaz to rework these images during a portrait session lasting up to four hours. Costaz departed by saying that the bishop had granted him a very generous alm today. François responded, 'And you have done to me a great mortification. But I will forgive you on condition that you will never return in that place again.'<sup>29</sup> In this very short farewell, François promised to forgive the painter, but, at the same time, he alluded clearly to the illicitness of his behaviour. Mild reactions towards the discovery of *ritratti rubati* proved the saints' virtue.

Deriving from ecclesiastical law, the term *pia fraus* gained importance in medieval jurisdiction when the individual's criminal intent was increasingly taken into account. Lies, deceits, and frauds were generally condemned by moral theologians relying on Aristotelian and Augustine ethics. From their point of view, truthfulness and falsehood were disparate principles parallel to good and evil, although Augustine differentiated various forms of falsehood and different grades of peccability.<sup>30</sup> In the same manner, Thomas Aquinas recommended judging from case to case, considering its individual harm and benefit for the betrayed person.<sup>31</sup> As a relevant anti-Augustine tendency, a more sophisticated ethics of falsehood was supported by notable authorities (Origen, Jerome, John Cassian, John Chrysostom, Clement of Alexandria) insofar as the subsequent benefit (for the salvation of the religious community or the Church) exceeded ethical reservation.<sup>32</sup> Diverse examples of the Old Testament and Platonic texts were quoted to argue this point, supporting also Origen's statement of betrayal operated by God in order to speak to his devotees in an unusual, enigmatic way.<sup>33</sup> In the shape of faked authorships, relics and miraculous pious frauds were a widespread Christian phenomenon, generally accepted because they helped to disseminate and strengthen the Christian faith.<sup>34</sup> Usefulness constituted the strongest argument also for Jerome (*utilis simulatio*),<sup>35</sup> and especially for Chrysostom, who composed a eulogy on fraud and deceit in *On Priesthood*, basing his ethical judgement exclusively on the fraud's intent and its use for the Church. Instead of classifying the obligation to tell the truth as a legal duty, Aquinas interpreted it as a moral one, owed to the social community. He distinguished *astutia*, *dolus*, and *fraus*, the last aiming at the concrete performance of a deceit.<sup>36</sup> Already in the pontificate of Alexander III (1159–81) these moral theological ideas had been shaped in medieval canon law where the so-called 'criminal intent' became more and more considered in jurisdiction. Finally, in the *Nova Compilatio Decretalium (Liber Extra)*, released in 1234 by Pope Gregory IX, the peccability of criminal acts was classified in the theory of *dolus*, where acts of deceit were divided in *dolus malus* (malice), an act with a clear criminal intent, and *dolus bonus* (a feint



**FIGURE 7.** *Portrait of Lorenzo da Brindisi*, ca 1600 (?). Florence, Convento Padri Cappuccini Montughi.



or merely a trick).<sup>37</sup> In the early modern period, an anti-Augustine attitude was forwarded by the reception of Platonic texts leading to a split in the seventeenth century: the rigoristic attitude consisting in a complete refusal of falsehood, on the one hand, and a casuistic interpretation, including hierarchies and mutual cancellation of moral duties, on the other hand, the latter especially represented by the Jesuits.<sup>38</sup> This kind of moral relativism is still part of the present ethic principles of Catholicism in differentiating circumstances and moral intent to judge the peccability of falsehood.<sup>39</sup>

Against the background of that moral theological discourse, the ethical evaluation of *ritratti rubati* becomes more intelligible. The secret production of the portrait of a person considered a saint helped to increase his *fama* and strengthened the faith of his veneration community, and in that sense it was useful for the Church in general. Insofar as these effects corresponded to the artist's intent, and there was no further harm for the portrayed person, the deceit should be judged mildly, deserving little or no punishment at all. Also the organization of the secret portrait productions by intimates illustrates that it is not about an offence against the Christian principle of love — doing harm to the betrayed person (as condemned by Augustine) — but, on the contrary, about revealing the great veneration held for the one betrayed. Moreover, the application of falsehood refers ironically to its goal: the production of a true portrait. In that sense, falsehood

renders the necessarily defective copy of the real person more truthful and thus helps to increase visual veracity.

It is not surprising that another attempt to paint a *ritratto rubato* of Ignatius of Loyola was linked explicitly to the notion of pious fraud. Alessandro Crivelli (1514–74), a Milanese nobleman who became a priest and then a cardinal after Ignatius's death, distracted him with a familiar chat while a painter made his portrait secretly. The *Acta Sanctorum* attest that Ignatius certainly was not aware of that *pia fraus*.<sup>40</sup> These narratives answer moral questions also the other way around: besides the organizers of the fraud, the portrait models are released from moral doubts, too, because they did not realize the production of the portraits. At the same time, mild reactions to the discovery of *ritratti rubati* proved the saints' virtue since (in the Thomist tradition) the Christian virtue *clementia* was held as the opposite pole to *crudelitas* ('an excessive harshness in the judgment of crimes').<sup>41</sup> Clemency towards the *ritratto rubato* as *pia fraus* contrasts heavily with the legal consequences entailing, for example, portraits of women.<sup>42</sup> As relayed by Filippo Baldinucci, the painter Cesare Aretusi (1549–1612), famous for his talent in producing 'ritrattini alla macchia', was commissioned to paint the *ritratti rubati* of some ladies residing in the court of Ferrara. Aretusi's highly resemblant portraits on 'piccoli rametti' were discovered, and the

**FIGURE 8.** Girolamo Odam, Lorenzo da Brindisi Reading, 17th century. Rome, Museo Franceseano.

painter avoided the death penalty only with help from his commissioner. Nevertheless, he was commanded to leave the court within the period of two days and, like Jean-Baptiste Costaz, he was instructed never to return again.<sup>43</sup> The great difference between the death penalty and the saints' smiling reactions demonstrates the moral and legal efficiency of the *pia fraus* argument.

In the sixteenth century, the *ritratto rubato* was not only a literary topos but also a common way of producing portraits. Robbing portraits was a highly esteemed technique believed to produce likenesses of remarkable resemblance. Highlighting this aspect, Gabriele Paleotti described the *ritratto rubato* as an effective way to create recognizable likenesses.<sup>44</sup> According to Paleotti, painters came to public performances where their models were absorbed in a sermon or at Mass and therefore posed for the painters without realizing it. By recording the image in their memory, the painters could complete resemblant portraits in the atelier similar to likenesses made during a portrait session. The method used by artists, who were trained in memorization techniques, was mentioned as painting *alla macchia* in seventeenth-century art theory. Baldinucci uses the phrase *alla macchia* in connection with criminal acts of thieves and also for producing portraits secretly ('senza avere l'oggetto avanti'), as in painting from memory.<sup>45</sup> Giovanni Baglione describes the technique *alla macchia* in his *vita* of the Roman portrait painter Ludovico Leoni, who specialized in producing *ritratti rubati*. After having seen his models only one time, he painted resemblant portraits exclusively based on his memory.<sup>46</sup> According to these authors, painting *alla macchia* was based on a single, intensely memorized visual impression. As a consequence, portrait robbery was imagined to take place just in a single moment as an immaterial imprint in the artist's mind, an aspect revealing the far-reaching consequences and the power of fixing one's gaze on somebody.<sup>47</sup>

The iconographic development of the saints' early portraits indicates, however, the delicate status of these images: in accordance with post-Tridentine ideas of *decorum*, the decidedly simple style that reduces the portraits to the saints' facial features follows the stylistic ideal of *simplicitas*.<sup>48</sup> On later versions, the close-ups were extended to half-figure representations combining the physiognomies with new contexts showing the saints engaged in pious activities. As already demonstrated in the cases of Felice and Camillo, most of these activities refer directly to their origin as a *ritratto rubato*. The early prototype of the Capuchin saint Lorenzo da Brindisi (1559–1619), for example, depicted on a painting conserved in Florence **FIGURE 7**, was used as frontispiece of his *vita* where it was extended to a half-figure representation as a reading scholar **FIGURE 8**.<sup>49</sup> The official portrait of his beatification in 1783 was obviously based on the same prototype, even though the new painting by Pietro Labruzzi (1738–1805) represents Lorenzo in a completely different role. His meditative, kind of sleepy look was changed into his



**FIGURE 9.** Pietro Labruzzi, *Lorenzo da Brindisi Preaching*, 1783. Florence, Convento Padri Cappuccini Montughi.



**FIGURE 10.** *Vera effigies* of Ignatius of Loyola, 1543 (?). Sondrio, Museo Valtellinese di Storia e Arte.

appearance as a fervent preacher **FIGURE 9**. In almost the same manner, Ambrogio Figino's close-up profile of Carlo Borromeo (1538–84) was extended later to a half-figure representation of Carlo as reading scholar.<sup>50</sup> The *vera effigies* painted of Ignatius during his lifetime provided the model for a common type of his later portrait engravings that display him in half figure, engaged in devotional practice in front of a crucifix **FIGURE 10**.<sup>51</sup>

This procession of examples reveals that the mere close-up without any narrative context no longer fit later ideas of a saint's portrait. Instead, the isolation of the face was broken up with the inclusion of narrative additions and hagiographical contexts. Picking up Paleotti's claim for *gravità* and *decoro*, narrative elements mediated moral instructions visualized as *exempla* by the saints' pious and completely blameless lives.<sup>52</sup> In this manner, the morally questionable *ritratti rubati* were changed into pious images par excellence. Furthermore, the implication of pious activity diverts the viewer's attention from the face onto bodily features and draws attention to the contemplation of devotional elements. Narrative additions in that manner not only suggested to the viewer a morally acceptable 'framing' of the portrait production, but they were also

crucial for the later reception of these images.

Finally, another recurrent characteristic of *ritratti rubati* is the absent look or the averted eyes of the persons represented. Instead of looking directly at the viewer, they are represented either with an absent-minded or lowered look, as in the case of Felice, Lorenzo, and Filippo, or, as in the case of Camillo and Carlo, in the form of a profile portrait.<sup>53</sup> The averted gaze reminds us of the specific manner of producing *ritratti rubati* by secretly observing the unaware portrait model, a detail not modified by the artists. On the one hand, the profile portrait specifies individual physiognomy and thereby helps us recognize the represented person.<sup>54</sup> On the other hand, this way of representing hides the face to a great extent and renders direct eye contact between viewer and portrayed person impossible. Instead, the close-up profile provokes the voyeuristic gaze of the viewer, who can look upon all physiognomic details without fearing a rebuke, as had happened to Câmara when he was discovered watching Ignatius's face. Quite similar rhetorical implications are known from the portraits of women, especially brides, in the quattrocento. The profile had been the preferred portrait form to prevent offensive eye contact. As an idealizing image form, the profile served to visualize physiognomical beauty and moral virtuousness.<sup>55</sup> Furthermore, the profile displays virtuousness by demonstrating its affinity to antique medal portraits and *viri illustri* portraits in cinquecento antiquarian collections. The connection between these traditions and post-Tridentine portraits of later canonized saints is demonstrated clearly by the *ritratto rubato* of Carlo Borromeo, portrayed secretly by the painter Francesco Terzio and engraved by Agostino Carracci for the Duke of Savoy in 1585.<sup>56</sup>

This engraving, following the strategy of embedding portraits into expanded contexts, shows the profile as a portrait medallion surrounded by various symbols of the archbishop's virtues. Even though diverse traditions and associations, such as fame, beauty, ideality, and virtuousness, are deeply entangled in the perception of the profile portrait, it could also bring to mind contrary notions. Comparable to the ambiguity of reversible figures, it can be also considered an image form particularly linked to the demonstration of humility and the consciousness of bodily imperfection. Picking up the delicate issue of representing imperfect bodies, the legend of the one-eyed king Antigonos served as an argument for idealization in early modern art theory: Antigonos was portrayed in three-quarter profile to hide away his ugly deformation.<sup>57</sup> It is well known that Piero della Francesca's portrait of Federico da Montefeltro referred to that legend when depicting the duke in profile in order to hide away his lost eye.<sup>58</sup> In another interesting example, Fra Bartolommeo's portrait of Girolamo Savonarola (1452–98), the great 'slasher' of beautiful images, shows Savonarola's face hidden away by the profile and also by his hood, exposing only a small part of his face to the viewer. Even though the profile served as model for diverse portrait medals, Fra Bartolommeo's painting displays the unsightly features of the Dominican friar without any attempt of idealization: on the contrary, the profile highlights even more his unshaped proportions **FIGURE 11**.<sup>59</sup> The choice of the profile could also point to an awareness of bodily imperfection and of one's unfitness as portrait model. These implications are also relevant for the saints' profile portraits, for example, the portraits of Camillo displaying his emaciated body in an impressive way: Camillo's skinny face with unkempt beard is marked by numerous lines, and his sunken chest visualizes the continuous struggles of his dedication to charitable service.<sup>60</sup> The premature emaciation of his body was read as sign of a saintly life formed by humility and ascetic practice. The depiction of only one half of his battered figure demonstrates the negligence of one's own body and the spiritual attempt to overcome earthly conditions. Quite similar, the complete indifference regarding one's bodily appearance emerges as the central argument of the legend about the portrait of the Apostle John. Completely ignorant of his own corporeal appearance, he had to compare the *ritratto rubato* to his mirror image in order to verify its resemblance.



**FIGURE 11.** Fra Bartolommeo, *Portrait of Girolamo Savonarola*, ca 1498. Florence, Museo Nazionale di San Marco.

Doing so without any comment on his mirror image, which he saw then for the first time, his attitude served as *exemplum* of a Christian ideal — the complete alienation from one's own body.<sup>61</sup>

Considering the various moral discourses on portraits taken from living venerated persons, a complex constellation of arguments emerges that challenge and at the same time balance moral implications. Since the representation of the bodily appearance was not in line with the expected virtuousness of saints, the moral discourse on the legitimacy of portraying them was redirected to the painters and commissioners of secret portrait productions. Their peccable agency could be compensated by the *pia fraus* argument or by the saint's later blessing of the portrait. Also, the viewers were 'exculpated': the applied modes of representation — portraits with averted look, profile portraits, and the expansion by narrative additions, showing the saint absorbed in pious activity — prevent direct eye contact with the portrayed person and in that manner dispel moral doubts over the decency of gazing at painted bodily appearances.

1 Rudolf Carel Goldschmidt, *Paulinus' Churches at Nola: Texts, Translations and Commentary*, Amsterdam: Noord-Hollandsche uitgevers maatschappij, 1940; Maria Grazia Bianco, "Ritratti e versi per le basiliche di Sulpicio Severo e di Paolino Nolano (Paul. Nol. Epp. 30-32)", *Romanobarbarica*, 12 (1992–1993), 291–310 (pp. 299–303); Sigrid Mratschek, *Der Briefwechsel des Paulinus von Nola: Kommunikation und soziale Kontakte zwischen christlichen Intellektuellen*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 2002, p. 456 and following.

2 On the portrait of Ignatius of Loyola placed above his tomb by Cesare Baronio, see *Monumenta Ignatiana [...] Series Quarta: Scripta de Sancto Ignatio de Loyola Societatis Iesu fondatore*, 2 vols, Madrid: Typis Gabrielis López del Horno, 1918, II, pp. 452–61, esp. p. 455; see further Ruth S. Noyes, "On the Fringes of Center: Disputed Hagiographic Imagery and the Crisis over the *Beati moderni* in Rome ca. 1600", *Renaissance Quarterly*, 64:3 (2011), 800–46. See also chapter 6 by James Hall in this volume.

3 Ignaz von Döllinger and Heinrich Reusch, *Die Selbstbiographie des Cardinals Bellarmin lateinisch und deutsch mit geschichtlichen Erläuterungen*, Bonn: Neusser, 1887, p. 319; Noyes, "On the Fringes", p. 817.

4 Wilhelm Schamoni, *Inventarium Processuum Beatificationis et Canonizationis Bibliothecae Nationalis Parisiensis provenientium ex Archivis S. Rituum Congregationis typis mandatorum inter annos 1662–1809*, Hildesheim: Olms, 1983, p. 30; Andreas Schalhorn, *Historienmalerei und Heiligsprechung: Pierre Subleyras (1699–1749) und das Bild für den Papst im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, Munich: Scaneg, 2000, p. 33. On Urban's decrees of the *Congregation of the Holy Inquisition*, see Döllinger and Reusch, *Die Selbstbiographie*, p. 285; Emmanuel André and Michel Hermans, "Un portrait ancien d'Ignace de Loyola: Sa valeur et son odyssee", *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, 60 (1991), 219–64 (p. 230).

5 See Sibylle Appuhn-Radtke, "Petrus Canisius im Bild – Entwicklungsstadien einer Heiligenikonographie", in *Petrus Canisius – Reformator der Kirche. Festschrift zum 400. Todestag des zweiten Apostels Deutschlands*, ed. by Julius Oswald and Peter Rummel, Augsburg: Sankt-Ulrich-Verlag, 1996, 244–74 (pp. 244–45). In view of Gabriele Paleotti's reference to portrait robbery, the terms *ritratti rubati* and painting *alla macchia* seem to be well-established expressions in the late sixteenth

century: 'Se altro lo preparà che voglia rubbare il ritratto, come si dice alla macchia, stando il pittore in una chiesa ò altrove con un libretto in mano, mostrando di leggere, & in effetto lavorando il ritratto, chi non dubitarà di fine cattivo & scelerato, et tanto piu pernicioso, quanto che il mezo di servirsi della chiesa a questo fine, è tanto odioso a Dio?'; see Gabriele Paleotti, *Discorso intorno alle Imagini sacre et profane*, facsimile ed. by Paolo Prodi, Bologna: Arnaldo Forni, 1990 (1582), lib. II, cap. XXI, ff. 161v–162r. Filippo Baldinucci's description of portraits *alla macchia* in his *Vocabolario toscano dell'arte del disegno* (1681) points to the constant popularity of the phrase (see note 45, below). For a more detailed discussion of *ritratti rubati*, see also Nina Niedermeier, "Die ersten Porträts der *Beati* und *Santi moderni*: Porträtähnlichkeit in nachtridentinischer Zeit", PhD diss., Paris-Lodron-Universität Salzburg, 2018.

6 Christine Göttler, "Die Disziplinierung des Heiligenbildes durch altgläubige Theologen nach der Reformation: Ein Beitrag zur Theorie des Sakralbildes im Übergang vom Mittelalter zur Frühen Neuzeit", in *Bilder und Bildersturm im Spätmittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. by Bob Scribner, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1990, 263–97 (p. 265).

7 Origen, John Chrysostom, John Cassian, and Jerome advanced the view of pious fraud as tolerable behavioural norm. In contrast, Augustine rejected falsehood in general; Aquinas followed Augustine, but accepted also the *dissimulation* of truth for good reasons (*dissimulatio*) and recommended judging case to case. See Anne Conrad, *Rationalismus und Schwärmerei: Studien zur Religiosität und Sinndeutung in der Spätaufklärung*, Hamburg: DOBU Verlag, 2008, p. 45 and following pages; Eberhard Schockenhoff, "List und Lüge in der theologischen Tradition", in *Von der Suche nach Gott: Helmut Riedlinger zum 75. Geburtstag*, ed. by Margot Schmidt et al., Stuttgart-Bad Cannstadt: Frommann-Holzboog, 1998, 489–507 (p. 491).

8 For example, Ignatius was said to hide his visions and virtues: 'virtutes suas, & visiones, quas habebat, caelestes, diligenter occultabat; semperque inter loquendum admiscebat aliqua verba, quae indicia essent humilitatis: qualia fuerunt illa, Miserum me: miseram animam meam'; see *Acta Sanctorum: Quotquot toto orbe coluntur, vel a Catholicis Scriptoribus celebrantur, Iulius, Tomus 7, Quo dies vigesimus nonus, trigesimus & trigesimus primus continentur*, ed. by Johannes Bolland, Godefridus Henschenius, Daniel Papebrochius, et al., Antwerp: Meursius, 1731, p. 615.

9 *Fontes narrativi de S. Ignatio de Loyola et de Societatis Iesu initis*, ed. by

Cándido de Dalmases, Rome: Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu, 1943–1965, I, pp. 354–63.

10 Marjorie O'Rourke Boyle, *Loyola's Acts: The Rhetoric of the Self*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997, p. 18; on narrative strategies in the *Acta*, see Louis Marin, "Le 'Récit', réflexion sur un testament", in *Les Jésuites à l'âge baroque (1540–1640)*, ed. by Luce Giard and Louis de Vaucelles, Grenoble: Millon, 1996, 61–76.

11 Göttler, "Die Disziplinierung", p. 276. Tridentine authors usually refer to Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 180–82. See further Johannes Molanus, *De Picturis et Imaginibus Sacris*, Leuven: Hieronymum VVellaeum, 1570, cap. 42; David Freedberg, "Johannes Molanus on Provocative Paintings", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 34 (1971), 229–45 (p. 240); Giuseppe Scavizzi, "La teologia cattolica e le immagini durante il XVI secolo", *Storia dell'arte*, 21 (1974), 171–213 (p. 172 and following pages). On the preference of words by iconoclastic authors, see Herbert L. Kessler, *Spiritual Seeing: Picturing God's Invisibility in Medieval Art*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000, p. 150; on the resumption of this issue by Aquinas, see David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989, pp. 162–63.

12 See Ribadeneyra's two versions of the legend: *Fontes narrativi*, VI, p. 731 and following pages; *Fontes narrativi*, III, pp. 239–40.

13 Louis Ponnelle and Louis Bordet, *Der heilige Philipp Neri und die römische Gesellschaft seiner Zeit (1515–1595): Festgabe zum 500. Geburtstag des hl. Philipp Neri*, Bonn: Nova et Vetera, 2015, p. 129.

14 '[...] con le mani sul viso, secondo il solito suo'; see Ponnelle and Bordet, *Der heilige Philipp Neri*, pp. 135–36.

15 On the impossibility of representing Christ's radiant visage, and looking at his Edessan image hidden away in the Pharos Chapel, see Kessler, *Spiritual Seeing*, pp. 71 and 77.

16 Giacomo Laderchi, *San Filippo Neri institutore, e fondatore dell'Arciconfraternità della SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini, e Convalescenti di Roma*, Rome: Girolamo Mainardi, 1730, p. 100 and following pages.

17 'Questa antichissima immagine di S. Filippo Neri in atto di lavare i piedi a' pellegrini furtivamente fu espressa sopra una tavola da un devoto pittore penitente, mentre esercitava il Santo la sudetta opera

- pia, da lui istituita in questo luogo. Di che accortosi il santo rivolto al Pittore, che già aveva terminato il disegno, gli disse, ridendo: che l'aveva di nascosto rubato'; quoted from Marco Pupillo, "Il Ritratto di Filippo Neri vivente della Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini e Convalescenti di Roma: Contributo alla storia della prima iconografia di S. Filippo", in *Le confraternite romane: Arte Storia Committenza*, ed. by Claudio Crescentini and Antonio Martini, Rome: Edizioni dell'Associazione Culturale Shakespeare and Company 2, 2000, 259–73 (p. 261). See further *La regola e la fama: San Filippo Neri e l'arte*, ed. by Claudio Strinati and Roberta Rinaldi (Rome, Museo Nazionale del Palazzo di Venezia, October–December 1995), Milan: Electa, 1995, no. 5, pp. 455–56 (O. Melasecchi); Claudia Gerken, *Entstehung und Funktion von Heiligenbildern im nachtridentinischen Italien (1588–1622)*, Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2015, p. 25.
- 18 Pupillo, "Il Ritratto di Filippo Neri", p. 269.
- 19 Alfonso Capecelatro, *La vita di S. Filippo Neri: Libri tre*, Milan: Boniardi-Pogliani/Guigoni, 1884, lib. III, cap. XI, pp. 288–92.
- 20 Arsenio da Casorate, "Letterina per S. Filippo", *Ecclesia*, 9:4 (April 1949), pp. 208–9; Miguel Gotor, *I beati del papa: Santità, Inquisizione e obbedienza in età moderna*, Florence: Olschki, 2002, p. 44.
- 21 A notice on the back of the painting confirms its authorship: 'N. 398. Vero ritratto originale di San Camillo de Lellis, dipinto in Roma dal S.or Cavaliere Giuseppe d'Arpino, citato in fine della vita di detto Santo dal P. Sanzio Ciatelli, stampata in Roma ed in Bologna coi tipi Lorenzo Martelli l'anno 174[...]. Questo ritratto esisteva nella casa di appartenenza dei detti religiosi dell'Istituto di detto Santo in Mantova sotto il titolo di S. Tommaso, nella soppressione della quale restò di proprietà a Petronio Mazzacurati dell'ordine suddetto e questo in morte lo lasciò a Gaetano Suani'; quoted from Vittorio Berri, *I Padri Camilliani a Mantova, 1601–1901*, Mantua: Tipografia Segna, 1901, p. 58 (Rome, Archivio Generale dei Ministri degli Infermi [hereafter AGMI], "Domus Mantuanae – Mantova", no. 466). See also Sanzio Ciatelli, *Vita del P. Camillo de Lellis: Fondatore della Religione de Chierici Regolari Ministri degli Infermi*, Viterbo: Pietro et Agostino Discepoli, 1615, p. 279; Rome, AGMI, "Provincia Lombardo – Veneta. Corrispondenza", no. 1684, f. 66; Domesticum 1921 (Il ritratto del N. S. P. Camillo), p. 70.
- 22 'È tradizione costante fino a quest'anno 1775, che S. Camillo, nella sua prima venuta a Milano nel 1594, a far la fondazione abbi albergato in casa de' Signori Marchesi Piantanida, abitanti di presenza nella contrada detta del Crocifisso in Porta Orientale. Questi Cavalieri si sono sempre gloriosi e stimati fortunatissimi della suddetta sorte d'aver alloggiato un santo conservandone grande devozione, tanto più perché conservano una sua preziosa calzetta di saia inzuppata del liquore della sua gran piaga, ed una berretta clericale secondo l'uso del suo ordine, che fanno grazie agl'infermi. In oltre conservano un di lui ritratto ad olio, che dicesi fatto cavare ad arte senza di lui saputa in occasione del suddetto albergo'; see Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, ms., G 56 suss., 'S. Camillo de Lellis in Milano', f. 8v.
- 23 '[...] e benché non volesse già mai soffrire, che da Pittore si delineasse il suo sembiante; ad ogni modo, più volte senza, che ei s'avedesse celebrando la Messa, o stando ad altro affare intento, si hebbe il suo ritratto'; Domenico Regi, *Memorie storiche del venerabile P. Camillo de Lellis, E de' suoi Chierici Regolari Ministri degl'Infermi*, Naples: Giacinto Passaro, 1676, lib. VII, cap. XIII, p. 191.
- 24 'Iconica imago ad vivum referens'; see Giuseppe Laurenzi, *Amalthea onomastica*, Lyon: Laurentii Anisson, 1664, p. 331. The term was already used by Pliny (*Natural History*, 34.16).
- 25 *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung*, ed. by Edgar Hennecke and Wilhelm Schneemelcher, Tübingen: Mohr, 1989–1990, II, p. 160.
- 26 Porphyry, *On the Life of Plotinus and the Order of His Books*, ed. by A. H. Armstrong, London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1966, p. 3 (1.1). See also M. J. Edwards, "A Portrait of Plotinus", *Classical Quarterly*, 43 (1993), 480–90 (p. 481); Suzanne Stern-Gillet, "Plotinus and His Portrait", *The British Journal of Aesthetics*, 37 (1997), 211–25.
- 27 Porphyry, *Life of Plotinus*, p. 39 (13.5–10).
- 28 *Vie de Théodore de Sykeon*, ed. by André-Jean Festugière, Brussels: Soc. des Bollandistes, 1970, p. 114. See also Henry Maguire, *The Icons of Their Bodies: Saints and Their Images in Byzantium*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996, pp. 7–8; Gilbert Dagron, *Décrire et peindre: Essai sur le portrait iconique*, Paris: Gallimard, 2007, p. 74; Gerken, *Entstehung*, p. 25.
- 29 François de Sales, *Introduction à la Vie dévote*, ed. by John Grand-Carteret, Montiers: Duclos, 1895, I, pp. XXII–XXVI (my translation). See also F. de Loche, "Les Portraits de Saint François de Sales", *Revue de Savoie*, 2 (1942), 295–98 (pp. 295–97); Josette Curtil, *Images de Saint François de Sales: Mémoire et patrimoine de Savoie*, Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2014.
- 30 Conrad, *Rationalismus*, p. 45; Eberhard Schockenhoff, *Zur Lüge verdammt? Politik, Justiz, Kunst, Medien, Medizin, Wissenschaft und die Ethik der Wahrheit*, Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder Verlag, 2005, p. 48 and following pages; Schockenhoff, "List und Lüge", p. 498; Aurelius Augustinus, *Die Lüge und Gegen die Lüge*, ed. by Paul Keseling, Würzburg: Augustinus-Verlag, 1953, p. XXXVIII.
- 31 Conrad, *Rationalismus*, p. 46; Schockenhoff, *Zur Lüge verdammt*, p. 77 and following pages.
- 32 Schockenhoff, "List und Lüge", p. 494; Conrad, *Rationalismus*, p. 45; Karlheinz Deschner, *Kriminalgeschichte des Christentums. Band 3: Die alte Kirche*, Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt Verlag GmbH, 2013, p. 182; Bernhard Häring, *Das Gesetz Christi: Moraltheologie*, Freiburg im Breisgau: Erich Wewel Verlag, 1967, III, p. 534 and following pages.
- 33 Conrad, *Rationalismus*, p. 45; Deschner, *Kriminalgeschichte*, pp. 181 and 183.
- 34 Deschner, *Kriminalgeschichte*.
- 35 Ibid., p. 184.
- 36 Schockenhoff, "List und Lüge", p. 490 and following pages.
- 37 Willibald M. Plöchl, *Geschichte des Kirchenrechts*, Vienna–Munich: Herold, 1953–1969, II, p. 340.
- 38 Conrad, *Rationalismus*, p. 48; Deschner, *Kriminalgeschichte*, p. 186.
- 39 Conrad, *Rationalismus*, p. 42.
- 40 'Bartolus tam assignat, quam Alexander Crivellus Mediolanensis, qui post sacra purpura est ornatus, furtiva pictoris opera ex eo duci jussit, secum interim familiariter colloquente, planeque piaefraudis ignaro'; see *Acta Sanctorum, Iulius*, VII, p. 522. See also Daniello Bartoli, *Della vita e dell'Istituto di S. Ignatio, fondatore della Compagnia di Gesù libri cinque*, Rome: Domenico Manelfi, 1650, p. 580; Ignatius of Loyola, *Cartas de S. Ignacio de Loyola*, Madrid: Aguado, 1874, I, p. 407; Pietro Tacchi Venturi, *Storia della Compagnia di Gesù in Italia*, Rome: La Civiltà Cattolica, 1951, II, p. 639; Rafael de Hornedo, "La vera effigies de San Ignacio", *Razón y Fe*, 154 (1956), 203–24 (p. 204).
- 41 'Ad primum ergo dicendum quod clementia est virtus humana: unde directe sibi opponitur crudelitas, quae est malitia

humana'; in Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologica* II.II.159.2. See Iacopo Costa, "Heroic Virtue in the Commentary Tradition on the *Nicomachean Ethics* in the Second Half of the Thirteenth Century", in *Virtue Ethics in the Middle Ages: Commentaries on Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics, 1200–1500*, ed. by István P. Bejczy, Leiden: Brill, 2008, 153–72 (p. 163).

42 See Paleotti, *Discorso*, lib. II, cap. XXI, ff. 161v–162r; Clare Robertson, "Il gran cardinale": *Alessandro Farnese, Patron of the Arts*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992, no. 14, p. 291; Roberto Zapperi, "Il cardinale Alessandro Farnese: Riflessi della vita privata nelle committenze artistiche", in *I Farnese: Arte e Collezionismo. Studi*, ed. by Lucia Fornari Schianchi, Milan: Electa, 1995, 48–57 (p. 51); Lothar Sicking, "Laura Maccarani: Una dama ammirata dal cardinale Odoardo Farnese e il suo Ritratto rubato commissionato da Melchiorre Crescenzi", *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome: Italie et Méditerranée*, 117:1 (2005), 331–50 (p. 339).

43 Filippo Baldinucci, *Notizie dei Professori del Disegno: Da Cimabue in qua [...]*, Florence: Studio per Edizioni Scelte, 1974 (Florence, 1846), III, pp. 412–13.

44 'Soggiongiamo nondimeno, che possono spesso farsi questi ritratti, senza che gli autori ne siano punto consapevoli, perché mentre un Prelato, o dottore, o religioso si trova star attento alla predica, o alli divini uffici, un pittore diligente, se bene piu intento al suo interesse, che alla parola del Signor Dio, alle volte lo coglierà così dal naturale come se lo avesse avuto in casa propria [...]'; in Paleotti, *Discorso*, lib. II, cap. XX, f. 157v. Also see Giovanni Domenico Ottoneilli and Pietro Berrettini da Cortona, *Trattato della pittura e scultura, uso et abuso loro*, Florence: Giovanni Antonio Bonardi, 1652, p. 102.

45 Filippo Baldinucci, *Vocabolario toscano dell'arte del disegno*, ed. by Severina Parodi, Florence: Studio per Edizioni Scelte, 1976 (1681), sub voce "Macchia", p. 86: 'E di quà, come che in tali macchie si nascondano, e fiere e ladroni a fare furtivamente loro malefizj, dicesi, fare che che sia alla macchia, per farlo nascosamente, furtivamente [...]. Anche appresso i Pittori usasi questo termine ne' ritratti ch'essi fanno, senza avere avanti l'oggetto, dicendo ritrarre alla macchia, ovvero questo ritratto è fatto alla macchia'. See further in Filippo Baldinucci, *Notizie dei Professori del Disegno da Cimabue in qua [...]*, 14 vols, Milan: Soc. Tipografica de' Classici Italiani, 1811–1812, VIII, p. 202: '[...] fece molti ritratti al naturale; e perch'egli era di forte immaginativa, col solo vedere, ed osservare alcuna volta il vero, ne faceva poi il ritratto in quel modo, che noi sogliamo

dire, alla macchia'. See also John T. Spike, "Ottavio Leoni's Portraits alla macchia", in *Baroque Portraiture in Italy: Works from North American Collections*, ed. by John T. Spike (Sarasota, FL, John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, 7 December 1984 to 3 February 1985), Sarasota, FL: John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, 1984, 12–16; Sicking, "Laura Maccarani", p. 343.

46 '[...] solo con vedere una volta il soggetto. Da sé, solo con la memoria, simili li faceva'; Giovanni Baglione, *Le vite de' pittori, scultori et architetti dal pontificato di Gregorio XIII del 1572 in fino a' tempi di Papa Urbano Ottavo nel 1642*, ed. by Jacob Hess and Herwarth Röttgen, 3 vols, Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1995 (Rome 1642), I, p. 144.

47 On the psychology of representing the gaze, see, on images, Monika Leisch-Kiesl, "MännerBlicke–FrauenBlicke: Kunstwissenschaftliche Bemerkungen zu Blick-Beziehungen und Blick-Räumen", in *Der religiöse Charme der Kunst*, ed. by Thomas Erne and Peter Schütz, Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2012, 140–57. On the gaze in association with deathly image production, see Georges Didi-Huberman, *Was wir sehen, blickt uns an: Zur Metapsychologie des Bildes*, Munich: Fink, 1999, pp. 244–46; Hans Belting, *Florenz und Bagdad: Eine westöstliche Geschichte des Blicks*, Munich: C. H. Beck, 2008, p. 251. In this context the Apostle John's comment on his *ritratto rubato* is striking: 'You have made the dead likeness of a dead person'; see *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, II, p. 160.

48 On *simplicitas*, see Freedberg, "Johannes Molanus", p. 238; Göttler, "Die Disziplinierung", pp. 266 and 288.

49 The early prototype conserved in the Archivio Provinciale of Florence and painted presumably by an anonymous Florentine artist is placed in the sixteenth or seventeenth century for reasons of style. In an archival note, Sofia Toninelli suggests two possible ways of production: either it was painted after Lorenzo's death in 1619 or during his stay in Tuscany in 1590–92. Regarding his glowing cheeks and smile, the latter seems to be more probable.

50 See *La Pinacoteca ambrosiana*, ed. by Antonia Falchetti, Vicenza: Pozza, 1969, p. 281; Pamela M. Jones, *Federico Borromeo and the Ambrosiana: Art Patronage and Reform in Seventeenth-Century Milan*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993, p. 148; Marco Rossi and Alessandro Rovetta, *La Pinacoteca Ambrosiana*, Milan: Electa, 1997, p. 101; *Pinacoteca Ambrosiana*, ed. by Carlo Pirovano, Daniele Benati, and Giacomo Berra, Milan: Electa, 2007, III, no. 290, pp. 226–27 (M. C. Terzaghi); Katja

Burzer, *San Carlo Borromeo: Konstruktion und Inszenierung eines Heiligenbildes im Spannungsfeld zwischen Mailand und Rom*, Berlin–Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2011, p. 252.

51 On the portrait in Sondrio, see Giovanni Battista Porta, "Nel Museo di Sondrio il primo ritratto di S. Ignazio", *Corriere della Valtellina*, 25 July 1970, 22–23; Ursula König-Nordhoff, *Ignatius von Loyola: Studien zur Entwicklung einer neuen Heiligen-Ikonographie im Rahmen einer Kanonisationskampagne um 1600*, Berlin: Mann, 1982, pp. 67–70; *San Ignazio iconografia Euskadin: Iconografía de San Ignacio en Euskadi*, ed. by Juan Plazaola, Loyola: Comisión Loiola'91, 1991, p. 46; Alfonso Rodríguez G. de Ceballos, "La iconografía de san Ignacio de Loyola y los ciclos pintados de su vida en España e Hispanoamérica", in *Ignacio de Loyola y su tiempo*, ed. by Juan Plazaola, Bilbao: Mensajero, 1992, 107–28 (p. 107); Pierre-Antoine Fabre, "Le profil d'un fondateur: Genèse du portrait d'Ignace de Loyola (1556–1622)", *Trois (Montréal)*, 10:2 (1995), 5–24 (p. 19); Heinrich Pfeiffer, "L'iconografia", in *Ignazio e l'arte dei gesuiti*, ed. by Giovanni Sale, Milan: Jaca Book, 2003, 169–206 (p. 178); *Pinacoteca Ambrosiana*, III, pp. 322–23; Angela Dell'Oca, "L'immagine di Sant'Ignazio di Loyola (1543) al Museo di Sondrio: Spunti di ricerca", *Ignaziana*, 18 (2014), 309–41; Gerken, *Entstehung*, p. 27.

52 Paleotti, *Discorso*, lib. II, cap. XX, f. 159r. See also Sixten Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative: The Rise of the Dramatic Close-Up in Fifteenth-Century Devotional Painting*, Doornspijk: Davaco, 1984, p. 39; Tobias Kämpf, "Die Betrachter der Cäcilie: Kultbild und Rezeptionsvorgabe im nachtridentinischen Rom", in *Rahmen-Diskurse: Kultbilder im konfessionellen Zeitalter*, ed. by David Ganz and Georg Henkel, Berlin: Reimer, 2004, 98–141 (p. 110); Gerken, *Entstehung*, pp. 20–24; Anne H. Muraoka, *The Path of Humility. Caravaggio and Carlo Borromeo*, New York: Lang, 2015, p. 19.

53 Another example for an absent-minded look is the *ritratto rubato* of Padre Iván de Pineda in Francisco Pacheco's manuscript *Libro de descripción de verdaderos retratos de ilustres y memorables varones* (Seville, 1599). For a profile portrait of Filippo Neri considered to be a *ritratto rubato*, see Ludovico Leoni's wax medallion in the Pinacoteca Ambrosiana (Inv. 278). Olga Melasecchi, "Cristoforo Roncalli, Ludovico Leoni e la Congregazione dell'Oratorio romano", *Storia dell'arte*, 92 (1998), 5–26 (p. 5); Gerken, *Entstehung*, p. 24.

54 On the profile portrait as an image format appropriate for recognizing an indi-

vidual person, see Appuhn-Radtke on an altarpiece representing Carlo Borromeo in profile: Sibylle Appuhn-Radtke, "Ad augendam devotionem: Johann Christoph Storers Altarbilder für die Luzerner Jesuitenkirche", *Arte Lombarda*, 98/99 (1991), 41–49 (pp. 43–44).

55 Klaus Krüger, *Das Bild als Schleier des Unsichtbaren: Ästhetische Illusion in der Kunst der frühen Neuzeit in Italien*, Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2001, pp. 209–12; Patricia Rubin, "Florenz und das Portrait der Renaissance", in *Gesichter der Renaissance: Meisterwerke italienischer Portrait-Kunst*, ed. by Keith Christiansen and Stefan Weppelmann (Berlin, Bode-Museum, 25 August to 20 November 2011; New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 19 December 2011 to 18 March 2012), Munich: Hirmer, 2011, 2–25 (p. 17); Andreas Beyer, *Das Porträt in der Malerei*, Munich: Hirmer, 2002, p. 65 and note 49.

56 'Francesco Terzo pittore ricevuto in casa dallo stesso San Carlo per depingere sacre imagini in varij luoghi, mentre vivea, furtivamente ne fece un ritratto negli ultimi anni della sua vita, il quale a lui simile mi parve, & dall'auttore fu portato al Duca di Savoia, & havendolo questo buon'huomo fatto intagliar in rame, & istampar aggiuntivi varij simboli, co' quali le virtù del santo si dimostravano, l'immagine riuscì alquanto dissimile, non però da sprezzare, la quale ancora habbiamo, un altro parimente, vivendo lui, ne formò una picciola in cera molto buona condotto da un certo artigiano Milanese, la quale ove hora sia, non so; appena potrei haver gratia di vederla.' See Carlo Bascapè, *Della vita, et fatti di san Carlo [...] Con un Dialogo delle cose succedute doppo la morte del santo, & una nota de' Miracoli [...]*, Bologna: Giovanni Rossi, 1614, pp. 844–46. Also see Gerken, *Entstehung*, p. 20 and following pages.

57 Leon Battista Alberti, *Della Pittura: Über die Malkunst*, ed. by Oskar Bätschmann and Sandra Gianfreda, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2002, pp. 130–31; Ottonelli and Berrettini, *Trattato*, p. 99.

58 See Claudia Brink, "Die zwei Gesichter des Federico da Montefeltro", in *Bildnis und Image: Das Portrait zwischen Intention und Rezeption*, ed. by Andreas Köstler and Ernst Seidl, Cologne: Böhlau, 1998, 119–42 (pp. 120–21).

59 On Fra Bartolommeo's portrait, see Magnolia Scudieri, "I ritratti", in *Savonarola e le sue "reliquie" a San Marco: Itinerario per un percorso savonaroliano nel Museo*, ed. by Magnolia Scudieri and Giovanna Rasario (Florence, Museo di San Marco, 15 December 1998 to 28 February 1999), Florence: Giunti, 1998, 60–77; Urte Krass,

*Nah zum Leichnam: Bilder neuer Heiliger im Quattrocento*, Berlin–Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2012, pp. 229–30.


60 'Fu sempre di complessione robusta e vivide forze, fuorché negli ultimi anni, in cui logorato dalle incessanti fatiche, andava alquanto curvo, e mostrava età assai più avanzata, che non aveva'; see Sanzio Ciatelli, *Vita del Beato Camillo de Lellis*, rev. by Pantaleone Dolera, Rome: Bernabò, 1742, p. 327.

61 *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, II, p. 160.

# Ignatius of Loyola as a Normative Image

**Steffen Zierholz**

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In his *Flos Sanctorum*, Pedro de Ribadeneira (1527–1611), one of the most distinguished writers of the Society of Jesus, exhorts the reader to consider the life of a saint not so much as a mere portrait, but rather as a mirror for recognizing his own moral failings in order to improve himself and to live a virtuous life.<sup>1</sup> With the founding of the Society of Jesus in 1540, Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556) immediately became such a mirror through which every Jesuit had to reform, transform, and conform his own life. This is how we should understand the insistence with which the early companions asked Ignatius to leave them a written account of his life. According to his intimate Jesuit brother Jerónimo Nadal (1507–80), the so-called *Autobiography* Ignatius dictated to Luis Gonçalves da Câmara (ca 1520–75) was to serve as ‘a testament and paternal instruction.’<sup>2</sup> In his highly influential *Vita del P. Ignatio Loiola* published in 1572, which was written especially for his Jesuit brothers, Ribadeneira proclaims that ‘having received from the hands of God our Father Ignatius as guide, master, leader and bannerman of this sacred militia, we have to take him as a mirror for our life, and we have to use all our strength to follow him.’<sup>3</sup> This is even more the case as Ignatius also fashioned himself after certain role models. After reading a Spanish edition of Jacobus de Voragine’s *Golden Legend* and the Carthusian Ludolph of Saxony’s *The Life of Christ*, Ignatius felt a change of heart and the urge to imitate the lives of the saints he had read about.<sup>4</sup> The *Autobiography* tells us about relevant examples: ‘What if I were to do what Saint Francis did, or to do what Saint Dominic did?’<sup>5</sup> Ribadeneira’s account does not mention the two founders of the late medieval mendicant orders, but says that in addition to imitating Christ, Ignatius also imitated the saints, who, by their imitation of Christ, became themselves worthy of imitation.<sup>6</sup> This rhetorical device should be understood simultaneously as a legitimation and an instructive invitation. Ignatius, now the last link in the chain, and himself a founder of an order, became a new subject worthy of imitation.<sup>7</sup>

Ignatius’s way of life, because it embodied the spiritual guidelines of the Jesuit vocation, was important both with regard to individual perfection and to a general understanding of the Society of Jesus. In an exhortation delivered in Cologne, Nadal reminded his audience that ‘the whole life of the Society is contained in germ and expressed in Ignatius’s story’<sup>8</sup> Ribadeneira stated that it was necessary to know the form and the image that Ignatius made for the Society and also the rules and the laws he had left for its government. The Society was seen as an image of the life of Ignatius. Ribadeneira therefore concluded the foreword of the *Vita* by exhorting his brothers to ‘always have the spotless, shiny mirror of virtue before one’s eyes, as Ignatius’s life is to be an example and a true and perfect norm of our Institution and vocation.’<sup>9</sup>

To be clear, this discussion will not look at the role of images as a propagandistic device aimed at increasing the veneration of Ignatius or calling for his canonisation. Much research has been done on this subject by Ursula König-Nordhoff and more recently by John W. O’Malley.<sup>10</sup> Instead, I follow Evonne Levy’s understanding of Ignatius’s importance for the Jesuits in terms of subject formation.<sup>11</sup> With respect to Ignatius’s life interpreted as mirror, I will demonstrate that his role as an exemplary Jesuit was often realized by artists in terms of metapictorial imagery. Through three case studies, I will



**FIGURE 1.** Francesco Villamena, *Blessed Ignatius of Loyola*, engraving, 55.8 × 42.5 cm, ca 1600. Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Kupferstichkabinett.

explore how this kind of imagery was used to create an awareness of the artifice of the image, its modes of production, its mimetic qualities, and the historical practices in which this kind of imagery was embedded.

### In the Shadow of Ignatius

In an engraving by Francesco Villamena (1564–1624), Ignatius of Loyola is depicted in an oval frame in the centre of the picture **FIGURE 1**.<sup>12</sup> Even though Ignatius is represented with a nimbus, the cartouche in the lower edge characterizes him merely as ‘Blessed’. Ignatius, dressed in the typical habit of a secular priest, is kneeling in prayer, his *biretta* lying on the floor before him. He looks upward and experiences a vision. The site itself remains undefined, but the large pedestal on which he kneels evokes an alcove for a statue. The oval depiction is framed by fifteen scenes from the life of Ignatius, all of them showing visions. They include in the central axis the famous vision at La Storta, which was usually construed as the confirmation of the founding of the Jesuit Order that Ribadeneira proclaimed as Ignatius’s greatest miracle.<sup>13</sup> As König-Nordhoff has pointed out, it is likely that the depiction of numerous visions was designed to promote the cult of Ignatius in light of a forthcoming canonisation. Crucial for my argument, however, is a small detail that may be easily overlooked by a modern viewer — the shadow cast on the wall caused by the divine light shining from above.

In terms of meta-imagery, a shadow is generally characterized by a mimetic relationship, by its connection with a prototype, e.g. the shadow of a person or an object. A shadow, like a painting or the reflection in a mirror, is only a limited medium of imitation, because it cannot give a full account of the visible reality. Nevertheless, the shadow plays a significant role with regard to the origins of artistic image-making. Pliny the Elder refers to the shadow in two passages in his *Natural History*. In the first, he says that the geographical origins of painting are still uncertain, but all agree that painting derives from tracing the outline of a man’s shadow.<sup>14</sup> In the second, he states that the shadow is of importance with regard to the origins of sculpture. According to Pliny, the Corinthian potter Butades was the first to form images or likenesses out of clay; however, he owed this invention to his daughter, who with the help of an oil lamp drew the outlines of her beloved on the wall to keep him in her memory.<sup>15</sup> The German painter and writer Joachim von Sandrart (1606–88) illustrated these mythic origins of painting in the *Teutsche Academie* **FIGURE 2**.<sup>16</sup> The engraving depicts both accounts of the invention of drawing. Victor Stoichiță has pointed out the main difference between the two versions of Pliny’s story. Whereas in the first account it is the natural light of the sun throwing a horizontal shadow, which is fixed on the ground by the subject itself, the second account of the shadow is cast vertically by means of artificial light and is outlined by someone other than the person to whom the shadow belongs, which creates a lifelike image to conserve the memory of the beloved in his absence.<sup>17</sup>

Coming back to Villamena’s engraving, the vertical shadow on the wall similarly represents an image of Ignatius. However, there is an important

difference. In contrast to Sandrart's illustration, it is neither the natural light of the sun nor artificial light, but the divine light from heaven that creates the shadow on the wall. Art theory had already taken into account this third type of light. In his *Idea del Tempio della Pittura*, Giovanni Lomazzo (1538–1600) distinguished between 'lumen naturale' (the natural light of the sun or the moon), 'lumen artificiale' (the artificial light from candles, torches, or fire), and, 'lumen divino' or 'lumen celeste' (light of metaphysical origins).<sup>18</sup> If we apply Lomazzo's categories, then the shadow on the wall refers to the living image created by the *deus artifex*. Ignatius's normativity results from the fact that he is an example of divine image-making. The shadow cast on the wall by the divine light shows his outline, that is, his form, after which the Jesuits had to reform and refashion themselves. They needed to trace the outline of his shadow in their own soul, so to speak. Pedro Ribadeneira gives evidence on this kind of interpretation. In the foreword of the *Vita* he wrote for his Jesuit brothers, after describing Ignatius as a mirror for their own life, he subsequently points to his shadow: 'however, if for our weakness, we cannot imitate him as he actually was in life, that is, if we cannot create a portrait of his many and excellent virtues; at least we should imitate his shadow, & follow his footprints.'<sup>19</sup>



### Image-Making and Self-Conformation

Further evidence of the desire to conform oneself to the image of the founder of the Jesuits is provided by an engraving made by Boethius à Bolswert in the *Via vitae aeternae* written by the Jesuit master of novices Antoine Sucquet (1574–1627), who later became head of the Jesuit Province Flandro-Belgica **FIGURE 3**.<sup>20</sup> The engraving that prefaces chapter 35 on the imitation of saints shows two painters in the foreground. Each of them draws one of the saints in the group to which the winged personification of virtue is pointing with her left hand — one painter has chosen Mary with the Christ Child in her arms, and the other Ignatius of Loyola, holding a heart with a radiating IHS monogram in his right hand. Both subjects stand out from the group: Mary by her halo, and Ignatius by virtue of the light from the monogram.

The quietude, order, and symmetry of the image is seriously disturbed by the demonic hybrid creature who drags the secular painter away from the canvas, leaving the image of Mary and the Christ Child unfinished. The violence and force exerted by the demon are obvious since both canvas and easel are tumbling down. In contrast, the painter on the right sits firmly on his stool, carefully observing the model he is painting. He does not even notice what is happening to his fellow painter and remains focused on his subject and painting, which he is about to finish. The Jesuit beholder could feel

**FIGURE 2.** Georg Andreas Wolfgang, after Joachim von Sandrart, *The Invention of Drawing*, in Joachim von Sandrart, *L'Academia tedesca della Architettura, Scultura, & Pittura*, II. 2., Nürnberg: Johann-Philipp Miltenberger, 1675. Rome, Bibliotheca Hertziana.



**FIGURE 3.** Boethius à Bolswert, *Attende exempla Sanctorum, & dicta eorum de N. virtute tibi proposita*, in Antoine Sucquet, *Via vitae aeternae*, Antwerp: Hendrik Artssens, 1620. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.



**FIGURE 4.** Cornelis Galle after Peter Paul Rubens (possibly), *Ignatius of Loyola*, engraving, 15.3 × 11.7 cm, undated (ca 1622?). Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.

emotionally involved with this second painter, as he is portrayed from behind in the habit of a secular priest.<sup>21</sup> Strangely enough, the corresponding annotation and the subsequent meditations do not specify whom he is portraying. Concerning the group in the middle ground, the text only mentions Mary and Paul, thus leaving the beholder to identify Saint Ignatius on merely visual (and therefore ambiguous) grounds. We can only speculate why that is so, but it might be simply for practical reasons, namely, to obtain the imprimatur necessary for publication. Even though Ignatius was beatified in 1610, his canonization did not take place until two years after the publication of the book in 1622. Interestingly, neither Ignatius nor any of the other saints, apart from Mary, are depicted with a halo. Although his features are completely generic, the attributes clearly point to the founder of the order: an open book held in his left hand, a heart with a radiating IHS monogram above in his right hand, and the habit of the secular priest. A portrait of Ignatius engraved by Cornelis Galle the Elder (1576–1650) possibly after Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640) supports this identification **FIGURE 4**. Ignatius, depicted in a three-quarter view and framed by a cartouche, is here identified in the inscription at the top. Again, he is dressed in the habit of a secular priest, wearing the biretta and holding an open book in his hands. At the top of its left-hand page is the Jesuit motto ‘Ad maiorem Dei gloriam’ followed by the opening lines of the General Examen of the Society’s

Constitutions. The right-hand page quotes a passage of the ‘Regulae Societatis Iesu’. The inscription below provides more detailed information and specifies his origins in the Basque nobility and his role as the founder of the Jesuit Order. In the background on the left, we see the burning IHS hovering in an undefined space with the ‘H’ surmounted by a cross that corresponds to the radiant monogram in Bolswert’s engraving. The basis for the *argumentum a nomine* was of course the widespread etymological association of Ignatius with fire (‘ignis’ in Latin).<sup>22</sup> For a Jesuit reader familiar with Ribadeneira’s *Vita*, the meditations provided by Sucquet also offered an exegetical point of reference that reinforced the identification with Ignatius. Before getting to Ignatius as his actual subject, Ribadeneira explained with reference to Luke 12:49 (‘I am come to send fire on the earth; and what will I if it be already kindled?’) that God the Father throughout all times and ages sends perfect persons as (heavenly) lights to enflame the hearts of men.<sup>23</sup> Following Ribadeneira, the first meditation states that like the moon and stars that light up the night, Christ and the Virgin Mary show the way and lead the reader to the heavenly Jerusalem. For his part, Sucquet does not mention Ignatius explicitly, but says only that those who follow Christ and his precepts are themselves shining lights in the dark world, referring to 2 Peter 1:19 (‘as unto a light that shineth in a dark place’).<sup>24</sup>

The motif of the picturing soul had already been used by Theodor Galle (1571–1633) for the frontispiece of the *Orbita probitatis*, a section in the *Veridicus Christianus* written by the Jesuit Jan David and published in Antwerp in 1601 **FIGURE 5**.<sup>25</sup> Christ carrying the cross stands upon a hilltop in the central axis of the composition. He is surrounded by nine painters who are depicting various episodes of his life. Only the painter who stands directly opposite Christ is producing a perfect imitation of it, that is, he is the only one fashioning himself after the image of Christ. Below, the engraving is accompanied by a quote attributed to Augustine’s *De vita christiana*: ‘In vain he claimeth the name of a Christian, that doth not imitate Christ’. The phrase conflates artistic practice and moral actions, thereby illustrating the ambiguity of the concept of imitation. Whereas the act of painting, as *imitatio naturae*, refers to the lifelike representation of visible reality, in a moral context it becomes a trope for the *imitatio Christi*. This relationship, though not a Jesuit invention, is established explicitly in the preface of the book.<sup>26</sup>

The act of painting, and the motif of the ‘picturing soul’ that became popular in the illustrated spiritual literature of the Jesuits, is not a mere trope for assimilating and conforming one’s soul to the image of Christ but is closely connected to a practice of ‘mindful’ seeing. Thus, the Roman master of Jesuit



**FIGURE 5.** Theodor Galle, *Orbita probitatis ad Christi imitationem veridico christiano subserviens*, in Jan David, *Veridicus Christianus*, Antwerp: Plantin-Moretus, 1601. Zürich, ETH-Bibliothek.

novices Bartolomeo Ricci (1542–1613) demanded diligence in meditation. In his *Instruzione di meditare*, a comprehensive prayer manual published in Rome in 1600, he takes the painter as an example, since he has to raise his eyes repeatedly from the panel, look at his model, pause, check, recheck, and double check any lines he has drawn. The painter's work embodies, so to speak, a school of seeing:

The diligence for contemplating and imitating the episodes of the life of our Lord, I want that we learn it from those practising the art of painting. They place the thing from which they want to make an image before their eyes. At first they carefully *watch* the part where they intend to start, *watching* it again and *rewatching* it for several times; then they finally begin to set the first brush stroke on the canvas; and in the middle of the stroke they stop and *watch* again, to see, if they set the stroke well, following the brush stroke, they *look* again, and together they paint *watching*, and once finished the stroke they *look* again to control if they have painted correctly: and so they go on and on, until they all painted it perfectly.<sup>27</sup>

Ricci's detailed comparison and wide-ranging use of verbs associated with the subject of vision show that his main concerns lie not so much with the finished painting but with the accurate, scrutinizing eye of the painter that ultimately leads to the perfect image. Thus, Ricci makes use of his artistic knowledge, a 'pictorial artifice' (Walter S. Melion), to instruct the practitioner in devotional issues.<sup>28</sup> Ricci further relates the different stages of artistic creation to the three types of spiritual man. The drawing of outlines ('il Contornare') corresponds to the beginners who have not yet overcome their passions and whose wills only superficially resemble that of Christ. The first draft in which colour is sketchily applied to the panel ('l'Abbozzare') resembles the proficient practitioner, who with increasing practice is able to bend his will. The completion of the picture ('il finire, polire, e dar perfettione di tutto punto') by means of a delicate and smooth application of colour is like the perfect practitioner whose life and deeds utterly equal those of Christ.

Ricci goes on to provide further information for the understanding of this comparison by exegetically connecting the artistic work of the painter with the biblical passage of 2 Corinthians 3:18: 'But we all, with unveiled face, beholding as in a glass [*speculantes*] the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image [*in eandem imaginem transformamur*] from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord.' Augustine had already connected this exegesis with 1 Corinthians 13:12, the second important biblical passage with regard to the mirror: 'For now we see through a glass [*speculum*] darkly; but then face to face. Now I know in part; then shall I know even as also I am known.' He concludes that 'speculantes' means seeing through a mirror (*speculum*) and not seeing from a lookout (*specula*) — confusion had arisen from the similarity of the two words in Latin, but not in the Greek original.<sup>29</sup>

Speculation then, the gaze into the mirror, not only means permanent self-correction but also a transformation of the soul into an image.<sup>30</sup> As the painter has to keep observing his model and compare it with his representation on the canvas, so the reader should contemplate the life of Christ. We



have to draw the outlines of our works and deeds on the canvas of our person ('nel quadro della nostra persona'), that is, the soul, and consider if they conform to those of the exemplary model.<sup>31</sup> Referring to 2 Corinthians 3:18, Ricci describes the transformation of the self in line with Augustine as the transformation into an image:

For Paul could as well have said that with the "brush of the will" in our hand and with the fine colours of impeccable virtue, we continuously improve our image. In so doing, it is not sufficient to represent Christ as we choose. Rather, we should aim at such a likeness as not merely to appear like him, but to be transfigured into him. We should not only be effigy, but form. However, Paul did not express it this way but in the words: we are changed into the same image.<sup>32</sup>

### **Normative Imagery in Andrea Pozzo's Corridor in the Casa Professa**

The pictorial decoration of the corridor in the Casa Professa in Rome, once seat of the Curia Generalis, also offers evidence of Ignatius's normativity. The window-lined corridor, which leads to the rooms where Ignatius lived, worked, and died, is decorated with a painted cycle of his life. It was begun by Jacques Courtois (1621–76) around 1661 and completed by the Jesuit lay brother Andrea Pozzo (1642–1709) between 1682 and 1686.<sup>33</sup> Despite this visual and semantic richness, also in terms of Jesuit imagery, I will focus on

**FIGURE 6.** Andrea Pozzo, *Corridoio di S. Ignazio* (left sidewall), ca 1682–86. Rome, Casa Professa.

the fresco of the end wall in which the typology of material and spiritual images converge **FIGURES 6, 7**.

The fresco at the end of the corridor shows an illusionistic opening onto a domed chapel framed by a painted *serliana*. Two angels sit at its entrance playing music on stringed instruments. At the back of the chapel, we see the altarpiece with a full-length depiction of Ignatius wrapped in a black habit and standing on a pedestal. The putto leaning against the pedestal points to the inscription 'S. Ignazio Ora Pro No[bi]S', which echoes the second inscription of the altar below, 'S. P. Ignatius S[ocietatis]. I[esu]. F[undatoris]'. Ignatius looks out at the viewer (incidentally, the only image of Ignatius in the corridor that directly engages with the beholder) with his right hand raised in a gesture of blessing, while holding his attribute, the open book, in his left hand. He is receiving a crown from angels. Unlike the other depictions of images within images down the corridor, which were all executed in fresco, the altarpiece was realized in tempera on canvas (and is to the best of my knowledge the only example in Pozzo's oeuvre). The rupture between the matt fresco and the painted altarpiece is further emphasized by the addition of a wooden frame that projects approximately one centimetre from the wall. This rupture of the surface undermines the fresco's painted illusionism and stresses the altarpiece's own aesthetic value. The frame does not have a decorative or protective function, but rather heightens the status of the image as image. As studies by Georg Simmel, Louis Marin, and, more recently, by Vera Beyer have shown, the central feature of the frame is its capacity to define a visual field that creates an inner unity while at the same time separating itself from the viewer and his environment.<sup>34</sup> Simmel speaks of an 'antithesis against us and synthesis towards itself' ('Antithese gegen uns und Synthese in sich').<sup>35</sup> The frame underscores the difference between the painted reality and the reality of the beholder, while its gilding reflecting the light constitutes an aura of holiness.

The framing device (as well as the golden background of the altarpiece and the use of tempera on wood) was inspired by the presentation of religious icons, such as the *Salus populi romani* in the Pauline Chapel in Santa Maria Maggiore, the most popular Roman icon that was greatly venerated by the Jesuits. In both cases, the tectonic composition, through the materiality of the frame, can likewise be described as an image within an image. This display stressed the nature of the image as sign that pointed to the subject depicted now in heaven, or as the archbishop of Bologna, Gabriele Paleotti (1522–97), in his *Discorso intorno alle immagini sacre e profane*, put it:

we venerate them [images] not for themselves but for what they represent, whatever material they may have been formed from, because their nobility is not measured by the material they are made of but by what they represent.<sup>36</sup>

The artistic display as image creates an awareness of the image's specific qualities, such as the notion of likeness (*similitudo*) that was understood as the very essence of the image.<sup>37</sup> Although all pictorial representations in the early modern period are characterized by likeness, this is all the more true regarding religious icons, as they are usually considered to be portraits — in the



**FIGURE 7.** Andrea Pozzo,  
*Corridoio di S. Ignazio (end-wall)*,  
ca 1682–86. Rome, Casa Professa.

case of the *Salus populi romani*, painted by Saint Luke himself. According to Hans Georg Gadamer, the portrait is an ‘intensification of what constitutes the essence of all pictures.’<sup>38</sup>

Although the reference to religious icons is obvious, Pozzo’s depiction of the *imago Ignatii* subverts the expectations of the beholder. The archaizing elements, such as the axial alignment, the gold ground, and the use of egg tempera, are typical compositional, formal, and technical principles of religious icons.<sup>39</sup> But the representation of Ignatius is rather unusual. He is depicted full length; the usual strict front view is abandoned, as is the typical flatness of the depiction. Instead, Ignatius has a pronounced physicality that is produced by the chiaroscuro modelling of the drapery coming from the light falling from the upper right corner. Finally, the *contrapposto* emerging under his black robe adds an element of movement and enhances the impression of liveliness. The ‘ontological’ status of Ignatius thus remains somewhat blurred. Pozzo did not intend to create an ‘illusion’ of Ignatius actually standing on a pedestal (the same applies to the angels with their musical instruments, even though the beholder assigns them to another layer of pictorial reality). The painted sculptures in the pendentives of the *serliana* and on the altar pediment further clarify that he is not being depicted as a statue either. The question is then how we should understand the specificity of this representation? In what terms might a Jesuit beholder have conceived this kind of image?

As mere likeness (*similitudo*) seems insufficient to describe Pozzo’s *imago Ignatii*, I suggest introducing the notion of lifelikeness (*verosimilitudo*).<sup>40</sup> The concepts are related to each other, but there are significant differences. Whereas ‘likeness’ is a more philosophical term with a strong epistemological notion, ‘lifelikeness’ or ‘liveliness’ is a criterion of visual rhetoric that relates to *enargeia*, the capacity of the orator to make something present to the inner eyes of the imagination in order to involve the audience emotionally. As I have shown elsewhere, the concept of a vivid lifelike presence is crucial both for early modern art and art theory and also for the spiritual context of Jesuit mental prayer. Since Paleotti, (sacred) art and meditation converge in their aim to arouse an emotional response in the viewer.<sup>41</sup> Lifelike representation played a crucial role in the epistemological and art-theoretical considerations of the Jesuit Sforza Pallavicino (1607–67).<sup>42</sup> According to Pallavicino, the mimetic arts appeal initially to the *prima apprensione*, a pre-rational and pre-discursive act of cognition. Unlike judgment (*giudizio*) and reasoning (*discorso*), the *prima apprensione* does not judge the truth or falseness of an object but simply perceives its presence. For painting to appeal to the *prima apprensione*, *verosimilitudo* is necessary. Only a *verosimile* depiction evokes an impression of liveliness thereby involving the beholder in the event depicted. Thus, a painting of the tormented Christ is not intended to evoke an illusion of Christ before us, but to produce an inner image that has the power to stir us emotionally.<sup>43</sup> Pallavicino refers to Quintilian’s remarks on *enargeia*: to emotionally involve the audience, the orator has to depict the event in a lively way by accurately describing the exact circumstances close to the truth.<sup>44</sup>

Besides its relevance in Sforza Pallavicino’s image theory, the notion of liveliness and *verosimilitudo* also became relevant in the context of the *imitatio Ignatii* — even though more research needs to be done to discover

whether this can be considered to be a direct influence of Pallavacino's writings. In the *Sermoni domestici*, for example, Gian Paolo Oliva (1600–1681), the Jesuits' superior general during whose period in office Pozzo arrived in Rome, exhorts the Jesuit novices to transform themselves according to the teachings of the Gospels and the image of Christ on the cross, taking Ignatius as their example. In general, all acts of virtue and all the good inclinations that the novices will experience must transform them into living effigies of men consumed by goodness.<sup>45</sup> Daniello Bartoli's (1608–85) foreword in his *Della Vita e dell'Istituto di S. Ignatio* initially states that Ignatius's life is the proper form of living, his examples are the rules of behaviour.<sup>46</sup> He explains with reference to Pliny's *Natural History* that great men who earned merit for their good deeds toward their fellow human beings make people want to know their facial features and expressions. Images are formed based on old memories. If perfect conformity to the image is not possible, at least one should make efforts to achieve as much likeness as possible regarding those characteristics that we know about, a claim that certainly reminded the Jesuit reader of Ribadeneira's demand that they should at least imitate Ignatius's shadow if they are not capable of fully conforming with the prototype.<sup>47</sup> Bartoli goes on to say that history is certainly better than painting (which merely illustrates the surfaces of bodies) because it can represent the inner features and depict them in many different ways since there are many different actions and deeds narrated by history. As with a perfect portrait, in which no line and no brush stroke, however small, is superfluous if it derives from the subject, and each of which is needed to depict him exactly, so in describing the lives of great men, some details taken on their own seem pointless, but within the integral composition of a beautiful whole, they increase in value and gain much importance.<sup>48</sup> With reference to Luis Gonçalves da Câmara's *Memoriale*, basically a detailed account of Ignatius's everyday life, actions, and behavior, Bartoli argues that with regard to the desire for self-perfection, better than any lesson or meditation is to look upon the image of Ignatius's life as he himself carefully crafted it. Especially since, as we now live in a different age, the only possibility we have is to contemplate him in an image, as a reflection so to speak, which should be as similar as possible to the truth.<sup>49</sup>

Pozzo's unusual depiction can be understood as an aesthetic *contrapposto* that continuously oscillates between presence and representation.<sup>50</sup> The lifelikeness corresponds to Paleotti's ideal of the sacred image as an 'imagine fatto al vivo' and is directed to the *prima apprensione* where its evidence — that is to say, its presence created through inner images — is able to arouse emotions within the beholder.<sup>51</sup> It served as a starting point to think about the Ignatian *forma vitae*, that is, his life, deeds, and virtues in rational and discursive ways. Thus, the antithetical structure stimulates both the heart and the mind of the beholder, which are both necessary for conversion and Christian perfection. The gesture of Ignatius, which Evonne Levy might call 'interpellative', went beyond the aesthetic boundary of the image and prompted the Jesuit beholder to transform himself into a living image of Ignatius.

## Notes

- 1 The *Flos Sanctorum* was first published in 1599 in Spanish. I used the Italian edition, translated by Grazio Maria Grazi: see Pedro Ribadeneira, *Flos Sanctorum, cioè, Vite de' santi [...] diviso in due parti*, Venice: Giunti, 1656, p. a iii [r]; on the metaphorical use of the mirror, see Herbert Grabes, *Speculum, Mirror und Looking-Glass: Kontinuität und Originalität der Spiegelmetapher in den Buchtiteln des Mittelalters und der englischen Literatur des 13. bis 17. Jahrhunderts*, Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1973, esp. pp. 157–63.
- 2 Ignatius of Loyola, *A Pilgrim's Journey: The Autobiography of Ignatius of Loyola*, trans. by Joseph N. Tylenda, San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2001, p. 47.
- 3 Pedro Ribadeneira, *Vita del P. Ignatio Loiola, fondatore della Religione della Compagnia di Giesu*, Venice: Appresso i Gioliti, 1587, [b iii r]–[b viii v], “A' li carissimi fratelli in Christo della Compagnia di Giesu”, p. [b v r-v]: ‘così medesimamente noi havendo dalla mano di Dio Nostro Signore ricevuto il nostro Padre Ignatio per guida, per maestro, per duce, e capitano di questa sacra milita; dobbiamo prenderlo per ispecchio della vita nostra, e procurar con tutte le nostre forze di seguirlo’. The first edition was published in 1572 without imprimatur, and was exclusively for the private use for the members of the Jesuit Order. On the history of this edition, see Pietro Tacchi Venturi, “Della prima edizione della vita del N. S. P. Ignazio scritta dal P. Pietro Ribadeneira: Note storiche e bibliografiche”, offprint from *Lettere edificanti della Provincia Napoletana*, s. 9, 1 (1900); it was translated into many languages and published in numerous editions. Until the dissolution of the Jesuits in 1773 it remained the most important biography of the founder; cf. Ursula König-Nordhoff, *Ignatius von Loyola: Studien zur Entwicklung einer neuen Heiligen-Ikonographie im Rahmen einer Kanonisationskampagne um 1600*, Berlin: Mann, 1982, pp. 45–46.
- 4 Ribadeneira, *Vita del P. Ignatio Loiola*, p. 8.
- 5 Ignatius of Loyola, *A Pilgrim's Journey*, p. 189.
- 6 Ribadeneira, *Vita del P. Ignatio Loiola*, p. 9: ‘et imitare il buon Giesù nostro capitano, e signore, e gli altri santi parimente; i quali per haver imitato Christo, meritano degnamente di esser da noi altresì imitati’.
- 7 Regarding Thomas à Kempis's *Imitation of Christ*, Ribadeneira similarly reports Ignatius had internalized it so much that his life can be described as a perfect example of what the book contains; see Ribadeneira, *Vita del P. Ignatio Loiola*, p. 86: ‘la vita d'ignatio (come mi diceva un servo di Dio) non era altro, che un perfettissimo esemplare di tutto quello, che si contiene in quel libro’. See Evonne A. Levy, “Jesuit Identity, Identifiable Jesuits? Jesuit Dress in Theory and Image”, in *Le Monde est une Peinture: Jesuitische Identität und die Rolle der Bilder*, ed. by Elisabeth Oy-Marra and Volker Remmert, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2011, 127–52 (p. 131).
- 8 Cited after John W. O'Malley, *Constructing a Saint through Images: The 1609 Illustrated Biography of Ignatius of Loyola*, Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2008, p. 65.
- 9 Ribadeneira, *Vita del P. Ignatio Loiola*, [b viii v]: ‘dobbiamo sempre noi tener avanti, et affisar gli occhi in quel terso, e lucido specchio d'heroiche, e singolari virtù, che l'accompagnavano, et abbellivano: accioché la vita di lui ci sia come un'esemplare, e come una vera, e perfettissima norma del nostro Instituto, e della vocazione’ (my translation).
- 10 Ursula König-Nordhoff, “Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Vita Beati P. Ignatii Loiolae Societatis Iesu Fundatoris: Romae 1609 und 1622”, *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, 45 (1976), 306–17; König-Nordhoff, *Ignatius von Loyola*; O'Malley, *Constructing a Saint through Images*.
- 11 Compare Evonne A. Levy, *Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004.
- 12 Compare König-Nordhoff, *Ignatius von Loyola*, pp. 101, 255–56; on Villamena, see Dorothee Kühn-Hattenhauer, “Das grafische Oeuvre des Francesco Villamena”, PhD diss., Freie Universität Berlin, 1979.
- 13 On the iconography of the vision of La Storta in relation to the spiritual paradigm of the carrying of the cross, see Steffen Zierholz, “*Conformitas crucis Christi*: Zum Motiv der Kreuzesnachfolge in der jesuitischen Druckgrafik des 17. Jahrhunderts im Licht der Vision von La Storta”, *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, 86 (2017), 49–99.
- 14 Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, trans. by H. Rackmann, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1952, XXXV, p. 15. Pliny does not inform us about the source of the light, but Quintilian states that the shadow of a man was outlined by the sun (*Institutio Oratoria* X, 2, 7). On the origins of painting, see Gerhard Wolf, “The Origins of Painting”, RES: *Anthropology and Aesthetics*, 39 (1999), 60–78, and Tim Otto Roth, *Körper, Projektion, Bild: Eine Kulturgeschichte der Schattenbilder*, Paderborn: Fink, 2015.
- 15 Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, XXXV, p. 43.
- 16 Joachim von Sandrart, *L'Academia todesca della Architettura, Scultura, & Pittura*, Nuremberg: Johann-Philipp Miltenberger, 1675, II, p. 2.
- 17 Victor I. Stoichiță, *A Short History of the Shadow*, London: Reaktion Books, 1997, pp. 12–20.
- 18 Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo, *Idea of the Temple of Painting*, ed. and trans. by Jean Julia Chai, University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013, pp. 126–27.
- 19 Ribadeneira, *Vita del P. Ignatio Loiola*, p. [b v v]: ‘che se per la nostra debolezza non potremo così al vivo, e così propriamente ricavarne il ritratto delle sue molte et eccellenti virtù; almeno imitiamo l'ombra, et i vestigi di esse’.
- 20 On Sucquet and his *Via vitae aeternae*, see Jeffrey Chipps Smith, *Sensuous Worship: Jesuits and the Art of the Early Catholic Reformation in Germany*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002, pp. 23–27; and Anne-Katrin Sors, “Allegorische Andachtsbücher in Antwerpen: Jan Davids Texte und Theodoor Galles Illustrationen in den jesuitischen Buchprojekten der Plantiniana”, PhD diss., Göttingen University, 2015, pp. 145–75.
- 21 Levy, “Jesuit Identity”, pp. 127–52.
- 22 Compare Hugo Rahner, “Inigo und Ignatius”, in Rahner, *Ignatius von Loyola als Mensch und Theologe*, Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1964, 31–43 (pp. 40–43); see also Christian Hecht, *Die Glorie: Begriff, Thema, Bildelement in der europäischen Sakralkunst vom Mittelalter bis zum Ausgang des Barock*, Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2003, pp. 261–68; and Christian Hecht, “Der ‘Concetto’ von Andrea Pozzos Langhausfresko in S. Ignazio”, in *Andrea Pozzo (1642–1709): Der Maler-Architekt und die Räume der Jesuiten*, ed. by Herbert Karner, Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2012, pp. 37–43.
- 23 Ribadeneira, *Vita del P. Ignatio Loiola*, p. [b iiiii v].
- 24 Antoine Sucquet, *Via vitae aeternae, Iconibus illustrata per Boëtium a Bolswert. Editio Septima, auctior et castigatior, et novissima*, Antwerp: Henricum Aertssium, 1620, p. 429.
- 25 Compare Ralph Dekoninck, *Ad imaginem: Statuts, fonctions, et usages de*

- l'immagine dans la littérature spirituelle jésuite du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle, Geneva: Droz, 2005, pp. 194–96; Walter S. Melion, *The Meditative Art: Studies in the Northern Devotional Print, 1550–1625*, Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2009, p. 339; Christine Göttler, *Last Things: Art and the Religious Imagination in the Age of Reform*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2010, pp. 201–3.
- 26 Jan David, *Veridicus Christianus*, Antwerp: Plantin-Moretus, 1601, p. 353.
- 27 Bartolomeo Ricci, *Istruzione di meditare*, Rome: Luigi Zannetti, 1600, p. 43: 'La diligenza finalmente che dobbiamo mettere in considerare gli andamenti di N. S. et imitarli, voglio, che la impariamo da quelli che fanno l'arte del dipingere, li quali postasi inanzi la cosa di che vogliono fare il ritratto, mirano prima ben bene la parte, dalla quale intendono di cominciare, e rimiratala, e tornati a rimirarla piu volte, cominciano finalmente a tirar la prima pennellata nel loro quadro; e nel mezzo del tirarla si fermano, e rimirano di nuovo, per vedere, se la tirano bene, e seguendo poi la pennellata, tornano a guardare, et insieme mirando la tirano, e finita di tirare, ritornano a riguardarla, per chiarirsi se l'abbiano tirata giusto. E cosi van facendo di mano in mano, in fin che la ritraghino tutta perfettamente' (my emphasis).
- 28 Compare Walter S. Melion, "Pictorial Artifice and Catholic Devotion in Abraham Bloemaert's Virgin of Sorrows with the Holy Face of c. 1615", in *The Holy Face and the Paradox of Representation: Papers from a Colloquium Held at the Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome and the Villa Spelman, Florence*, 1996, ed. by Herbert L. Kessler and Gerhard Wolf, Bologna: Nuova Alfa Editoriale, 1998, 319–40 (p. 325).
- 29 Compare Augustine, *The Trinity (De trinitate)*, intro., trans., and notes by Edmund Hill, ed. by John E. Rotelle, in *The Works of Saint Augustine: A Translation for the 21st Century*, part 1, vol. 5, Hyde Park, NY: New City Press, 1991, XV, pp. 8, 14; see also Jeffrey F. Hamburger, "Speculations on Speculation: Vision and Perception in the Theory and Practice of Mystical Devotions", in *Deutsche Mystik im abendländischen Zusammenhang: Neu erschlossene Texte, neue methodische Ansätze, neue theoretische Konzepte*, ed. by Walter Haug and Wolfram Schneider-Lastin, Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2000, 353–408 (p. 369).
- 30 Niklaus Largier, "Spiegelungen: Fragmente einer Geschichte der Spekulation", *Zeitschrift für Germanistik*, 9 (1999), 616–36.
- 31 Ricci, *Istruzione di meditare*, p. 43.
- 32 *Ibid.*, pp. 46–47.
- 33 For a concise overview on the history of decoration, see Levy, *Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque*, pp. 132–50; see also Pierre-Antoine Fabre, "Un sanctuaire romain à l'âge baroque: Recherches sur le système décoratif du corridor d'entrée aux Stanzette d'Ignace de Loyola, peint par Jacques Courtois et Andrea Pozzo (1640–1688)", in *Estetica barocca*, ed. by Sebastian Schütze, Rome: Campisano 2004, 361–77; Lydia Salviucci Insolera, *Andrea Pozzo e il corridoio di S. Ignazio: Una "bellissima idea"*, Rome: Artemide, 2014.
- 34 Compare Georg Simmel, "Der Bildrahmen. Ein ästhetischer Versuch [1902]", in *Soziologische Ästhetik*, ed. by Klaus Lichtblau, Darmstadt: WBG, 1998, 97–102; Louis Marin, "Der Rahmen der Repräsentation und einige seiner Figuren", *Zeitschrift für Medien- und Kulturforschung*, 1 (2016), 75–97; Vera Beyer, *Rahmenbestimmungen: Funktionen von Rahmen bei Goya, Velázquez, van Eyck und Degas*, Paderborn and Munich: Fink, 2008.
- 35 Simmel, "Der Bildrahmen", p. 97.
- 36 Gabriele Paleotti, *Discourse on Sacred and Profane Images*, trans. by William McCuaig, Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2012, p. 134.
- 37 *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca*, Venice: Giovanni Alberti, 1612, p. 669: 'Quadro diciamo a pittura, che sia in legname, o in tela, accomodata in telaio, che non ecceda una certa altezza'. See also Paleotti, *Discourse on Sacred and Profane Images*, pp. 58–60.
- 38 Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, trans. and rev. by Joel Weinsheimer and Donald G. Marshall, London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013, p. 148.
- 39 On the display of religious icons in Rome, see Johanna Weibenberger, "Römische Mariengnadenbilder 1473–1590: Neue Altäre für alte Bilder. Zur Vorgeschichte der barocken Inszenierungen", PhD diss., Heidelberg University, 2007.
- 40 On the notion of lifelikeness with regard to the portrait bust, see Joris van Gastel, *Il marmo spirante: Sculpture and Experience in Seventeenth-century Rome*, Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2013, p. 73.
- 41 Steffen Zierholz, "'To Make Yourself Present': Jesuit Sacred Space as Energetic Space", in *Jesuit Image Theory, Intersections: Interdisciplinary Studies in Early Modern Culture* 45, ed. by Wietse de Boer, Karl A. E. Enekel, and Walter S. Melion, Leiden: Brill, 2016, 419–61 (p. 44).
- 42 Maarten Delbeke, *The Art of Religion: Sforza Pallavicino and Art Theory in Bernini's Rome*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2012.
- 43 Francesco Maria Sforza Pallavicino, *Del bene libri quattro*, Rome: Eredi di Francesco Corbelletti, 1644, pp. 456–57.
- 44 *Ibid.*, p. 459: 'Ed è ciò si vero che quest'unico precetto per la commozione degli affetti stimò giovevole all'oratore Quintiliano, precetto insegnatogli, com'ei dice, non da verun altro maestro che dalla natura e dalla esperienza. Comanda egli che l'oratore si figuri vivissimamente nel pensiero qual fatto intorno a cui vuol appassionar gli uditori, rappresentando le più minute circostanze che in esso verisimilmente intervenireo. E così prima a sé, poscia a loro il ponga davanti agli occhi con quella evidenza che non racconta, ma mostra; in virtù della quale, ardo in sé, infiammerà chi l'ascolta'. Compare Maarten Delbeke, "Art as Evidence, Evidence as Art: Bernini, Pallavicino and the Paradoxes of Zenó", in *Estetica barocca*, ed. by Sebastian Schütze, Rome: Campisano, 2004, 343–59 (p. 347).
- 45 Giovanni Paolo Oliva, *Sermoni domestici detti privatamente nelle Case Romane della Compagnia di Gesu, parte quarta*, Venice: Zaccaria Conzatti, 1673, p. 226.
- 46 Daniello Bartoli, *Della vita e dell'Istituto di S. Ignazio fondatore della compagnia di Gesu*, Rome: Domenico Manelfi, 1650, "A' lettori", unpaginated.
- 47 *Ibid.*, unpaginated: 'E a dire il vero, se de' grandi huomini, nati al mondo per gloria, e vissuti per publico bene de' posterì, rimane una certa brama di sapere, che lineamenti di fattezze, e che aria di volto portassero, e se ne formano su le antiche memorie le imagini, e dove d'alcun non possa esprimersi copia al naturale, se ne lavora sul verisimile alcuna confaccione al concetto, che si ha del suo genio [...]'.  
48 *Ibid.*, unpaginated: 'al certo, meglio che dalla dipintura, che solo effigia la superficie de' corpi, ciò si ha dall'istoria, che ne rappresenta le fattezze dell'animo; e in tante e si varie attitudini cel disegna, quanti sono gli atti, e le opere, che di lui, scrivendo, racconta. Hor come nelle copie de' volti al naturale, non v'è tratto di linea, né botta di penello, per minuta ch'ella sia, che possa dirsi soperchia, se si ricava dall'esemplare, e serve a figurarcel più desso, così nel descriver le vite de' grandi huomini, certe minutie, che, se si mirano da sé sole, sono presso che nulla, come concorrenti all'intera formazione d'un bel tutto, crescon di pregio, e riescono di gran conto'.  
49 *Ibid.*, unpaginated: 'il solo mettersi innanzi a' pensieri l'immagine d'Ignazio quale

l'esatta considerazione, che del suo vivere  
aveva fatto, glie la rappresentava alla  
memoria [...]. Hor'a noi, portati dal tempo a  
nascere si discosto da lui, che altro rimane,  
se non mirarlo come di riflesso, in imagine,  
quanto più si può, simile al vero, cioè un  
intero, e fedel racconto delle memorie, che  
di lui ci lasciarono i nostri antipassati?

50 On the contrapposto as a rhetorical  
term, see David Summers, "Contrapposto:  
Style and Meaning in Renaissance Art", *The  
Art Bulletin*, 59:3 (1977), 336–61.

51 Compare Paleotti, *Discourse on  
Sacred and Profane Images*, p. 121; on  
this passage, see also Christine Göttler,  
"The Temptation of the Senses at the  
Sacro Monte di Varallo", in *Religion and  
the Senses in Early Modern Europe*, ed.  
by Wietse de Boer and Christine Göttler,  
Leiden: Brill, 2013, 393–451.

# III. The Norm and the Copy



# In between Sacred Space and Collection: An Altarpiece from Augsburg and the Norms of Catholic Art around 1600

**Antonia Putzger**

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The 1627–30 inventory of the Munich Chamber Gallery (*Kammergalerie*) contains a noteworthy description of two paintings:

Ein alte uberhöchte Tafel, darauf das Opffer der Heyligen Drey Khönigen mit Contrafetischen gesichtern, wol gemallt, ist 4 Schuech 3 Zoll hoch, und 2 Schuech 4 1/2 Zoll brait, zue rugg mit N°. 19 bezaichnet.

Gleicher manier und grösse, ein andere solche Tafel, darauf die Weyhenachten, gleichsfahls mit Contrafetischen Gesichtern Anno 1510 gemalt, mit N°. 20.<sup>1</sup>

This record brings to attention a rare case: two panel paintings that entered this exclusive collection of Duke Maximilian I of Bavaria despite the apparent lack of an attribution to a known artist.<sup>2</sup> The reference to their painterly qualities — ‘well made’ and with ‘realistic’ or ‘portrait-like’ faces, both panels done in the same ‘manner’ — points to the fact that Duke Maximilian, known as a collector for his pursuit of works by Albrecht Dürer,<sup>3</sup> was also interested in other works dating back to the time of Dürer, and valued older paintings for certain aesthetic qualities even if their maker could not be named. The transition of these early sixteenth-century paintings from a sacred space to a ducal collection, and their peculiar replacement in their original context, at the Augsburg Augustinian monastery of Heilig Kreuz, will be the subject of my chapter.

As an opening, I would like to recall an alleged shift of paradigms that played a seminal role in the study of medieval and early modern art in the past decades: the ‘art versus cult question’. It was Hans Belting who once proposed a shift from the veneration of miraculous sacred images to the admiration of images for their artful design, which he located around the time of the Reformation.<sup>4</sup> This thesis has been taken up and developed by many, for example by Victor Stoichiță in his history of the self-aware ‘art’ image, which liberated itself from sacred functions to star in early modern collections.<sup>5</sup> The clarity of the categories defined by Belting and Stoichiță — the artless and sacred image versus the autonomous and self-aware artwork that merely uses Christian subject matter to display artistic capacity — can be fruitfully employed but also questioned, and by now the need for more nuanced in-between models has become apparent.

Two approaches, in particular, have served to fine-tune the ‘art versus cult paradigm’ from two rather different angles. First, by drawing on research on the authorities that prescribed and guarded normative systems for correct images (for example, the seminal studies by Christine Göttler and Christian Hecht), we can question the simple categories of sacred versus profane images and sacred space versus princely collection.<sup>6</sup> These and other studies show that in the confessional period the aesthetic evaluation of sacred art goes hand in hand with its functions in different contexts.<sup>7</sup> Second, Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood review late medieval and early modern art and art reception on a large scale in terms of their anachronic characteristics and functions, looking at the individual artefact as a token in a long chain of replicas representing or referring to the same type.<sup>8</sup> Their proposal of a rather slower and less complete change from the ‘substitutive’ to the ‘authorial’

artefact, ‘two competitive models of the origins of art [...] held in suspension’ by the artwork,<sup>9</sup> does not rely on religious sea changes but on a technical and medial revolution, namely, the possibility of multiple reproduction by means of print. I will take up this important change of perspective for my argument.

Finally, the confessionalized reception and the reproduction history of artworks dating back to pre-Reformation times allows for conclusions about larger normative changes in image reception and production.<sup>10</sup> My aim is to show that despite the appeal of overarching grand narratives and paradigm shifts, we cannot answer systematic questions on the status of art or the relations of aesthetic and theological norms for images in the early modern period without detailed work on individual cases. The case of the pre-Reformation sacred donation from Augsburg, discussed in the following, involves and encompasses the mentioned categories and unravels a process of normative change involving two institutions: sacred space and collection.

### The Panels in Karlsruhe and Paris

The case of the two panels listed by the Munich Chamber Gallery inventory unravels rather nicely: the old inventory number ‘20’, which was formerly to be found on the back of a panel of the *Nativity* now in Karlsruhe **FIGURE 1**, points to this painting’s provenance from the Munich Chamber Gallery.<sup>11</sup> The verso of this panel depicts the *Annunciation* in the top register and the *Ascension of Christ* below **FIGURE 2**. Another panel in the Louvre, depicting an *Epiphany* **FIGURE 3**, has been stripped of its painted rear side but can be paired with the Karlsruhe painting for stylistic congruences, sameness of scale, and similarities in terms of composition. Since the 1920s, both panels have been attributed to the Augsburg painter Ulrich Apt the Elder (ca 1460–1532).<sup>12</sup> From today’s point of view, the panels are reminiscent of some fifteenth-century Netherlandish paintings, and seem rather archaic with respect to the moment of their production when compared with the work of well-known contemporaries, such as Albrecht Dürer. Indeed, a similar assessment may already have affected their description as ‘old’ in the Munich inventory.

As for their prior context, the panels have been recognized as former wings of a foldable altarpiece, which is mentioned in an early seventeenth-century source from the monastery of Heilig Kreuz in Augsburg: a chronicle, written from 1603 onward by the Augustinian canon Gregor Aberzhauser, relates that the altarpiece in question was donated in 1510 by the Augsburg patrician Martin Weiß and his wife, Elisabeth Fackler.<sup>13</sup>



**FIGURE 1.** Ulrich Apt the Elder (attr.), *Nativity*, ca 1510. Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle.



**FIGURE 2.** *Annunciation and Ascension of Christ*, verso of Ulrich Apt the Elder (attr.), *Nativity* (fig. 1), ca 1510. Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle.



**FIGURE 3.** Ulrich Apt the Elder (attr.), *Epiphany*, ca 1510. Paris, Louvre.



**FIGURE 4.** After Ulrich Apt the Elder, *Nativity*, ca 1609. London, Royal Collection, Hampton Court Palace.



**FIGURE 5.** After Ulrich Apt the Elder, *Epiphany*, ca 1609. Private collection.

A number of visible and written links support the connection of the Louvre and Karlsruhe panels with the altarpiece mentioned by Aberzhauser: the left king of the *Epiphany* has been recognized as a cryptoportrait of the donor, Martin Weiß,<sup>14</sup> and it resembles Weiß's depiction in a later epitaph by Leonhard Beck from Augsburg cathedral.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, another written source from Heilig Kreuz gives us the decisive link to the Wittelsbach ducal collection: in 1609 Wilhelm V, Duke Maximilian's father and predecessor, specifically requested two wings of an altarpiece from the Augsburg monastery and offered to pay 120 guilders for their replacement. At the time, it seems, the altarpiece was believed to be by Hans Holbein.<sup>16</sup> Apparently, the middle panel or shrine of the altarpiece in question has not survived. It is recorded in the *Chronikon* of 1603 to have shown an assumption of Mary with a flock of admiring angels lifting her cloak, playing citharas and flutes.<sup>17</sup>

In fact, it was not uncommon at the time for high-ranking princes to request altarpieces, or parts thereof, from sacred spaces, and to insert them in one way or another into their collections. Also, it was not the first time that substitute copies were offered to replace the originals: in fact, this strategy had been employed by King Philipp II of Spain and by his aunt Mary of Hungary in the sixteenth century, more recently (in 1607–9) by the Roman cardinal Scipione Borghese, and possibly by many others.<sup>18</sup> In the following years, Maximilian I of Bavaria tried to implement this practice on a larger scale, thus appropriating Dürer's *Paumgartner* and *Heller Altarpieces* in 1613–14, while planning to acquire yet others.<sup>19</sup> All known cases point to the noteworthy fact that those — by then rather old — sacred paintings were held in high regard in princely collections, whereas the copies were considered adequate for the sacred context. However, further interpretation of this phenomenon is not as straightforward as one may think: the simple equation of originals and collectible artworks on the one hand, and of copies and non-art sacred images on the other, does not fully hold.

### The Substitute Copies

As the sources tell us, in the 'Heilig Kreuz case', copies were indeed made to replace the wings before they were transferred to Munich, but they do not survive in their original location in the church of the monastery to this day.<sup>20</sup> A copy of the Karlsruhe *Nativity* has found its way into the British Royal Collection **FIGURE 4**.<sup>21</sup> A copy of the Paris *Epiphany* was once housed in the Augsburg Stadtmuseum; an old black and white image shows it as a rather faithful imitation of the panel in the Louvre **FIGURE 5**.<sup>22</sup> There is good reason to identify these two panels as the Heilig Kreuz substitute wings made in 1609, since no other faithful and full-scale copies of these panels are known, and it seems unlikely that many such copies would have been made of this little-known work.

The Royal Collection copy shows a similar degree of faithfulness to its model as the Augsburg copy, but it has been cut down in size in the course of its own collection history.<sup>23</sup> The golden layer shimmering through in the upper right corner confirms the copyist's attempt to come close to the

model, visually and also in terms of material value, since the original panel is partially painted on a gilded background.<sup>24</sup> It was even more surprising, therefore, to discover that the rather damaged back of the panel **FIGURE 6** hardly resembles the back of the original panel at all **FIGURE 2**. It takes up the theme of the Annunciation, but presents it in a rather Italianized, early baroque fashion more characteristic of the early seventeenth century and therefore of the time when the replacement panel was painted. In fact, this compact *Annunziata* with her large, round eyes, her soft and rosy features as well as the colouring and shading of her clothes exhibits characteristics of Hans Rottenhammer's style: the comparison with Rottenhammer's later wall painting of *Augusta* in the town hall of Augsburg **FIGURE 7** supports this suspicion. Unfortunately, the written sources from Heilig Kreuz remain silent on the maker of the substitute panels, but they do record Hans Rottenhammer as having been paid for another altarpiece for the Heilig Kreuz church in 1610, which could make him and his workshop a likely candidate for the commission of the copies.<sup>25</sup>

The evidence discussed so far shows that the commissioner of the copy decided to faithfully represent the inner scenes of the altar wings, whereas the outside view was renewed and modernized to contemporary taste, potentially by a rather well-known Augsburg painter and his workshop. But why not treat all parts of the substitute wings in an equal manner? Maybe the decision to closely imitate the inner scenes points to the wish to maintain an aesthetic coherence with the remaining middle part of the altarpiece. Furthermore, one may have wished to retain the depiction of the donor and of other important Augsburg citizens as a reference to the time and purpose of the altarpiece's making; in fact, Martin Weiß's cryptoportrait points to the altarpiece's role as the flagship piece of a larger donation for the soul (*Seelenstiftung*), set up to last until long after the donors' death and to guarantee weekly masses for their soul in purgatory.<sup>26</sup> Therefore, it would have been the institutional duty of the monastery to maintain the donation according to the donor's prescriptions. Without going more deeply into the intricacies of religious donations, it must be said that technically the altar panels did not belong to the Augustinian canons of Heilig Kreuz and were not theirs to give away. The substitute copies presented a solution to this dilemma because they guaranteed that the 100-year-old religious donation remained intact and recognizably in place.

It would seem, however, that the replacement of the altarpiece's outside followed different rules. Although some iconographic continuity with the



**FIGURE 6.** Unknown artist (possibly Hans Rottenhammer/workshop), *Annunciation* (fragment), verso of *Nativity* (fig. 4), 1609. London, Royal Collection, Hampton Court Palace.



**FIGURE 7.** Hans Rottenhammer, *Augusta*, 1619–20. Augsburg, Rathaus.

previous panels was maintained by showing the Virgin Mary of an Annunciation scene, it was renewed in terms of formal appearance. This renewal does not simply attest to an artistic freedom on behalf of its maker, but to a set of aesthetic and religious norms that were at play: it does not copy the old altar wing, but this *Annunziata* is based on a more recent specific model. The pose, gesture, and dress folds show her dependence on an altarpiece in Munich: Pieter Candid's *Annunciation* (1587) in the Jesuit church of Saint Michael, which had also been commissioned by Wilhelm V **FIGURE 8**.<sup>27</sup> Even so, this model was copied neither directly from Candid's altarpiece nor by the traditional means of a drawing: it was transferred via a reproduction print by Jan Sadeler **FIGURE 9**. Some features the Royal Collection panel shares with the print but not with the Candid altarpiece, such as the flow of the Virgin's dress and the shape of the aureola around her head, indicate this clearly. Thus, a two-step transmission and a change of media between the model, transmitting agent and copy has occurred, leading to a result that is not a close copy after Pieter Candid in terms of style and format, but still a recognizable remanifestation of this image. The rather close dependence on the Sadeler print allows for an educated guess at what the remaining parts of the renewed outside may have looked like: a large *Annunciation* scene must have spanned both wings thus forming a continuous image across the two panels. The original *Epiphany* panel probably

showed two smaller scenes from the passion of Christ or the life of Mary on its rear side (now lost), but the back of its missing copy must have depicted the other half of the *Annunciation* scene, i.e. the arrival of the archangel Gabriel.

The iconography of the Annunciation was under particular scrutiny by Counter-Reformation theologians, a fact that demands a little excursus. As is well known, in the so-called confessional age (*Konfessionelles Zeitalter*) one encounters a bundle of questions concerning religious images. Protestant theologians questioned the value of religious pictures as such or even their right to exist at all, but for Catholics the question was rather what purposes pictures should serve, how they should be looked at, and what they should look like.<sup>28</sup> The debate about what images — religious or profane, a distinction that came up precisely during that time — should look like implied yet two further questions: What should they look like in terms of content or, to use the traditional art-historical terminology, iconography? How should they look in terms of aesthetic representation or style? Following the last session of the Council of Trent in 1563, Catholic image theory, or indeed 'picture theology' (*Bildertheologie*), of the Counter-Reformation had debated the correct representation of several established Christian subjects.<sup>29</sup> Among others, the Italian bishop Gabriele Paleotti and the Netherlandish theologian Johannes Molanus contributed significantly to this debate.<sup>30</sup>

Returning to our case study, this means that when drawing more attention to the *Annunciation* scene by stretching it across both altar wings, a set

of norms had to be respected that had not yet been formulated when the original panels were made. On the back of the Karlsruhe panel, made in 1510 and therefore prior to this development, we recognize an iconographic element that, according to Christian Hecht, was among the most criticized by Counter-Reformation theologians: the infant Christ flying towards the Virgin's womb in the moment of conception. Molanus stated that this motif could provoke a decisive misapprehension on the part of the viewer, namely, that Christ did not *become* flesh in Mary's womb but was already implanted there in the flesh.<sup>31</sup> This refers to a serious debate on Christ's human and divine nature — a subject that could not be left to the painters to decide. Furthermore, the biconfessional city of Augsburg was quite a specific context for sacred images in the seventeenth century. Considering the close proximity of the rival confession, the correct representation of Christian subjects may have been of even higher importance than in other places.<sup>32</sup> If the painter of the new *Annunciation* scene in 1609 followed the reproductive print as closely as I have suggested, the problematic element of the infant Christ approaching the Virgin's womb would have been eliminated.

I do not want to oversimplify the complex case of the Augsburg altarpiece to suggest that theological criticism was the sole reason for its external renewal. Of course, had it been only for this criticized motif, the flying infant could have easily been eliminated from an otherwise faithful copy. In fact, aesthetic reasons must have played their part: despite the respect shown to the older panels by faithfully copying their insides, some characteristics of the closed exterior view may not have complied with the aesthetic expectations of the early seventeenth-century viewer, such as the slightly egg-shaped and very solid-looking halos **FIGURE 2**. Moreover, the compartmentalized narrative, including several scenes from the life of the Virgin, by then a rather old-fashioned concept, was dropped in favour of a large representation of the incarnation of Christ. Aesthetic and religious motives may have interacted in this renewal: from a liturgical point of view, the exterior was less important than the interior, but it would have been the side that was visible most of the time, because the altarpiece would have normally been closed. The alteration therefore was not just a question of theological correctness or aesthetic taste, but also guaranteed greater visibility and easier readability in the context of the sacred space, while still promoting the altar's dedication to the Virgin Mary.<sup>33</sup>



**FIGURE 8.** Pieter Candid, *Annunciation*, 1587. Munich, church of Saint Michael.



## The Affiliative Potential of the Reproductive Print

It was the model of Jan Sadeler's engraving after Pieter Candid which guaranteed that the reformulation of the altarpiece's outside implemented a renewal in the iconographic and also aesthetic sense. Thus, the normative power of the print unfolded on different levels, following renewed theological and aesthetic norms. At the same time, the print's affiliative potential to create links between places and people becomes transparent.

In fact, a network of affiliations can be discerned: Pieter Candid's Munich altarpiece had been commissioned by Wilhelm V, who can also be considered the patron of the Augsburg substitute panels. Jan Sadeler was an official court engraver in Munich, and his print of Candid's *Annunciation* attests to the indicated network not only by its visual relation to Candid's altarpiece but also by means of its various inscriptions: the main inscription points to its connection with Wilhelm V (and his wife, Renata of Lorraine), and the reference 'cu[m] privil[egio] Sac[rae?] C[atholicae?] M[aiestatis]' in the lower right corner of the image records a printing privilege issued most likely by the Bavarian duke. Moreover, the small inscription in the lower left corner refers to Pieter Candid as 'pictor'. It therefore seems possible that Wilhelm V prescribed this print — after an altarpiece that he had himself commissioned and that had been

sanctioned by the Jesuits — as the model for reformulating the Augsburg altarpiece to modern taste, yet in a theologically correct way. (Incidentally, the Bavarian duke had also given commissions to Hans Rottenhammer in his younger days,<sup>34</sup> which may support a potential link between the substitute panels and the Rottenhammer workshop.) As an intermediary in the factual and in the figurative sense, the print thus established a formal relation between the two altarpieces in Munich and Augsburg. With regard to the key figure here, the retired Duke Wilhelm V, this could be interpreted as a visible affiliation between the Augsburg monastery and the Bavarian court.

This rather speculative interpretation gains weight when reviewing the relationship of the Catholic duke with the Augsburg monastery: indeed, Heilig Kreuz was a Catholic stronghold in the biconfessional city of Augsburg, also because it held what was supposed to be a miraculously bleeding host, the so-called *Wunderbarliches Gut*.<sup>35</sup> Wilhelm V regularly stayed at Heilig Kreuz when residing in Augsburg and made a number of valuable donations to the

**FIGURE 9.** Johann Sadeler after Pieter Candid, *Annunciation*, after 1587. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.

monastery before and after obtaining the alleged Holbein panels, including a statue of Christ tied to a column and a relic of Saint Cordula in 1609,<sup>36</sup> a silver retable in 1610, and a skull relic of one of Saint Ursula's virgin followers in 1611.<sup>37</sup> Thus, the Augsburg chronicles suggest that Wilhelm V's acquisition of the two panels was part of an exchange of gifts rather than a case of a ruler appropriating sacred paintings by taking a violent or threatening approach. Of course, the power structure between duke and monastery still mattered: with Wilhelm V being an important benefactor and princely protector of Heilig Kreuz, it would have been difficult not to grant him his wish to own the two paintings. However, Wilhelm's commission of the substitutes and their visual affiliation with the Munich altarpiece may have given this whole event a decisive positive twist: from the legal point of view, the Bavarian duke inserted himself within the existing donation of Martin Weiß and Elisabeth Fackler as an additional patron, thereby renewing and confirming rather than abolishing it. Ultimately, this could have been a 'win-win-situation', which also allowed the duke to gain credit for the salvation of his own soul.

To conclude this point, the entanglement of the print in these complex power and patronage relations challenges a possible perception of the reproductive print as documenting the growing autonomy of art as such, independent of sacred meanings and functions, or — as Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood might put it — of the 'authorial image'.<sup>38</sup> If indeed the print served as a means to standardize and transpose the 'right' kind of image and to visualize institutional links in the Augsburg/Munich case explored here, this points to a larger topic worth exploring: the controlled distribution of sanctioned religious images by means of reproductive prints in the confessional age. Furthermore, if, as Nagel and Wood claim, the mediality of prints endangered their substitutional power with respect to the holy person or scene represented in a picture,<sup>39</sup> it is tempting to argue that in the eyes of Counter-Reformation authorities this mediality may have constituted a decisive advantage: prints potentially enabled the production of recognizable sacred images that were aesthetically convincing, decorous, and attested to their own status as images. My suggestion is therefore that the uncontrollable or, as Stephanie Porras has called it, 'viral' reproduction of images, which is also enabled by prints,<sup>40</sup> should be distinguished from their controlled distribution and prescription as models, with particular regard to post-Reformation norms of (sacred) art.

### **The Originals in the Collection**

Research on copies and on the methods and aims of reproduction enables insights on normative forces in Christian art, but an analysis of the historical treatment and reception of so-called originals does so, too. Collections, in particular, set up normative systems for viewing and evaluating paintings that differed from sacred spaces. But more research on the function, reception, and presentation of religious art in these allegedly profane settings remains to be done.<sup>41</sup> Returning to our starting point — the two Augsburg

panels in the Bavarian Chamber Gallery around 1630 — I shall close this case study by considering how these panels were presented and viewed in the collection context, in relation to their previous function as part of an altarpiece.

We recall that Wilhelm V and the Augsburg Augustinians had considered the panels to have been made by Hans Holbein, presumably meaning Holbein the Elder, active in Augsburg in the decades around 1500.<sup>42</sup> This attribution to an important painter of the past may have even been one reason Wilhelm V acquired the panels in 1609. Furthermore, attributing works to known artists was certainly one of the normative practices that strongly shaped collections, and this is true also of the Munich Chamber Gallery.<sup>43</sup> Therefore, it is noteworthy that no attribution is mentioned about twenty years later in the inventory of Duke Maximilian's Munich Chamber Gallery in 1627–30. The fact that the attribution to Holbein was dropped suggests that Maximilian I, who was seemingly endowed with greater connoisseurship ambitions than his father, did not agree with it. He may have reached this conclusion by means of visual comparison, since he actually owned another painting attributed to Hans Holbein, the so-called *Fountain of Life* (1519?), today in Lisbon.<sup>44</sup> Stylistic comparison, then, may have turned into an attribution practice that influenced the reception of the former sacred paintings within the ducal collection.

The change of the two panels' status from altarpiece to collectible artwork was also reflected by actual viewing conditions: in the ducal gallery, the former altar wings must have been presented as two single, one-sided paintings that formed a companion piece rather than as physically linked parts of a foldable polyptych; otherwise the inventory should mention their rear sides. This leads to the deduction that the rectangular, one-sided *quadro* must have served as the normative standard for the presentation of paintings in this collection (as in many others).<sup>45</sup>

Thus, following the panels' insertion in the collection context, the consideration of formal characteristics seems a prevalent factor in their early seventeenth-century reception, more so than iconographic issues and liturgical functions. However, the Christian content of former sacred paintings also mattered in the collection of Maximilian I of Bavaria, and a provenance from consecrated churches and altars may have even been considered a quality in its own right. Moreover, religious paintings formed the largest group of paintings in the Chamber Gallery inventory, as one of three categories: religious pieces, profane pieces, and portraits.<sup>46</sup> This classification of paintings, which quite likely reflects the paintings' hanging order, shows that sacred paintings, despite having changed their function and setting, were specifically categorized with regard to sacred or profane content. In fact, the distinction between sacred and profane images may well reflect the use of these very categories by the Counter-Reformation theologian Gabriele Paleotti in his 1582 treatise on images *Discorso intorno alle imagini sacre e profane*.<sup>47</sup>

In any case, it should not be surprising that Counter-Reformation ideas and standards may have influenced the collection practice of the Bavarian dukes, their aesthetic tastes and expectations. This may have even been one reason for Maximilian I of Bavaria to have these two authorless panels transferred into the highly selective Chamber Gallery — two unattributed pre-Reformation paintings, yet of unquestionable religious content once

the back of the *Nativity* panel had been overpainted. Why did he choose not to introduce other, more modern and artfully self-reflexive paintings from his father's huge *Kunstammer*? For example, a painting by Hans von Aachen, the esteemed court painter of Emperor Rudolf II in Prague, showing *Minerva and Pictura*,<sup>48</sup> would have seemingly offered a most suitable theme for a picture gallery. As a collector, Maximilian seems to have avoided mythological and 'lascivious' subjects, and also images that exhibited their artfulness in an unbecoming manner. We could say more about this,<sup>49</sup> but here it must suffice to point out that the selection of paintings in the Munich Chamber Gallery matches many of the criteria for good paintings set up by Gabriele Paleotti and other Counter-Reformation theologians surprisingly well: most importantly, the *decorum* of subject matter and depiction, and a simplicity of style, in the sense of avoiding overly 'mannerist' effects. This last aspect can also be inferred from the inventory's praise of the two panels' 'portrait-like' quality.

By and large, this case study does not tell a simple story of two paintings changing their status from cult objects to works of art in an instant. Aesthetic norms obviously played a role for their substitution in the sacred space, and religious norms may have affected their selection for a princely collection. Yet, different normative forces and practices were active in these two contexts. The courtly collection implied certain evaluation criteria for collectible artworks and demanded the material adaptation to gallery requirements. In the sacred space, we encountered the persistent power of pre-Reformation religious donations and reformed criteria for a correct altarpiece around 1600. We saw the normative potential of the reproductive print as an aesthetic mediator and normative tool. These forces and practices are discernibly interlinked and interdependent, and the analysis of those links and interdependences would certainly gain from further in-depth case studies.

1 *Inventarium der gemalten und andern Stuckhen, auch vornemmen sachen, so auf der Cammer Galeria zuefunden seind: Das Inventar der Kammergalerie Kurfürst Maximilians I. von Bayern aus den Jahren 1627–30*, ed. and intro. by Peter Diemer, Fontes 63, Heidelberg: Art-Dok, 2011, pp. 94–95, <http://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/artdok/volltexte/2011/1631> (accessed 12 February 2019); Peter Diemer, “Materialien zu Entstehung und Ausbau der Kammergalerie Maximilians I. von Bayern”, in *Quellen und Studien zur Kunstpolitik der Wittelsbacher vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Hubert Glaser, Munich: Hirmer/Piper, 1980, 129–74 (p. 165). The description can be translated as follows: ‘An old rectangular panel, on it the Sacrifice of the Three Holy Magi with portrait-like faces, well painted, is 4 Schuech [feet] and 3 Zoll [inches] in height, 2 Schuech and 4 1/2 Zoll in width, labelled on the back as No. 19. Another panel in the same manner and size, on it the Nativity, also with portrait-like faces, painted in 1510, labelled as No. 20’.

2 On the collection of Duke Maximilian I of Bavaria, particularly his *Kammergalerie*, see Josef Weiß, “Kurfürst Maximilian I. als Gemäldesammler”, in *Historisch-politische Blätter für das katholische Deutschland* (1908), no. 8, 545–69; no. 9, 640–54; no. 10, 761–84; *Um Glauben und Reich Kurfürst Maximilian I. Beiträge zur Bayerischen Geschichte und Kunst 1573–1657*, ed. by Hubert Glaser, Munich: Hirmer, 1980; Diemer, “Materialien”; Monika Bachtler, Peter Diemer, and Johannes Erichsen, “Die Bestände von Maximilians Kammergalerie: Das Inventar von 1641/1642”, in *Quellen und Studien*, 191–252; and Diemer, *Inventarium (1627–30)*. On attributions in the Munich Chamber Gallery, see Antonia Putzger, *Kult und Kunst – Kopie und Original: Altarbilder von Rogier van der Weyden, Jan van Eyck und Albrecht Dürer in ihrer frühneuzeitlichen Rezeption*, Berlin: Reimer, forthcoming 2021, part II. On the Munich *Kunstammer*, see *Die Münchner Kunstammer*, ed. by Willibald Sauerländer and Dorothea Diemer, 3 vols, Munich: C. H. Beck, Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2008.

3 On Duke Maximilian’s interest in works by Albrecht Dürer, see Anton Ernstberger, “Kurfürst Maximilian und Albrecht Dürer: Zur Geschichte einer großen Sammlerleidenschaft”, in *Vom Nachleben Dürers: Beiträge zur Kunst der Epoche von 1530 bis 1650* (Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums 1940/1953), Nuremberg: Mann, 1954, 143–96; Gisela Goldberg, “Zur Ausprägung der Dürer-Renaissance in München”, *Münchner Jahrbuch der bil-*

*denden Kunst*, 31 (1980), 129–75; Andrea Bubenik, *Reframing Albrecht Dürer: The Appropriation of Art, 1528–1700*, Farnham: Ashgate, 2013, chap. 2, “Collecting Dürer”; Anja Grebe, *Dürer: Die Geschichte seines Ruhms*, Petersberg: Imhof, 2013, pp. 57–73; Putzger, *Kult und Kunst – Kopie und Original*, part II.

4 Hans Belting, *Bild und Kult: Eine Geschichte des Bildes vor dem Zeitalter der Kunst*, Munich: C. H. Beck, 2004 (1st ed. 1990; English ed.: *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image Before the Era of Art*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

5 Victor I. Stoichiță, *The Self-aware Image: An Insight into Early Modern Meta-painting* (Cambridge Studies in New Art History and Criticism), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997; see also Hans Belting, “Vom Altarbild zum autonomen Tafelbild”, in *Funkkolleg Kunst: Eine Geschichte der Kunst im Wandel ihrer Funktionen*, ed. by Werner Busch, Munich: Piper, 1997, 155–81 (1st ed. 1987).

6 Christine Göttler, “Die Disziplinierung des Heiligenbildes durch altgläubige Theologen nach der Reformation: Ein Beitrag zur Theorie des Sakralbildes im Übergang vom Mittelalter zur Frühen Neuzeit”, in *Bilder und Bildersturm im Spätmittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit* (Wolfenbütteler Forschungen, vol. 46), ed. by Bob Scribner, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1990, 263–95; Christine Göttler, *Die Kunst des Fegefeuers nach der Reformation: Kirchliche Schenkungen, Ablass und Almosen in Antwerpen und Bologna um 1600* (Berliner Schriften zur Kunst, vol. 7), Mainz: Von Zabern, 1996; Christian Hecht, *Katholische Bildertheologie der Frühen Neuzeit: Studien zu den Traktaten von Johannes Molanus, Gabriele Paleotti und anderen Autoren*, Berlin: Verlag Gebr. Mann, 2012 (1st ed. 1997).

7 See also my attempt at describing the different conditions for the reception of religious paintings in early modern collections in: Antonia Putzger, “‘ich ästimiere die Rarität!': Überlegungen zur Rolle des religiösen Bildes in der frühneuzeitlichen Sammlung”, in *Wissen und Geltung: Interdisziplinäre Beiträge zur Dynamik kulturellen Wissens in Mittelalter und Neuzeit* (Berliner Mittelalter- und Frühneuzeitforschung), ed. by Benjamin Hübbe, Ronny Kaiser, Frank Jasper Noll, Cornelia Selent, and Sabine Spohner, Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2019, 81–104, and Putzger, *Kult und Kunst – Kopie und Original*, on different instances of substitution by copies and transfer of altarpieces into early modern collections.

8 Alexander Nagel and Christopher S. Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*,

New York: Zone Books, 2010; see also Christopher S. Wood, *Forgery, Replica, Fiction: Temporalities of German Renaissance Art*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008.

9 Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*, pp. 16–17.

10 On this subject, see Antonia Putzger, “Historical Substance and Acquired Meaning of Rogier van der Weyden’s ‘Deposition of Christ’ at the Court of Philip II”, in *Netherlandish Art and Luxury Goods in Renaissance Spain: Studies in Honor of Professor Jan Karel Steppe (1918–2009)*, ed. by Daan van Heesch, Robrecht Janssen, and Jan van der Stock, Turnhout: Brepols, 2018, 133–46; and Putzger, *Kult und Kunst – Kopie und Original*.

11 Compare Jan Lauts, “Ein wiedergefundenes Gemälde von Ulrich Apt”, *Pantheon*, 18:2 (1960), 57–61 (pp. 57 and 60).

12 Compare Karl Feuchtmayr, “Die Malerfamilie Apt”, *Münchner Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst*, 11:3/4 (1921), 30–61 (pp. 34–37), and Karl Feuchtmayr, “Apt-Studien”, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Kunst*, 2 (1928), 97–132 (pp. 97–100). A visual comparison of the panel with other works that are securely attributed to Ulrich Apt and his workshop shows that this attribution is plausible.

13 Augsburg, Stadtbibliothek, Cod. Aug. 328, “Chronikon”, 1603, p. 175: ‘Altare Div[in]ae Virginis Mariae. Anno huius tempestatis decimo ultra sesquimillesimum. Altare octavum in honorem assumptae Virginis quae Deum peperit construo Dominus Martinus Weis civis Augustanus [...] et eiusde[m] uxor Domina Elisabeta Facklera [...]. [...] Hac in ara Maria Dei genitrix in coelum ab angelis sublevatur, incredibilem et augustam virginis pulchritudinem admirantibus, dextra laena[ue] eam tenentibus, aliis angelis circumqua[ue] volitantibus, cythara[ue] pulsantibus ac tibiis canentibus [...]’; compare also Alfred Schröder, *Archiv für die Geschichte des Hochstifts Augsburg*, Dillingen, 1915, IV, p. 493.

14 Already by Feuchtmayr, “Die Malerfamilie Apt”, pp. 35–36.

15 Leonhard Beck (attributed), Epitaph with Saint Martin, Christ, the Virgin and Child as well as Saint Elisabeth, before 1520 (today Augsburg, Staatsgalerie). Compare Gisela Goldberg, *Altdeutsche Gemälde: Katalog* (Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen; Augsburg, Städtische Kunstsammlungen), Munich: Lipp. KG., 1978, pp. 22–25, figs. 38 and 39.

16 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 1336 (*Historische Aufzeichnungen aus Heilig Kreuz, Augsburg*), 1610, 29: '3. Ann. Domini MDCX Gulielmus Quintus Dei gratia [...] duas alas altari Div[ini]ae virginis affixas ante centum annos a Joanne Holpain pictore praestantissimo depictas vidit, et petiit, pro quibus alias duas eanden figuram habentes centum et viginti florenis pingi curavit'; see also, Bachtler, Diemer, and Erichsen, "Die Bestände", pp. 244–245 and fig. 171.

17 Compare note 13, above. Schröder once suggested that the middle piece may have been a sculptural shrine rather than a painted panel, and, indeed, this would be one possible explanation for why the Bavarian duke requested just the painted altar wings (Schröder, *Archiv*, IV, p. 494).

18 Putzger, *Kult und Kunst – Kopie und Original*. The most well-known case would be Rogier van der Weyden's *Deposition of Christ* (before 1443, today Madrid, Prado), which I also discuss in my dissertation. On the transfers and copies of this painting, see also Amy Powell, "The Errant Image: Rogier van der Weyden's Deposition from the Cross and Its Copies", *Art History*, 29:4 (2006), 540–62; Ariane Mensger, "Die exakte Kopie. Oder: die Geburt des Künstlers im Zeitalter seiner Reproduzierbarkeit", in *Niederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 59 (2009/2010), 194–221; Stephan Kemperdick, "Von der Vorlage zum Kunstwerk: Rogier van der Weydens 'Große Kreuzabnahme'", in *Original – Kopie – Zitat: Kunstwerke des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit; Wege der Aneignung – Formen der Überlieferung* (Veröffentlichungen des Zentralinstituts für Kunstgeschichte in München, vol. 26), ed. by Wolfgang Augustyn, Passau: Klinger, 2010, 207–30. On Scipione Borghese and Raphael's *Entombment of Christ* (1507, now Rome, Galleria Borghese), see, among others, Jörg Traeger, *Renaissance und Religion: Die Kunst des Glaubens im Zeitalter Raphaels*, Munich: C. H. Beck, 1997, p. 414.

19 Putzger, *Kult und Kunst – Kopie und Original*, part II.

20 The interior of the Catholic church of Heilig Kreuz was adapted in baroque fashion in 1716–19 and badly damaged in 1944. On the history of the Augustinian monastery of Heilig Kreuz and its buildings in the Middle Ages and at the time of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, see Wilhelm Liebhart and Günther Grünsteudel, "Heilig Kreuz", in *Stadtlexikon Augsburg* (2009), <http://www.wissner.com/stadtlexikon-augsburg/artikel/stadtlexikon/heilig-kreuz/4077> (accessed 12 September 2018).

21 I am very grateful to Lucy Whitaker from the British Royal Collection for the

opportunity to study this panel in 2012, then in storage at Hampton Court Palace.

22 According to Bachtler, Diemer, and Erichsen, "Die Bestände", pp. 244–45, the copy must have still been in the Augsburg Stadtmuseum by 1980. Apparently, the panel was subsequently given back to its private owner, and all trace of its whereabouts has since been lost. I cordially thank Gode Krämer for retrieving a rare photographic image, archived in the Augsburg Stadtmuseum.

23 The Royal Collection online inventory tells us with reference to Gustav Waagen that the painting has been "Purchased by Prince Albert from the Oettingen Wallenstein Collection": <http://www.royal-collection.org.uk/collection/402561/the-adoration-of-christ> (accessed 12 September 2018).

24 Lauts, "Ein wiedergefundenes Gemälde", pp. 58–59, writes on the panel in Karlsruhe: 'Ein Goldgrund, der ganzen oberen Hälfte des Bildes unterlegt, steigert die warme Leuchtkraft der teilweise nur in dünnen Lasuren aufgetragenen Farbe'.

25 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 1336, 1610, 142: '1610. Joannes Rottenhamer pro pictura altaris mille et octingentos florenis accepit'. On Hans Rottenhammer's oeuvre, see *Hans Rottenhammer – begehrt, vergessen, neu entdeckt*, ed. by Heiner Borggreffe et al. (Lemgo, Weserrenaissance-Museum Schloss Brake; Prag, National Gallery), Munich: Hirmer, 2008.

26 A more extensive account of the donations of Martin Weiß and Elisabeth Fackler, including the discussed altarpiece, is given in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 1336, 1610, 38: '15. Anno Domini MDXV; Martinus Weis, et Elisabetha Facklera uxor dederunt imaginem Christi pendentis in cruce cum duobus quoq[ue] latronibus pendentibus; deinde velum templi pulcherrime a Christophoro Amerbachio Tirolensi pictum; tertio totum altare Div[ini]ae Virginis magno cum artificio erigi, et a Joanne Holpain pingi curarunt; quarto arae, sacerdotis, ministrorumq[ue] solenni pompa rem divinam facientum praeclaros ornatus ex veste damascena rubri coloris confectos; quinto signum ultimi iudicii, et absides pingi curarunt; sexto ducentos florenos numerarunt, ut pro ipsis singulis hebdomadibus una celebraretur missa'. On the concept of *Seelenstiftung*, see, among others, Elisabeth Vavra, "Pro remedio animae: Motivation oder leere Formel? Überlegungen zur Stiftung religiöser Kunstobjekte", in *Materielle Kultur und religiöse Stiftung im Spätmittelalter*, ed. by Gerhard Jaritz, Wien: Verl. d. Österreich. Akad. d. Wiss., 1990, 123–56, and Peter Jezler, "Jenseitsmodelle und

Jenseitsvorsorge – Eine Einführung", in *Himmel, Hölle, Fegefeuer: Das Jenseits im Mittelalter*, ed. by Peter Jezler (Zurich, Schweizerisches Landesmuseum; Köln, Schnütgen-Museum), Zurich: Verlag Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 1994, 13–26; on its different manifestations with reference to donations in Saint Lorenz, Nuremberg, see Corine Schleif, *Donatio et Memoria: Stifter, Stiftungen und Motivationen an Beispielen aus der Lorenzkirche in Nürnberg*, Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1990.

27 On Pieter Candid, see Brigitte Volk-Knüttel, "Peter Candid am bayerischen Hof in München", in *Pieter de Witte – Pietro Candido: Ein Maler des 16. Jahrhunderts zwischen Volterra und München*, ed. by Mariagiulia Burrelli (Volterra, Palazzo dei Priori), Cinisello Balsamo/Milano: Silvana Editoriale, 2009, 67–87; and Brigitte Volk-Knüttel, *Peter Candid (um 1548–1628): Gemälde, Zeichnungen, Druckgraphik*, Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 2010.

28 Compare publications in note 6, above, and the sources cited here; also, among other collective attempts to tackle these issues, see the essays in *Rahmen-Diskurse: Kultbilder im konfessionellen Zeitalter* (KultBild, vol. 2), ed. by David Ganz and Georg Henkel, Berlin: Reimer, 2004; and *Kunst und Konfession: Katholische Auftragswerke im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung 1517–1563*, ed. by Andreas Tacke, Regensburg: Schnell und Steiner, 2008.

29 On the Tridentine image decree, Hubert Jedin, "Entstehung und Tragweite des Trienter Dekrets über die Bilderverehrung", in *Kirche des Glaubens – Kirche der Geschichte. Ausgewählte Aufsätze und Vorträge*, vol. 2, *Konzil und Kirchenreform*, Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1966, 460–98; the decree itself is fully cited in Hecht, *Katholische Bildertheologie der Frühen Neuzeit*, pp. 501–4.

30 On Paleotti and Molanus, see Christian Hecht, *Katholische Bildertheologie im Zeitalter von Gegenreformation und Barock: Studien zu Traktaten von Johannes Molanus, Gabriele Paleotti und anderen Autoren*, Berlin: Verlag Gebr. Mann, 1997, and rev. ed., Hecht, *Katholische Bildertheologie der Frühen Neuzeit*.

31 See Hecht, *Katholische Bildertheologie im Zeitalter*, pp. 186–87 and 365–67, with reference to chapter XVI of Johannes Molanus, *De Picturis et Imaginibus Sacris*, Leuven: Hieronymum VVellaeum, 1570.

32 This argument may hold particularly for Heilig Kreuz, where a Protestant church was installed adjacent to the Augustinian monastery in 1525. For a short general

- history of Augsburg, see Bernd Roeck, *Geschichte Augsburgs*, Munich: C. H. Beck, 2005; for a synopsis of Augsburg's confessional history, see Peter Rummel and Wolfgang Zorn, "Kirchengeschichte 1518–1650", in *Welt im Umbruch: Augsburg zwischen Renaissance und Barock*, ed. by Städtische Kunstsammlungen Augsburg (Augsburg, Zeughaus), Augsburg Druck- und Verlagshaus, 1980, vol. 1, 30–39.
- 33 One can speculate that, ultimately, the goal may have been to visually integrate the older altarpiece within a larger early baroque renewal of the church's interior.
- 34 Compare Dorothea Diemer and Peter Diemer, "Hans Rottenhammer und der Münchner Hof", in *Hans Rottenhammer (1564–1625)* (Studien zur Kultur der Renaissance, vol. 4), ed. by Heiner Borggreffe et al., Marburg: Jonas-Verlag, 2007, 36–54.
- 35 Compare Liebhart and Grünsteudel, "Heilig Kreuz".
- 36 See Augsburg, Stadtbibliothek, Cod. Aug. 330, p. 207.
- 37 See Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 1336, 1610, pp. 30 and 62–63.
- 38 Compare Wood, *Forgery, Replica, Fiction*, pp. 95–107; Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*, pp. 21–28, on "The Image of the Image of Our Lady".
- 39 Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*, p. 21: 'The figuring of the difference between models of origins comes into sharpest focus in differences between media. Medial switchings – transpositions of form and content from one system of communication to another – are an opportunity to glimpse the artwork at the moment of its resurfacing in another work'.
- 40 See Stephanie Porras, "Going Viral? Maerten de Vos's St. Michael the Archangel", *Nederlands kunsthistorisch jaarboek*, 66 (2016), 54–79.
- 41 Compare Valeska von Rosen, *Caravaggio und die Grenzen des Darstellbaren: Ambiguität, Ironie und Performativität in der Malerei um 1600*, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2009, chap. II.7, "Zum Problem des religiösen Sammlerbildes um 1600"; see also, Putzger, "ich ästimierte die Rarität!".
- 42 Compare notes 16 and 26, above; on Hans Holbein the Elder, see Bruno Bushart, *Hans Holbein der Ältere*, Augsburg: Hofmann-Dr., 1987; Katharina Krause, *Hans Holbein der Ältere* (Kunstwissenschaftliche Studien, vol. 101), Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2002; on Hans Holbein the Younger, see Oskar Bätschmann and Pascal Griener, *Hans Holbein*, Köln: DuMont, 1997. It is unclear whether the distinction between Hans Holbein the Elder and Hans Holbein the Younger was made in 1609–10 by Wilhelm V and the Augustinian canons.
- 43 In fact, most of the paintings in the Munich Chamber Gallery were attributed to specific artists, and a lot of these attributions are still considered valid today. Compare *Inventarium (1627–30)*.
- 44 This panel seems to have taken up a prominent position within the collection, as it directly follows the prime pieces by Albrecht Dürer in the inventory list. Compare *Inventarium (1627–30)*, 83.
- 45 On the adaptation of the size and format of paintings in collections, compare Alessandro Conti, *History of the Restoration and Conservation of Works of Art*, trans. by Helen Glanville, Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, 2007, chap. 4, "Gallery Pictures".
- 46 Compare *Inventarium (1627–30)*.
- 47 Gabriele Paleotti, *Discorso intorno alle imagini sacre e profane: Diviso in cinque libri, dove si scuoprono varii abusi loro [...] (1582)*, in *Trattati d'arte del Cinquecento – fra Manierismo e Controriforma*, ed. by Paola Barocchi, Bari: Laterza, 1961, vol. 2, 117–509. Because of his Jesuit upbringing and contacts, Maximilian should have been familiar with this treatise published in a Latin edition in Ingolstadt in 1594: Gabriele Paleotti, *De imaginibus sacris, et profanis [...] libri quinque [...]*, Ingolstadt: Ex officina Typographica Davidis Sartorii, 1594.
- 48 This painting is registered in Johann Baptist Fickler, *Das Inventar der Münchner herzoglichen Kunstkammer von 1598. Editionsband: Transkription der Inventarhandschrift cgm 2133* (Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, vol. 125), ed. by Peter Diemer, Munich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2004, p. 192, no. 2668 (2624): 'Ain dafel darauf die 7 freyen Künsten zu welchen Pallas auch die Mählerey füeret, Hannsen von Achen Gemehl'. The painting does not seem to survive, but an engraving by Aegidius Sadeler gives an impression of what it must have looked like.
- 49 As, in fact, I have done in my dissertation; see Putzger, *Kult und Kunst – Kopie und Original*.

# The Tradition of Change in Copies of the Santa Casa di Loreto: The Case of San Clemente in Venice

**Erin Giffin**

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When the Santa Casa di Loreto, or the Holy House of the Virgin, was reconstructed on the Venetian island of San Clemente **FIGURE 1**, the commissioner effectively translated a sacred architectural interior into the local community. By re-envisioning the holy domicile where the Virgin Mary received the Holy Spirit into her womb, the Venetian patron and artists promoted a local iteration of a sacred relic and pilgrimage destination that, according to the miraculous history of the object, first resided in contested Venetian territories before migrating to its ultimate destination on Italy's eastern coast. Referencing a sacred space elsewhere, the structure at San Clemente behaves as a distinct devotional object, wherein design choices executed across the surfaces of the Holy House express local priorities. That confrontation between aesthetic and symbolic languages of the original and the replica contours many early modern recreations of sacred interiors. Herein I will explore the Venetian replicas of the Santa Casa di Loreto at the local churches of San Clemente and later at San Pantalon, together with printed representations of the devotional structure, that re-envision the Santa Casa di Loreto as a characteristically Venetian devotional object, and call into question the authority of the Loretan original.

The Santa Casa di Loreto **FIGURE 2** is rich for potential replication, given its pre-existing penchant for mobility. As the traditional Church narrative of the Holy House states, the structure lifted off its foundations in Palestine at the close of the thirteenth century at the behest of the Virgin. With the assistance of angels, the structure relocated first to Trsat in modern Croatia — a Dalmatian territory periodically invaded and controlled by Venetian forces — and then to the eastern coast of Italy. After various shifts in location, the structure finally settled on a summit in the Italian region of Le Marche, assuming the name of Loreto.<sup>1</sup> In her miraculous machinations, the Virgin sought for and supposedly found a community worthy of her sacred domicile. The tradition of divine travel in the narrative of the Santa Casa successfully untethers the structure from a single geographic origin — the Holy Land — and opens the building and its cult of Marian devotion to multiple communities simultaneously. That the structure once resided in the environs of Venice makes the edifice all the more relatable to the Laguna Republic. The relic's fickle nature further lends itself to the many later re-creations of the divine edifice constructed across the Serenissima Repubblica and beyond over the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries as the latest relocations of a devotional object in search of worship.

In many ways, the Santa Casa replica on the island of San Clemente faithfully re-creates the original at Loreto. Both structures have an east-west orientation, with the front short façade of the structure facing west into a church interior, and the eastern wall towards the choir or apse. The window through which the Archangel Gabriel supposedly flew to bring the Word of God to the Virgin perforates the western wall in each iteration. Much like the Loretan original, the structural exterior at San Clemente became a site of opulent expression as a reliquary case enveloping the sacred interior.<sup>2</sup> The richly ornamented surfaces of multicoloured stone and sculptural relief encase a humble structural core **FIGURE 3**. Internally, the religious devotee encounters a simple, barrel-vaulted interior with walls composed of uneven stone and brick overlaid with a patchwork of frescoed plaster, from which fragmented faces gaze solemnly out at the viewer. In the eastern internal wall, a niche



**FIGURE 1.** Santa Casa replica (exterior: western wall), various stones (Istrian limestone, marble), painted wood, 1644–46 (subsequent additions 1661–1704). Venice, San Clemente



**FIGURE 2.** Santa Casa di Loreto (exterior: east façade), various stones (marble, porphyry), 1507–79. Loreto, Santa Casa di Loreto.



**FIGURE 3.** Santa Casa replica (exterior: south wall), various stones (Istrian limestone, marble), painted wood, 1644–46. Venice, San Clemente.

shrine once contained a wooden sculptural replica of the *Virgin and Child of Loreto* at San Clemente, an iconic sculptural type associated with the Santa Casa original and attributed to Saint Luke **FIGURE 4**.<sup>3</sup> Before the niche at San Clemente stands an altar dedicated to the Virgin against a latticed partition. Overall, the interior at San Clemente measures approximately 4 × 9.5 m, offering a near commensurate spatial experience to the original at Loreto.<sup>4</sup>

The context for the Holy House commission in Venice emerges from the ravages of the plague. During the 1630 epidemic, one of the more significant outbreaks in the city's history, the local vicar, Monsignor Francesco Lazzaroni of the parish of Sant'Angelo, vowed to pilgrimage to the Santa Casa at Loreto in thanks for the Virgin's divine intervention.<sup>5</sup> Having subsequently survived the plague and yet to make his pilgrimage journey by the 1640s, Monsignor Lazzaroni offered the construction of a local Holy House in place of his original pledge.<sup>6</sup> Completed in two years, the dedication of the Holy House in 1646 included a grandiose procession of a *Virgin of Loreto* cult statue commissioned by Lazzaroni. The iconic sculpture travelled to the island from its temporary display at Santa Maria della Carità, accompanied by a boisterous train of *gondole* filled with Venetian nobles, members of religious orders, and singing crowds. Men fired cannon and played music as devotees carried lit torches across the waters.<sup>7</sup> Instead of going to Loreto personally, Lazzaroni effectively brought the Virgin of Loreto and her Santa Casa to Venice instead.<sup>8</sup>

The choice of San Clemente as a location for the Holy House replica seems threefold. When searching for a site for his devotional construction, the commissioner, Lazzaroni, approached multiple communities within the city, including his own parish of Sant'Angelo in the *sestiere* (neighbourhood) of San Marco. These preliminary requests failed to gain traction, most likely because of the expansive footprint projected for the structure: the small church on San Clemente doubled in size to accommodate the new architectural installation.<sup>9</sup> Unable to secure adequate space elsewhere, the commissioner settled on the island out in the Laguna, then owned by the Augustinian canons of the church Santa Maria della Carità.<sup>10</sup> Beyond convenience of expansion, San Clemente particularly suited the Holy House by virtue of its long-standing status as an Augustinian-run hospital and quarantine site for incurable disease: the island became a centre for plague victims, and subsequently a mental institution.<sup>11</sup> Finally, the site reportedly acted as a resting point for pilgrims on their way south to the original Holy House of the Virgin at Loreto.<sup>12</sup> In this final respect, the San Clemente structure joined various other Holy Houses constructed along pathways leading to the sacred site, as spiritual way stations reminding and reinforcing pilgrimage expectations regarding the devotee's ultimate destination.<sup>13</sup>

The Holy House at San Clemente is a talisman against the plague, an *ex-voto* produced in thanksgiving for delivering the community from harm. As a settlement traditionally founded on the day of the Annunciation, 25 March 421, Venetians gravitated towards the Holy House as a structural embodiment of the Incarnation. Its re-creation in the Laguna at San Clemente reinforced Venice's self-proclaimed status as the chosen city of the Virgin, a fact supported by her initial choice of Dalmatia as the first site of the Holy House's residence.<sup>14</sup> As such, the San Clemente Santa Casa expresses its local orientation through its commission and devotional value, and poignantly

through its construction. A re-evaluation of the structure's decorative program and visual legacy reveals the structure's transformation into an expression of Venetian devotion.

As with many architectural creations of the early modern period, a certain level of mental reconstruction is necessary to visualize the structure's original design. The façade of the Holy House at San Clemente that we see today does not reflect its original appearance. When the building was first conceived in 1644, a program of colourful, geometric revetment in *rosso di francia*, *verde aostani*, and *breccia medicea* adorned all four sides of the exterior.<sup>15</sup> A single oil painting on panel of unknown subject matter was commissioned of Bartolo Cerù in 1646 for the external front façade of the Holy House.<sup>16</sup> Today, the painting's whereabouts are unknown, and the original geometric marble decoration remains visible only along the lateral sides and in the lingering peripheral revetment framing the east and west walls. From these remaining areas, we can intuit how the stone and panel painting once enlivened the walls of the San Clemente replica. Encompassing these colourful details, a framework of Istrian stone — a pale, mottled grey limestone reminiscent of white marble — encased and presented the structure, articulating the Santa Casa replica within a locally quarried material and regional visual language.

Stone revetment is a characteristic form of Venetian decoration. From the walls of San Marco to the façades of Venetian *palazzi* lining the Grand Canal, stone declares opulence and prosperity, permanence and eternity. Pietro Lombardo's late fifteenth-century external and internal revetment of Santa Maria dei Miracoli, tucked away in the *sestiere* of Cannaregio, celebrates the community's devotion to a miracle-working Marian painting through material means.<sup>17</sup> The jewel-box exterior frames and presents a distinctly Venetian sacred space, with bookended variegated marble revetment framed by Istrian pilasters and cornices. Taking their cue from such local precedent, the designers of the Holy House at San Clemente created a layered framework: first a superstructure of Istrian stone, then register outlines of dark grey marble, with raised colourful revetment at the heart of each wall zone. The layered effect creates a sumptuously textured revetment not unlike the profusion of relief decoration across the Santa Casa original.<sup>18</sup> The Istrian superstructure framing these sumptuous materials stresses the inherently local nature of this sacred house as a reliquary case of regional media transporting, encasing, and presenting the architectural relic to the local community.

The front façade of the sacred house, much more in keeping with the Loretan original today, is the result of a later commission. Over the 1660s, the powerful Morosini family commissioned Juste le Court to execute the tombs of Giorgio and Pietro Morosini flanking the high altar of San Clemente.<sup>19</sup> Seeking visual uniformity between the sacred building and their newly erected monuments, the family likely appealed to renovate the San Clemente Santa Casa itself. This design change coincided with the 1660s general renovation of the devotional structure by the new owners of the island sanctuary, the Camaldolese, who had purchased the church from the Augustinians in the 1640s as the initial Holy House construction was underway.<sup>20</sup> In 1661, the Camaldolese monks required the San Clemente Santa Casa to be moved backwards by eight or nine Venetian *piedi* to accommodate a longer nave and accompanying retrochoir.<sup>21</sup> According to the San Clemente records, a Signor



Giovanni Battista Franceschini was commissioned to execute the new *incrostadura di marmo* of the front façade, with low reliefs in *pietra columbina*, a dove-white stone, on 16 August 1701.<sup>22</sup> The family shield immured in the top centre frieze festoon of the new composition most likely represents the Morosini crest and implies their financial support.

With these external alterations, the Morosini transformed the high altar of San Clemente into a family chapel, shading the communal vision of the Holy House with a dynastic veil.<sup>23</sup> Other prominent families of the Venetian Republic paid similar homage to the Santa Casa at San Clemente. Angelo Contarini, for example, bequeathed a silver lamp and funds to maintain a lit flame in perpetuity at the *Capella della Beata Vergine*.<sup>24</sup> Contarini and his mother would later be buried within the Holy House itself, having promised

1000 ducats to renovate the new choir constructed behind the devotional building.<sup>25</sup> The legacy of illustrious patronage by long-standing Venetian families and community members speaks to the favour accorded to the Loretan Madonna and her perceived capacity to heal and protect the Venetian community. The resulting Morosini façade gestures back to Loreto while re-envisioning the apse of San Clemente as a family chapel of noble proportions.

The close of the seventeenth century brought transformations at San Clemente calling to mind the Loretan marble prototype, but the community still maintained visual elements infused with Venetian taste. These decisions are fairly standard: exteriors of Holy House replicas are often wildly individualized with decorative schemas filtered through regional priorities and materials. What further sets the San Clemente Santa Casa apart from contemporary constructions are the stylistic tensions wrought between the Venetian structure's sacred interior and its authoritative predecessor, and the influence of the version at San Clemente upon subsequent Sante Case.

Given the layered decorative program of the Holy House exterior with its generations of opulent materials, the structural interior of the Santa Casa replica seems all the more jarring. Rows of uneven brick articulate the sacred space, materializing behind crumbling frescoed surfaces. The seemingly haphazard, degraded interior is as consciously articulated as the structure's decorative façade, re-creating the humble materiality of the Santa Casa original. The fine red and white marble floor showcasing a sepulchral plaque decorated with crests of the Morosini and the opus sectile altar before the rear-wall sculpture niche further emphasize the worn state of the interior through stark contrast. In this respect, San Clemente embodies an intentional transformative experience where the viewer passes into a sacred interior wherein materiality renders the humility of the faith. As many other Holy House replicas, the purposefully rough internal walls attest to the relic's age, its legacy of devotion, and the fragility of this lingering contact relic of the Incarnation.<sup>26</sup>

The San Clemente interior is not characteristically Venetian per se: the unknown fresco artist that executed the patched decorations makes archaizing nods to the fifteenth-century precedent at Loreto, imagery that in turn

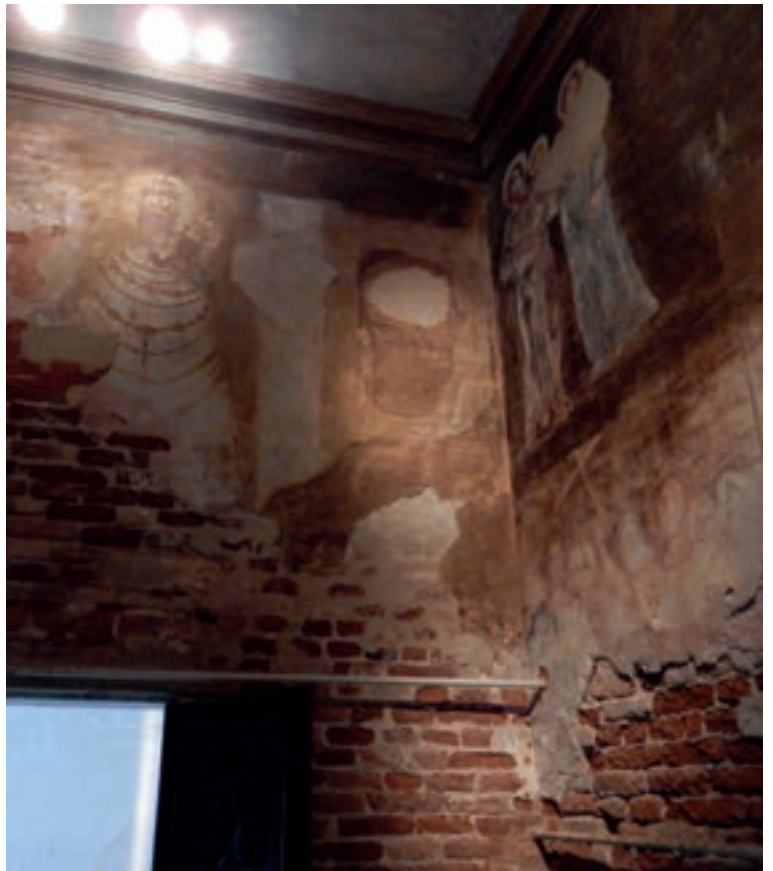
**FIGURE 4.** Santa Casa replica (interior: eastern altar wall), brick, various stones (Istrian limestone, marble), frescoed plaster, painted wood, metal, 1644–46. Venice, San Clemente.

harkens back to earlier figural forms. Even so, the frescoes at San Clemente deviate from the Holy House original.<sup>27</sup> The largest discrepancies appear on the western-facing wall, what is the counter-façade of the Holy House.

Inside the original Santa Casa di Loreto in Le Marche, the counter-façade showcases two scenes of the Madonna and Child enthroned flanking the Gabriel window, each accompanied by a haloed figure, Saint John the Evangelist before the Virgin on the left, and Saint Anthony Abbot before the second Virgin on the right. Directly above Gabriel's window, a wooden crucifixion hangs, referencing the Santa Casa di Loreto's subsequent life as a meeting place for the apostles following the ascension of Christ.<sup>28</sup> Inside the San Clemente version, the two scenes of the Madonna and Child enthroned with saints have morphed into four **FIGURE 5**: the upper register pairs two standing Madonnas, Christ-child in arms, beside ambiguous, haloed women on either side of the wall. With few identifying features, the women imply a more feminine orientation to the Holy House than the hieratic representations of John the Evangelist and Saint Anthony Abbot. Likewise, each Madonna would have fostered a visual association with the standing sculpture once presented in the shrine directly opposite.

The two upper scenes of Marian imagery on the counter-façade of the San Clemente replica accompany lower figural groups flanking the Gabriel window. The left lower scene in particular renders an unusual composition: a standing saint and angel, visible only from the bust upwards because of the fragmented plaster, gaze out at the viewer, the latter of which clasps a crossed staff in its hands. Other than the crossed staff, no explicit iconography assists identification of the scene. Frescoed brick lines immediately behind the figures represented provide a subtle *trompe l'oeil* effect that not only heightens one's focus on the exposed brick surrounding, but also insinuates the figures within the chapel interior. Is this the Archangel Gabriel with a heavenly attendant, having just arrived to deliver God's Word? The identity and significance of the figures is obscured by degradation: the abrupt lower edge of the frescoes coincides with the average height of the Holy House visitor, visually recreating the discrete removal of plaster from the walls at the original Santa Casa by zealous early modern devotees.<sup>29</sup>

Another key difference between the San Clemente fresco cycle and the original version at Loreto appears on the southern internal wall, directly over the second doorway into the central room. What was once the location of Saint Louis riding in victory towards an enthroned Virgin and Child now showcases a painted rendition of the *Virgin of Loreto* sculpture type in her papal crown and white robe. The fresco depicts the now lost sculpture



**FIGURE 5.** *Madonna di Loreto*, Santa Casa replica (interior: western and northern walls), fresco, 1644–46. Venice, San Clemente.



once on display in the altar wall of the Holy House, commissioned by Francesco Lazzaroni and brought to San Clemente in 1646. The decision to omit Saint Louis in favour of the sculpture removes an important detail from this recreation of the Santa Casa di Loreto: the saint's frescoed presence attests to the devotional history of the original structure in Palestine prior to its divine relocation in Santa Casa literature. According to the popular early modern narratives, Saint Louis appended his frescoed visage to the Santa Casa during the thirteenth-century crusades, when the structure still stood at its original location at Nazareth.<sup>30</sup>

The choice of the *Virgin of Loreto* sculpture as a design detail inside the Santa Casa at San Clemente over the illustrious devotional history of Saint Louis is not so much a commentary against the French monarch-saint as it is a reinforcement of cultural relevance. The sculptural *Madonna di Loreto*, which had processed with great fanfare to the Laguna Holy House in 1646, had acted as a pre-existing emblem of Loretan devotion in Venice inside the church of Santa Maria della Carità in the

years prior to the replica's construction.<sup>31</sup> The Virgin's miraculous intercession for Venetians in the decades following the 1630s plague marked the votive nature of the San Clemente Santa Casa and therefore superseded the narrative history of Saint Louis. These changes to the Holy House interior will become a standard of Loretan devotion in the Veneto and beyond.

The differences between the San Clemente Holy House and its prototype at Loreto ripple through Loretan devotion across the Veneto. Subsequent replicas of the Holy House reflect the changes visible at San Clemente rather than the original sacred structure, implying that the iteration at San Clemente grew in status as an authoritative version of the Holy House. The eighteenth-century Holy House replica at San Pantalon, located in the central Venetian *sestiere* of San Polo, is a characteristic example of this phenomenon. Though this later structure exclusively re-creates the interior of the sacred building **FIGURE 6**, the San Pantalon Santa Casa replica envisions the building as a joint devotional space and oratory beside the church apse.<sup>32</sup> By the early modern period, San Pantalon was worshiped as a medical saint and another patron of the city, alongside Saint Theodor, Saint Mark and, of course, the Virgin. The medicinal associations between saint and structure maintain and reinforce the healing properties of Holy House devotion, linking the San Pantalon Santa Casa to San Clemente. Much like at San Clemente, the space was constructed in part to house another replica of the *Virgin of Loreto* sculpture, which had been brought to Venice from Loreto in 1658 by the neighbouring Venetian parish of Vinanti.<sup>33</sup> Though instigation of this Holy

**FIGURE 6.** Pietro Longhi, *Madonna di Loreto with a Saint*, Santa Casa replica (interior: eastern wall), fresco, 1744–45. Venice, San Pantalon.

House chapel initially stalled, actual construction progressed quickly under the guidance of architect Tommaso Scalfarotto, who completed the chapel within ten months in 1744–45.<sup>34</sup> As with the version on San Clemente, the San Pantalon Santa Casa enshrined its sculptural *Virgin of Loreto*, and became an epicentre of devotion for the local community.

To complete this new Holy House, the commissioner of the San Pantalon chapel, Monsignor Gregorio Bianchi, called upon Pietro Longhi, a notable Venetian painter and a member of the San Pantalon parish.<sup>35</sup> Dated to 1744–45, these rare frescoes by the artist at San Pantalon showcase Longhi's ability to bring his famously delicate touch to a large scale, and crucially re-envision and modernize the heavily degraded fresco cycle at San Clemente.<sup>36</sup> The internal short wall beside the entrance of the chapel, which corresponds with the western-facing internal façade of San Clemente, offers the same four groupings of Madonna and Child with saints. Similarly, the San Clemente southern wall decoration of the *Virgin of Loreto* sculpture type also appears opposite the entrance into the San Pantalon chapel. But whereas the San Clemente version prioritizes the conical archaism of the sculptural model, Longhi reinterprets his Loretan Madonna and Child as more realistic forms in space. Their bodies, enveloped by the jewel-encrusted white robe, seem to sway gently towards our right, as the more childlike Christ extends his princely orb out towards the viewer. Just like the frescoes inside San Clemente, the figural forms appear before frescoed brick lines that showcase the crumbling material status of the structure and insinuate the saints, angels, and multiple versions of the Madonna and Child within the chapel interior. Lacking contextual landscape or conventional perspective, the naturalistic figures seem disjointed in that they are not within the confines of a narrative scene, but rather hover before the wall, as if sharing the sacred interior with the viewer. In her rich ornamentation, the swaying Madonna metaphorically symbolizes the revision of the structure itself, a naturalistic woman reframed in opulent attire evocative of the polychromatic surfaces appended to the Holy House at San Clemente.

The decision to create a new Holy House in 1744, a hundred years after the instigation of the first structural replica in Venice, begs questions of precedent and intended meaning. According to the San Clemente in Isola records, the cult of Loreto was reconsecrated on the island on 15 May 1750.<sup>37</sup> Though no explicit reference has yet surfaced connecting San Pantalon specifically with San Clemente, the timely creation of the second Santa Casa replica implies commemoration, either on the part of the community or by the patron. Longhi's personalized renditions of the frescoes at San Clemente indicate an indebtedness to precedent even as the artist's airy interpretation infuses the composition with a miraculous, momentary sensation, as if the Holy House has just appeared within the confines of San Pantalon. Longhi's frescoes also came on the heels of another monument to Loretan devotion executed in Venice: Giambattista Tiepolo's now lost ceiling fresco at Santa Maria di Nazareth, painted in 1743–44, once showcased the Holy House of the Virgin in flight over the church nave en route to a new devout destination **FIGURE 7**.<sup>38</sup> From Tiepolo to Longhi to the reconsecration at San Clemente, this wave of eighteenth-century public commissions must have reinforced and revitalized the cult for local community members of the laity and clergy alike.<sup>39</sup>



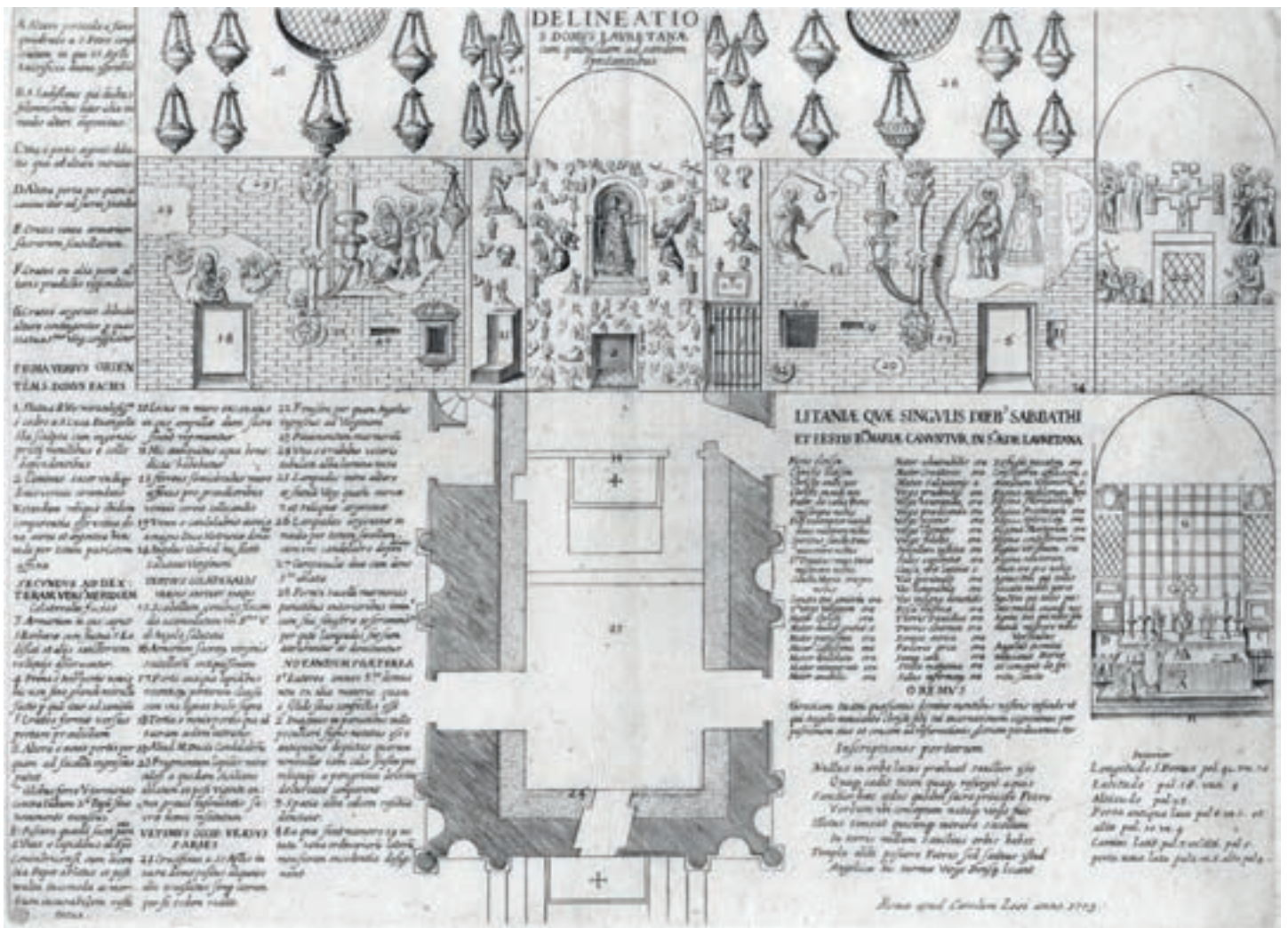
**FIGURE 7.** Giovanni Battista Tiepolo, *Translation of the Santa Casa di Loreto*, fresco, 1743–44. Venice, Santa Maria di Nazareth, nave vault (before 1915).

As the Tiepolo fresco implies, Venice played a key role in the spread of Loretan devotion across Europe. Prints detailing the Santa Casa di Loreto, circulating through, if not directly manufactured in, Venice, proliferated throughout seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe.<sup>40</sup> Intended to accurately convey the sacred structure to a wide audience, and perhaps also acting as foci of devotion unto themselves, these prints claim to detail the internal walls of the Holy House with extreme accuracy, including a structural ground plan, schematic walls with partially disintegrated frescoes and hanging votives, and textual keys to facilitate identification.

The level of detail and accuracy varies between prints, but one type of Santa Casa engraving is particularly relevant to the replicas at San Clemente and San Pantalon. Housed in the Bertarelli collection in Milan, a print of the Santa Casa diagramming the structural interior reflects design traits more in keeping with the Venetian Holy Houses than the Loretan original **FIGURE 8**. The *Delineatio S. Domus Lauretanae* purportedly details a precise visual recreation of the Loretan original, having been printed in Rome, as it clearly states in the bottom right corner: ‘Romae apud Carolum Losi anno 1773’. The title of the print, *Delineations of the Holy House of Loreto*, and its site of production in Rome accords authoritative accuracy even though the details within the print indicate otherwise: the rear wall of the structural interior, represented in the top right corner of the print, clearly includes the four figural groups encircling the Gabriel window and the *Virgin of Loreto* hovering over the doorway on the wall adjacent.<sup>41</sup> Given the singular traits of the engraving, I theorize that this print by Carlo Losi re-creates a much earlier engraving that stemmed directly from the replica at San Clemente.<sup>42</sup> With the print’s detailed representation of the surviving frescoes in the Venetian Laguna, Losi likely worked from a source that disseminated the interior details of the Venetian Holy House to other structures in Venice, such as San Pantalon, and beyond.

This same Santa Casa design scheme appears in other communities with long-standing connections to the Venetian Republic, including in Poland and nearby Slovenia. Either members of these external communities travelled directly to Venice to personally experience and document the Venetian Holy House on the assumption of its structural accuracy, or their artisans worked from prints like the *Delineatio S. Domus Lauretanae* to construct subsequent regional Sante Case, the resulting details of which distinguish these replicas from other dominant types.<sup>43</sup> The seventeenth-century dates of construction of Polish and Slovenian Sante Case exhibiting details included in the Bertarelli engraving likely indicate that the surviving print is a republication of an earlier engraving or print matrix in circulation in or following the 1640s. The assumption that the Bertarelli print was issued in Rome, the seat of the papacy and administrative hub of Loreto, reinforces the acceptance of subsequent generations of historians and archivists of this idiomatic version, and the lingering assumptions of accuracy and authority appended to the Venetian version.

Changes in representation demonstrate the power of regional authoritative imagery and the malleability of reinterpretation. The assumption of accuracy on the part of local artists is entirely logical, and acceptance of that regional replica as the authoritative *original* by other communities, including by the Roman people — under whose diocese the Santa Casa di Loreto shrine operated — problematizes the singularity of sacred objects and spaces across



**FIGURE 8.** Carlo Losi (engraver) *Delineatio S. Domus Lauretanae*, engraving, 1773. Milan, *Raccolta delle stampe* 'Achille Bertarelli'.

early modern replicas. This revelation does not devalue the many different Holy Houses across the Italian peninsula and beyond, but it rather calls into question the precedent from which each sacred structure arises. The supposedly accurate renditions of the Santa Casa in print and three-dimensional reproduction operate simultaneously as sources of information and objects of devotion, with layers of authority appended to each domicile of the Virgin. Tracing the circulation of Holy House prints and their influence on subsequent edifices demonstrates the spread of Loretan devotion, and, consequently, the replicas born of replicas hint at region-specific devotional priorities: the votive offerings blanketing the altar wall in the Bertarelli print, for example, might reference the prolific devotion at Loreto, but it may also tantalizingly replicate Venetian devotions now imperceptible in the stripped modern interiors of the Holy Houses at San Clemente or San Pantalon, or in even later replicas in Venetian-allied communities.<sup>44</sup>

Re-creations of the Santa Casa di Loreto, executed in multiple media and stemming from various sources of information, have yet to be analysed as interconnected and evolving early modern devotional foci. The case of San Clemente is but one mode of many Loretan representations wherein the

replica assumes authoritative status in the evolution of cult worship. Whether conscious or not, the priority of the San Clemente version dominates the visual language of Loretan devotion in the Veneto, and influences Loretan shrines in the communities of their cultural and political allies. Those infusions of Venetian devotion, through the stone revetment at San Clemente, or the Longhian *leggerezza* of the frescoes at San Pantalon, frame devotion to the sacred structure in a distinctly regional visual language. In many ways, the new sacred edifice at San Clemente highlights the Virgin's discerning favouritism, reinforcing the tradition of change in the community's association with the *Virgin of Loreto*.

## Notes

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1 According to Catholic narrative, the Santa Casa di Loreto travelled from Nazareth to Trsat in 1291. The structure subsequently relocated to the eastern coast of Italy in 1294, ultimately selecting the summit of Loreto in 1295; see Girolamo Angelita, *Lauretanae Virginis historia*, Rome, ca 1525–30, f. 25r.

2 Over the course of the sixteenth century, the Santa Casa di Loreto received a rich marble revetment program, instigated by Pope Julius II and Donato Bramante; see Kathleen Weil-Garris, "The Santa Casa di Loreto: Problems in Cinquecento Sculpture", PhD diss., Harvard University, 1965, pp. 6–10; *L'Ornamento marmoreo della Santa Cappella di Loreto*, ed. by Floriano Grimaldi and Katy Sordi, Loreto: Tecnostampa di Loreto, 1999, pp. 25–38. For a concise conversation on the Santa Casa di Loreto and later revetment program as reliquary, see Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*, New York: Zone Books, 2010, pp. 198–201.

3 A copy of the *Madonna di Loreto* sculpture still receives worship in the Santa Casa at Loreto; see Baptista Mantuanus, *Redemptoris mundi matris lauretanae historia*, Bologna: Bazalero o Caligola Bazalieri, circa 1495, f. 43v; Wilhelm Gumpfenberg, *Atlas Marianus sive de Imaginibus Deiparae per Orbem Christianum Miraculis*, Munich: Typographica Ioannis laecklini, 1657, p. 11.

4 Measurements of San Clemente from Mara Ranucci and Massimo Tenenti, *Sei riproduzioni della Santa Casa di Loreto in Italia*, Loreto: Congregazione Universale della Santa Casa, 2003, p. 148.

5 More than a local vicar, Francesco Lazzaroni acted as theological canon of the patriarch of Venice and general vicar of the bishopric of Torcello. Following the Holy House construction on San Clemente,

Lazzaroni also supported designs for the high altar of Santa Maria della Salute, another ex-voto plague construction conceived in the 1660s by architect Baldassare Longhena and sculptor Juste le Court (who is also attributed with the Morosini tombs flanking the San Clemente Santa Casa); see *Venezia e la peste: 1348/1797*, ed. by Orazio Pugliese, Venice: Marsilio Editore, 1980, p. 305; Andrew Hopkins, *Santa Maria della Salute: Architecture and Ceremony in Baroque Venice*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, pp. 81–83.

6 Initial permission to construct the Holy House at San Clemente was ceded to the commissioner, Francesco Lazzaroni, on 11 September 1643; see Archivio di Stato di Venezia (hereafter ASV), San Clemente in Isola MSS, Busta I, f. 1r. In a document dated 24 July 1645, Monsignor Lazzaroni declares, 'la Santa imagine fatta per mio Voto'; ASV, San Clemente in Isola MSS, Busta V, f. 5r.

7 'Fu accompagnata da Venetia sino alla presente Chiesa con solennità grandissima di Bucintoro imprestato dalla Serenissima Repubblica, Paotte, Gondole in grandissima quantità, Nobiltà Venetiana, Diversi Religiosi, Secolari dell'uno, e l'altro sesso, tutti facendo a gara, et a vicenda chi più poteva onorare la Regina de' Cieli, chi con canti, altri con suoni di diversi stromenti, torcie in gran quantità tutte accese, Trombe, Tamburi, Cannoni, et altre cose con allegrezza universale di tutta la città'; Biblioteca Correr (hereafter BC), *Breve descrizione della Chiesa, che si trova nell'Isola di S. Clemente* MSS, circa 1680, f. 1v. Lina Urban, "Venezia e Loreto: Una 'zanza' annotata da Marin Sanudo, i voti pubblici e una festa sull'acqua", *Arte Documento: Venezia, le Marche e la civiltà adriatica per festeggiare i 90 anni di Pietro Zampetti*, 17/19 (2003), 234–37 (p. 236). See also Giovanna Ceconello et al., *San Clemente: Progetto per un'isola*, Venice: Cluva Libreria Editrice, 1980, p. 29.

8 For more on the context of construction regarding the Santa Casa at San Clemente, see Ranucci and Tenenti, *Sei riproduzioni della Santa Casa*, p. 139.

9 *L'Isola di San Clemente a Venezia: Storia, restauro e nuove funzioni*, ed. by Martina Carraro, Venice: CARSA Edizioni, 2003, p. 15.

10 Ranucci and Tenenti, *Sei riproduzioni della Santa Casa*, p. 139.

11 The island of San Clemente was often referred to as the *Lazzaretto vecchio* (the old colony of Lazarus), a reference to leprosy and other mysterious diseases (*L'Isola di San Clemente a Venezia*, pp. 9–13). The island of San Clemente eventually became an insane asylum and hosted many local Venetians and such famous inmates as Ida Dalser, Benito Mussolini's

first wife. For more on the evolution of the island as a hospital and asylum, see Ceconello, *San Clemente*, pp. 39–50.

12 Ranucci and Tenenti, *Sei riproduzioni della Santa Casa*, p. 135.

13 The most notable replica on the pilgrimage route to Loreto is the early nineteenth-century version housed in the neighbouring town of Recanati, what was once the seat of the diocese of Loreto, located about thirteen kilometres from the Santa Casa original (Grimaldi, *L'Ornamento marmoreo*, pp. 93–114).

14 The Annunciation took special precedent in Venetian iconography. The annunciate Mary and the archangel once flanked the Great Council Hall in the Ducal Palace, which once showcased a frescoed *Coronation of the Virgin* by Paduan artist Guariento; see Patricia Fortini Brown, "The Self-Definition of the Venetian Republic", in *City States in Classical Antiquity and Medieval Italy*, ed. by Anthony Molho et al., Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1991, 511–48 (p. 518). The close proximity of the Santa Casa's brief residence at Trsat in modern Croatia, less than 240 kilometres from Venice's location around the upper Adriatic basin, promotes an overt association between the devotional structure and the powerful community.

15 Stones discussed in Ranucci and Tenenti, *Sei riproduzioni della Santa Casa*, pp. 143–44.

16 Though a large quantity of marble and four columns are listed among the purchases for the Holy House exterior in the San Clemente records between March 1645 and February 1646, no mention of sculptors paid or reliefs commissioned give any hint of the current white marble decorative scheme (ASV, San Clemente in Isola MSS, Busta V, ff. 6r–8r). Bartolo Cerù was a seventeenth-century Venetian painter, active until his death circa 1660. Cerù was paid 80 scudi for 'la pittura della facciata della s. Casa, tela legname et fattura' on 12 August 1646 (ASV, San Clemente in Isola MSS, Busta V, f. 7r).

17 Allison Sherman, "'Soli Deo honor et gloria'? 'Cittadino' Lay Procurator Patronage and the Art of Identity Formation in Renaissance Venice", in *Architecture, Art and Identity in Venice and Its Territories, 1450–1750*, ed. by Nebahat Avcioglu and Emma Jones, Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013, 15–32; Wolfgang Wolters, "Una bellissima chiesa tornata di marmi, lavorata all'antica", in *Santa Maria dei Miracoli a Venezia: La storia, la fabbrica, i restauri*, ed. by Mario Piana and Wolfgang Wolters, Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 2003, 41–50.

18 The grey outlining, in particular, echoes the precedent at Santa Maria dei

Miracoli (Wolters, "Una bellissima chiesa torniata di marmi", pp. 43–46).

19 The Morosini had a pre-existing relationship with the Santa Casa at San Clemente: on 9 July 1647, the newly arrived Camaldolese agreed to receive the body of Thomaso Morosini for burial. According to archival documents, the man had died 'in Armada'. For the honour of burial, the family agreed to construct either a new altar or a chapel dedicated to Saint Thomas. Additionally, Thomaso's brother Bernardo would commission commemorative additions to the San Clemente external façade, discussed later in note 23, below (ASV, San Clemente in Isola MSS, Busta I, Canto I, f. 4r). In 1688, Francesco Morosini would become doge of Venice, after a long career as a general in the Venetian navy.

20 The Camaldolese purchased San Clemente from the Augustinians at Santa Maria della Carità on 15 January 1645 (Venetian calendar 1644), for 6000 ducats (ASV, San Clemente in Isola MSS, Busta I, Canto I, f. 2r). In addition to the changes at San Clemente, the Morosini also commissioned the reconstruction of the local church of Sant'Anna di Castello (first stone laid 1634, completed 1659). Dedication to Saint Anne relates to Loretan devotion in that the Santa Casa di Loreto was the home of Saint Anne and Saint Joachim. The nuns of Sant'Anna di Castello received a replica of the *Madonna di Loreto* sculpture in 1646 (BC, San Pantaleone MSS, unpaginated document).

21 The changes at San Clemente reflect a general reorientation of sacred spaces across Venice, from the fifteenth century onward; see Joanne Allen, "Innovation or Afterthought? Dating the San Giobbe Retrochoir", in *Architecture, Art and Identity in Venice and Its Territories*, ed. by Nebahat Avcioglu and Emma Jones, Farnham: Ashgate, 2013, pp. 171–84. The backward move of the San Clemente Holy House was decreed 27 June 1662 (ASV, San Clemente in Isola MSS, Busta I, Canto II, f. 12r). Ranucci and Tenenti, *Sei riproduzioni della Santa Casa*, p. 140.

22 'si obliга il Sud[det]o Sig[no]r Gio[vanni] Batt[ista] di fare l'Incrostadura di marmo seguitando l'ordine delle due Parti finite con le due Colonne d'Affricano, eccettuato che nell'Ordine superiore vi dovrà, e vi obliга di poner due Quadri con le figure di Basso rilievo di Pietra Colombina' (ASV, Santa Casa in Isola MSS, Busta 5, Canto II, ff. 23r–23v).

23 The Morosini renovations of San Clemente extended to the church façade. Between 1647 and 1653, Senator Bernardo Morosini appended busts of his brother Thomaso and father, Francesco, flanking the church entrance, together with reliefs of naval battle scenes and a gilded family crest over the central portal

of the church. During the renovation, a fifteenth-century sculpted *Madonna and Child*, reminiscent of the *Madonna di Loreto* type, moved from its original location in the portal tympanum to the attic level of the façade; see Martin Gaier, *Facciate sacre a scopo profano: Venezia e la politica dei monumenti dal quattrocento al settecento*, Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 2002, pp. 271–72.

24 ASV, San Clemente in Isola MSS, Busta I, Canto II, f. 17r.

25 'L'anno 1663: 11 Agosto con atto del Capitolo Conventuale fu concesso à detto N. H. q[uesto] Anzolo Contarini il luogo p[er] la sua sepoltura nella Capella della S[an]ta Casa nel Caminetto p[er] lui solo, et p[er] la sua madre [...] Fu dato sepoltura al Cadavere nel Caminetto' (ASV, San Clemente in Isola MSS, Busta I, Canto II, f. 17r).

26 Erin Giffin, "Détruire, reconstruire, redéfinir: La fragmentation volontaire de la Santa Casa de Loreto et ses altérations répliquées", *Perspective: Actualité en histoire de l'art*, 2 (2018), 209–17 (p. 209).

27 Ranucci and Tenenti, *Sei riproduzioni della Santa Casa*, p. 16; Karin Vélez, *The Miraculous Flying House of Loreto: Spreading Catholicism in the Early Modern World*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press 2018, p. 134.

28 According to the Santa Casa di Loreto narrative, the apostles and the Virgin Mary met to hold the first Masses in the Virgin's humble home, equivocally transforming the structure into the first titulus church of the faith dedicated to the Virgin. For an early example of this narrative, see the anonymously written *Translatio Miraculosa ecclesiae B. V. M. de Loreto*, Rome: Bladus Antonius, 1516, f. 80v.

29 Silvio Serragli, *La Santa Casa Abbellita*, Macerata: Paolo Salvioni e Agostino Grisei 1634, p. 60. Explored further in Giffin, "Détruire, reconstruire, redéfinir", p. 213.

30 The frescoed man often assumed to be Saint Louis in seventeenth-century texts is more accurately a representation of Saint George; however, early modern texts describe the figure as Saint Louis in accordance with the larger narrative of the saint's visit to the Santa Casa prior to its relocation from Palestine; see Nereo Alfieri, "Il sacello della Santa Casa: Venerato da sempre", in *Il Santuario di Loreto: Sette secoli di storia arte devozione*, ed. by Floriano Grimaldi, Pizzi: Cinisello Balsamo, 1994, pp. 35–42 (p. 36); Angelita Scaramuccia, *La Santa Casa di Loreto: Rappresentazione sacra*, Rome: P. Corbellotti, 1631, pp. 41–51.

31 Before its relocation to San Clemente, the *Madonna di Loreto* was

honoured as a cult object at Santa Maria della Carità (BC, *Breve descrizione della Chiesa, che si trova nell'Isola di S. Clemente*, MSS, circa 1680, f. 1v).

32 Though the chapel at San Pantalon prioritizes the interior of the Santa Casa, the Gabriel window was subject to external decoration. The window originally opened into the chapel directly before the Holy House replica, wherein the opening of the window was framed by a fifteenth-century polychrome stone altar of the Ognissanti chapel in the pre-existing San Pantalon church (heavily altered in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries). The current chapel is now called the Cappella del Chiodo (Chapel of the Holy Nail), where a supposed relic of the Crucifixion was relocated in 1836. Today, the relic is enshrined in what was once the open window, obfuscating direct visual access back into the San Pantalon Santa Casa interior and the *Virgin of Loreto* sculpture inside, which once would have been visible from the church nave. For information on the Cappella del Chiodo, see the anonymously written *Breve storica narrazione del Santo Chiodo dei piedi di Gesu Cristo che si venera nella chiesa di S. Pantaleone med. Martire*, Venice: Giuseppe Molinari Tipografia Editrice, 1838, pp. 8–9; Alfonso Bisacco, *La chiesa di S. Pantaleone in Venezia*, Venice: Grafiche Sorteni, 1933, pp. 66–67.

33 Maria da Villa Urbani and Stefania Mason, *Chiesa di San Pantalon: Arte e devozione*, Venice: Tara s.r.l., 1994, p. 45.

34 Francesco Valcanover, "Affreschi sconosciuti di Pietro Longhi", *Paragone*, 7 (1956), 21–26 (p. 22, note 3).

35 Urban, "Venezia e Loreto", p. 236 (note 23).

36 Some debate surrounds the authorship of the frescoes. In the catalogue on Pietro Longhi by Terisio Pignatti, the frescoes fall under the 'artworks attributed' section; see Terisio Pignatti, *Pietro Longhi*, Venice: Alfieri, 1968, p. 138.

37 ASV, San Clemente in Isola MSS, Busta 2, document no. 99.

38 William Barcham, "Giambattista Tiepolo's Ceiling for S. Maria di Nazareth in Venice: Legend, Traditions, and Devotions", *The Art Bulletin*, 61:3 (1979), 43–447. The tradition of architectural re-creations and referents is not new to the Venetian community: the plan of San Marco at the Scuola Grande di San Marco is a notable example. Special thanks to Lorenzo Buonanno for pointing out this referential phenomenon.

39 The 1750 renewal of the cult at San Clemente may also imply a competitive element to the situation: perhaps sensing

a decrease in cultural importance in the aftermath of the changes at Santa Maria di Nazareth and San Pantalon, the Laguna cult centre sought to reinvigorate devotion.

40 Floriano Grimaldi, *Il Libro Lauretano: Secoli XV–XVIII*, Macerata: Diocesi di Macerata Tolentino Recanati Cingoli Treia, 1994, pp. 133–39.

41 Floriano Grimaldi et al., *Il sacello della Santa Casa*, Loreto: Cassa di Risparmio di Loreto, 1991, pp. 132–33.

42 Though the print *Delineatio S. Domus Lauretanae* seems most likely based off the Santa Casa at San Clemente, there remains the possibility that the print is based on a source predating the structure. Since no imagery has surfaced prior to the 1644–46 construction of the Santa Casa at San Clemente, I currently believe the print and any preexisting image or matrix to be documentary results of the replica rather than sources for its design.

43 For example, the Sante Case of Golab, Poland, and in Maribor, Slovenia, both bear the same hallmarks of the San Clemente Santa Casa type, each constructed over the seventeenth century. A replica much closer to home is the eighteenth-century Holy House in Vescovana in the Veneto. For more on Vescovana, see Ranucci and Tenenti, *Sei riproduzioni della Santa Casa*, pp. 205–25. In contrast with the San Clemente Holy House, the Sante Case in Lombardy and the Po Valley reflect different iterations of internal decoration, stemming at least in part from other contemporary prints.

44 Published documentation on the wealth of votive offerings at Loreto beg the question of similar local practice. A pair of epaulettes flanking the Madonna niche at San Pantalon and surviving dedicatory reliefs appended to the San Clemente church façade hint at larger ex-voto traditions now lost. For period accounts of votives at Loreto, see Orazio Torsellini and Bartolomeo Zucchi, *Della historia della Santa Casa di Loreto della Beatissima Vergine Maria*, Venice: Domenico Imberti, 1607, pp. 116, 139.

# Sebastiano del Piombo: The Normative Sacred Image between Italy and Spain

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By 1581, the Bolognese Alessandro Casale was bishop of Vigevano, southwest of Milan. Earlier in his ecclesiastical career, Casale had been a figure of importance at Rome as *maestro di camera* of Pius V between 1566 and 1572. His power at Rome had derived equally, however, from his close relationship with the Spanish ambassador from 1563 to 1568, Luis de Requesens y Zúñiga, and his successor as ambassador, his brother, Don Juan de Zúñiga y Requesens, who served at Rome from 1568 to 1578. Casale, well known as a Hispanophile, was one of Philip II's observers at the Conclave of 1566 that elected Pius V.<sup>1</sup> During Pius's pontificate, Casale twice served as apostolic nuncio in Spain, first in 1566 and again in 1572, for important and delicate missions. At the same time, he benefited from a number of ecclesiastical promotions thanks to the good offices of Philip II, benefices in the dioceses of Córdoba and Jaén or an abbey in Sicily.<sup>2</sup> His ultimate reward, his Milanese bishopric, Casale received in 1577 directly from the king, who had already several times tried unsuccessfully to have him made cardinal. A letter of the Genoese ambassador written from Madrid to Philip II on 2 May 1577 describes how Casale had just been made bishop thanks to His Majesty's 'merced'.<sup>3</sup>

In September 1581, Casale had sent from his bishopric a spectacular diplomatic gift that was intended for Don Juan de Zúñiga. Zúñiga was worth cultivating because, after his retirement as ambassador, he remained a powerful figure both at the court in Madrid and in Italian affairs, and as one close to his monarch; by 1581 he had become viceroy of Naples.<sup>4</sup> Casale and Zúñiga had known each other well in Rome. As early as October 12, 1568 the incoming ambassador had recommended Casale warmly to Philip II:

And I would like to state that although Alexandre Casal is not a *letrado*, he is a man of such virtue and so truthful and so affectionate towards your Majesty that I believe that there is no one more apt for your service who should be made Cardinal, as he has no other dependence than on Your Majesty.<sup>5</sup>

According to the inventory accompanying the covering letter, Casale's gift for Zúñiga in 1581 consisted of two paintings, a sculpture, and an Augsburg clock. The letter and the inventory are two important documents that have remained under the radar, but they were published more than twenty years ago. They are significant because, first, they shed new light on a growing practice of diplomatic gift-giving between Italian aristocrats and clerics and Spanish functionaries in these years.<sup>6</sup> Second, among other more specific insights, these two documents provide a level of fascinating detail both into the reception of Sebastiano del Piombo and into the development of a normative sacred image in the liminal space between Italy and Spain. Let me begin with a description of one of the two paintings that Casale is sending:

A Head of our Saviour by that good Fra Bastiano del Piombo, the excellence of whose works at Rome and elsewhere will make him live always in great fame, which is derived with such skill from that letter which Publius Lentulus wrote to the Roman Senate regarding the appearance of Our Lord when he came to Judaea that one could almost say that it was drawn from the life.<sup>7</sup>

This 'teste d'un Salvatore [sic]' by Sebastiano del Piombo does not survive; there is, however, further evidence to show that the artist was at the least considering this very theme. According to a letter of June 1530, written by a cleric at the papal court, Sebastiano had presented to Clement VII an also unidentifiable 'immagine di Christo'.<sup>8</sup> A drawing from a New York private collection that is definitely by Sebastiano, and an *Ecce Homo* from the Pitti that can be related to that drawing, may provide one possible indication of these paintings original appearance **FIGURE 1**.<sup>9</sup> Michael Hirst described the Pitti *Ecce Homo* as having 'all the signs of recording his [Sebastiano] own invention'.<sup>10</sup> It shows a single figure of a heavily bearded Christ against a black background with the crown of thorns, his arms crossed and bound.



### Sebastiano del Piombo and Spain

Whatever the case, Casale's description demonstrates that about thirty-five years after his death Sebastiano del Piombo's reputation as a sacred artist continued to flourish, not only in Italy but also in Spain. Fra Bastiano del Piombo was the usual name given to the artist in both polities, but Sebastiano's religious status after he accepted the office of Piombatore in 1531 was constantly emphasized. Furthermore, both sender and recipient of this letter were well versed in artistic matters. At the very beginning of his cover letter, Casale beautifully describes how 'I have always had a taste for sculpture and painting, and an understanding of these perhaps more than is suitable for a prelate'.<sup>11</sup> But in a better-known letter to Philip II of 1578, Zúñiga had discussed which artists from Rome were the best available and could be sent to work on the main altar of the Escorial.<sup>12</sup>

Since the exhibition titled *Sebastiano del Piombo y España*, held at the Museo del Prado in 1995, an interest has developed in the reception of Sebastiano del Piombo's art in Spain.<sup>13</sup> Before 1995, Sebastiano's Spanish fame was an area of his artistic practice that had been largely ignored. The deeply considered religious art that Sebastiano developed had instead been tied, fallaciously, first to Sebastiano's relationship with Michelangelo and through the Florentine to the inchoate notions of reform at Rome in the 1530s and 1540s that were centred around the *spirituali* of Viterbo.<sup>14</sup> These questions had dominated studies of his art previously, and Sebastiano's role as a propagator of normative religious imagery, especially in Spain, remained undervalued. In fact, in terms of 'image normativity' in the Spain of Philip II, Sebastiano at Rome in the earlier part of the century had created a set of visual norms

**FIGURE 1.** After Sebastiano del Piombo, *Ecce Homo*, 16th century. Florence, Palazzo Pitti.



**FIGURE 2.** Sebastiano del Piombo, *Christ Carrying the Cross*, 1537. Saint Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum.

for depicting Christ's passion. These both became standard and were also spread by various means throughout the Iberian peninsula and beyond, throughout the Spanish imperial world; indeed, Sebastiano's images of the Passion came to form a new 'sacred geography'. Nonetheless, apart from Federico Zeri, the few scholars who have discussed the development of the sacred image at Rome in the second half of the sixteenth century, such as Marcia Hall, have until recently barely acknowledged Sebastiano's pivotal role.<sup>15</sup>

The new evidence that was provided first by the 1995 exhibition and then by my own recent monograph, particularly concerning the commissions of Don Jerónimo de Vich y Vallterra, has also brought out the importance of this Spanish dimension clearly.<sup>16</sup> It has been shown that throughout his career at least five works by Sebastiano's own hand focusing on Christ's passion were commissioned at Rome and arrived in Spain within his lifetime. This is already an unprecedented number, and there are probably others besides. By date of commission, these are first the

Vich paintings, the so-called triptych and the *Christ Carrying the Cross*, datable roughly to between 1513 and 1517, then the *Burgos Madonna and Child*, from the early 1520s, and finally the Cifuentes *Christ Carrying the Cross* **FIGURE 2**, now in the Hermitage, and the Úbeda *Pietà* **FIGURE 3**, both from the early 1530s. Probably too this second *Christ Carrying the Cross* in the Prado that was reattributed to Sebastiano himself in 1995 was always intended for Spain **FIGURE 4**.<sup>17</sup> The reassessment of the significance of this group of paintings has represented an alternative dimension to Sebastiano's artistic practice at Rome and also sheds new light on the development of his career there.

Besides his relationship with Michelangelo, from the Prado exhibition it became clear that another reason for Sebastiano's success at Rome was that he was bound in with the highest echelons of a powerful and ever-increasing Spanish community right from the beginning of his time in the city. Jerónimo de Vich was an associate of Sebastiano's first Roman patron, Agostino Chigi; his contact with Sebastiano came through Chigi initially and would have begun no later than 1513.<sup>18</sup> It was from 1513 on that the years of Sebastiano's active Roman career represent precisely those in which Spanish hegemony over the Italian peninsula was being cemented. Sebastiano appealed to his various Spanish clients not just because of his *Romanitas*, however, but also because he could satisfy their particular requirements in terms of the sacred



**FIGURE 3.** Sebastiano del Piombo, *Pietà*, 1533–39. Madrid, Museo del Prado.



**FIGURE 4.** Sebastiano del Piombo, *Christ Carrying the Cross*, 1532–36. Madrid, Museo del Prado.

image: indeed, this became, to the use the modern phrase, his, 'unique selling point'.

Whatever his influence on Spanish artists practicing at Rome, in contrast, Spanish patrons appear to have shown little interest in Michelangelo's art.<sup>19</sup> Actual works that were supposedly his work in Spain by the end of the sixteenth century were only the so-called *Giovannino*, a sculpture of the young John the Baptist, in Úbeda, and a *Crucifixion* in Logroño, that is probably in fact by Marcello Venusti.<sup>20</sup> Following Sebastiano's example, Venusti became the second great creator at Rome of a normative sacred image for Spain, but that is another story.<sup>21</sup> Spain seems also to have taken no interest in the second of Sebastiano's great artistic talents, that is, for portraiture. Already by the 1520s in Italy too, Sebastiano's reputation had become principally that of a religious artist. In 1524, when the Marquess of Mantua, Federico II, wrote to Baldassare Castiglione asking for a painting by Sebastiano, he felt compelled to stress that he does not want 'cose di sancti'.<sup>22</sup>

The reasons behind the success of Sebastiano's sacred images in a Spanish context, in particular, much greater than that of the work of any of his Roman contemporaries, have still not been discussed.

Michael Hirst made this point in his review of the 1995 exhibition, but few have taken it further, though David Franklin has recently made the same point in relation to Polidoro da Caravaggio, whose later artistic development paralleled that of Sebastiano.<sup>23</sup> Several subsequent exhibitions in Valencia clarified the significant effect Sebastiano's paintings for Ambassador Vich had upon the development of artists working in that city, notably Vicente Maçip and his son, Juan de Juanes.<sup>24</sup> Sebastiano's influence extended far beyond Valencia, however, and those locations where his own paintings ended up — it was felt throughout all of Spain. Furthermore, it was not just a question of his influence upon individual artists but also the success of the archetypes he created and that entered into circulation rapidly. Casale's little-known letter is significant additional evidence for this practice because it shows precisely how Sebastiano's reputation as a painter of the sacred image continued to flourish later on in the sixteenth century.

Indeed, not only did Sebastiano's own sacred images reach Spain within his lifetime, but they were already being copied there. It was Álvaro de Mendoza, bishop of Ávila and the brother-in-law of the powerful secretary of state, Francisco de los Cobos, who commissioned the first datable copy of a painting by Sebastiano in Spain, namely, *Christ Carrying the Cross*, dated as early as



**FIGURE 5.** Manuel Denis after Sebastiano del Piombo, *Christ Carrying the Cross*, 1544. Ávila, Convento de San José.

1544, three years before Sebastiano's death **FIGURE 5**. The inspiration is taken from the painting of the same subject by Sebastiano for Fernando de Silva, IV Count of Cifuentes, who had been ambassador at Rome from 1533 to 1536. The painting is still in the convent of Santa Teresa at Ávila, to which the bishop gave it; it is signed *Sebastianus Venetus inventor, Roi Dionisi faciebat I. D. XXXXVIII*, and the frame has a further inscription, *Alvari de Mea Abulensis*.

From the evidence of the first inscription, the artist is presumed to be the Portuguese painter Manuel Denis, who was active with the court at Valladolid, while from the second inscription the patron of the Ávila *Christ Carrying the Cross* is identified securely as Álvaro de Mendoza.<sup>25</sup> That Mendoza was able to access Cifuentes *Christ Carrying the Cross* as a model should be unsurprising because Mendoza was an integral part of the tight-knit circle of court functionaries allied to Francisco de los Cobos, including Cifuentes, who were based at Valladolid. This copy also demonstrates Sebastiano's success not only with Spaniards at Rome but also in Spain itself and at the highest levels of elite society. What should just be noted here in relation to the discussion that follows, however, and will be further considered later, is the heightened pathos of Mendoza's *Christ Carrying the Cross*. This is a change that can be found in virtually all Spanish copies of Sebastiano's work. In this Ávila painting, for example, copious goutts of blood now run from below the crown of thorns, a detail absent from the original.

### **The Sacred Image between Italy and Spain**

Returning to the letter of the bishop of Vigevano, this has much else to tell us in relation to Sebastiano del Piombo and Spain. The first is that all three works came in the first instance from Rome, where the bishop, 'having collected at Rome in better times many fine things and among which these are the very best', now presents these same as gifts to Zúñiga and says, 'I would supplicate as a favour that in your house in Spain or in one of your churches they can be kept as a memory of my devoted service to Your Excellency and to his most illustrious house.'<sup>26</sup> Works of art exported from Rome for Spanish patrons are still to be found in unprecedented number, often unpublished, in castles and chapels throughout Spain, and by Sebastiano not least.

Next, there are the three works of art themselves that are described in detail in the bishop's letter, all of which have sacred subject matter. Sebastiano, when the commission from Ferrante Gonzaga for the Úbeda *Pietà* intended for Francisco de los Cobos was under discussion, is reported by the Gonzaga agent at Rome, Nino Sernini, as having sarcastically distilled his own long experience of Spanish piety when it came to choosing the subject matter in a letter of probably 2 June 1533: 'He said that I should ask Your Lordship whether he would prefer an Our Lady with her dead son in her arms like that of the Febre, since the Spanish are accustomed to like such devout things in order to appear good and devout Christians, or if he wishes rather a beautiful Our Lady.'<sup>27</sup> Throughout the sixteenth century, the Italians had an exaggerated view of Spanish piety, real or perceived, and conversely they reacted with distaste and/or surprise to their aesthetic choices. In a letter of

a little under four years later, 24 May 1537, Sernini famously described to Ferrante Gonzaga how Sebastiano's *Christ Carrying the Cross* for the Count of Cifuentes would 'not only (not) please him, but offensive to the viewer to look upon.'<sup>28</sup>

A cache of documents published by Edward Goldberg twenty years ago reveals how Florentine ambassadors at the court in Madrid at the end of sixteenth century had to issue very precise instructions as to the appropriate methods of depicting sacred scenes that would make them acceptable to a Spanish audience.<sup>29</sup> And, as Elena Calvillo has discussed concerning earlier in that century, in the completed Úbeda *Pietà* the display of the nails and of the Veronica by the Virgin are a choice that is both deliberate and archaizing.<sup>30</sup> Nonetheless, Sebastiano's *Pietà* is restrained by comparison to its Spanish variants, of which there are several nearly contemporary copies.<sup>31</sup> There is one further version of this *Pietà* that illustrates this point neatly, an only slightly later Hispanic version from around 1550 by an unknown artist that is now in Budapest **FIGURE 6**.<sup>32</sup> The skin has been toned down to an almost translucent paper whiteness, against which lighter background the bloody wounds that are barely visible in Sebastiano's original stand out. The gash in Christ's side made by the lance of Longinus drips blood, as do the holes that were made in the hands by the nails of the crucifixion, while around his forehead the marks made by the crown of thorns are starkly visible.

Of the other two gifts sent by the bishop to the ambassador, the first is a *San Gerolamo* that is attributed to Giulio Romano, according to the letter 'mirabile affetto di divotione'. As with the Sebastiano, this passage can be related to no surviving painting, but a Saint Jerome attributed to Giulio was known. One such was described in 1568 by Vasari as belonging to Vespasiano Gonzaga, 'another most excellent painting, a most beautiful Saint Jerome also completely by the hand of Giulio.'<sup>33</sup> This same Saint Jerome was next listed in the pre-sale Gonzaga collection inventory of 1626–27 as the fifth most valuable painting, but after that all trace is lost.<sup>34</sup> The third item is described as follows: 'A metal plate that shows Our Lord bearing his Cross up the mountain helped by the Cyrenean and followed by the women of Jerusalem with other episodes of the Passion, which was made by that Girolamo da Recanati.'<sup>35</sup> Girolamo da Recanati was the only artist of the three chosen who was still alive, albeit just. He was the sculptor Girolamo Lombardo, son of Antonio, who had carried out work for most of his active career in the Marche, at Loreto, and elsewhere.<sup>36</sup> More relevant here is that it is this same subject of



**FIGURE 6.** After Sebastiano del Piombo, *Pietà*, ca 1550. Budapest, Szépművészeti Museum.



‘il Signore che porta la croce’ that in the hands of Sebastiano had the greatest influence in Spain in terms of the development of the normative sacred image. It was, however, usually painted, this sculptural version would have been unusual.

As to Sebastiano’s own paintings of Christ carrying the cross, the magnificent example for Don Jerónimo de Vich was only the first of the four that he produced at Rome, and three of these were for Spanish clients. It should be unsurprising that it is this subject of Sebastiano’s that is most often copied in Spain or commissioned by Spaniards, Álvaro de Mendoza’s version representing the tip of an iceberg. I have discussed Sebastiano and this subject elsewhere recently, but there is another excellent case study involving an Italian client and Spanish patron that is almost exactly contemporary with the bishop’s letter, which illustrates the importance of this subject in Spain and for Spanish clients.<sup>37</sup> An even more significant Italian than the bishop of Vigevano and one who was directly in Philip II’s service was the Roman noble Marcantonio Colonna, who had been serving the king as viceroy of Sicily since 1577. Only eighteen months after the bishop of Vigevano’s gift, Colonna felt the need to send a gift himself, this time to the

powerful royal secretary, Mateo Vázquez. Colonna wanted to ensure a cardinal’s hat for his only surviving son, Ascanio.

His choice of gift fell on a single painting of *Christ Carrying the Cross* by his own preferred artist, Scipione Pulzone. Along with Marcello Venusti, Pulzone was in many ways the natural successor to Sebastiano as the creator at Rome of a normative sacred image for Spanish clients. This *Christ Carrying the Cross*, first referred to in Raffaello Borghini’s *Il Riposo* of 1584, was long thought to be lost but has recently and controversially been identified with the painting now in a private collection in Milan.<sup>38</sup> The accompanying letter is dated 29 April 1583: ‘Most Illustrious Lord/As a painting of Our Lord with the cross upon his shoulder by the hand of a famous painter and my friend has pleased me, knowing how inclined Your Lordship is to things of such devotion as this is, it has occurred to me to send it to you.’<sup>39</sup> Again

**FIGURE 7.** Marcello Venusti (?), after Sebastiano del Piombo, *Flagellation*. Private collection.

the reference to a particularly Spanish devotion should be noted but also that it had become well known that it was this subject of Christ carrying the cross that found particular favour with Spanish patrons.

Questions of copies and versions of Sebastiano's own sacred images and of the nature of the production of these in his workshop remain *terra incognita*. Their continuing popularity is demonstrated by the numerous sixteenth-century Spanish copies and versions of Sebastiano's originals. Upon further investigation, we see that Sebastiano made copies and versions of his work throughout his career, but the significance of these for his development of a normative sacred image are only now beginning to be understood. It is often hard to distinguish, however, between the original work and numerous versions. It wasn't even just *Christ Carrying the Cross* or other versions of Sebastiano's paintings that had been sent to Spain, such as the Úbeda *Pietà*, that were popular among patrons there. The centrepiece of the Borgherini chapel in San Pietro in Montorio is a *Flagellation*, versions of which enjoyed enormous popular success. There is for example an undistinguished copy of this in Huesca Cathedral that has the telling inscription: 'The Reverend J. Escartin Canon of Huesca having spent [...] 40 years in Rome among other things brought back this painting the 19 of April 1567'.<sup>40</sup> This small painting, almost an *ex-voto*, also shows the transformation in use that took place with regard to copies and versions of Sebastiano's paintings in Spain. Another example is a version that was published in the 1980s and sold in Madrid in 2016; it is of remarkably high quality, but again is more likely to be the work of Marcello Venusti **FIGURE 7**.<sup>41</sup>

In terms of the normative sacred image, however, at the same time as they enjoyed success in Spain, in Italy at least, after the decrees of Trent, Sebastiano's depictions of Christ's passion became problematic and their primacy did not remain uncontested. The image theoretician Giovanni Andrea Gilio, in his *Dialogo degli errori e degli abusi dei pittori circa l'istorie* written around 1561–62, just before the final session at Trent, attacked Sebastiano's depiction of the *Flagellation* in particular:

A painter would show the power of the art much better if he represented Christ afflicted, bloody, covered with spittle, flayed, wounded, deformed, livid and ugly, to such an extent that he did not have the appearance of man. This would be brilliance, this would be the power and potency of the art, this would be decorum and the perfection of the artist. Because what transpires from Fra Sebastiano's flogged figure is that the scourgings and beatings were done as a joke, as with whips made of some soft material, and not with thick knotted ropes, or even worse things. And from such frivolous representations no-one will ever learn to understand the harshness of the sufferings, the taunts, the distress, the wounds and the other great miseries.<sup>42</sup>

Gilio's text was issued at the same time as the conclusion of the Council of Trent, but both his precise influence on artists and the exact purpose of his text remain hotly debated topics.<sup>43</sup> One thing is clear: Sebastiano's Spanish copyists took it upon themselves to correct these perceived omissions.

## Processes of Dissemination

The best known of all Sebastiano's Spanish followers is Luis de Morales. The sending of an original Sebastiano by Casale was a magnificent gift, but there was evidently already an active market for copies of Sebastiano's sacred images that were made in Spain by local artists, and none more so than Morales. Michael Hirst, also in his review of the 1995 exhibition, suggestively described Sebastiano's influence on Morales as having an 'almost hypnotic effect'.<sup>44</sup> The contemporary attitude to such copies was very different to our own, and besides reflected the different purpose these works now had; this is an area that is only now beginning to be explored.<sup>45</sup> It is known that Morales in particular followed Sebastiano's model in his several faithful renditions of *Christ Carrying the Cross*, in one sense at least.<sup>46</sup> Furthermore, that he had encountered these even in his remote Extremaduran base of Badajoz demonstrates the wide circulation Sebastiano's sacred images already enjoyed by mid century.

Nonetheless, there is an enhanced drama of pietism and pathetism in Morales's *Christ Carrying the Cross* that is alien to Sebastiano's art. Morales rather reflects a more visceral Spanish meditation on Christ's passion that was also influenced by a post-Tridentine norm. Morales produced grittily realistic depictions of Christ's suffering that drew very much on the exegetical tradition and on contemporary Spanish mystics. Contemporary mystical writings emphasized a similarly visceral need on the part of the pious audience to experience the sufferings of Christ's passion for themselves.

For example, there is Morales archetypal *Christ Carrying the Cross*, painted for Juan de Ribera, archbishop of Valencia and titular patriarch of Antioch, that is still in the seminary in Valencia, the Colegio del Patriarca, that Ribera had founded **FIGURE 8**.<sup>47</sup> The transformation in the subject matter across geographical space becomes clear immediately. In the Morales version, the crown of thorns is no longer present. Instead, around the head of Christ the gouges left by the thorns upon his forehead drip black blood. The points where the thorns have pierced the skin are slightly raised and bruised. The skin is almost white with pain as the bones of the fingers in the hand that supports the cross strain under the weight of their burden. Upon Christ's face is visibly etched the suffering and pain he is undergoing, the open mouth gasping with breath and the eyes sunken with pain. Finally, the colour of the tunic has changed from the blue always used by Sebastiano to red, the colour of martyrdom.

Thanks to Ribera's patronage, Morales moved in the same patronage circles as contemporary spiritual authors, such as the Dominican Fray Luis de Granada, all of whom wholeheartedly approved of such visceral subject matter. They made a determined return to the first principles of pain and suffering in considering the Passion in order to encourage such a private, interior devotion. Granada's immensely popular *Libro de la Oración y Meditación*, written within Morales lifetime, was published first in 1554 and again in a revised edition in 1566. The first part invites the reader to engage with the viscosity of each and every individual episode of Christ's passion through mental prayer. These similarities between the artist and the spiritual author have been noted before, but because it is directly relevant to our argument, here is just a flavour from the chapter entitled 'De como el salvador llevo la Cruz a cuestras':



**FIGURE 8.** Luis de Morales,  
*Christ Carrying the Cross*, ca 1560s.  
Valencia, Colegio del Patriarca.

Now goeth the sweete innocent Jesus forwardes on his waie, with that so heavie dolorous burthen upon his weake, and torne shoulders [...]. What stonie harte had been able to abstaine from most bitter weepinge, beholding the Kinge of Angells, to go thus faintlie, with such a great, and weightie burthen, his knees tremblinge under him: his bodie crowchinge under the crosse: his modest eies, and face, all bloud-dye: with that dolorous garlande of thorne upon his heade.<sup>48</sup>

Similar changes that bring the subject matter more into line with Granada's dramatic description of the way to Calvary can be seen on other versions of Sebastiano's *Christ Carrying the Cross* that were painted in Spain.

So far this discussion of the circulation of Sebastiano's sacred images within Spain has focused on relatively elite levels of patronage. In the more commercial field, documentary evidence that survives for the practice of Benito Rabuyate, the Florentine artist based at Valladolid, provides striking proof of the existence of a more commercial market for copies of Sebastiano's sacred art in Spain.<sup>49</sup> Rabuyate was active in this important court centre from an uncertain date in the second half of the sixteenth century. Even if he had never visited Rome, he could have had access to Sebastiano's compositions through the network of sophisticated aristocratic collectors based at Valladolid, and, besides, in his will Rabuyate himself claims to have owned

a couple of paintings by Sebastiano, one worth 30 ducats, 'a large canvas [...] of Our Lady and Saint Joseph'.<sup>50</sup> He also leaves a large painting of Our Lady by Sebastiano to Nuestra Señora de la Victoria y Cofradia de San Roque, in Valladolid.<sup>51</sup>

Whether these were actual paintings by Sebastiano or copies, either by Rabuyate himself or others, is unclear. His anomalous career as a Florentine who had moved to Spain is fascinating anyway, but what is significant here is his continuous copying of what he refers to himself as 'frai Bastiano's' work throughout his Spanish career and what that tells us about the subjects requested. That there was a ready market for such copies of Sebastiano's work, and in particular of *Christ Carrying the Cross*, is testified not just by the number of surviving examples, but also by the lists included in Rabuyate's two wills and their accompanying inventories of 1589 and 1592.<sup>52</sup> For example, according to the inventory, Rabuyate had copied the Burgos *Madonna and Child*, and a version of this by him is now in the Audiencia Provincial in Valladolid. Rabuyate also copied Luis de Morales and through him Sebastiano, as attest both his will and the fascinating example of *Christ Carrying the Cross* that has been attributed to him in the former Jesuit church of San Miguel in Valladolid **FIGURE 9**.<sup>53</sup>



**FIGURE 9.** Benito Rabuyate after Luis de Morales, *Christ Carrying the Cross*, second half of the 16th century. Valladolid, church of San Miguel.

Finally, there are the uses to which Sebastiano's paintings were put in Spain, which uses were very different to what they would have been in Rome. First, in terms of location, all of Sebastiano's five paintings were probably intended for religious institutions. The Burgos *Madonna and Child* was commissioned for the chapel in Burgos Cathedral where it still hangs today. Furthermore, this altarpiece, I would argue, and the so-called Vich triptych were intended not as free-standing works of art but to be placed in those enormous *retablos* that were then the norm throughout Spain, structures intended to contain both painting and sculpture.<sup>54</sup> The Vich group of paintings have been referred to as a triptych ever since their unity was restored in 1963, but their reunion in the recent exhibition and their differing sizes, in my opinion, forces a rethink of the structure for which they were intended.<sup>55</sup>

Beyond their physical location, Sebastiano's pietistic subjects were repurposed in a Spanish context to become objects of profound devotion. By the end of the sixteenth century, such images as *Christ Carrying the Cross* had come to form part of a well-known mimetic world, one familiar to a pious audience. Even in Sebastiano's case, the name of the creator — often anonymous, even in their own time — did not matter; rather, it was the effect that was achieved that was important. Let us end with Francisco Ribalta's *The Vision of Father Simón* in the National Gallery **FIGURE 10**.<sup>56</sup> Sebastiano's type of Christ carrying the cross is used as a basis to depict the vision of Christ carrying his cross that appeared to a devout parish priest from Valencia who was on the path to sainthood.

It is appropriate to end with a couple of paintings by the Italian Jesuit artist Bernardo Bitti, who arrived in Lima, Peru, from Rome in 1575.<sup>57</sup> Bitti came from and trained in Camerino, where he was an almost exact contemporary of Giovanni Andrea Gilio. Bitti's Latin American career represents perhaps the culmination of Sebastiano del Piombo's success in creating a normative sacred image for the Spanish imperial world. Bitti would have experienced Sebastiano's art for himself in Rome, where he spent four years. First there is a *Christ Carrying the Cross*, now in a private collection in Lima. Even more dramatic is Bitti's *Flagellation* from the Jesuit church in Arequipa, which not only looks to Sebastiano's *Flagellation*, but also to Luis de Morales in the adoption of the figure of Saint Peter as kneeling donor. Like Sebastiano and Morales, Bitti reproduced such compositions serially, and with these two subjects he has made Sebastiano's normative sacred art a truly global phenomenon. Bitti is only the beginning, however, and as I have hinted, the investigation could go much further and encompass images of Christ's passion that I have only touched on, such as the *Flagellation*, besides including other artists such as Marcello Venusti in its scope.



**FIGURE 10.** Francisco Ribalta, *The Vision of Father Simón*, 1612. London, National Gallery.

- 1 Miles Pattenden, *Electing the Pope in Early Modern Italy, 1450-1700*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017, pp. 143-44.
- 2 Archivo General de Simancas (hereafter AGS) Estado, Legajo 917, unpaginated, and Legajo 1484, 232.
- 3 AGS, Estado, 1484, 232.
- 4 Michael J. Levin, *Agents of Empire: Spanish Ambassadors in Sixteenth-Century Italy*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005, Chapter 3. Almudena Pérez de Tudela, "El papel de los embajadores españoles en Roma como agentes artísticos de Felipe II: Los hermanos Luis de Requesens y Juan de Zúñiga (1563-1579)", in *Roma y España: Un crisol de la Cultura Europea en la Edad Moderna*, ed. by Carlos José Hernando Sánchez, 2 vols, Madrid: Sociedad Estatal para la Acción Cultural Exterior, 2007, I, 391-420; Maria Antonietta Visceglia, "International Politics, Factions and Parties in the Roman Curia during the late 16th Century", in *A Europe of Courts, a Europe of Factions: Political Groups at Early Modern Centres of Power (1550-1700)*, ed. by Rubén González Cuerva and Alexander Koller, Leiden: Brill, 2017, 64-87 (pp. 66-67).
- 5 Luciano Serrano, *Correspondencia Diplomática entre España y la Santa Sede durante el pontificado de S. Pio V*, 4 vols. Rome: Impr. Del Instituto Pio IX, 1914, 2, p. 491: 'Y no quiero dexar de dezir que aunque Alexandre Casal no es letrado, es hombre tan virtuoso y de tanta verda y tan aficionado a V. M. que creo que ninguno convendria mas para su servicio que fuesse Cardenal, porque no él no tendria otra dependencia sino la de V.M.'
- 6 *L'arte del dono. Scambi artistici e diplomazia tra Italia e Spagna, 1550-1650*, ed. by Marieke von Bernstorff and Susanne Kubersky-Piredda, Milan: Silvana, 2013.
- 7 Agustin Bustamante Garcia, "Datos sobre el Gusto Español del siglo XVI", *Archivo Español de Arte*, 68:271 (1995), 304-8 (p. 306): 'Una teste d'un Salvatore di quel buen fra Bastiano dal Piombo, l'eccellenza dell'opere del quale lasciate a Roma et altreve lo faranno con gloriosa fama vivere sempre, cavata con tant'arte da quell'epistola che Publio Lentulo scrisse al Senato Romano delle qualità del signore quando apparve in Judea che si puo quasi dire che sta ritratta al naturale'. On the history of the letter to Lentulus and its uses in art, see Joan E. Taylor, *What Did Jesus Look Like?*, Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2018, pp. 16-19.
- 8 *Delle Lettere da diversi Re et Principi et Cardinali et altri huomini dotti a Mons. Pietro Bembo scritte*, Venice: Francesco Sansovino, 1560, p. 110.
- 9 Piers Baker-Bates, "'Un nuovo modo di colorire in pietra': Technical Experimentation in the Art of Sebastiano del Piombo", in *Almost Eternal: Paintings on Stone and Material Innovation*, ed. by Piers Baker-Bates and Elena Calvillo, Leiden: Brill, 2018, 47-73 (pp. 59-61).
- 10 Michael Hirst, *Sebastiano del Piombo*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1981, p. 125.
- 11 Bustamante, "Datos sobre el Gusto Español", p. 306: 'io ho sempre havuto humore della scultura et della pittura, et intelligenza di esse forse più di quello che conviene a un prelato'.
- 12 Rudolf Beer, "Akten, Regesten und Inventare aus dem Archivio General zu Simancas", *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, 12 (1891), CXCVIII.
- 13 Manuela Mena Marqués, *Sebastiano del Piombo y España*, Madrid: Ediciones el Viso, 1995.
- 14 Maria Cali, *Da Michelangelo all'Escorial: Momenti del dibattito religioso nell'arte del Cinquecento*, Turin: G. Einaudi, 1980; Bruno Toscano, "Alumbrados y Deslumbrados: la fortuna di Valdés nella cerchia di Michelangelo", in *Italia e Spagna tra Quattrocento e Cinquecento*, ed. by Pina Rosa Piras and Giovanna Saporì, Rome: Aracne, 1999, 169-90 (pp. 185-90); Luisa Caporossi, "Michelangelo e le istanze di rinnovamento dell'Ecclesia viterbiensis", in *L'Eterno e il Tempo tra Michelangelo e Caravaggio*, ed. by Antonio Paolucci et al., Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 2018, 27-37.
- 15 Federico Zeri, *Pittura e Controriforma. L'arte senza tempo di Scipione da Gaeta*, Turin: Einaudi, 1957, pp. 23-24; Marcia Hall, *The Sacred Image in the Age of Art: Titian, Tintoretto, Barocci, El Greco, Caravaggio*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2011, pp. 147-48; Andrea Bacchi, "'Federico Zeri e l'arte senza tempo' di Valeriano e Pulzone", in *L'Eterno e il Tempo tra Michelangelo e Caravaggio*, ed. by Antonio Paolucci et al., Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 2018, 115-29 (pp. 120-21).
- 16 Mena Marqués, *Sebastiano del Piombo y España*, pp. 87-104; Piers Baker-Bates, *Sebastiano del Piombo and the World of Spanish Rome*, London: Routledge, 2017, pp. 95-130.
- 17 Mena Marqués, *Sebastiano del Piombo y España*, pp. 106-8.
- 18 Baker-Bates, *Sebastiano del Piombo and the World of Spanish Rome*, pp. 35-36.
- 19 Lizzie Boubli, "'Magnifico maestro Alonso Berruguete': Introduction à l'étude de son oeuvre graphique", *Revue de l'Art*, 103 (1994), 21-26; Lizzie Boubli, "Michelangelo and Spain: On the Dissemination of His Draughtsmanship", in *Reactions to the Master: Michelangelo's Effect on Art and Artists in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. by Francis Ames-Lewis and Paul Joannides, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003, 211-37.
- 20 José Manuel Ramírez Martínez and Eliseo Sainz Ripa, *El Miguel Angel de la Redonda El Obispo don Pedro González de Castillo y su legado artístico*, Logroño: Gonzalo de Berceo 1977, pp. 73-87 and 163; Francesco Caglioti, "Il 'San Giovannino' medico di Michelangelo, da Firenze a Úbeda", *Prospettiva*, 145 (2013), 2-81; Maria Cristina Improta, *Il San Giovannino di Úbeda restituito*, Florence: Edifir, 2014.
- 21 José María Ruiz Manero, "Obras y noticias de Girolamo Muziano, Marcello Venusti y Scipione Pulzone en España", *Archivo Español de Arte*, 68:172 (October-December 1995), 365-80; Anna D'Amelio, "La Famiglia De Torres e Marcello Venusti", in *Dal Razionalismo al Rinascimento: Per i quaranta anni di studi di Silvia Danesi Squarzina*, ed. by M. Giulia Aurigemma, Rome: Campisano, 2011, 101-6.
- 22 Alessandro Luzio, *La Galleria dei Gonzaga venduta all'Inghilterra nel 1627-28*, Milan: L. F. Cogliatti, 1913, p. 28.
- 23 Michael Hirst, "Sebastiano del Piombo and Spain", *Burlington Magazine*, CXXXVII (July 1995), 481-82; David Franklin, *Polidoro da Caravaggio*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2018, p. 137.
- 24 Fernando Benito Doménech, *Vicente Macip*, Valencia: Generalitat Valencia, 1997; Fernando Benito Doménech, *Joan de Joanes: Una nueva visión del artista y su obra*, Valencia: Generalitat Valencia, 2000.
- 25 María José Redondo Cantera and Vitor Serrão, "El pintor Portugués Manuel Denis, al servicio de la Casa Real", in *El Arte Foráneo en España: Presencia e influencia*, ed. by Miguel Cabañas Bravo, Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2005, 61-78 (pp. 66-69); Felipe Pereda, "Luis de Morales, Divine Painter", in *The Divine Morales*, ed. by Leticia Ruiz Gómez, Madrid: Ediciones el Viso, 2015, 44-57 (pp. 56-57).

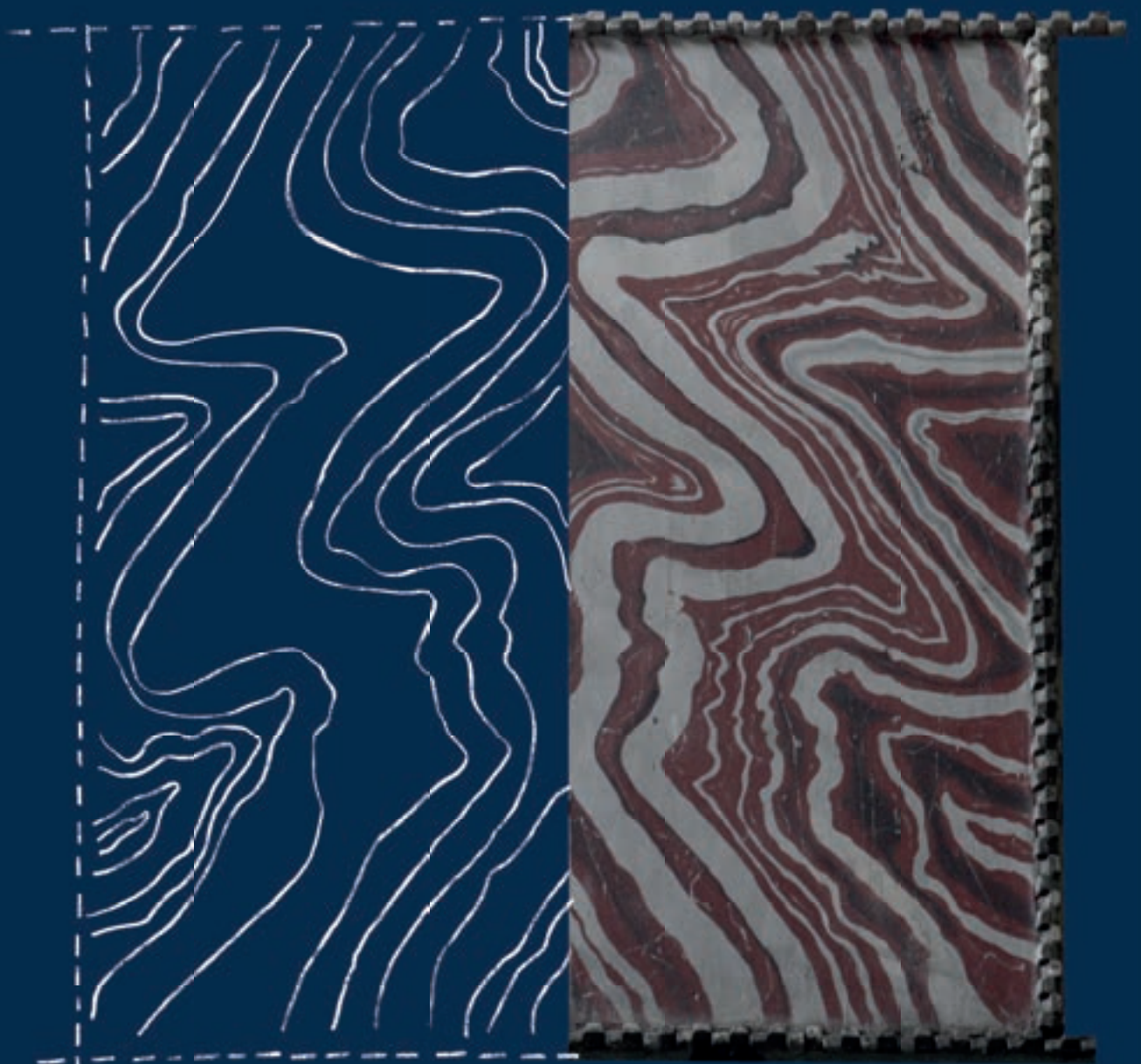
- 26 Bustamante, "Datos sobre el Gusto Español", p. 306: 'havendo raccolto ne i tempi migliori a Roma molte cose eccellenti fra le quali queste sono le piu principale'; and 'supplico per gratia che nella sua casa in Spagna o in una sua chiesa vivano per memoria della mia devota servitù con V. Ecc.a et con la ll.ma sua casa'.
- 27 Michael Hirst, "Sebastiano's Pieta for the Commendador Mayor", *Burlington Magazine*, CXIV (September 1972), p. 587: 'Ha detto ch'io faccia intere al sr. Ill. mo si gli contentasse più una nostra donna ch'avesse il figliol' morto in braccio a guisa di quella dela febre, il che li spagnuoli per parer buon cristiani et divoti sogliono amare questi [sic] cose pietose, o pur vuole una nostra donna bella'.
- 28 *Ibid.*, p. 590: 'non solamente (non) piaceva, ma offendeva a vederlo'.
- 29 Edward Goldberg, "Circa 1600: Spanish Values and Tuscan Painting", *Renaissance Quarterly*, 51:3 (Autumn 1998), 912–33.
- 30 Elena Calvillo, "Authoritative Copies and Divine Originals: Lucretian Metaphor, Painting on Stone, and the Problem of Originality in Michelangelo's Rome", *Renaissance Quarterly*, 66:2 (2013), 453–508.
- 31 Mena Marqués, *Sebastiano del Piombo y España*, p. 74.
- 32 Eva Nyerges, *Spanish Paintings: The Collection of the Museum of Fine Arts Budapest*, Budapest: Museum of Fine Arts, 2008, pp. 60–61; Piers Baker-Bates, "Graecia Capta Ferum Victorem Coepit: Spanish Patrons and Italian Artists", in *The Spanish Presence in Sixteenth-Century Italy: Images of Iberia*, ed. by Piers Baker-Bates and Miles Pattenden, Farnham: Ashgate, 2015, 127–51 (pp. 134–35).
- 33 Giorgio Vasari, *Le Vite de' più eccellenti pittori scultori e architettori nelle redazioni del 1550 e 1568*, ed. by Rosanna Bettarini and Paola Barocchi, 9 vols., Florence: Sansoni 1967–87, V, p. 74: 'un altro quadro molto eccellente, un san leronimo bellissimo di mano pur di Giulio'.
- 34 Luzio, *La Galleria dei Gonzaga venduta all'Inghilterra nel 1627–28*, pp. 90 and 139; Raffaella Morselli, *Le Collezioni Gonzaga: L'Elenco dei Beni del 1626–1627*, Milan: Silvana, 2000, pp. 154 and 268.
- 35 Bustamante, "Datos sobre el Gusto Español", p. 306: 'Un quadro di metallo che ripresenta il Signore che porta la croce al monte aiutato dal cireneo et seguito dalle donne di Jerusalem con
- altra circostanza della passione, che fu fatto da quel Girolamo da Recanati'.
- 36 *Scultori a Loreto. Fratelli Lombardi Antonio Calcagni e Tiburzio Vergelli: Documenti*, ed. by Floriano Grimaldi and Katy Sordi, Ancona: (s.n.), 1987, pp. 5–14.
- 37 Baker-Bates, *Sebastiano del Piombo and the World of Spanish Rome*, pp. 107–15 and 170–73.
- 38 Raffaello Borghini, *Il Riposo*, ed. and trans. by Lloyd H. Ellis Jr, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007, pp. 277–78; Antonio Vannugli, "La Subida al Calvario de Scipione Pulzone para Marcantonio Colonna", *Archivo Español de Arte*, 85:340 (October-December 2012), 303–28; Antonio Vannugli, "Cristo Sulla Via del Calvario", in *Scipione Pulzone: da Gaeta a Roma alle Corti Europee*, ed. by Alessandra Accondi and Anna Imponente, Rome: Palombi, 2013, 290–93.
- 39 Bustamante, "Datos sobre el Gusto Español", p. 307; Vannugli, "La Subida", pp. 310–11: 'Muy lltre. Sr./Por haverme contentado un quadro del Salvador con la cruz al hombro que es mano de un pintor famoso y amigo mio, y sabiendo quan inclinado es Vuestra Señoria a cosas de tanta devocion como lo es esta, me ha parecido embiarsele'.
- 40 Baker-Bates, "Graecia Capta", p. 135: 'El R.do J. Escartin Canonigo de Huesca esta [...] 40 años en Roma y entre otras cosas trajo este cuadro el 19 de abril 1567'.
- 41 Elisa Bermejo Martínez, "Una Flagelación de Sebastián del Piombo, en Madrid", *Archivo Español de Arte*, 61:244 (1988), 419–22.
- 42 Giovanni Andrea Gilio, *Dialogue on the Errors and Abuses of Painters*, trans. by Michael Bury and Lucinda Byatt, ed. by Michael Bury et al., Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2018, p. 134 (English translation by Lucinda Byatt).
- 43 Hall, *The Sacred Image in the Age of Art*, pp. 120–26; Carol M. Richardson, "Gilio's Point of View", in Bury et al., *Dialogue on the Errors and Abuses of Painters*, 45–63 (pp. 46–52).
- 44 Hirst, "Sebastiano del Piombo and Spain", p. 481.
- 45 Antonio Natali, "Dentro la maniera moderna: Nobiltà e occorrenza delle copie", in *Originali, repliche, copie: Uno sguardo diverso sui grandi maestri*, ed. by Pietro di Loreto, Rome: Ugo Bozzi Editore, 2–13.
- 46 Carmelo Solís Rodríguez, *Luis de Morales*, Badajoz: Fundación Caja de Badajoz, 1999, pp. 162–63, 166–67, 208–9, 250–51; *The Divine Morales*, ed. by Leticia Ruiz Gómez, Madrid: Ediciones el Viso, 2015, 190–97.
- 47 Solís Rodríguez, *Luis de Morales*, pp. 258–59; Ruiz Gómez, *The Divine Morales*, 190–93; Piers Baker-Bates, "Francisco Ribalta's Vision of Father Simó: British Taste and the Legacy of Sebastiano del Piombo in Spanish Painting", *Colnaghi Studies Journal*, 2 (March 2018), 28–45 (p. 36).
- 48 Fray Luis de Granada, *Of Prayer and Meditation*, Paris: Thomas Brumeau 1582, p. 90; Fray Luis de Granada, *Obras Castellanas*, 8 vols, Madrid: Biblioteca Castro, 1994, vol. 2, p. 73: 'Camina pues el inocente con aquella carga tan pesada sobre sus hombros tan flacos, [...] Quién no había de derramar lágrimas viendo al rey de los angeles caminar passo a passo con aquella carga tan pesada, temblando de las rodillas, inclinado el cuerpo, los ojos mesurados, el rostro sangriento, con aquella guimalda en la cabeça' (translation of 1582).
- 49 Manuel Arias Martínez, "El testamento de Benedito Rabuyate, un pintor florentino en el Valladolid de la segunda mitad del siglo XVI: Devociones y producción artística", in *Valladolid La Muy Noble Villa*, Burgos: Impresión Aldecoa, 1996, 41–47; María José Redondo Cantera, "Benedito Rabuyate (1527–1592), Un Pintor Florentino en Valladolid", in *El Modelo Italiano en las Artes Plásticas de la Península Ibérica durante el Renacimiento*, ed. by María José Redondo Cantera, Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 2004, 341–75; Fernando Collar de Cáceres, "A propósito de Rabuyate", *Boletín del Museo e Instituto Camón Aznar*, 107 (2011), 33–60.
- 50 José Martí y Monsó, *Estudios histórico-artísticos relativos principalmente a Valladolid*, Valladolid: L. Miñón 1901, p. 452; 'un lienço grande [...] de nuestra señora y sant josep'.
- 51 *Ibid.*, p. 451.
- 52 *Ibid.*, pp. 450–52; Arias Martínez, "El testamento de Benedito Rabuyate", 41–47.
- 53 Manuel Arias Martínez, "Cristo camino del Calvario", in *Valladolid La Muy Noble Villa*, 152–53.
- 54 René-Jesús Payo Hernanz, *El Retablo en Burgos y su comarca durante los siglos XVII y XVIII*, 2 vols, Burgos: Excelentísima Diputación Provincial de Burgos, 1997, pp. 2 and 471.

55 For the three paintings see my entry, Piers Baker-Bates, in *Michelangelo & Sebastiano*, ed. by Matthias Wivel, London: National Gallery Company, 2017, 128–32, nos. 15–17.

56 Baker-Bates, "Francisco Ribalta's *Vision of Father Simó*", pp. 28–45.

57 *El Manierismo en los Andes: Memoria del III Encuentro Internacional sobre Barocco*, ed. by José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, La Paz: Unión Latina, 2005, pp. 47–84.

## IV. Pictorial and Material Depths



# The Reception of Divine Grace in Hendrick ter Brugghen's *Crucifixion with the Virgin and Saint John*

**Josephine Neil**

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The Christological focus of Hendrick ter Brugghen's *Crucifixion with the Virgin and Saint John* literally places Christ, and humanity's salvation, at its centre **FIGURE 1**. Mourned by the Virgin Mary and Saint John, at the moment of his self-sacrifice Christ pours out life-giving blood for the redemption of humanity. His body is painted as though he is without life, which subsequently heightens the miraculous nature of Christ's salvific act when we consider further the streams of blood pouring from his wounds. However, these ribbons of blood are in actuality set apart from him, from the mourners, and from the viewer in their material physicality, denying dematerialization through illusion. In "Materiality and the Presence of the Past in Hendrick ter Brugghen's *Crucifixion*", Natasha Seaman conducts a survey of the painting in relation to archaism, the crucifix in Catholic and Protestant art theory, and the historical significance of Christ's dripping blood and how it relates to his sculpted figure.<sup>1</sup> In situating the painting within a context of iconoclasm in seventeenth-century Netherlands, she argues that the *Crucifixion* resembles the inset paintings that first appeared in the early sixteenth century; Ter Brugghen embeds Christ's body, which separates him from his ribbons of blood but also creates a protective niche for Christ.<sup>2</sup> However, the paradoxical emphasis on the material physicality of paint matter and the blood's suspension also raises issues surrounding the materialization of Christ's body in the Sacramental Host and his image linked through the *Crucifixion*.

I will consider the specificity of the painting and the pictorial dislocations presented at its very heart: how do the mourners' expressions of faith relate to the reception of Christ's blood? Seaman initially links the painting to the minority Catholic community in Utrecht and the northern Netherlands in which the dripping blood seems to respond to the community's Eucharistic needs.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, although the painting's intended destination remains unknown, Slatkes and Franits have drawn attention to the growing body of documentation to support the likelihood that Ter Brugghen was commissioned to make a picture that could pass for an early northern Netherlandish altarpiece.<sup>4</sup> However, Seaman also notes that the dripping blood motif, which calls attention to its materiality, stands at odds with the sacred image theories of the Council of Trent in which the effect of materiality was to be controlled so as to direct worship to the holy figure depicted rather than to its depiction.<sup>5</sup> It remains unknown whether Ter Brugghen's painting was intended for a hidden Catholic church in Utrecht or a Reformed patron. Seaman notes that 'nothing is known of its whereabouts until the late nineteenth century'.<sup>6</sup> In addressing the question of how the salvific benefits of Christ's sacrificial blood are made available to the faithful, the theology will be brought into sharper focus, in particular, the tension between seeing the sacrament in order to connect with the Eucharistic Christ and the necessity of internal seeing. This brings into relief the anxiety surrounding an idolatrous understanding of the Eucharist, in which an individual was saved solely by virtue of partaking in the sacrament without strength of faith. It will be demonstrated that invisible revelation and internal seeing were important considerations in both late medieval piety and in Calvin's understanding of correct Eucharistic reception, which while reaffirming the mystery of salvation also created tension with the role of human agency in the quest for redemption. Relating the pictorial to the theological will also reveal how Ter

Brugghen's *Crucifixion* points to the mysterious workings of God's grace, which nonetheless remain incomprehensible to human understanding.

The unusually large scale of the two mourners at the base of the cross immediately command the attention of the viewer: both are set against a starlit sky with dawn breaking on the horizon. The vibrant colourful robes of the saints and John's ruddy complexion make a strong contrast to the deathly greenish hue of the emaciated and shiny quality of Christ's flesh. In the Gospels, Mary and John share a special intimacy with Christ, yet in their unfeasible scale Ter Brugghen emphasizes their separation from him, but also their connectivity, in turn posing the question of how one receives or bears witness to Christ's magnanimous act of redemption. Natasha Seaman has already noted that the composition combines the two stylistic strains of Caravaggism, as depicted by the figures of Mary and John, and 'archaism', as evinced by the anatomical distortions of the crucified Christ found in late medieval Northern art, demarcating the icon from the spectator.<sup>7</sup> In their persuasive lifelikeness the viewer is able to identify with the mourners; also brought about by their close proximity, open stance, and the space lying open in the foreground, which positions the viewer in between the two mourners and in relation to the crucified Christ. They mirror the various ways in which one responds to the Passion. Even so, ambiguities persist that question divine presence and the location and temporality of the mourners, which removes the viewer from any sense of access to salvation supposedly resulting from Christ's death.

There is not only a 'pictorial dislocation', or failure of communication, between Christ and the mourners but also between Christ and God the Father.<sup>8</sup> Typically, Christ would look down toward Mary or cast his eyes toward heaven in anguish, as was often depicted in pictorial narratives of the crucifixion to heighten the drama of the episode. These actions correlate with the Gospel accounts, which describe Jesus as addressing Mary, 'Woman, here is your son' (John 19:26), or in the act of crying out, 'Father, why have you forsaken me?' (Matthew 27:46; Mark 15:34). Both these acts situate him within the 'here and now' moment of the Passion narrative and demonstrate a continuing mission of reconciliation between humanity and God. The disruption of these conventions in Ter Brugghen's *Crucifixion* indicates the likelihood that his Christ is not of the same space and time as John and Mary.<sup>9</sup> In addition, the drama of Christ's suffering, which should arouse feelings of empathy in the beholder, is absent. Rather, the Saviour's head hangs to the left — his communication with God the Father already severed. His lifeless body leaves the beholder to contemplate sin's affliction, to gaze upon his flesh and the profusion of blood flowing from his wounds, the strong notion of sacrifice suggestive of a Eucharistic context. Nevertheless, the blood's suspension above the mourners raises the question: how does one access the benefits of Christ's saving blood?

Another of the painting's ambiguities concerns the unusual depiction of Christ himself, which upsets the illusion of 'presence'. From the polished appearance of Ter Brugghen's Christ, it has been proposed that the artist was alluding to the properties of medieval sculpture.<sup>10</sup> Indeed, as Seaman identified, he is sculptural yet painterly: 'His pallor evokes monochrome and the surface of his flesh seems shiny, as if it were polished wood', a product of human artifice.<sup>11</sup>



**FIGURE 1.** Hendrick ter Brugghen, *The Crucifixion with the Virgin and Saint John*, ca 1625. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

In contrast, in Zurbarán's *Crucifixion* (1627), Christ's body has a commanding corporeality, which negates the painting's materiality and reminds the viewer of the real presence of the Eucharist **FIGURE 2**.<sup>12</sup> Daylight and landscape detail are omitted in favour of darkness, enhancing the illusion of Christ's volume and presence in space.<sup>13</sup> Unlike Ter Brugghen's Christ, his face is expressive, his eyes are cast up to the heavens, and his mouth is open in what appears to be a cry of anguish. Zurbarán has bypassed any narrative context; there is no background setting, crowd, or mourners, so the focus does not reside on those who bear witness to Christ's salvation, but rather on the drama of God's abandonment of his son. The rendition of his flesh contrasts enormously with Ter Brugghen's Christ; the luminous and idealized, strong muscular beauty of his body suggests a powerful ability to overcome death, which simultaneously lends Christ's divine nature a more palpable presence. He is unaffected by any marks of punishment belonging to this world, the perfection of his body and apparent virility a proclamation of spiritual victory — of life over death — which contrasts sharply with his cry of distress. His wounds remain invisible, and any faint trickles of blood detract from an obvious Eucharistic association. Together, the depiction of Zurbarán's Christ and his expression of suffering appeal to the viewer's senses and invite their participation. The dark surrounding can also prompt the beholder to retreat into darkness, in a suspension of present knowledge and passing over into silence, a state of unknowing.

In this respect, Zurbarán privileges the human ability to perceive the divine as in a mystical quest, synonymous with the dark nights of John of the Cross.<sup>14</sup>

In Ter Brugghen's *Crucifixion*, a visual puzzle presents itself in the figure of John, who is contemporaneous with the seventeenth-century viewer by way of his dress, which twice removes the 'archaic' figure of Christ from the viewer. The red and green robes that John wears are layered around a seventeenth-century doublet, which departs from the ahistorical robes often worn by Christ and his apostles.<sup>15</sup> The abrupt juxtaposition between two time periods inevitably complicates John's presence at the physical event of Christ's crucifixion, for how can he be present at the base of the cross on Golgotha? Is his devotional gaze rather aimed at a sculpture of Christ? Natasha Seaman notes that in Matthias Grünewald's painting *The Small Crucifixion*, John's robe resembles ecclesiastical garments in its closure around the neck,



**FIGURE 2.** Francisco de Zurbarán, *Crucifixion*, 1627. Ponce, Museo de Arte de Ponce, the Luis A. Ferré Foundation, Inc.



**FIGURE 3.** Matthias Grünewald, *The Small Crucifixion*, ca 1511–20. Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art, Samuel Kress Collection.

signifying the priesthood and the intercessory role of the Church **FIGURE 3**.<sup>16</sup> However, in Ter Brugghen's *Crucifixion*, John is analogous with the layman Christian's own direct connection to Christ, without the Church.<sup>17</sup>

Only John is connected in time to the seventeenth-century beholder. Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood explore other similar examples of a clash of temporalities, in which the staged collision between the visually familiar and the unfamiliar was one of the ways that paintings 'customized the terms of their own perception'.<sup>18</sup> As Nagel and Wood state, these works made a reference to a 'here' and 'now' of the contemporary beholder, through perspective, or modern costumes or hidden contemporary portraits.<sup>19</sup> Within this context Ter Brugghen's *Crucifixion* has a double historicity: John's clothing points to the fact that the painting was fabricated in the artist's present, but the medieval sculptural nature of Christ could denote its use within John's time, i.e. in the seventeenth century. As Seaman states, 'these disruptions of style not only anchor the painting to the time of its making but also reference a specific past, about 100 years before.'<sup>20</sup> Ter Brugghen's Christ, as a sample of the past, is both a testimony to 'a more distant world' and at the same time a reproduction for an earlier, perhaps absent, artefact.<sup>21</sup> Collapsing past and present, the

rendition of Christ presents an unmediated, present-tense encounter with devotional objects of the past. By rooting John in the seventeenth century, 'the deliberate archaism of the crucified Christ removes it from the immediate context of the beholder's vicinity, and points to itself as a manufactured work crafted by man's hands.'<sup>22</sup> Ter Brugghen's prominent monogram and date painted at the foot of the cross underlines the fact that this crucified Christ is man-made. Therefore, Ter Brugghen asserts that what John sees, and what the viewer of the painting sees, is not the reality of Christ's corporeal presence. The figure on the cross is exposed *as* a thing. By placing great emphasis on the materiality of Christ and his blood, Ter Brugghen appears to 'undo' the figure; to quote Joseph Leo Koerner, Ter Brugghen 'performs an iconoclasm through the icon itself'.<sup>23</sup>

Calvin proclaims, 'I am not gripped by the superstition of thinking absolutely no images permissible. But because sculpture and painting are gifts of God, I seek a pure and legitimate use of each.'<sup>24</sup> He himself did not completely condemn the making and viewing of images, nor did he advocate iconoclasm; however, it is noteworthy that Calvin's references to images in the *Institutes* are predominantly concerned with them as 'representations', as

opposed to 'signs'.<sup>25</sup> He focuses on the uses and abuses of images, primarily in connection with representations of God and what he perceives as the beholder's wrongful identification of these representations as something divine. In his view, the making of images is primarily a fundamental misunderstanding of the essence and attributes of God: his majesty and glory. In this respect 'images and the true God are contraries that can never agree'.<sup>26</sup>

Every figurative representation of God contradicts his being [...] according to Moses: Remember 'what Jehovah spoke to you in the valley of Horeb'; you heard a voice, 'you did not see a body'. Isaiah [...] teaches that God's majesty is sullied by an unfitting and absurd fiction, when the incorporeal is made to resemble corporeal matter, the invisible a visible likeness, the spirit an inanimate object, the immeasurable a puny bit of wood, stone or gold.<sup>27</sup>

In adamantly upholding the divine, and in the total separation between incorporeal and corporeal, Calvin demonstratively perpetuates a theology of the ascended Christ. According to the above passage, although Christ was both human and divine, images can neither reveal an animate human nor represent divine nature. The Reformer henceforth sets up an inverse correlation between images and the divine: as they can only provide a 'body' and we relate to Christ primarily through the spirit, this consequently makes images even more of a travesty.

Ter Bruggen mirrors Calvin's distinction between images and animate human and divine nature. He reaffirms the image's material boundaries by giving Christ's body a wooden appearance and emphasizing the paint matter of the blood. In turn, this disassociates any sense of divine representation and reaffirms that the person of Christ is the only living image of God. The artist ensured and safeguarded the unrepresentability of the divine, yet defied the Reformer's belief that images and the true God can never align – one can indeed serve the other by 'pointing beyond'. Ter Bruggen ensures that by including the two mourners in addition to Christ crucified, the overall focus resides in the meaningful relationship between them and in the 'signness' of the image and the question of where true representation can be sought.

Given the painting's *di sotto in su* composition, as identified by Seaman, this vantage lends support to her notion that the sculpted figures on top of rood screens acted as the inspiration for Ter Bruggen's Christ.<sup>28</sup> However, this view detracts from the very prominent attention also paid to Christ's blood flow, meaning that the painting may have been intended as an altarpiece. Whereas it is not unusual for altarpieces of the crucified Christ to be without any noticeable blood, it is peculiar that Ter Bruggen halts the blood flow in midstream, preventing any contact at all with the earth. For example, in a *Crucifixion* by Duccio, circa 1302–8, the artist has pointedly painted Christ's blood flowing down the base of the cross onto the mound and dripping from his hand wounds, pooling near the feet of both Mary and John, thus connecting all three figures in time, location, and in fulfilment of God's gift of redemption **FIGURE 4**.

John and Mary stand isolated from Christ, both stylistically and metaphorically in Ter Bruggen's *Crucifixion*, but Jesus miraculously pours forth



living blood. Presence and absence become paradoxically intertwined: the enormous scale of the mourners removes them from being feasibly located at the base of the cross when contrasted with the dimensions of Christ, so the question of how they relate to Jesus's act of redemption is foremost brought to the attention of the viewer.

Iconographically, the Virgin Mary has been described by Claus Virch as a 'simple woman' who wrings her hands piously, and whose eyes submissively and sadly search Christ's face for signs of life.<sup>29</sup> Her expression is empathetic, yet there is no swooning or other expressive gestures of grief to convey the drama of the Virgin's suffering.<sup>30</sup> Rather, with her eyes lifted upwards toward Christ, her hands clasped together and her mouth hanging open in an expression of ecstasy, it is almost as though she is lost in prayerful meditation on Christ's suffering. One can draw a comparison with one of many images depicting Saint Francis lost in ecstasy: Cigoli's *Saint Francis in Meditation*, circa 1596–98 **FIGURE 5**.

Like Ter Brugghen's Virgin, Saint Francis is depicted with hands clasped together, eyes raised and mouth open in a moment of intense prayer before a crucifix. With her anguish so internalized, Mary's pallor even matches Christ's, further suggesting symbiosis, as though simulating her own death to the world. The combination of her expression and prayerful gesture is

**FIGURE 4.** Duccio di Buoninsegna, *Triptych: Crucifixion and Other Scenes*, ca 1302–8, tempera on panel. Cumberland Art Gallery, Hampton Court Palace.

analogous to a spiritual practitioner, using crucifixes or images of the crucified Christ in periods of intense and sustained devotions. Crucifixes that were thought to alter physically or to animate in response to the needs of Christians were regular phenomena especially of the late fourteenth to seventeenth centuries, and accounts offered proof of a holy event.<sup>31</sup> It was the Christian image most likely to miraculously show signs of life in hagiographic literature, continually bringing into existence a new relationship between God and humanity. In relation to Il Cigoli's painting, Tommaso da Celano recounts in the thirteenth century the tale of Saint Francis, who witnessed the crucified Christ on a wooden cross speak to him when falling down in supplication before a crucifix in the church of San Damiano.<sup>32</sup> This episode is one example of God's centrality manifested in Christ – God responds to Francis's prayer for 'right faith, sure hope and perfect charity'. A miraculous crucifix that bleeds was considered to be even more efficacious, collapsing the distance between the sacred and its representation.<sup>33</sup> However, with Mary and John out of reach of Christ's blood, Ter Brugghen raises the question of whether this is indeed the right way in which humanity's relationship with God can be restored, while at the same time successfully preserving a sense of divine mystery through the medium of ambiguity.

In the comparison between John and Mary, the Virgin is made strangely inaccessible to the viewer. In contrast to her pallor and expression of internalized sorrow, John's flush flesh tones and contemporary dress ensures greater identification with the beholder. Even so, his expression is ambiguous and unusual. In his open-mouthed reaction to Christ's death, awe and grief are indistinguishable as he gazes ardently at Christ. Nevertheless, unlike Mary's expression of ecstasy, John's eyes are filled with tears at the sight of his Saviour crucified. According to Gian Paolo Lomazzo, in his *Trattato dell'arte* (1584),

The [modern] painter may take an example of how to properly assign similar instances of sadness and weeping, especially when his task is to paint the Crucifixion of Christ [...] John the Evangelist, who, due to his chastity and parentage, was even closer to Christ; he may display even more pain than that expressed by Mary.<sup>34</sup>

Therefore, in representations of John, unquestionable sorrow and grief was considered to be most appropriate and more pronounced than any anguish felt by the Virgin. Ter Brugghen is careful to draw the viewer's attention to John's hands: whereas Mary's hands are closed in prayer, John's rosy fingers are tightly knit together in an expression of seemingly anguished humility.



**FIGURE 5.** Ludovico Cardi, called Il Cigoli, *Saint Francis in Meditation*, ca 1596–98. Private collection.



The angle projects his hands into the viewer's space, and they have a shiny, translucent quality that further serves to capture the beholder's attention.<sup>35</sup> The pain that John is experiencing is palpable; the combination of his hands and tearful sorrow betray an awareness of guilt, even of penance or contrition for one's sins. Similarities can be discerned with Jusepe de Ribera's *The Tears of Saint Peter*, for example, with his eyes wet with tears and expression of open-mouthed anguish **FIGURE 6**.

The decree on penitence issued by the Council of Trent emphasized that an abhorrence of sin and a sorrow of heart produces reconciliation with God.<sup>36</sup> John evidently suffers in union with Christ, bringing a feeling of lowliness, which subsequently marks the beginning of his new spiritual life. Indeed, Ter Brugghen asserts a symbolic exchange at work in the painting, between the sacrificed body which brings life and hope for redemption in exchange for humanity's love. The contrast between John's rosy complexion and Christ's deathly pallor indicates an exchange of life given to the disciple, in return for his arduous love and humility, and in recognition of Christ's sacrifice for his people.

In Ter Brugghen's painting, the dripping blood provides the greatest visual impact on the viewer's senses. Traditionally in altarpieces it is associated with the Eucharistic wine; the shed blood of the sacrificial lamb being the instrument of salvation.<sup>37</sup> As Seaman notes, the four brightly coloured effusions of blood

that surge from the body of Christ, appear 'to drip not illusorily inside the scene, but actually on the picture plane'.<sup>38</sup>

In the *Crucifixion*, one could assert that the pouring forth of red, flowing blood for the remission of sins announces the paradox of life and death, grief and triumph. Christ's blood should break down any barrier standing in the way of a restorative relationship between humanity and God. However, the way in which the blood is rendered in terms of its illogic, its evident separation from the mourners and this world, and its emphatic materiality appears to complicate this message. That the rendition of blood is unconvincing shifts the emphasis away from the depiction of a dramatic narrative, to focus on the symbolic association of the blood with the Eucharistic wine and its relation to the mourners.

The blood's suspension above the mourners is a troubling effect, as it finds no contact with the world John and Mary occupy. Christ's blood is an open door for sinners, a sign of desecration that makes holy. As Caroline Walker Bynum states, in the New Testament texts the blood poured at Jesus's death has little to do with suffering, but 'what is important is that something is done, and that act bestows a gift, redeems, purifies, washes, and sanctifies, and creates a new community both among those who participate in or are marked by the blood, and between them and God'.<sup>39</sup> It suggests that even though Ter Brugghen reaffirms the truth of the biblical event, namely, that

**FIGURE 6.** Jusepe de Ribera, *The Tears of Saint Peter*, ca 1612–13. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

salvation is continually on offer for sinners, there is ambiguity concerning its reception. The image appears to reflect an anxiety surrounding ‘invisible revelation’, or an encounter through holy matter that was nonetheless in its essence unseen. Indeed, in late medieval piety many devotional writers and theologians were fervently stressing the importance of inner response and the dangers of seeing, of bodily experience, and of materiality; Ter Brugghen appears to engage with all of these anxieties.<sup>40</sup>

In the sixteenth century the emphasis on sacrifice in relation to the Crucifixion became stronger and more fully articulated, even as various elements of soteriology and Christology were vigorously debated. The Church disputed whether or not Christ was present in the sacrament of the Eucharist, and if so in what mode.<sup>41</sup> Although Protestants and Catholics conflicted over how the benefits of Christ’s sacrifice were made available to the faithful, they still maintained the centrality of the blood sacrifice for redemption.<sup>42</sup> Their deliberations questioned how Christ’s death justifies or redeems, and whether the faithful can in some way earn this salvation. It will be demonstrated that Ter Brugghen engages with this debate yet provides no resolution, thus moving the focus to the divine mystery behind Christ’s act of redemption.

In the *Crucifixion*, the blood flow is just about contained, not caught in chalices to feed and wash, nor spilling onto the heads of sinners, nor within borders, but having an uncontrolled quality.<sup>43</sup> Yet the streams of blood are paradoxically controlled by virtue of halting in mid-space above the mourners. The dripping blood sits on the surface of the canvas so that Christ’s body, which has receded far back into the picture, is entirely separate from the ribbons of blood streaming from his hands and chest wounds. In other words, it is divided or fragmented from Christ’s body and not part of his whole.<sup>44</sup> The direction of flow from Christ’s side wound also defies logic. The contortion of his body towards John means the blood should flow down his ribcage, following the contours of his musculature. In many Spanish and Italian post-Tridentine paintings depicting the crucified Christ, blood is painted as though flowing down Christ’s limbs and body, and likewise flowing down from the chest wound. One example is Alonso Cano’s *Crucifixion* in which such blood is painted illusionistically **FIGURE 7**.

In Cano’s depiction, as Seaman states, ‘the materials of painting generally give way to the illusion they create.’<sup>45</sup> Conversely, the dripping blood in Ter Brugghen’s *Crucifixion* ‘reminds us of its presence as the physical barrier between us and the illusion it supports, making the viewer conscious of the bounds of the image.’<sup>46</sup> As the blood pours from the hand wounds, it coagulates into a thick consistency, hanging in globules from Christ’s form. The flow of blood literally materializes into large dabs of paint, signalling divine absence and linking the association of blood with access and incorruption (moral and physical).<sup>47</sup> Nevertheless, the flowing blood is also red and vibrant, proclaiming life — and without life it cannot mark and redeem those it touches and acknowledge the life that comes from God. Therefore, another paradox is at work: the blood is materially undoing itself, insistently making us aware that the image inadequately depicts divine nature, while at the same time it proclaims the miracle of life-giving blood that flows from the dead Christ.

If Christ’s sacrificial blood signifies real presence, then its suspension in the *Crucifixion* appears to highlight an anxiety relating to the nature of



Christ's presence in the Eucharist. The quandary over real presence was reflected in the Eucharistic debates of the Reformation: how could Christ's body and blood, understood as 'human' and therefore bounded in time and matter, be present in each and every Eucharist?<sup>48</sup> The Council of Lateran IV (1215) had declared transubstantiation and real presence as orthodoxy, even as individual theologians would continue to struggle with the perplexity of real presence.<sup>49</sup> What was debated was the question of what it meant for the blood to be poured out and how far the faithful could touch and be touched by it in its separated, left-behind state.<sup>50</sup> A range of texts from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries acknowledged the central ambiguity of the concept of Christ's sacrifice by attenuating it or omitting the act necessary for blood flow. The denial of sacrifice as killing consequently led to its reinterpretation as oblation or a gift of love or grace or life from Christ to humanity.<sup>51</sup> In the *Crucifixion*, there are no narrative details leading up to Christ's death, such as the piercing of the side wound and the torment of Christ's suffering while alive. This moves the focus to Christ's gift of love for all humanity, the miracle of his life-giving blood. Similarly, in devotional theology drops of blood are sprinkled on the faithful in a free gift from Christ, yet the gift is made accessible by love itself.<sup>52</sup> The direction of the gift is from Christ to sinner and the agency is God's.<sup>53</sup> Theologians' anxieties are reflected analogously in Ter Brugghen's depiction:

Christ pours out the blood because God wishes it, not because he is violently killed, and believers have only a passive role in the redemptive aspect of Christ's death. As in devotional theology, the faithful are only saved when Christ's gifted blood falls on them, thus lessening any sense of human agency in the quest for redemption. In the *Crucifixion*, the sanctity of the mourners appears to accord them no special privilege in the reception of Christ's blood; in other words, it does not earn them the right to be saved. It is also apparent that one cannot attain the benefits of Christ's blood by striving. In this respect the painting allows beholders to explore a sympathetic recognition, that they need to wholly depend on divine initiative and not their own. Calvin also affirms, 'Man's inability to do good manifests itself in the work of redemption, which God does quite alone.'<sup>54</sup> Therefore, faith is made the primary instigating force in humanity's redemption. Likewise, in the *Crucifixion*, faith is needed to make Christ a 'living' presence. However, as indicated by

**FIGURE 7.** Alonso Cano, *The Crucifixion*, ca 1601–67. Saint Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum.

the seventeenth-century clothing of John, the sacrificial context of Christ's death is somehow not fixed in the past but is a continuous reality, the mystery of John's redemption, and by extension all of humanity's, remains an enigma.

The enigmatic power of the Eucharist was an opinion shared by both Calvin and Catholic theologians. According to Calvin, each of us is greatly separated from Jesus Christ and it is not known how Christ's spiritual nourishment of humanity takes place: 'The mystery of Christ's secret union with the devout [when they partake of the sacrament] is by nature incomprehensible [...] Nothing remains but to break forth in wonder at this mystery.'<sup>55</sup> Late medieval theology had also stressed the incomprehensibility of God's will and his reasons for organizing humanity's salvation entirely as he chose; ultimately one could only have acceptance where divine reasons surpass human understanding.<sup>56</sup>

By removing any sense of accessibility to Christ's blood, Ter Brugghen provides no resolution to the thorny issue of how one receives Christ's blood in the Eucharist while at the same time upholding the divine gift of redemption. In this respect, by virtue of the blood's suspension, Ter Brugghen signals the possibilities *and* limits in a Eucharistic procurement of grace. In emphasizing the necessity of arduous faith first and foremost, he neatly sidesteps the overriding issues of the Eucharist for the Reformers. One was the issue of repeatability, or how can God the unchangeable be repeatedly sacrificed in every Mass? In the *Crucifixion*, the rendering of the blood flow refutes resolution through the relation between Christ's sacrifice and its repeatability (or not) in the Eucharist; i.e. as a propitiary sacrifice re-enacted with each performance of the consecration and elevation. That the blood does not hit the ground means the blood does not flow forever but is suspended spatially, the redemptive benefits of which are still made mysteriously accessible to the seventeenth-century John and beyond, as indicated by the blood seemingly flowing into the viewer's space. Thus, the focus resides on Christ's death as an eternal sacrifice, in which his blood was poured out once on Calvary but is eternally significant in providing redemption. As Bynum states, 'In the sixteenth century, although Catholics affirmed the mass to be offered as sacrifice whereas Protestants denied this, what is far more striking is a renewed and strident theological articulation in both traditions of Calvary as sacrifice.'<sup>57</sup> Indeed, this is where the focus of Ter Brugghen's *Crucifixion* resides.

Another issue for Reformers concerned any added dimensions of human agency; for Calvin, God himself had designated his signs.<sup>58</sup> Thus there were no added dimensions of human agency and no powers accorded to the office of priest. In the Catholic ritual of the Eucharistic Mass, the priest bridged the temporal distance between Christ's sacrifice and the sacrifice performed.<sup>59</sup> Nevertheless, the interrelation of faith and the reception of the Eucharist held the same importance for all, in much the same way Ter Brugghen asserts the necessity of faith in the viewer's reception of Christ's blood. In session 21, the Council of Trent decreed that 'it can in no way be doubted, with integrity in faith, that communion is sufficient for [the laity's] salvation.' The faithful receive Christ 'whole and entire', when at the moment of reception human beings are transformed.<sup>60</sup> For Calvin, the Lord's Supper had meaning, flesh and blood, only to believers and not the unworthy. Therefore, insofar as he or she had faith, each Christian would be 'fed' at the Supper.<sup>61</sup>

There is no doubt that in the series of ambiguities and paradoxes that inform Ter Bruggen's *Crucifixion*, the artist opens up a far more powerful and richer way of engaging with both the painting and subject. Taking the rivulets of blood as one case in point: although Ter Bruggen emphasizes the corruptible materiality of the blood, its unusual rendition functions on a cognitive, and thus higher level for the viewer. The blood does something that is not physically possible, transcending its physicality, so providing a de-humanizing element to counteract Christ's humanity. It therefore points beyond itself to the true blood of Christ, lifting the viewer above the pain of the Crucifixion and the sadness it inspires to a contemplation of the mystery of redemption. As John and Mary attest, faith is not literally seeing Christ on the cross but more about an internal understanding, where, fundamentally, faith in Christ crucified is of primary importance for salvation. Christ's blood is stressed as the only guarantee of salvation, except in Ter Bruggen's *Crucifixion*, the painted blood, and the signalled Eucharistic blood, does not save, suggesting a reticence in placing blood at the centre of salvation.

The rendering of Christ's body and blood also indicate that we cannot bear witness to his bloody wounds in images, and such is the purpose of emphasizing his 'objectness'. Thus Ter Bruggen's depiction of Christ and his blood simultaneously evokes affirmation and doubt that objects can communicate divine truth. Spiritual truth lies invisibly beyond what is represented, and indeed beyond all sensory perception. Therefore the *Crucifixion* provides an opportunity for the devout viewer to question their own wrongful attachments in order to open themselves up to grace. The emphasis on the non-literal in terms of the obvious painterly nature of Christ's blood, the resemblance of his body to wooden sculpture, and John's temporal displacement proclaim the image's limitations in revealing divine nature while also indicating where real presence can be sought.

The paradox of John's dislocation from Calvary attests that, as viewers, we are not witnessing the event as it happened, but the significance of Christ's sacrifice that carries across time — ongoing without end and not fixed in a finished past. The paradox of the blood that saves, as indicated by John's flushed tones, and yet by nature of its matter and suspension does not save, suggesting an exchange of life is at work, but *how* it happens we cannot see. These are disturbances that capture the complexity of faith, with its endless paradoxes. In turn, the emphasis on the paradox points to a higher truth inaccessible to earthly understanding. The animating force of the *Crucifixion* comes not from one consistent theological premise, but from a series of tensions, which allows the viewer's response and questioning to come into play. One could say Ter Bruggen refuted any notion of portraying divinity through the figurative and that divine presence was conditional on human response.<sup>62</sup> Yet Calvin does not make room for this in his ideology of images, allow for a variety of possible responses, or acknowledge the 'signness' of an image over that of representation. It is noteworthy that the final purposeful paradox of the *Crucifixion* encapsulates the realization of spiritual victory, as indicated by the night sky merging into the rising morning light of dawn, with a human anxiety regarding where the true path to salvation lies. Therefore, what is brought to the fore is the beholder's disorientation while processing the ambiguity in Ter Bruggen's painting as a way of emphasizing

divine transcendence. In the clearly ambiguous relationship between divinity and humanity, where paradoxes play against each other, this work cannot be reconciled into any one simple theological formulation. In relation to image normativity, these ambiguities have enabled us to identify what Ter Brugghen does differently, for example, in contrast to iconographical tradition and Calvin's ideology and to elaborate on them in context. However, it also demonstrates that both image and theology are dominated by complexities and can never be equivalents. Indeed, the question is raised as to whether we can, with any certainty, ascertain a visual 'norm'; for Ter Brugghen's *Crucifixion* is only one example of a painting that is more than an illustration of a theological premise, or a single piece of doctrine — it extends far beyond.

- 1 Natasha Seaman, "Materiality and the Presence of the Past in Hendrick ter Brugghen's Crucifixion", *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 74:4 (2011), 489–516. Natasha Seaman also explores the significance of materiality and archaism in Ter Brugghen's *Crucifixion* in her monograph: Natasha Seaman, *The Religious Paintings of Hendrick ter Brugghen: Reinventing Christian Painting after the Reformation in Utrecht*, Farnham: Ashgate, 2012, pp. 73–101.
- 2 Seaman, "Materiality", p. 512.
- 3 *Ibid.*, p. 489. Seaman acknowledges that the *Crucifixion* looks like an altarpiece because of its *di sotto in su* composition and its dimensions; see Seaman, "Materiality", p. 495.
- 4 Slatkes and Franits believe that it was not destined for a church or some analogous institution, but as a pseudo heirloom for a wealthy Utrecht politician named Adriaen Willemsz Ploos, who desired a work that would emulate the style of an old and possibly damaged epitaph from his family chapel in a church in Loosdrecht. However, this has been a matter for debate by some scholars; see Leonard J. Slatkes and Wayne Franits, *The Paintings of Hendrick ter Brugghen (1588–1629): Catalogue raisonné*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2007, pp. 105–7. Franits also compares Ter Brugghen's *Crucifixion* in New York with another *Crucifixion* painted by the artist and now located in a private collection in Turin, raising the question of whether the latter version might have preceded it; see Wayne Franits, "Hendrick ter Brugghen's Paintings of the Crucifixion in New York and Turin and the Problem of his Early Chronology", *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art*, 9:1 (2017), 1–11.
- 5 Seaman, "Materiality", p. 492.
- 6 *Ibid.*, p. 495.
- 7 Seaman remarks on the resemblance between Ter Brugghen's Christ and the figure in Matthias Grünewald's *The Small Crucifixion*, circa 1511/1520, oil on panel, 61.3 x 46 cm, Samuel Kress Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington (see Seaman, *The Religious Paintings of Hendrick ter Brugghen*, p. 73). Seaman uses the term "Caravaggism" in relation to 'its easily identifiable diagnostic features', i.e. the *chiaroscuro*, the half-length, and the naturalism (p. 14). However, a symposium on Ter Brugghen ultimately ended up questioning the application of the term "Caravaggism" to Ter Brugghen, by way of showing the importance of his Northern influences. See Justus Müller Hofstede, "Artificial Light in Honthorst and Terbrugghen: Form and Iconography", in *Hendrick ter Brugghen und die Nachfolger Caravaggios in Holland: Beiträge eines Symposions aus Anlass der Ausstellung "Holländische Malerei in neuem Licht. Hendrick ter Brugghen und seine Zeitgenossen"* (Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum Braunschweig, 23–25 March 1987), ed. by Rudiger Klessman, Braunschweig: Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, 1988, 13–43 (p. 34). Seaman also defines archaism as 'the introduction into a work of art of an element – style, content, or both – from an obviously previous era [...] in which the source is markedly distant in time from the artwork into which it is inserted'. In the case of the crucified Christ, she believes it references a past about 100 years before it was painted, given the refusal of Ter Brugghen's *Crucifixion* to relinquish its materiality and the overt nature of its archaism which sits at odds with the post-medieval Mary and contemporary John (see Seaman, *The Religious Paintings of Hendrick ter Brugghen*, pp. 21 and 81). In relation to the *Crucifixion*, scholars have tried searching for parallels in the arts that are also 'deliberately archaic'; see Leonard J. Slatkes, "The Crucifixion with the Virgin and Saint John", in *Masters of Light: Dutch Painters in Utrecht during the Golden Age*, ed. by Joaneath A. Spicer and Lynn Federle Orr, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997, 151–55 (p. 153). Seaman, *The Religious Paintings of Hendrick ter Brugghen*, pp. 82–83, suggests an anonymous 1363 epitaph called the *Van Rijn* Calvary, which has a stamped gold background that may have suggested to Ter Brugghen his starlit yellow sky; an altarpiece circa 1400 from Zutphen that also has a starry sky; Durer's 1510 *Crucifixion* woodcut; a woodcut in the 1495 *Missale Secundum Ordinarium* by the Master of the *Virgo inter Virgines*. Even so, the sheer number of possibilities suggests that not one of them is a direct source. Scholars have also drawn attention to the starry sky as further evidence of the painting's archaic structure (Slatkes, "The Crucifixion", p. 153). See also Helmut Nickel, "The Sun, the Moon and an Eclipse: Observations on the Crucifixion with the Virgin and Saint John, by Hendrick ter Brugghen", *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, 42 (2007), 121–24, for the darkness as a representation of a solar eclipse, evoking a supernatural event.
- 8 Lorenzo Pericolo explores the concept of pictorial dislocation in religious works by Caravaggio and some of his followers in Lorenzo Pericolo, *Caravaggio and Pictorial Narrative: Dislocating the Storia in Early Modern Painting*, London: Harvey Miller, 2011, pp. 481–515.
- 9 Pericolo assesses the incommunicability between the divine and human in Hendrick ter Brugghen's two versions of *The Calling of Saint Matthew*, yet his *Crucifixion* goes unmentioned; see Pericolo, *Caravaggio and Pictorial Narrative*, pp. 235–38.
- 10 Seaman discusses the resemblance of Ter Brugghen's Christ to carved rood screen figures; see Seaman, *The Religious Paintings of Hendrick ter Brugghen*, p. 88. The resemblance of the painting to sculpture was first noted by Benedict Nicolson: '[Ter Brugghen] may have had in mind some medieval Gothic wood carving with life-size figures which had struck him forcibly as he gazed up at it': see here Nicolson, *Hendrick Terbrugghen*, The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1958, p. 81.
- 11 Seaman *The Religious Paintings of Hendrick ter Brugghen*, pp. 82–83.
- 12 Also noted by Seaman, *The Religious Paintings of Hendrick ter Brugghen*, p. 79. For a discussion of the function of *Crucifixion* altarpieces as a reminder of the Eucharist, see Frans Baudouin, "The Elevation of the Cross in Rubens's Work", in *Peter Paul Rubens's Elevation of the Cross: Study, Examination and Treatment. Bulletin de l'Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique*, XXIV (1992), 13–31 (p. 26). Also Kristen van Ausdall, "Communicating with the Host: Imagery and Eucharistic Contact in Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Italy", in *Push Me, Pull You: Imaginative and Emotional Interaction in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art*, ed. by Sarah Blick and Laura D. Gelfrand, Leiden: Brill, 2011, 447–86.
- 13 See also Stephanie Brown, *Religious Painting: Christ's Passion and Crucifixion*, London: Phaidon, 1979, pp. 44–45.
- 14 For the *Dark Nights of John of the Cross*, see *The Collected Works of Saint John of the Cross*, ed. by Kieran Kavanaugh and Otilio Rodriguez, Washington, DC: ICS Publications, 1991, 293–389.
- 15 The cut of John's doublet is known as 'paning', which Seaman has identified as being a nuance of seventeenth-century fashion typically worn by the gentry; see Seaman, *The Religious Paintings of Hendrick ter Brugghen*, p. 90. See also Norah Waugh, *The Cut of Men's Clothes 1600–1900*, London: Faber and Faber, 1964, Part One, 1600–1680, plate 3.
- 16 Seaman, *The Religious Paintings of Hendrick ter Brugghen*, p. 90. Depicting John in priestly garb originates in the medieval period. See Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *St. John the Divine: The Deified Evangelist in Medieval Art and Theology*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002, p. 128.

- 17 Seaman, *The Religious Paintings of Hendrick ter Bruggen*, p. 94.
- 18 Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood, "Toward a New Model of Renaissance Anachronism", *The Art Bulletin*, 87:3 (2005), 403–15 (p. 403). They quote here Alfred Acres, "The Columba Altarpiece and the Time of the World", *The Art Bulletin*, 80:3, (1998), 422–51 (p. 432). Their most detailed example is Vittore Carpaccio's painting of *The Vision of Saint Augustine*, 1502–3, S. Giorgio degli Schiavoni, Venice, which features a contemporary free-standing bronze statue of the resurrected Christ.
- 19 Nagel and Wood, "Toward a New Model", p. 403.
- 20 Seaman, *The Religious Paintings of Hendrick ter Bruggen*, p. 81.
- 21 Nagel and Wood, "Toward a New Model", p. 408.
- 22 Seaman, *The Religious Paintings of Hendrick ter Bruggen*, p. 83.
- 23 Joseph Leo Koerner, "The Icon as Iconoclasm", in *Iconoclasm*, ed. by Bruno Latour and Peter Weibel, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2002, 64–212 (p. 166).
- 24 John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, ed. by John T. McNeill, trans. by Ford Lewis Battles, London: Westminster John Knox Press, 2006, 1.11.12, p. 112.
- 25 See also Lee Palmer Wandel, "Incarnation, Image and Sign: John Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion* and Late Medieval Visual Culture", in *Image and Incarnation: The Early Modern Doctrine of the Pictorial Image*, ed. by Walter S. Melion and Lee Palmer Wandel, Leiden: Brill, 2015, 187–202.
- 26 Calvin, *Institutes*, 1.11.5, p. 105.
- 27 *Ibid.*, 1.11.2, p. 100.
- 28 Seaman, *The Religious Paintings of Hendrick ter Bruggen*, p. 88. After Jung, Seaman ascertains that the figures would have provided a locus for the devotional gaze during the elevation of the host, which was concealed from the laity by the screen; see Jacqueline E. Jung, "Beyond the Barrier: The Unifying Role of the Choir Screen in Gothic Churches", *The Art Bulletin*, 82:4 (2000), 622–57 (p. 627).
- 29 Claus Virch, "The *Crucifixion* by Hendrick ter Bruggen", *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, 16:8 (1958), 217–26 (p. 219).
- 30 Amy Neff also explores the Virgin's suffering on Calvary in terms of her motherhood, which in Christian devotion came to be intertwined with that of her pain, likening it to childbirth labour, which brings forth the salvation of all humankind; see Amy Neff, "The Pain of *Compassio*: Mary's Labor at the Foot of the Cross", *The Art Bulletin*, 80:2 (1998), 254–73.
- 31 Caroline Walker Bynum, *Christian Materiality: An Essay on Religion in Late Medieval Europe*, Zone Books: New York, 2011, p. 107. For miraculous crucifixes in medieval Italy, see Katherine Jansen, "Miraculous Crucifixes in Late Medieval Italy", in *Signs, Wonders, Miracles: Representations of Divine Power in the Life of the Church*, ed. by Kate Cooper and Jeremy Gregory, Woodbridge, NY: Boydell Press, 2005, 203–27. See also Erik Thunø, "The Miraculous Image and the Centralized Church: Santa Maria della Consolazione in Todi", in *The Miraculous Image in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, papers from a conference held at the Accademia di Danimarca in collaboration with the Bibliotheca Hertziana (Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte), Rome, 31 May to 2 June 2003, ed. by Erik Thunø and Gerhard Wolf, Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 2004, 29–56 (p. 30).
- 32 Il Cigoli moves the miracle outside of the church, which he depicts in the lower right background. Tommaso da Celano describes the episode as an unprecedented and unheard of miracle when Francis saw the lips of Christ move as he 'spake from the wood of the crucifix'; see Tommaso da Celano, *Vita Secunda*, after the translation of Placid Hermann, "The Second Life of St Francis", in *St. Francis of Assisi, Writings and Early Biographies: English Omnibus of the Sources for the Life of St. Francis*, ed. by Marion A. Habig, Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1983, bk 2, 357–543 (p. 370). Also cited in Sixten Ringbom, "Devotional Images and Imaginative Devotions: Notes on the Place of Art in Late Medieval Private Piety", *Gazette des beaux-arts*, 6:73 (1969), 159–70 (p. 161).
- 33 Bynum, *Christian Materiality*, p. 121.
- 34 Cited in John F. Moffitt, "Sluter's *Pleurants* and Timanthes' *Tristitia Velata*: Evolution of, and Sources for a Humanist Topos of Mourning", *Artibus et Historiae*, 26:51 (2005), 73–84 (p. 81).
- 35 Slatkes and Franits also note the 'uncommon alabaster-like translucency' of John's fingers (Slatkes and Franits, *The Paintings of Hendrick ter Bruggen*, p. 107).
- 36 *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, ed. by Rev. H. J. Schroeder, St. Louis: B. Herder, 1941, p. 89: session XIV, "Decree on Penance and Extreme Unction".
- 37 Caroline Walker Bynum, *Wonderful Blood: Theology and Practice in Late Medieval Northern Germany and Beyond*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007, p. 189.
- 38 Seaman, "Materiality", p. 491. Seaman notes that this also occurs in another of Hendrick ter Bruggen's paintings not connected to the theme of conversion: *Christ Crowned with Thorns*, 1620, oil on canvas, 207 x 240 cm, Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst (Seaman, *The Religious Paintings of Hendrick ter Bruggen*, pp. 76 and 103–14).
- 39 Bynum, *Wonderful Blood*, p. 213.
- 40 Bynum also refers to the sense of ambiguity of seeing and of materiality that lurks behind the blood debates from Barcelona in 1350–51 to the Rome debate of the 1460s. She notes that diocesan synods came increasingly to legislate, as had Nicholas of Cusa, that miracle hosts such as those at Sternberg and Wilsnack, should not be displayed to the faithful for cult. See especially chapters 2 to 5 in Bynum, *Wonderful Blood*, pp. 25–131.
- 41 See Lee Palmer Wandel, *The Eucharist in the Reformation: Incarnation and Liturgy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, pp. 1–13.
- 42 Bynum, *Wonderful Blood*, p. 226.
- 43 Bynum notes that regarding medieval attitudes towards matter, there was a concern from theologians that blood had to be contained and controlled. In images, blood could also be caught in Eucharistic chalices or Christ's fragmented wounds contained by frames and borders; see Bynum, *Wonderful Blood*, pp. 14–15, 96–98, and 252.
- 44 See also Bynum, *Wonderful Blood*, pp. 173–92 for the implications of blood as separated and shed.
- 45 Seaman, *The Religious Paintings of Hendrick ter Bruggen*, p. 76.
- 46 *Ibid.*, p. 4. Seaman keeps her discussion of this unusual motif within the context of materiality. Discussions of the theological implications of Christ's blood have gone unacknowledged.
- 47 See Bynum, *Wonderful Blood*, pp. 185–87, for theologians' anxiety over the threat of *mutatio* (corruptibility).
- 48 The debate about sacrifice became so central in the Eucharistic controversy of the Reformation that it was the focus of a high proportion of the conversations of the Council of Trent on Eucharist and ministry, in 1547, 1551–52, and 1562 (see Wandel, *The Eucharist in the Reformation*, p. 218).

49 Wandel, *The Eucharist in the Reformation*, p. 22.

50 Bynum, *Wonderful Blood*, p. 244. Bynum notes that already in the Eucharistic controversies of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, shifts of emphasis on sacrifice became apparent, in addition to an increased anxiety about the concept of 'once for all, yet daily' and a sense of sacrifice as an act with objective results – as 'something done'. For the names of medieval theologians who struggled with the destruction they recognised in Christ's sacrifice, see Bynum, *Wonderful Blood*, pp. 215–21.

51 Vincent of Beauvais and Dionysius the Carthusian, using an argument that went back to Augustine, stressed that Christ was not pierced on the cross but opened like a doorway; see Bynum, *Wonderful Blood*, p. 235. Even the iconographical motif of the Mass of Saint Gregory reflects understandings of blood as offering – those versions in which the blood spills outward make it clear that the blood is an oblation. From a static figure Christ steps forward out of the sepulchre and pours blood into the chalice in an action aimed at both pope and viewer; see Caroline Walker Bynum, "Seeing and Seeing Beyond: The Mass of St. Gregory in the Fifteenth Century", in *The Mind's Eye: Art and Theological Argument in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Anne-Marie Bouché and Jeffrey Hamburger, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005, 208–40.

52 Bynum cites Julian of Norwich, Catherine of Genoa, and *The Tochter Syon*, a thirteenth-century text that was popular in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Germany in which the virtues are described as hunting the King of Glory and wounding him with their darts of love. See Bynum, *Wonderful Blood*, p. 237.

53 Adelheid Langmann said, 'When Christ died out of love, his side was pierced, and water and blood flowed from it. This he gives as a gift to all those who love him' (see Bynum, *Wonderful Blood*, p. 236).

54 Calvin, *Institutes*, 2.3.6, p. 296.

55 *Ibid.*, 4.17.1, p. 1361, and 4.17.7, p. 1367. Also cited in Nicholas Wolterstorff, "John Calvin", in *A Companion to the Eucharist in the Reformation*, ed. by Lee Palmer Wandel, Leiden: Brill, 2013, 97–113 (p. 103).

56 Bynum, *Wonderful Blood*, p. 230.

57 *Ibid.*, p. 248.

58 For Calvin's understanding of the 'signness' of the sacrament, see Wandel,

*The Eucharist in the Reformation*, pp. 155–66. Calvin's theology of the ascended Christ meant the elements of bread and wine were 'a mirror of spiritual blessings'. Therefore, whereas the Council of Trent affirmed the Eucharist as a locus for salvation, for Calvin the Supper served the purpose of confirming and sealing the actions signified.

59 Wandel, *The Eucharist in the Reformation*, p. 226.

60 *Ibid.*, p. 215. *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. by Norman P. Tanner, London: Sheed & Ward, 1990, II, pp. 726–27.

61 'To say that Christ may be received without faith is as inappropriate as to say that a seed may germinate in fire' (Calvin, *Institutes*, 4.17.33, p. 1407).

62 Pericolo states of Caravaggio, 'He structured his religious narratives with a view to defying and inhibiting any pre-determined logic of arguing divinity through the figurative' (Pericolo, *Caravaggio and Pictorial Narrative*, p. 209).

# Alonso Cano's *The Miracle of the Well*: Material Forms, Temporalities, and the Invention of Miraculous Marian Images

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In the Spanish Golden Age, the refinements of *dibujo*, *ingenio*, and *invención* upheld the expanding demand for religious narratives as the most widespread genre of painting.<sup>1</sup> In a climate of renewed confidence in the relative merits of painting, especially after the advent of Velázquez within and outside the Iberian peninsula, Alonso Cano (1601–67) set the stage for novel engagements with the boundaries of painting and the state of the *paragone*. I will evaluate Cano's preoccupation with sacred subject matter in ways that bear out the indexical capabilities of seventeenth-century painting to rekindle medieval legends. Cano pegged the Spanish interest in medieval narratives to contested Marian images, Christian beliefs, and, above all, the interchangeability of painting and sculpture. In particular, the late sixteenth-century sculpture *The Virgin of la Almudena* **FIGURE 1** offers perspectives on how its contested character served as a useful category for appropriating the status of artefacts for the pictorial composition of Cano's *The Miracle of the Well* (1638–40, Madrid, Museo del Prado) **FIGURE 2**. Cano's interpretation of the medieval legend of the miracle of the well was unprecedented, and remained unique in subsequent generations of painters.

In seventeenth-century Spain, the notion of contested images emerged as a competitive force. On orders issued by Philip IV in 1643 and 1656, respectively, different cities, towns, and places staged, on behalf of the Spanish monarchy, ceremonies for the Virgin Mary held before the image that directed the highest level of devotional attention. However, it was not always self-evident in each place exactly which Marian image has the 'mayor devoción'. The history and reception of *The Virgin of la Almudena* documents the full range of contentious powers attached to Marian images. León Pinelo's *Anales o Historia de Madrid* (1658) confirms the enduring participation of *The Virgin of la Almudena* in the ritual of the city, and also in a larger context of recovery and repurposing of icons, relics, and artefacts predating the Muslim conquest of the Iberian peninsula.<sup>2</sup> A relevant example of the competing claims of Marian images, the debate between the *Virgin of la Almudena* and *Atocha* in Madrid often unfolded in comparable ways at other places throughout the monarchy, where devotees had to figure out which local image should gain formal recognition within the monarch-ordered rituals. More especially in Madrid, the competing claims of *Virgin of la Almudena* and *Atocha* were associated with the burgeoning cult of Saint Isidro the Labourer, such as when in 1619 the people of Madrid learned that the presence of the bones of the city's patron saint saved Philip III from death.<sup>3</sup>

Madrid's devotions to Saint Isidro the Labourer triumphed over inauspicious circumstances. The Roman Church withheld Saint Isidro's canonization until the pontificate of Gregory XV (1621–23), whose tactful policies ensured the canonization of Spanish saints Teresa de Ávila, Francis Xavier, Ignatius de Loyola, and Isidro the Labourer. Finally granted in 1622, the canonization of Saint Isidro as the patron saint of Madrid marked the beginning of a new age.<sup>4</sup> The rise of Madrid as imperial city laid stress on the cult of Saint Isidro, the presence of his relics in Madrid's church of San Andrés, and the medieval literature on his life and miracles.<sup>5</sup> Lope de Vega's *El Isidro* (1599), a poetic narrative of Saint Isidro's life, builds upon medieval narratives, pointedly on the guidance Saint Isidro offered to King Alfonso VIII in the combat of Navas de Tolosa (1212) against the Muslims, to argue that the

saintliness of Saint Isidro provided evidence of the sacredness of the city of Madrid.<sup>6</sup>

### Medievalism in Early Modern Depictions

Produced during Cano's Madrid period, *The Miracle of the Well* resounds with the dexterity he had reached after apprenticing in Seville (1616–38). Cano draws on the narrative expressiveness of the medieval Spanish legend of the agricultural Isidro the Labourer (Madrid, 1082–1172), whose son fell into a well and was brought to the surface through miraculously rising waters in response to the prayers of the saint and his wife, Saint María de la Cabeza. Standing in front of the well, Saint Isidro — depicted with the sickle — contemplates the miraculous rescue of his son, now returned to the intimate embrace of the boy's mother, Saint María de la Cabeza. The inclusion of the Rosary, lowered from Saint Isidro to the rescued child, and the substitution opened up between the female character by the well and the Samaritan woman drawing water from Jacob's Well project the medieval account in a multilayered temporality.

The Spanish theorists Jusepe Martínez and Lázaro Díaz del Valle, upon seeing *The Miracle of the Well* in its original location at the high altar of Madrid's church of Santa María de la Almudena, reviewed the painting as Alonso Cano's absolute masterpiece.<sup>7</sup> In the same vein, Antonio Palomino's *El Parnaso Español* (1724) corroborates the critique of Fray Juan Bautista Maíno (*pintor eminente*), whose unrestrained words of praise for *The Miracle of the Well* are said to have drawn Philip IV to come to the church to see the painting.<sup>8</sup>

Yet choosing the high altar of Madrid's Santa María de la Almudena as the original location for *The Miracle of the Well* referenced Saint Isidro's devotions strenuously. Saint Isidro prayed every day in the sanctuary that held the miraculous *Virgin of la Almudena*, amplifying its cult in the medieval period while fostering a ritual interest in the Almudena chapel, which Philip IV ordered to be restored in 1640.<sup>9</sup> The polychrome sculpture of the *Virgin of la Almudena* had been originally located at the main altar of the Almudena church and, arguably, Cano's *Miracle of the Well* was placed directly above the sculpture, in the attic of the retable. The location of Cano's canvas in relation to the miraculous image of the *Virgin of la Almudena* yielded a process of adapting and updating the sculptural model as a natural extension of the referential act of painting. Based upon this spatial arrangement, the *Virgin of la Almudena* and Saint Isidro created an association with the time of the saint, suggesting that the sculpted image mediated the miraculous intervention



**FIGURE 1.** *The Virgin of la Almudena*, polychrome wood, late 16th century. Madrid, Almudena Cathedral.



**FIGURE 2.** Alonso Cano, *The Miracle of the Well*, oil on canvas, 216 x 149 cm, 1638–40. Madrid, Museo del Prado.

depicted in the painting. Cano's *The Miracle of the Well* integrates the medieval legend with visual artefacts, enabling effects of anachronism and the surfacing of the past in early modern Christian religious symbolism.

Cano folds into the medieval legend of Saint Isidro visual citations from miraculous healings, revelations, and encounters that once happened with the mediation of water. Depicted on the right, the woman holding a jar and facing Saint Isidro refers back to the Samaritan woman, confirmed by the venerable presence of Jacob's Well located above. The referential quality of early modern painting thus testifies to two concomitant temporalities of Cano's narrative: the past in which the parable of Christ's encounter with the Samaritan woman at Jacob's Well took place, and the Spanish medieval legend according to which Saint Isidro witnessed the rescuing of his son through the miraculously rising waters. Cano deepens the semantics by means of his unprecedented ability to translate from painting to sculpture, and vice versa, focusing on the adaptation to the oil-on-canvas medium of the miraculous story related to the Marian sculpture of the *Virgin of la Almudena* from Madrid's Santa María de la Almudena.<sup>10</sup> *The Miracle of the Well* marks the historic fact that, in the Spanish Golden Age, the painter self-consciously built upon the spurious reception of the wooden polychrome sculpture of the *Virgin of la Almudena* in order to create a painting that must have been equally criticized. Produced around the late sixteenth century, the wooden polychrome sculpture of la Almudena was purportedly modelled after the image manufactured in Jerusalem and brought to Spain by Saint James the Greater.<sup>11</sup> Imprinted with antique connotations, painting and sculpture document the unity of the fine arts, reflecting in modern terms the sacred past of both the medieval Spanish legend and the Gospel narrative. This model of work-for-work substitution spreads Cano's authorial element across a chain of mutual correspondence. *The Miracle of the Well* abounds with citations, references, paradoxes, and controversies of the early modern age while concomitantly standing in an active relationship to the sculpted image of the *Virgin of la Almudena*, an image nevertheless objected to by early modern Spanish theorists.

### **A Contested Image and the Universality of Painting**

An image of antique pedigree documented by early modern Spanish historiography, the *Virgin of la Almudena* claims a historical legitimacy rooted in the Spanish medieval past rather than in early Christianity. When compared to the prototypal images endorsed by the Church, the relatively young age of the statue of the *Virgin of la Almudena* contradicted the overarching preoccupation with the ancient cult of images and the validation of new ones in the post-Tridentine decades. Influential theologians such as Cesare Baronio, Johannes Molanus, and Gabriele Paleotti contributed to the revitalization of confidence in miraculous images, but their arguments largely hinged on historical legitimacy and longevity, and on the inextricable link to *acheiropoietic* visual material.<sup>12</sup> In Spain, analogous beliefs prompted Fray José de Sigüenza to theorize in 1605 the Spanish taste ('gusto español') as a theoretical and at

the same time practical attitude derived from historical legitimacy and sacred practice.<sup>13</sup>

It comes as no surprise that Jerónimo de Quintana's *Historia del origen y antigüedad de la Imagen de Nuestra Señora de Atocha* (Madrid, 1637) documented the *Almudena* as being inferior to the *Virgin of Atocha*, whose authority, longevity, and royal cult overshadowed the power of all Marian images existing in Spain.<sup>14</sup> In underscoring the historical authority of religious artefacts, Quintana laid bare the debates over adaptations and reformulations of sacred images from early Christianity that justified the perpetuation of venerable Marian artefacts in Habsburg Spain.<sup>15</sup> As the preeminent image of the Spanish Habsburgs, the *Virgin of Atocha* secured the highest claim to historicity and miraculous demeanour, superseding the *Almudena*.

Quintana documented another miracle of Saint Isidro that was recorded in a painting already in existence at the church of the Virgin of Atocha, first in the form of a *pintura antigua* and later reproduced on a large canvas at the entrance of the royal chapel of Nuestra Señora de Atocha.<sup>16</sup> Discoursing further on the unreliable novelty of a painting associated with the *Virgin of la Almudena*, Quintana affirms that the old painting of a miracle at the Atocha shrine is trustworthy because of its age.<sup>17</sup> Quintana's position corroborates the Counter-Reformation preoccupation with verification and ratification of all miraculous artefacts, echoing the period's urgent need for philological confirmation of devotional images.<sup>18</sup> The fundamental argument that the historiographer makes is that an old documentary painting at the Atocha shrine is reliable because of its age, whereas the new documentary painting at the Almudena shrine is untrustworthy because of its newness.<sup>19</sup>

The currency and persistence of these oppositions of trustworthy old pictorial narrative and new pictorial document associated with the *Virgin of la Almudena* would have dictated Quintana to quarrel with the newness of Cano's *Miracle of the Well*. In Quintana's views, moreover, the miracle of the well must have occurred through the intervention of the *Virgin of Atocha*, not *la Almudena*, which at the time was hidden.<sup>20</sup> The proscription of new reference to the past disavowed Cano's *Miracle of the Well* as preconditioned for a calculated anachronism that distorted what the Spanish theorist endorsed as credible historical fact. The tenor of this proposition reveals the contours of a thesis about the correct origins and meaning of religious painting, which should be temporally consistent with the sacred subject. Cano's modernity would have been deemed spurious because the pictorial overlap between Saint Isidro and the *Virgin of la Almudena* made an alternative argument about the real identity of the origin point, one based not on the Atocha, but on *la Almudena*.

The polychrome wooden sculpture of the *Virgin of la Almudena* became a ceremonial object used in Madrid's cults and rituals, more insistently so after the revamping of Madrid's church of Santa María de la Almudena in 1640. For the Spanish devotee, the *Virgin of la Almudena* enjoyed a popularity equal to other venerable Marian images. This notwithstanding, ecclesiastical theorists supported the validity of the medieval legend attached to the sculpture in more restrained terms than those they lavishly bestowed on the *Virgin of Atocha*, *Caridad*, *Guadalupe*, *la Peña de Francia*, or the *Virgin del Pilar*, whose origins conveniently referred back to Saint Luke or to early Christianity.<sup>21</sup>

Cano's *The Miracle of the Well* makes it clear enough that the Marian sculpture lends itself to the new conditions of the medium of painting. This effect encourages us to let go of a mere iconographical reading, and it allows the *Virgin of la Almudena* to function like a manipulated image. The visual analogies that Cano's brushwork establishes between the sculpted *Virgin of la Almudena* and the painted group of Saint María de la Cabeza with the rescued child in her arms are interchangeably involved, prompting our understanding of *The Miracle of the Well* as an anachronistic historical scene. Harold Wethey – who first singled out Cano's persistent search for establishing formal relations between the Infant Christ from the *Madonna and Child in a Landscape*, circa 1646, and the head of Saint Isidro's son – overlooked the thematic similarities that lump together *The Miracle of the Well* and the cult of the *Virgin of la Almudena*.<sup>22</sup>

The insistence on the Infant Christ as a paradigm of innocence and predestination was a constant of Cano's draughtsmanship. Dated to his later period in Granada, a preliminary drawing from circa 1652–57 for the *Holy Family* painting **FIGURE 3** for the convent of the Ángel Custodio codifies Cano's interest in the Infant Christ as a representational model for cherubs, seraphim, and children.<sup>23</sup> The perception that a miraculous happening in a child's life identifies with Christ's own childhood supports the visual analogies that Cano embeds in *The Miracle of the Well*, in the manifest similarity between the rescued child and the Infant Christ. Cano's altarpiece and the attendant drawing *The Virgin of the Rosary* **FIGURE 4** for Málaga Cathedral expands the analogical relationship between children and the Infant Christ on a new thematic level, one integrating the Rosary's theological meaning with formal connections between art and sacred environment.<sup>24</sup> As Cano assumed the roles of painter, sculptor, and draughtsman interchangeably, his painting took on a spatial configuration. For Cano, painting became a means to internalize and reconfigure the church space with the help of sculpture.

Cano's *The Miracle of the Well* confidently strikes out a line of its own, positing the medium of painting as impeccable container of the miraculous event. In stark contrast to Quintana, he bypasses the objection to novelty and locates the miracle of the well in a medieval setting. From its location at the high altar of Santa María de la Almudena, *The Miracle of the Well* illustrates Saint María de la Cabeza embracing the child miraculously carried up to the top of the well thanks to the prayers of his father, Saint Isidro the Labourer. Such an early modern retooling of the medieval narrative belongs to an effort on the part of Cano to corroborate by visual evidence miracles that occurred in the past. Quintana, who upheld stricter, yet opposite views, deemed the sanctuary of the *Virgin of Atocha* a more appropriate setting for the narrative of the miracle of the well because he believed that *la Almudena* was hidden at the time. For Quintana, the enduring cult of the *Virgin of Atocha* was a more comprehensive fit for the Virgin's involvement in the unfolding of the miracle of the well. Yet in 1604, his contemporary Francisco de Pereda documents in *Libro Intitulado la Patrona de Madrid y venidas de nuestra Señora a España* that Saint Isidro prayed every day in the church of Santa María de la Almudena and thus the sanctuary befits the historical reality of the well with miraculously rising waters.<sup>25</sup>



**FIGURE 3.** Alonso Cano, *Holy Family*, oil on canvas, 246 x 201 cm, ca 1664. Granada, Convent of the Custodian Angel.



**FIGURE 4.** Alonso Cano, *The Virgin of the Rosary*, drawing, 80 x 89 mm, ca 1664–66. Madrid, Private collection.

## Translation from Painting into Sculpture, and Vice Versa

Alonso Cano sets up to champion the multilayered character of painting as a key feature of the Spanish Golden Age, even though his beliefs remain largely informed by the substantial role of sculpture in a pre-existing hierarchy of the fine arts. In Spain, efforts to validate painting as the pre-eminent form of art belonged to Cano's first teacher, Francisco Pacheco. The influence of Pacheco's treatise *Arte de la pintura* (completed in 1638, published posthumously in 1649), a monumental defense of painting, abated the ingrained Spanish belief on the superiority, veracity, and perfection of polychrome sculpture. Pacheco, in his resoundingly cohesive argument for the superiority of painting in the Spanish Golden Age, redressed the balance in favour of *viveza* (liveliness), *verdad* (truthfulness), and *perfección* (perfection) as the features of the painter's art, which warrants a higher status and subordinates sculpture.<sup>26</sup> As the leader of the Academy of Seville after 1599, Pacheco espoused a heavy emphasis on the Catholic doctrine applied to painting and emerged in 1618 Seville as the appointee of the Inquisition to oversee sacred images.<sup>27</sup> With the rise of painting as the superior art form and as the most conducive channel to relay the theological content visually, the rival medium of sculpture nevertheless maintained its appeal to painters interested in the fictional effects of *trompe l'oeil* sculptures and the illusion of three-dimensionality applied to painting.<sup>28</sup>

For Cano, the perception that drawing is the most important skill of the painter derived from Pacheco, who instilled in his students the importance of 'el aventajado debuxador' (the excellent draftsman).<sup>29</sup> Pacheco's teachings corroborated those of Cano's father, Miguel Cano, who, as a retable master, guided his son in the modern ideas of Sevillian art instruction.<sup>30</sup> What Alonso Cano ultimately retained was the perception that painting, sculpture, and architecture are sister arts, which, despite their differences, originate in the practice of drawing that the Academy of Seville emphasized fully.

In Cano's practice, the architectural drawing remained the preferred medium for mingling the strengths of painting and sculpture. Produced during his Madrid period (1638–52), the drawing for the retable at Madrid's church of San Andrés bears out an orchestrated effort to coordinate various sculpted and painted components **FIGURE 5**. The sculpted figures of Saint Isidro and Saint María de la Cabeza flank on either side the central panel of *Saint Andrew on the Cross*, while the sculptures of four Church fathers appear in the attic and a tabernacle appears in the lower tier.<sup>31</sup> In a well-designed architectural arrangement, Cano illustrates three-dimensional figures expressing gestures and movements pegged to the specifics of their cults, with Saint Isidro depicted with the sickle in his left hand. The entire composition focuses on the pronounced Eucharistic meaning of the retable, which illustrates in the centre the martyrdom of Saint Andrew in direct correlation to the tabernacle located beneath. The sacramental significance of the tabernacle also establishes an unmediated relationship to Saint Isidro, whose relics are kept in the urn located directly above the tabernacle.<sup>32</sup>

In the *Miracle of the Well*, Cano translates from one medium into the other, confirming the visual meaning of the sculpted *Virgin of la Almudena* within the painting he produced for the high altar of the church of Santa



María de la Almudena in Madrid. The formal similarities that Cano hints at in his pictorial rendition of Saint María de la Cabeza embracing her son and the polychrome statue of the *Virgin of la Almudena* lead to a new argument in support of the temporality of painting, namely, that a historical style becomes one of the contents of paintings. Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood have convincingly argued in their *Anachronic Renaissance* that painting, in particular, discovered its own capacity for citing style; in other words, painting depicts style itself as a self-conscious undertaking, instead of just being in a given style.<sup>33</sup> Cano assumes the challenge that *The Miracle of the Well* stages medieval narrative in early modern semblance and setting, achieving a new standard of sophistication and complexity. Indeed, Saint María de la Cabeza embraces the miraculously saved child while raising her eyes towards Saint Isidro and to the imagined presence of the Virgin Mary, the true enabler of the miraculous happening represented by the group of María de la Cabeza and her son, which in turn replicates the more modern *la Almudena* polychrome sculpture. The embracing gesture, the sense of intimacy between mother and child, the playful child in the foreground, the dog, and the women's dialogue all suggest that the momentariness of the hour of prayer was responded to miraculously. Each of these elements refers back to the aforementioned eleventh-century episode of the rescuing of Saint Isidro's son from the well, a medieval modern temporality cogently described by Cano to convey the historicity of the moment.

Commenting on the overall receptivity to miracles in Spain, Jeffrey Schrader has identified how several of the most vocal critics and sceptics of the narratives' veracity were Catholic Spaniards themselves, who reiterated a vociferous critique of miraculous images and their histories that originated in the Protestant movement from northern Europe.<sup>34</sup> Nevertheless, Spanish theorists were not fundamentally sceptical of miraculous images, or of the fact that treatises included authentic narratives about the images' extraordinary qualities and powers. The relative leniency towards miraculous images was the corollary of

Spanish ecclesiastical attitudes to correct, rather than to suppress, the excessive character of visual artefacts. In every case in which a Spaniard authority cast doubt on a miraculous image's provenance, power, or eminence, the objective was to dispute one image's reputation in order to open the door for another miraculous image to gain priority.<sup>35</sup>

William A. Christian Jr's conclusion that the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century accounts of Spanish miracles testify to 'a spirit of doubt in the land' regarding the efficacy of miraculous images underscores one of the

**FIGURE 5.** Alonso Cano, *Study for the Retable at Madrid's Church of St Andrew*, drawing, 286 x 124 mm, ca 1643. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado (D003807).

most remarkable aspects of the peculiarities of devotional life in the Iberian peninsula.<sup>36</sup> Christian's statement remains the deepest inference regarding Spanish doubt on miracles and wonder-working images as a matter of contested principle to endow divine images with a status beyond the material image, rather than as a selective strategy for promoting one Marian image over another. For Cano, painting became the select medium to stage the contested meaning of the *Virgin of la Almudena* and to legitimize the Marian image as the artist's source in engaging with Spanish miraculous images and legends from the past.

In the Spanish medieval period, Marian statues were commonly understood as unmediated proof of the Virgin Mary's appearance. Medieval writers documented the behaviour of Marian sculptures as a manifestation of the real bodily presence of the Virgin. Instances of these animate Marian images appear in Gonzalo de Berceo's (1185–1264) *Milagros de Nuestra Señora* and Alfonso X El Sabio's (1221–84) *Cantigas de Santa Maria*.<sup>37</sup> The story of the painter saved from a demon's attack by the appearance of the Virgin he was painting is the essence of the fourth poem in Alfonso X's *Cantigas de Santa Maria*. The Italian version of the painter's miraculous vision of the Virgin was widely circulated in Florence's devotional texts, specifically in *Libro del Cavaliere and Miracoli della gloriosa Vergine* (1483).<sup>38</sup> In particular, in the sixteenth miracle of Berceo's *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*, a sculpted Virgin rescues a Jewish boy after his father threw him into a furnace for falling in love with the Virgin's image at the high altar and receiving the Eucharist.<sup>39</sup> Associated with the Eucharistic mystery and with the relics, medieval Marian sculptures drew attention to their undergoing miracles of metamorphosis and material transformation.<sup>40</sup> Megan Holmes, who charted the various instances of miraculous transformation across medieval Europe, highlights the medieval transformation of images as uncontested claim for the interrelatedness of miracles and divine apparitions with the devotional practice.<sup>41</sup>

Francisco Ignacio Ruiz's engraving **FIGURE 6** encapsulates the sense of translation, transformation, and adaptation of the *Virgin of la Almudena*, which received special veneration culminating with the arrival of the image in Madrid. An especially significant cultural phenomenon of Spain's early modern period drew on religious testimony. As revealing examples, Marian images supplied religious testimony to the antiquarian debates over Spain's



**FIGURE 6.** Francisco Ignacio Ruiz, *La Virgen de la Almudena traída a Madrid por Santiago y Calocero*, engraving, in Juan de Vera Tassis y Villarroel, *Historia del Origen, [...] Madrid: Francisco Sanz, 1692.*

past. According to Sebastián de Covarrubias's dictionary of 1611, miraculous images were documented in 'invenciones' that claimed the continuity of Christianity in church architecture.<sup>42</sup> For Jerónimo de Quintana, *The Virgin of la Almudena* had a pre-Islamic past and thus provided the required antiquarian evidence to prove the date of the church of Santa María de la Almudena.<sup>43</sup> The ancient origin of la Almudena furnished incontrovertible proof of the venerable past of the church and of the antiquity of the statue of the Virgin.

### Distilling the Medieval Miracle in Early Modern Pictorial Art

Cano interpreted the medieval legend of Saint Isidro and the devotional significance of the *Virgin of la Almudena* from a fundamentally distinct vantage point. In *The Miracle of the Well*, he declared that his invention distills, rather than upholds, the medieval character that lumps together Saint Isidro and the Marian artefact. In Cano's interpretation, the sculpted *Virgin of la Almudena* with the Child emerges in the medium of painting, which assumed value in the Spanish Golden Age as the pre-eminent modality of art; however, in *The Miracle of the Well*, Cano depicts an imagined prototype for the Virgin with the Infant Child, rather than representing the sculpted image. In fact, Cano placed Saint María de la Cabeza and the rescued child next to Jacob's Well, a motif that the painter imagined extended back to the Christian past. Alexander Nagel has argued that only painting is 'eminently well suited to the task of blending places and times'.<sup>44</sup> A critical example of this intricate understanding of painting is present in Cano's *The Miracle of the Well*. The scene of Saint María de la Cabeza and the child located in the proximity of the Samaritan woman at Jacob's Well is new to the medieval iconography of Saint Isidro. Cano thus invented *The Miracle of the Well* for Spanish painting, basing his work on textual and visual traditions of Madrid's patron saint.

Building upon the relevance of Italian sources to the art of painting in Pacheco's teachings to young artists, Cano challenged his brushwork by adopting the Venetian technique. During an extensive Castilian journey with his friend Velázquez, Cano acquired paintings for the royal collection to replace the canvases damaged in a fire that swept over the palace of the Buen Retiro in 1640.<sup>45</sup> Those canvases included significant mythological sources and classical antiquity subjects from the Italian Renaissance, on which both Velázquez and Cano leaned in their campaign to restore the pictorial lustre of the Buen Retiro's collection of Italian masters.<sup>46</sup> *The Miracle of the Well* directly reflects on Cano's acquisition of all the pictorial and stylistic refinements of Italian Renaissance art in the staging of the miraculously rising waters of the well.

The corresponding figures of Saint Isidro and the Samaritan woman at the well point to the Venetian art of gestures and demands, likening *The Miracle of the Well* to the Italian Renaissance preoccupation with scenery and theatrical performance. Cano expressed his receptivity to Venice in the outlines of the Muses he engraved for Francisco de Quevedo's *El Parnasso Español* (1648) and, in particular, in the adaptations from engraving he applied to the Venetian landscape setting of his *Christ and the Samaritan*



Woman **FIGURE 7**. The painting appears convincingly reminiscent of Paolo Veronese's sensitivity to narrative sequence and historical reference in his own *Christ and the Samaritan Woman at the Well* (1585) **FIGURE 8**. Christ, having journeyed through Samaria, rests on the edge of Jacob's Well, pointing his hand at the water as he asks the Samaritan woman for a drink. Veronese focuses on the riveting moment when Christ enlightens the woman by revealing his being the living water, the source of everlasting life. David Rosand has studied the mode of dramatic presentation in Veronese's historical narratives, underscoring the dialectic or 'the peculiar duality of the painted image that leads us from the fictive world of the stage back to the reality of the picture plane'.<sup>47</sup> In Veronese's *Christ and the Samaritan Woman at the Well*, the mastery of dialectical sense integrates and at the same time leads the viewer to the sacred narrative core, the proscenium on which Christ both presides and centres the pictorial arrangement.

**FIGURE 7.** Alonso Cano, *Christ and the Samaritan Woman at the Well*, oil on canvas, 166 x 205 cm, ca 1640. Madrid, Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando.



Cano's *The Miracle of the Well* focuses the miraculous rising of the well's waters on a complex system of internal and external references. The broad gesture of Saint Isidro sets out to acknowledge the miraculous recovery of his son from the well, eliciting the various gestures, glances, and expressions that continue their course to the right, beneath the well where the Samaritan woman appears. The sophistication of Cano's compositional line superimposes the curving line of the well onto the entire pictorial structure while at the same time quickening dramatic action. Located in the centre foreground, a child's *rückenfigur* engages with his playmate, who stretches forth a clear hand from within the well itself, confirming the miraculous rising of the water.

The attitude of the child in the foreground strikes the most unusual note inside a miraculous narrative, yet it reflects on Cano's study of the Infant Christ and of children implicit in all of his cherubs. Children as ostensible subjects introduce a sense of manifest playfulness and humour, giving Cano's painting a specific vital dimension by commenting on the miraculously rising waters. Uncharacteristically, Cano integrates through the naked child another contested form into the *Miracle of the Well*. The nakedness of children, cherubs, and the Infant Child — a recurring feature of Cano's painting — testifies to an advanced measure of sophistication in dealing with what early modern culture recognized as 'the embarrassment of the classical'.<sup>48</sup> The cherub was the only material form of sacred ornament used in the decoration of the Temple of Solomon. Even though classical antiquity never used the cherub, the early modern Christian sense of decoration allowed the cherub to appear on classically derived architecture. Tainted by paganism and materialism, the cherub appeared to have lost its prevailing sacred meaning from the Hebrew past.<sup>49</sup> Cano presents the child's nakedness as an expression of moral qualities, a fervent call to imitate the exemplary virtue of Christ and the surfacing into early modern Christianity from the New Testament.

**FIGURE 8.** Paolo Veronese, *Christ and the Samaritan Woman at the Well*, oil on canvas, 143 x 289 cm, ca 1585. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.



**FIGURE 9.** Alonso Cano, *Christ in Limbo*, oil on canvas, 167.64 x 120.65 cm. Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

For reasons of stylistic and thematic similarities, *The Miracle of the Well* and the *Christ in Limbo* **FIGURE 9** celebrate Cano's consistent preoccupation with lovely cherubs in both the paintings and sculpted-ornamental infants he produced for the high altars in Lebrija, in Seville's Santa Paula, and in Granada Cathedral. *The Christ in Limbo* is the only work in which Cano painted the nude adult figure as formal presentation mode for Christ and for Eve's splendid contours. It is no simple coincidence that Cano inserted the standing nude child into the centre of the *Christ in Limbo* to stress playfulness as divine intervention and the state of primary innocence in the aftermath of the purifying effect of coming back from the underworld.

Cano's artful nude stands in for one's recovered innocence and caves in to the narrative of Christ's journey into the netherworld, substantiating the naked human form as active vehicle in the staging of religious narratives. From his first sculpted cherubs and child-sculptures placed in front of the Host in Lebrija and Seville to his most elaborate polychrome sculptures, Cano introduced a sense of miracle and drama that re-evaluated the historical source. As his principal biographers Antonio Palomino, Lázaro Díaz del Valle, and Jusepe Martínez, relay, Cano's manifest inclination to obviate ecclesiastical rules and regulations lies at the heart of many of his indictments.<sup>50</sup>

One of the recognized characteristics of the Spanish Golden Age was the latent medieval character of the period. This aspect manifested itself in the renewed interest in the religious orientations of the medieval period.<sup>51</sup> Cano, much like his friend Velázquez, drew on a common thread rooted in medieval hagiographic accounts. For Cano, the choice of the Saint Isidro legend emphasizes his intellectual concerns regarding the state of contested images in early modern Spain. Medieval subject matter such as the Saint Isidro's legend allowed Cano to build vigorous transference from sculpture into painting, fulfilling above all his mission shared with Velázquez and Zurbarán to establish painting as the pre-eminent art in Spain.

1 Karen Hellwig, "Theory and Practice: The Fine Arts in Seventeenth-Century Spain", in *The Spanish Golden Age: Painting and Sculpture in the Time of Velázquez*, ed. by Michael Eissenhauer, Bernd Wolfgang Lindemann, and Roger Diederer (Gemäldegalerie Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kunstthale München), Munich: Hirmer, 2016, 31–41 (p. 38).

2 'Y pudo ser que en esta ocasión escondiesen los clérigos y vecinos de Madrid ó los Canonigos que entonces residian en la Iglesia de S. Maria, la santa imagen de Nuestra Señora de la Almudena en el Muro donde tantos años despues fue hallada. Porque el ver atravesar por aqui las Reliquias, las Imagenes, los libros y otras cosas de la Yglesia su Metropoli, que desmayo, que recelo no causaria para que no procurasen todos los lugares hacer lo mismo. [...] Viendo los moradores de Madrid que los Moros se iban apoderando de España, y que llegaban cerca de sus muros escondieron la santa y venerable imagen de S. Maria de la Almudena, por escusar alguna sacrilega irreverencia de los barbaros. El sitio que le señalaron por sagrario fue un cubo de la muralla que estaba mas cerca de su iglesia; en que estuvo oculta trescientos sesenta y tres años'; see Antonio de León Pinelo, *Anales de Madrid (desde el año 447 al de 1658)*, transcripción, notas y ordenación cronológica de Pedro Fernández Martín, Madrid: CSIC, 1971, p. 4. I am grateful to Antonio Urquizar Herrera for conferencing with me on the Almudena in the pre-Islamic era of the Iberian peninsula.

3 William A. Christian Jr, *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981, p. 157.

4 Maria José del Río Barredo, "Literatura y ritual en la creación de una identidad urbana: Isidro, patrón de Madrid", *Edad de Oro*, 17 (1998), 149–68.

5 Maria José del Río Barredo, *Madrid, Urbs Regia: La capital ceremonial de la monarquía católica*, Madrid: Marcial Pons Ediciones de Historia, 2000, pp. 96 and 100.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 110.

7 Harold E. Wethey, *Alonso Cano: Painter, Sculptor, Architect*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1955, p. 53; Jusepe Martinez, *Practical Discourses on the Most Noble Art of Painting* [1672], ed. Zahira Véliz, trans. by David McGrath and Zahira Véliz, Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2017, p. 106: 'He was a superb draftsman and achieved great relief in coloring, as seen in a very large picture located in the church of Santa Maria in

Madrid in which is painted the miracle of Saint Isidore [...] This painting alone would gain an honorable opinion for any painter, even if he had never painted another'.

8 Ángel Aterido Fernández, *Corpus Alonso Cano: Documentos y Textos*, Madrid: Subdirección General de Información y Publicaciones, Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, 2002, p. 515. Antonio Palomino, *Lives of the Eminent Spanish Painters and Sculptors*, trans. Nina Ayala Mallory, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987, p. 236: 'En este tiempo hizo diferentes obras de pintura públicas, y particulares; y especialmente el célebre cuadro del Milagro del pozo de San Isidro, que está en el segundo cuerpo del altar mayor de la parroquia de Santa María en esta Corte: pintura de tanto acierto dibujado, y colorida, que verdaderamente es un milagro. Y habiéndola visto Fray Juan Bautista Mayno (pintor eminente) se la celebró de suerte al señor Felipe Cuarto, que fue Su Majestad a verla, con el pretexto de hacer oración a Nuestra Señora de la Almudena que se venera en aquel sagrado templo'.

9 Martín Bravo Navarro, *La Almudena: Historia de la Iglesia de Santa María la Real y de sus imágenes*, Madrid: Editora Mundial, 1993, pp. 72–73. Also see *La imagen de Sta. Maria La Real de la Almudena, patrona de Madrid: Datos históricos, proceso de restauración*, Madrid: Arzobispado de la Madrid, 2004.

10 The history and miraculous power of the Virgen of Almudena are documented in two treatises by Juan de Vera Tassis y Villarroel: Juan de Vera Tassis y Villarroel, *Historia del origen, invención y milagros de la sagrada imagen de Nuestra Señora de la Almudena, antigüedades y excelencias de Madrid*, Madrid: Francisco Sanz, 1692, and Juan de Vera Tassis y Villarroel, *El triunfo verdadero y la verdad defendida en la historia del origen, invención y milagros de Nuestra Señora la Real de la Almudena, Patrona de Madrid*, Salamanca: Isidro de León, 1701.

11 Tassis y Villarroel, *Historia del origen, invención y milagros*, p. 7.

12 Giuseppe Scavizzi, *The Controversy on Images from Calvin to Baronius*, New York: Peter Lang, 1992, pp. 232–38, esp. p. 237.

13 Francisco Calvo Serraller, *La teoría de la pintura en el Siglo de Oro*, Madrid: Cátedra, 1981, pp. 111–17.

14 Jerónimo de Quintana, *Historia del origen y antigüedad de la Imagen de Nuestra Señora de Atocha*, Madrid: Imprenta del Reino, 1637, ff. 59v–63r. For a detailed discussion, see Jeffrey Schrader,

*La Virgen de Atocha: Los Austrias y las imágenes milagrosas*, Madrid: Ayuntamiento de Madrid, 2006, p. 33.

15 Gabriele Freiwald-Korth, *San Isidro Labrador und Santa María de la Cabeza. Patrone Madrids – Patrone der Bauern/ Ihre Ikonographie in Spanien bis zum Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Hamburg: Toro Verlag, 1981, pp. 100–102, on the miracle of the well in relation to the rival cults of the Virgins of Atocha and Almudena.

16 The old painting at the Atocha shrine seems instead to have depicted an even earlier battle-related miracle involving Don García [also named as García Ramirez in other Atocha-themed publications] (see Quintana, *Historia del origen y antigüedad*, ff. 59v–60r).

17 Quintana, *Historia del origen y antigüedad*, ff. 59v–63r.

18 Christian Jr, *Local Religion*, pp. 102–3. Christian details the sceptical attitude towards miraculous images that resulted in the publication of books to certify with collected documents the miracles and to carry careful explanation on how the miracles verify.

19 Quintana, *Historia del origen y antigüedad*, f. 63r: 'y quando la pintura es argumento de probabilidad, es, quando es antigua, y de aquellos tiempos, lo que falta en la referida por ser muy moderna, y de los nuestros, que alcançamos el tiempo en que se hizo'.

20 *Ibid.*, ff. 61v–62r.

21 The histories of miraculous images were documented in sixteenth-century treatises, including that on the Virgen of Atocha by Francisco Pereda, *Libro Intitulado la Patrona de Madrid y venidas de nuestra Señora a España*, Valladolid: Sebastián de Cañas, 1604. For a summary of this literature, see Schrader, *La Virgen de Atocha*, p. 24.

22 Wethey, *Alonso Cano*, pp. 54 and 170.

23 Zahira Véliz, *Alonso Cano (1601–1667): Dibujos, Catálogo Razonado*, Santander: Fundación Botín, 2011, pp. 87–132, esp. p. 103.

24 Véliz, *Alonso Cano*, pp. 15–54, esp. 42–43.

25 Pereda, *Libro Intitulado la Patrona de Madrid*. On Pereda's testimonial that Saint Isidro visited the sanctuary every other day, see Jeffrey Schrader, "The Virgin of Atocha and Spanish Habsburg Devotion to Miraculous Images", PhD diss., New York University, Institute of Fine Arts, 2003, p. 33.

- On the return of the *Virgen de la Almudena* in 1640 to the restored chapel of the Almudena on supervision from Philip IV, see Bravo Navarro, *La Almudena*, pp. 72–73.
- 26 Hellwig, “Theory and Practice”, pp. 34–37.
- 27 Jonathan Brown, *Painting in Spain 1500–1700*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998, pp. 102–3.
- 28 Hellwig, “Theory and Practice”, p. 35.
- 29 Alfonso Rodríguez G. de Ceballos, “Alonso Cano y el Retablo”, in *Figuras e imágenes del Barroco: Estudios sobre el barroco español y sobre la obra de Alonso Cano*, ed. by Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez et al., Madrid: Fundación Argentaria, 1999, 213–36 (esp. p. 252).
- 30 *Ibid.*, p. 251.
- 31 Véliz, *Alonso Cano*, p. 444.
- 32 *Ibid.*
- 33 Alexander Nagel and Christopher S. Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*, New York: Zone Books, 2010, chap. 9, “Fashion in Painting”, pp. 85–96.
- 34 Schrader, “The Virgin of Atocha and Spanish Habsburg Devotion”, *passim*.
- 35 I remain particularly grateful to Jeffrey Schrader’s personal guidance in writing this paragraph. Without his recognized expertise in Marian images in Spain, I would never had access to the sources I used here.
- 36 Christian Jr, *Local Religion*, chap. 5, “The Survival of Local Religion”, pp. 178–79.
- 37 Gonzalo de Berceo and the Latin Miracles of the Virgin: A Translation and a Study, ed. by Patricia Timmons and Robert Boenig, Farnham: Ashgate, 2012, pp. 3–10. *Alfonso X Sábido, Cantigas de Santa María*, ed. by Walter Mettman, 2 vols, Madrid: Edicións Xerais de Galicia, 1981, I, pp. 107–9.
- 38 Megan Holmes, *The Miraculous Image in Renaissance Florence*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013, p. 160. Mettman, *Alfonso X Sábido*, I, p. 316.
- 39 Timmons and Boenig, *Gonzalo de Berceo*, pp. 4–42.
- 40 Caroline Walker Bynum, *Christian Materiality: An Essay on Religion in Late Medieval Europe*, New York: Zone Books, 2011, p. 164.
- 41 Holmes, *The Miraculous Image*, pp. 169–71.
- 42 Sebastián de Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o Española*, Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1611, f. 506v. See also Antonio Urquizar-Herrera, *Admiration and Awe: Morisco Buildings and Identity Negotiations in Early Modern Spanish Historiography*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017, pp. 142–52, on the use of images in the symbolic appropriation of Islamic spaces.
- 43 Quintana, *A la muy Antigua, noble, y coronada villa*, f. 60v.
- 44 Alexander Nagel, *Medieval Modern: Art Out of Time*, London: Thames and Hudson, 2010, p. 76.
- 45 Wethey, *Alonso Cano*, p. 47.
- 46 Aneta Georgievska-Shine and Larry Silver, *Rubens, Velázquez, and the King of Spain*, Farnham: Ashgate, 2012, pp. 253–56.
- 47 David Rosand, *Painting in Sixteenth-Century Venice: Titian, Veronese, Tintoretto*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997, p. 128.
- 48 John Onians, *Bearers of Meaning: The Classical Orders in Antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988, pp. 126–27.
- 49 *Ibid.*, p. 127.
- 50 Wethey, *Alonso Cano*, p. 11.
- 51 Thomas S. Acker, *The Baroque Vortex: Velázquez, Calderón, and Gracián under Philip IV*, New York: Peter Lang, 2000, pp. 98–99.

# Middle Natures, Human Stone: Fossils, Ribera, and Fanzago at Certosa di San Martino, Naples

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Fire engulfs the late sixteenth-century stone counter-façade of the church of the Certosa di San Martino, the Carthusian monastery overlooking the Bay of Naples **FIGURE 1**.<sup>1</sup> The Carthusians, who still maintained a closed community that strictly observed a contemplative and sequestered life in the cloister, opened up the doors of the nave to a limited number of the laity in order to celebrate the Mass at the main altar. When the celebrants entered the church, they witnessed the prophet Elijah above the entrance holding flames that came down from heaven to smite an army. The Old Testament sign of incendiary retribution is appropriate for an architectural element, the counter-façade, which was often elaborated with imagery from the Last Judgement **FIGURE 2**. But the punitive fire also registers profound iconophobia. Elijah sent fire down from heaven to smite the priests sacrificing animals on the altar dedicated to the idol Baal: “The fire of the Lord fell and consumed the burnt offering and the wood and the stones and the dust, and licked up the water that was in the trench. When all the people saw it, they fell on their faces; and they said, “The Lord, He is God; the Lord, He is God” (1 Kings 18:38).

The 1637 oil painting by Jusepe de Ribera depicting Elijah’s all-consuming fire complements his painting of Moses on the left side of the counter-façade, which repeats the incendiary aniconic theme **FIGURE 2**. The patriarch holds the stone tablet engraved by fire at the site of the burning bush and dashed down when he returned from the mountain to behold the worship of the golden calf. The theme of fire is inflected by sacrifice, the transition from burnt animal offering or holocaust made before an idol to the sacrificial body of Christ. Between Ribera’s two canvases hangs an oil painting of the lamentation over the body of Christ by Massimo Stanzione from the same year. Two Carthusian monks join the grieving holy women, bringing their respective faces close to the stigmata on hand and foot.

Fire was an instrument of asceticism. Flesh was paradoxically renounced by drawing attention to it through its destruction. The discovery of paleo-Christian sites in the subterranean Roman catacombs in the late sixteenth century revealed wall paintings depicting immolated martyrs.<sup>2</sup> The Counter-Reformation Church took these early Christian paintings as evidence of the ancient precedent of religious figurative art. Fire was also associated with the purgation of sins. Ribera’s father-in-law, Giovanni Azzolino, created a set of wax souls, carving the flamboyant material into figures in heaven, purgatory **FIGURE 3**, and hell. In contrast to the head of a demonic sufferer in hell’s fire, a beatific, androgynous wax face with upheld eyes is surrounded by the cleansing flames of purgatory.

Fire also had a deep local and topical resonance, which linked theology to geology. The church of the Carthusian monastery, inaugurated in the fourteenth century, had been destroyed by fire when a munitions depot in the adjacent castle had been struck by lightning in 1587.<sup>3</sup> Ribera’s paintings emerged as a phoenix, surrounded by the stone revetment executed by the Neapolitan sculptor Cosimo Fanzago, promising permanence. According to Giorgio Vasari, in his sixteenth-century treatise on artistic technique, the fitting of marble together to form a picture

takes its origin from the very ardent desire that there should remain in the world to those who come after, even if other kinds of painting were

to be destroyed, a light that may keep alive the memory of modern painters. [...] placed not only on the pavements, where one walks, but also on the face of walls [...] that there can be no danger lest time should waste away the design.<sup>4</sup>

In the sixteenth century, the purity of stone was recognized by its resistance to fire.

And yet, six years before Ribera painted his *Elijah* and Fanzago began the marble intarsia, the Carthusians witnessed from across the Bay of Naples atop their precipice near Castel San Martino the violent liquefaction of stone. Vesuvius had a major eruption, destroying communities that tilled the fertile soil in its dormant crater; vineyards, towns, and villages were levelled, killing at least 3,000. The ignited crater released molten lava from the earth, forming rivers that flowed into the Bay of Naples. The three stone peninsulas reaching out into the water, as seen in contemporary prints, challenged the separation of biblical and geological temporalities, collapsing the present and eschatological time.<sup>5</sup> One Franciscan witness described the mutilated and burnt bodies of those under his pastoral care: he admitted the geologic causes of the disaster were ‘effetti naturali’, but the natural phenomena were ultimately the means to redress sin and manifest the power of God.<sup>6</sup> The volcano was like Elijah’s fire from heaven that consumed wood, stone, earth, and water. Both stone and inset painting were therefore vulnerable to destruction by fire.

The violent incendiary and geological narrative introduced by the active smiter Elijah at the entrance to the monastic church of the Certosa di San Martino may strike us as a contradiction given that the Carthusian Order was founded on the principles of a contemplative life, austerity, humility, and retreat, where even narrative itself was called into question: according to Saint Bruno’s seventeenth-century biographer, the mission of cloistered mendicants, such as the twenty-six monks cloistered beyond the main altar, was ‘to entomb in silence every good action of theirs in this life.’<sup>7</sup> At the Certosa di San Martino, the brothers aspired to be buried in anonymous common graves on the monastery grounds, striving to eradicate their own mortal traces.

But Elijah had a double identity: after his iconophobic holocaust, he retreated to the desert and was therefore identified as a predecessor by a variety of monastic orders. The Carmelites saw him as a prefiguration of John the Baptist. Saint Jerome, who populates Ribera’s early production of etchings and paintings, modelled himself after Elijah’s retreat to the desert and went so far as to consider the prophet among the ‘monks of the Old Testament.’<sup>8</sup> Elijah and Moses were considered founders of the Christian eremitic life. This helps us understand why Ribera’s *Moses* and *Elijah* initiate a program of oil paintings of Old Testament prophets and patriarchs in the church’s nave.



**FIGURE 1.** Jusepe de Ribera, *Elijah*, oil on canvas, s.d. 1638. Naples, Certosa di San Martino.



**FIGURE 2.** Cosimo Fanzago, counter-façade (with paintings by Jusepe de Ribera and Massimo Stanzione), 1638. Naples, Certosa di San Martino.



**FIGURE 3.** Giovanni Bernardino Azzolino, *Soul in Purgatory*, wax, coloured wax on painted glass, 1620–30. London, Victoria and Albert Museum.



Ribera painted a pair of figures in oil on the spandrels abutting each of the arches opening onto the side chapels: Ribera's *prophets and patriarchs* in the twelve pendentives bracket the six chapels on both sides of the nave. *Haggai* and *Noah*, *Joel* **FIGURE 4** and *Amos* **FIGURE 5**, *Obadiah* and *Hosea* are on the left as one faces the altar. And on the right *Habakkuk* and *Zephaniah*, *Jonah* and *Daniel*, *Micah* and *Ezekiel*. The program is intended to underscore the monastic order's claims for a direct lineage from the prophets and patriarchs: Jonah was Elijah's first disciple, followed by Obadiah and Micah, who was the first martyr. Medieval sculptors affiliated with monastic orders depicted the Old Testament prophets with tonsured heads.<sup>9</sup>

Elijah, and the other prophets and patriarchs who authored books of the Old Testament in Ribera's series, foretold the coming of Christ and initiated an eschatological view of history. In the sacristy where the Host and vestments were stored, beyond the main choir and before the treasury, the monks contemplated the sixteenth-century intarsia wood panels representing the Apocalypse and the fire from heaven. John Marino wrote, as the Carthusians moved from the sacristy to the high altar, that they meditated on 'the shift from secular space to ideal space and from secular time to Christian time.'<sup>10</sup>

Ribera's prophets, Joel among them, remind us of the prophetic program of the Sistine Chapel ceiling. Whereas Michelangelo's prefigurations bridging the Hebrew Bible, Christianity, and the ancient pagan world are robust prophets and sibyls who echo the muscular *ignudi* actively dispersed across

**FIGURE 4.** Jusepe de Ribera, *Joel*, oil on canvas, 1637. Naples, Certosa di San Martino.



the fresco ceiling, Ribera's oily elderly patriarchs are confined and anatomically constrained by the physical limits of their stone frames. Joel braces his body between the swelling arc and the column defining the spandrel, weighted down by a descendent architrave **FIGURE 4**. Supported by his back, knees, elbows, and a cramped, extended foot, he holds his chin in hand, facing the centre; grasping vellum, his silhouette is seen against an open book made of skin (with two grey columns signifying blocks of anachronistic typeface).

Across the span of the arch, wedged tightly in the facing spandrel, Amos extends a quill-grasping hand and rippling parchment cascades from his forearm **FIGURE 5**. At the threshold of the Carthusian monastery, Ribera's figures anticipate the bodily constraints of the monastic life, bookish monks isolated in cells during the day only to emerge at night to chant. The twenty-six sequestered monks, who did not participate in the Mass (which offered its own distractions), entered their designated choir isolated from the main choir and sat in the twenty-six stalls. Monks were separated from one another by carved decorative wood filigrees, where they broke their solitude and silence with collective chanting. The floor bore a strict geometric pattern. Ornamental figuration was entirely renounced, save the two grotesque heads spouting water into a basin.

Ribera's prefigurations of eremitic sequestration are caught in a state of claustral abjection in their stone surrounds. The cramped quarters of the isolated painted bodies recall the monastic cells of the closed community of twenty-six monks beyond the main altar and the choir. The contortions

**FIGURE 5.** Jusepe de Ribera, *Amos*, oil on canvas, 1637–47. Naples, Certosa di San Martino.

of the body also suggest the posture resulting from monastic discipline. According to Benedict of Nursia, in his *Regula Benedicti*, the cloistered monk

presents a continuous display of humility [...], his head continuously bent and his looks directed to the ground. Considering himself permanently guilty because of his sins he pictures himself as having to appear already before the frightful judgement, repeating all the time in his heart, looking down, the words of the publican in the Gospel: 'Lord, I, a sinner, am not worthy to raise my eyes to heaven' and, as the Prophet says: 'I am continually bent and humiliated'.<sup>11</sup>

The Carthusian Hugh of Balma thought that the body in prayer should be upright, 'since the shape of the body must conform to the dispositions of the soul's affections', but in meditating and weeping the monk must assume another posture, like the publican, 'looking down at the earth.'<sup>12</sup> The Carthusians not only mandated the rule of silence, but they also had an anagogical understanding of the confined body. The Carthusian Rule enforced the cloister because the 'monk, who continues faithfully in his cell and lets himself be molded by it, will gradually find that his whole life tends to become one continual prayer.'<sup>13</sup>

Crouching and bent in conformity to their confinement, Ribera's figures are ancillary to the stone fabric of the church. In addition, one is struck by the subordination of figurative painting to the complex ornamental system of inlaid stone. The human figures caught in the stone matrix mark one of the thresholds between the closed cloister, the treasury, the sacristy, then the choir, the main altar, where the Mass was held for the laity in the nave, the counter-façade, and exit leading to a violent and profane world. The atrium outside the entrance to the church was frescoed with the tortured and martyred bodies of English Carthusians.

If the violence of an outside world and Elijah's exterminating fire seem antithetical to the Carthusian sequestered life at the heart of San Martino, so too does the lithic decoration on the counter-façade **FIGURE 2**. Fanzago's inlaid stone on the floor **FIGURE 6** and the walls of the nave, such as the revetment on the pilasters surrounding *Joel and Amos* **FIGURES 4, 5**, do not fully prepare us for the hidden cloister, where the sculptor's monochromatic geometric ornament provided the setting for monastic life. For Bernard of Clairvaux, excessive ornament 'stimulates the devotion of a carnal people'; meanwhile the monk has 'left behind all that is precious and beautiful in this world for the



**FIGURE 6.** Cosimo Fanzago, nave pavement. Naples, San Certosa di Martino.

sake of Christ, we [...] regard as dung all things shining in beauty.<sup>14</sup> Bernard reserved his strongest criticism for carved figurative ornamentation:

In the cloisters, before the eyes of the brothers while they read — what is that ridiculous monstrosity doing, an amazing kind of deformed beauty and yet a beautiful deformity? What are the filthy apes doing there? The fierce lions? The monstrous centaurs? [...] In short, everywhere so plentiful and astonishing a variety of contradictory forms is seen that one would rather read in the marble than in books.<sup>15</sup>

In contrast to the restrained black and white geometric patterns on the floor of the closed inner choir reserved for cloistered monks, the liminal space between counter-façade and altar gave partial licence to figuration and organic reference. Envisioning it as a New Jerusalem, the Carthusians at the Certosa di San Martino encouraged floral imagery.<sup>16</sup> Although ornament on the floor and on the walls of the nave suggests opulent figure-ground relations in marble, Fanzago avoided the excesses of anthropomorphic and animate figuration that would generate distracting narratives.

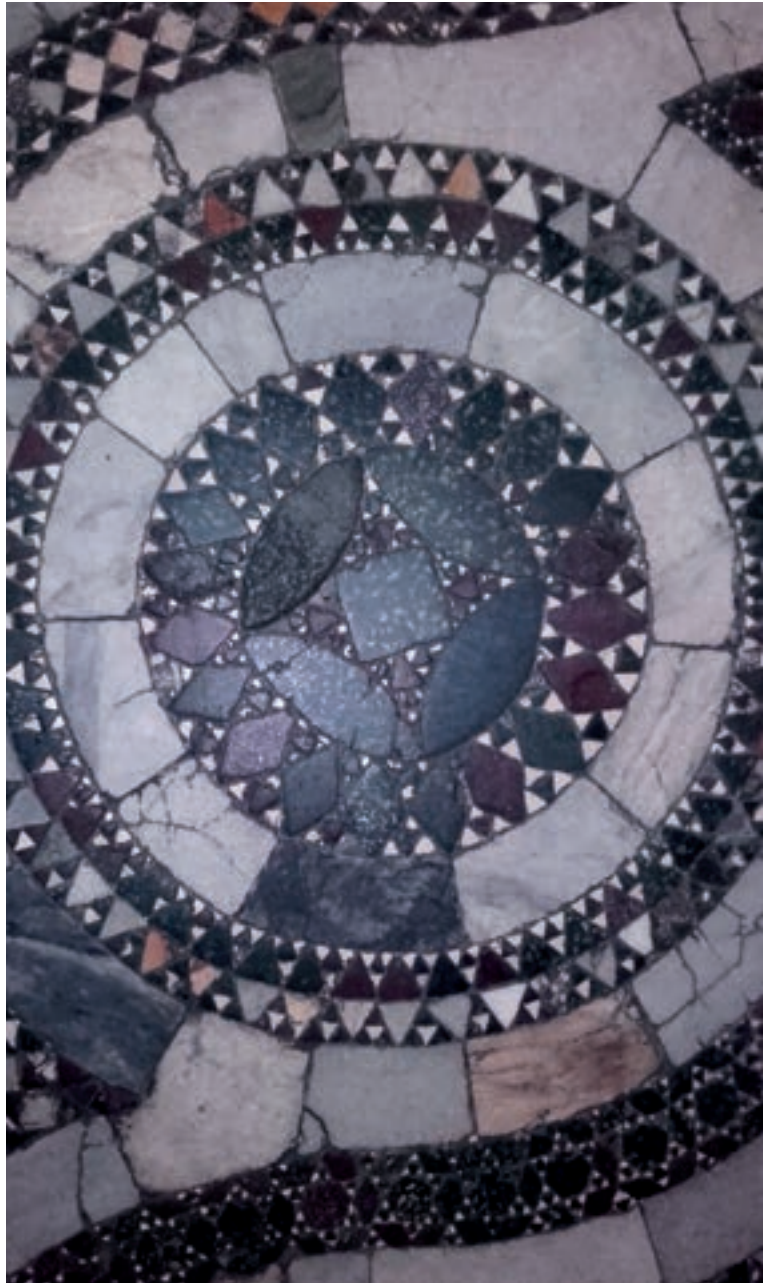
Because the Certosa di San Martino accommodated lay reception in the church of the monastic complex, the materiality and formal disposition of stone drew on customary authority. Counter-Reformation church renovation entailed the use of stone's historical, symbolic, and formal values. Stone itself had sacred associations. Ancient spoliated columns in pink and green composite marble, known as Africano, were preserved and moved from the fabric of Old Saint Peter's to the new basilica.<sup>17</sup> The stone was also used in the inlaid patterns surrounding high altars, such as the one in the Certosa di San Martino. Spolia was one of the features of a sacred geology, columns cut into discs or rectangular strips retraced the expansion of the ancient Roman Empire, migrating from the Pantheon and the Baths of Caracalla to renovated Christian *basilicae*.<sup>18</sup>

Inlaid stone was considered the authentic decoration of the early Church. Catholic reformers in Rome, such as cardinals Borromeo, Baronio, and Sfondrato, restored the flooring in their ninth-century titular churches, attributing the twelfth- and thirteenth-century Cosmatesque pavement to the earlier foundation.<sup>19</sup> The post-Tridentine renovators knew the unsigned Cosmatesque stonework in old churches throughout Rome, such as the pavement of the nave of San Clemente or the portico of Santa Cecilia in Trastevere. Less known was the Cosmati pavement in the duomo of Civita Castellana **FIGURE 7**, and its signed and dated portico with triumphal arch.<sup>20</sup> As in the seamless appropriation of Cosmatesque discards at Santi Nereo ed Achilleo, the choate stone conglomerate at the Certosa di San Martino produces the effect of an a priori, totalizing, agentless antiquity with no specific historical reference. In Alois Riegl's discussion of *age-value* (*Alterswert*), he argued that the affective response to the sensory perception of a monument is comparable to 'religious feelings' (*den religiösen Gefühlswerten*) in that these emotions are not dependent on (historical) knowledge.<sup>21</sup> Anonymity and distance from the 'original purpose and significance' (*ursprüngliche Bedeutung und Zweckbestimmung*) lent age-value to abstract pattern derived from spolia, collapsing ancient and modern temporalities.<sup>22</sup>

Saint Bernard had an aversion to anthropomorphic figuration, but stone itself and geometric pattern had the possibility of offering the appropriate setting for the sequestered life. M. B. Pranger has suggested that ‘stone, reduced to the most barren shape in undecorated form’ did not offer up narrative distractions for Bernard.<sup>23</sup> According to this account, Ribera’s *prophets and patriarchs* are set in an abstract pattern, unblemished by referential figures. However, attention to the most immediate linear stone bordering Ribera’s inset oil paintings does not address the powerful visual effect of Fanzago’s extensive decorative project, its profusion of forms, and the pressures it exerts on Ribera’s human figures. Even ornamental pattern (*pace* Pranger) does not preclude the representation of narratives of metamorphosis and transformation, or their correlative geological temporalities.

In contrast to the simplified geometric patterns of inlaid stone, where recession and projection is suggested through relational tone, Fanzago’s floors invoke vegetative, organic, or biomorphic forms, where continuous curves across different registers suggest overlapping figures in depth **FIGURE 6**. Vegetative shapes disavow the anthropocentric references of Saint Bernard’s deformed beauty; organic forms suggest generation and growth without risking idolatrous figuration (Bernard’s apes, lions, and centaurs). Nevertheless, the imagery serves as a threshold between the cloister and a profane world, where non-referential geometric pattern yields to animate organic form. In the space between cloister and nave, the main choir reveals a profusion of ornament on the floor that tests the resolve of the chanting monks. Indeed, as Bernard warned, aside from figuration, it is the ‘plentiful and astonishing [...] variety of contradictory forms’ in the stone that leads one to distraction.<sup>24</sup>

In addition to architectural spatial liminality, the stone surrounding Ribera’s figures are liminal in another sense. The organic patterns of inlaid stone seem to grow out of the *breccia* (composite stone). In early modern Italian churches, piers were often faced with a technique known as ‘book-matching’: a panel of stone is cut, splayed lengthwise, so that when joined, the natural variegation of the stone creates a bilaterally symmetrical pattern. We see this effect on the piers of San Luigi dei Francesi in Rome. The technique was adapted from Byzantine churches, where abstract pattern invoked similes to express



**FIGURE 7.** Jacobus Cosmati, Cosmatesque pavement, 1210. Civita Castellana, Duomo.

sanctity **FIGURE 8**. Fabio Barry argues that the book-matching in Hagia Sophia produced the effect of a ‘stony sea that emerged from an inherent ordering.’<sup>25</sup> In contrast to the strictly ‘aniconic floor for an aniconic church,’ Fanzago’s artificially inlaid constructions of bilaterally symmetrical vegetative motifs on the piers mimic the seemingly artless lithic patterns at Hagia Sophia revealed by cutting and splaying the natural stone **FIGURE 4**. Fanzago’s multiple inlaid stones on a pink and white ground seem to display organic shapes emerging from the variegated marble, mimicking the accidental pattern of the naturally occurring stone. Mimetic representation of the botanical figures is seemingly motivated by the stone itself. Hence formal pattern is not entirely abstract, devoid of narrative. Figurative referentiality is not external to the material conditions and agency of the stone. In the liminal space between a profane world and the cloister, tensions between distracting artifice and ascetic contemplation are played out in seemingly acheiropoietic pattern.

Ribera’s contemporaries were sensitive to this indeterminate relation between organic and the inorganic worlds, between growth and petrification implied in Fanzago’s inlaid stone surrounding Ribera’s prophets. In seventeenth-century legal documents, published by J. Nicholas Napoli, architects assessed the value of Fanzago’s interventions in the stone panels and frames.<sup>26</sup> These contemporary observers draw our attention to the play among lithic materiality, architectural discourse, and organic morphological analogies. In the description by the assessors of the stone surrounding Ribera’s prophet Elijah, the modularity of Vitruvian elements (*collarino* = capital) yields to biomorphic forms (shells).<sup>27</sup> Napoli suggests that the complexity of the organic form far exceeded the limitations of the inherited Vitruvian vocabulary of the architects and, therefore, they had to improvise, relying on organic metaphor.<sup>28</sup>

I would like to stress that the inlaid pattern appears to emerge from the stone itself and that we draw inferences regarding metamorphosis and duration from abstract pattern. How was the genesis of stone understood by other contemporary discourses? In what ways were Ribera’s figures inflected by this reception? I will suggest that in early seventeenth-century Naples the indeterminate relationship between the inorganic/lithic and the organic shapes surrounding the human figure was understood in geological terms. This gives us permission to ask: What kinds of pressures were put on stone’s ontology in Counter-Reformation Italy?

## Geology

Naples was a major site for the formation of early modern geology. Historians of science illustrate the taxonomic projects at the turn of the seventeenth century with an engraving of the Neapolitan Ferrante Imperato’s collection in his *Dell’Historia Naturale* (1599).<sup>29</sup> The development of science was an uneven shift from sacred to secular epistemologies, where the sacred or secular origins of lithic forms were contested.

In 1610, Ferrante Imperato’s son Francesco sought to protect his father, posthumously, from the charge of heresy.<sup>30</sup> Giordano Bruno had been



**FIGURE 8.** Book-matching  
revetment panel. Istanbul, Hagia Sophia.

burned at the stake in Rome a year after the elder Ferrante published his natural history. At issue was the conflict between an emergent earth science and a sacred geology. The younger Ferrante published his *De Fossilibus*, which began its geological history with the book of Genesis and quoted extensively from scripture, Saint Ambrose, and Saint Bernard, among other Christian authorities.

As an apothecary, the elder Imperato had been interested in the influence of minerals on human beings. His son Francesco also held the normative religious belief that stones and metals were subject to astrological influence and natural objects had inherent qualities or virtues prior to their artefactual status. For example, pumice signifies sterility, because it inhibits the growth of seeds and the reproductive ability of plants. The analysis of shape and visual characteristics led to revealing the hidden virtues of things. A hollow geode had an affinity with the vacuity of the human mind. For Imperato, citing Saint Bernard of Clairvaux, the transparency of quartz marks (*notare*) the integrity of the soul, which cannot be obscured by dissemblance.<sup>31</sup> Stone's marked materiality was recognized for its powerful influence on human beings based on visible formal analogies or signatures, what Michel Foucault called the 'buried similitudes [...] indicated on the surface of things'.<sup>32</sup>

Describing the marked signatures on surfaces by natural historians during the Counter-Reformation entailed dangers. Francesco Imperato was most anxious about heresy when he described stones that either had a shape that resembled biological organisms or stones that were inscribed with figures resembling living things. Imperato challenged late sixteenth-century geologists, including his father, Ferrante, who claimed that marine fossils had an organic origin based on stone's resemblance to molluscs. Speculative geology, along with the other branches of natural philosophy, relied on the material bases of pre-Christian conceptions of natural history, from Aristotle to Pliny. The emergent scientific discourses entered a dangerous terrain during the religious controversies of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, most famously in the persecution of Galileo.<sup>33</sup> Francesco had every reason to be nervous about his father's soul because of two errors based on his geological account's deviation from the book of Genesis: extinction and temporality.

First, Francesco Imperato refused to conclude that fossilization was the substitution of organic materials by minerals over the *longue durée* because this conception of geological temporality was in conflict with biblical time.<sup>34</sup> Creation's brief duration was anthropocentric in the Genesis account; Judeo-Christian sacred time was always already the Anthropocene.

Second, Imperato the younger observed that formal homologies between fossils and living organisms lacked direct correspondences between stones and known specimens; the *bucardia*, a massive stone in the shape of an ox's heart, we now know was the in-filled fossil of an extinct giant bivalve mollusc. Departing from the hypotheses of his father, Francesco Imperato refused to see the stone as a former organism because the inordinate scale of the unknown specimen opened the door to the notion of extinction, which conflicted with the conception of creation described in Genesis: God created the animals according to their species so that they could grow and multiply.<sup>35</sup> From this Imperato concluded that the *bucardia* was not a seashell, yet it imitates its shape and that, as stone, it is only linked by a so-called vegetative

quality.<sup>36</sup> For Imperato, fossils were formed from earth under the influence of fire and water as if organically wrought and were therefore accidental imitations of marine organisms. Coincidence rather than design and similitude entered the vocabulary of the natural historian.

In the text accompanying Imperato's engraving of stones that bore traces resembling living organisms, Imperato challenged the superficial similarity between the patterns on stones and marine organisms in woodcuts by Conrad Gesner, an authority referred to as the 'damned author' because he was listed in the Index.<sup>37</sup> For Imperato, not only did the resemblance between the inorganic and the organic threaten to undo Christian temporality, but also mark-making in stone was a source of anxiety. According to Imperato, gems displayed inherent properties or virtues that have a positive influence on human beings; however, those same precious stones, when found engraved with representational patterns, risked being perceived as the seductive works of Satan masking as sacred acheiropoietic signatures.<sup>38</sup> Drawing on Thomas Aquinas and Martin of Arles, Imperato described the 'celestial signs, different images of animals and things, superstitious signs and sculptures destined to magic use and powerful only by a demon's intervention'.<sup>39</sup> Imperato's iconophobia and demonology extended into the world of fossils and of variegated stone.

By considering contemporary geological accounts of the resemblance between organic forms and inorganic materials and also the anxieties around diabolical figuration, the liminality of stone and Ribera's bodies in the Certosa di San Martino underscores the stakes for a Christian geology and religious art. A scientific discourse emerged in Naples that was contemporary with Ribera's project at the Certosa di San Martino. Early seventeenth-century Neapolitan geological inquiry contested the stable relationship between the living and the non-living in lithic bodies.

## Fossil Wood

In 1603, Federico Cesi founded the Accademia dei Lincei, whose membership extended from Rome to Naples in the first decades of the seventeenth century.<sup>40</sup> Cesi investigated what he called *mezzana natura*, objects that demonstrated a 'middle nature', neither organic nor inorganic. This liminal material again challenged notions of sacred geology. Growing up in Acquasparta in Umbria, Cesi surveyed the smoking traces of underground fires (*fumaroles*) that baked clays in the earth and where erosion exposed petrified forests. The collection of pen and wash illustrations commissioned by Cesi reveal an engagement with the problem of resemblance between wood and stone, suggesting the potential problematic organic origins of fossils **FIGURE 9**.

Cesi did not live to conclude whether stone resembled shells or wood was petrified organic matter, or, like Francesco Imperato, resemblance was based on earth transforming itself into organic or quasi-natural forms. Cesi's research was published posthumously by Francesco Stelluti in his 1637 treatise along with the first etchings illustrating geological formations and fossil specimens the same year as the commencement of Ribera's and Fanzago's project at the Certosa di San Martino.



Cesi may have drawn conclusions from his visual findings that would have been potentially in conflict with a sacred geology, but Stelluti had etchings made based on Cesi's watercolour drawings as visual evidence that suggested how apparent abstract pattern, such as the admixtures and variegations of stone or stony-wood, signified sacred geological narratives. Cesi's wash suggested indeterminate boundaries and flux; Stelluti's etching attempted to secure the linear evidence of formal genesis.

In addition to basing his prints on Cesi's watercolours, Stelluti made an entirely new set of etchings, which provided evidence that stone cross-sections (cut in the manner of book matching) revealed parallel lines that corresponded to wood grain. In other multiple etchings, however, the apparent irregularity of the linear patterns in the large horizontally disposed samples (of extinct species related to Sequoia trees) provided an alternative hypothesis **FIGURE 10**. Rather than revealing concentric arboreal growth rings, the horizontal, irregular patterns represented the stratification and incendiary compression of subterranean earth. For Stelluti, fire and earth produced the wood-like stone in the absence of air. Again, resemblance between living and non-living matter had to be purely formal in order to avoid theorizing

**FIGURE 9.** *Fossil Wood*, watercolour and bodycolour, over traces of black chalk. Windsor, Royal Collection.

extinction and a geological temporality at odds with Genesis.

Stelluti inferred from the revealed pattern the temporal sequence of the process of material transformation (from wood to stone or earth to wood-like form) by analysing in several etchings the abstraction of form. Abstract pattern emerged from the simplified relation of ink and paper's reserve derived from the slicing of the stone. Stelluti contested the organic origin of arboreal form by undercutting the resemblance between the fossil and wood on a microscopic level. Superficial visual evidence of marked similarity was challenged.

The scientist collaborated with the stonemason, slicing stone with the same skills found in Fanzago's workshop. The indeterminate status of the organic and the inorganic found in *mezzana natura* offers an experimental object, where the visual skills of the investigator are related to the visual practices found in the nave of the Certosa di San Martino. Both practices address temporalities — sacred and geological narratives — by attending to the *mezzana natura* of pattern. For Stelluti, anxieties emerged when mimicry appeared to be diabolically motivated. His project was driven by the problematic confusion of the signature and false resemblances. As in the sculptors' evaluation of Fonzago's revetment, augury gave way to formal analogy and organic metaphor.

I have been arguing that in the emergent science of geology during the Counter-Reformation, materiality was always already referential, inherently subject to narrative and potentially suspect. Looking on the floor of the Certosa, we are now in a position to ask, Are stones becoming flowers, or do flowers become stone? Is growth suspended or does the floor reveal the *longue durée* of geological time imperceptible to the individual? Does organic growth, pulsating in depth, overlapping and consuming adjacent forms, arise from inorganic materials themselves, as on the vertical book-matched piers?

Fire is destructive but also generative. In the book of Joel, the prophet speaks: 'I will give signs in the heavens and on the earth – blood and fire and columns of smoke'.<sup>41</sup> Signs of the end of time are elemental. As we enter apocalyptic temporality, the 'new earth' in the book of Revelations, lithic bodies are subject to the effects of heat and categorical uncertainty.

We witness the human body embedded in variegated and inlaid marble. Is the human becoming stone or stone becoming human? How is life made out of inert matter, and does it return to its elemental state? Ribera's abject



**FIGURE 10.** *Stone Cross-sections, etching* in Francisco Stelluti, *Trattato del legno fossile minerale*, Roma: Mascardi, 1637.

bodies are oily material forms, cloth, distressed skin, parchment, hair caught in the crevices of the rock wall. Brittle, petrified bodies surrounded by cloth, the surface of the flesh is stratified. Ribera treated the surface of the canvas as a second skin; the painter gouged the layered viscous surface of his canvases with a penetrating stiff load-bearing brush. He excavated the mineral surface, revealing layers of paint, while depositing different pigments, ground stone suspended in plant (linseed) oil.

In Ribera's paintings of prophets, the human is hostage to the lithic **FIGURE 4.** Between the revetments on columns and the inlay marble floor, and also between human figuration and stone ground, the organic and inorganic are continuous. As in Imperato's writings, Ribera's collaboration with Fanzago shortened the distance between human and non-human things, the anthropocentric and the lithocentric. His arrested, bent, and stone-bound eremitic bodies proposed an alternative to contemporary martyr cycles, such as those in the church's atrium. Shunning the immediacy of violent dismemberment, the eremitic desert fathers of the early Christian Church, such as Jerome, sought elemental disintegration in geological time.<sup>42</sup> In the eastern Mediterranean, the oil/dust mixture of great potency called 'hnana' was the material residue slowly shed by the eremitic body. The sacrificial body and its agency persisted because the flesh was dispersed in the elemental world.<sup>43</sup>

The human became non-human, yet the sequence of metamorphosis and lithogenesis was reversible. Stone was the spiritual made incarnate and subject to interpretation. After the death of Pope Pius V, his successor acknowledged the endurance of his suffering predecessor by enshrining the stones that had been found in the papal bladder during an autopsy. Paul V placed the calcified relics in the Pauline Chapel in Santa Maria Maggiore.<sup>44</sup> The internal genesis of the three stones constituted a sign of the Trinity that was analogous to the formation of arboreal stone under the earth. The tripartite lithic pattern was an acheiropoietic sign, God's design and the mark of the sacred.

Ultimately, the vestige of late medieval sacred epistemology did not persist in official religious practice; hagiography gave way to a medical discourse as a revised explanation of the bladder stones. Physiological processes of internal lithic formation were deemed natural phenomena, not acts of God or signs of sacrality. Michel de Montaigne commented in his journals on the painful expulsion of the calcified objects. The physician Ambroise Paré described and illustrated their arbitrary shapes. The miraculous became unsustainable. The three stones embedded in the altar were not introduced as evidence in Pius V's canonization *processi*, and the bladder stones have been largely left unobserved in the fabric of the chapel. The diagnosis of unmotivated physiological phenomena was analogous to an emergent secular account of geological lithogenesis. As post-Tridentine geology became a scientific discipline and *mezzana natura* lost its numinous power, Ribera's bodies immured in Fanzago's intarsia became disenchanting. Stone is stone and flesh is flesh.

- 1 For a compelling study of the Certosa di San Martino, see John Nicholas Napoli, *The Ethics of Ornament in Early Modern Naples: Fashioning the Certosa di San Martino*, New York: Routledge, 2015. I am grateful to Chiara Franceschini and the other participants in the Sacrima conference. Aspects of this chapter also benefitted from responses to a paper delivered in the session 'The Elements and Elementality in Art of the Premodern World', chaired by Michelle M. McCoy and Megan C. McNamee, at the annual College Art Association Conference, Los Angeles, 2018. All translations are the author's unless otherwise noted.
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- 11 The quotation is in M. B. Pranger, *Bernard of Clairvaux and the Shape of Monastic Thought*, Leiden: Brill, 1994, p. 86.
- 12 Hugh of Balma, in *Carthusian Spirituality: The Writings of Hugh of Balma and Guigo De Ponte*, trans. by Dennis D. Martin, New York: Paulist Press, 1997, p. 133.
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- 24 Rudolph, *The "Things of Greater Importance"*, p. 12.
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- 26 Napoli, *The Ethics of Ornament*, p. 190; John Nicholas Napoli, "The Art of the Appraisal: Measuring, Evaluating, and Valuing Architecture in Early Modern Europe", *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, 54 (2009), 201–44 (pp. 218–19).
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- 36 Imperato, *De Fossilibus opusculum*, p. 70.
- 37 *Ibid.* The works of the protestant Gesner were listed in the first *Index Librorum prohibitorum* (Pauline Index 1559–1560).
- 38 Imperato, *De Fossilibus opusculum*, ed. by Barattolo et al., pp. 163–64.
- 39 'Satana postmodum suadente, in ipsis sculpta fuere saepè coelestia signa, variè rerum animaliumq; imagines, ac superstitiosi characteres, & sculpturae ad magicos usus destinatae; quae nullam vim habere queunt, nisi à daemone' (Imperato, *De Fossilibus opusculum*, p. 39); English trans. by Francesca Colletta in Imperato, *De Fossilibus opusculum*, ed. by Barattolo et al., pp. 233–34.
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## Abbreviations

ACDF	Archivio Storico della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede, Vatican City
AGMI	Archivio Generale dei Ministri degli Infermi, Rome
AGS	Archivo General de Simancas
ASV	Archivio di Stato di Venezia
BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City
BBU	Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna
BC	Biblioteca Correr, Venice
BCRS	Biblioteca Centrale della Regione Siciliana, Palermo
BNE	Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid

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