

A Companion to the Early Modern Cardinal

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A Companion to the Early Modern Cardinal

Edited by

Mary Hollingsworth
Miles Pattenden
Arnold Witte



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Mary Hollingsworth, Miles Pattenden and Arnold Witte
19th July 2019

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Introduction

Mary Hollingsworth, Miles Pattenden and Arnold Witte

In the period from 1420 to 1800 some 1,200 men rose within the Roman Catholic Church to the dignity of cardinal – and many others, of course, aspired to it. The men who became early modern cardinals hailed from diverse backgrounds, enjoyed varied careers, and achieved different things on account of their august office. A few became saints, but more were pastors, inquisitors, diplomats, bureaucrats, and patrons of the arts, of music, literature, or science. Several cardinals in this period were statesmen; some were prince-bishops and two – Dom Henrique of Portugal and John Casimir Wasa – even found themselves crowned as king (though only the former retained his cardinal's dignity in the process). All cardinals needed to harness entrepreneurial qualities in order to manage the, often complex, economic activities of their private households and, in many cases, also of their extended families. How they did that, and what the impacts of their actions were on the Catholic Church (and on Rome) are key focuses of this book, which explores the common denominator within this large group: their position near the apex of the church hierarchy, as *porporati*.

This book presents the first comprehensive overview of the figure of the cardinal in the early modern period in English or any language. Recent publications offering such discussion of cardinals have appeared for the Middle Ages and for the 19th and 20th centuries.¹ However, during the centuries covered by this volume being a cardinal represented much more than what is suggested by the modern definition of the concept – namely, membership of the Sacred College, a role in the papal election, and the function of counsellor within ecclesiastical government. The cardinal's tasks and his distinctly-specified duties increased steadily from the papacy's return to Rome in 1420 – certainly in comparison with the medieval period – and they diminished only during the 19th century under the pressures of Italian unification. And yet the best overview of the early modern cardinal we currently have remains Massimo Firpo's essay in Eugenio Garin's collection on *Renaissance Characters*

1 Jürgen Dendorfer and Ralf Lützelshwab (eds.), *Die Kardinäle des Mittelalters und der frühen Renaissance: Integration, Kommunikation, Habitus* (Florence: 2013); François Jankowiak and Laura Pettinaroli (eds.), *Les cardinaux entre Cour et Curie: une élite romaine (1775–2015)* (Rome: 2017).

written over thirty years ago.² The present work aims to move beyond Firpo's largely anecdotal approach, and also beyond the now commonplace biographical studies of the College's individual members, to consider what we can learn about cardinals and their activities in general. Our project has brought together a team of international scholars who offer a broad range of opinions and insights from different disciplines and on the basis of different historiographical approaches. Most chapters share a prosopographical approach: they study certain aspects of the lives of a group of cardinals not as signs of individuality but as collective traits within the group's dynamics.³ However, each chapter also tries to explain both the common characteristics of the "typical" cardinal, and the changes occurring within this body of "senators of the Church," especially their functions within and beyond the institution. Collectively, the chapters aim to provide an outline of the cardinals' historiography and to offer signposts on how we can get past the biographical paradigm. We hope that this makes a persuasive case for reconsidering the cardinal's historical importance.

As editors, we feel our subject is highly pertinent to the historiography of the Catholic Church, in general, and of its Counter-Reformation incarnation, in particular – and our work reflects how that historiography has evolved over the past half-century towards the study of Catholicism as a cultural and social phenomenon of daily life.⁴ The Church's institutional development and a formal focus on the pope as primary figure – an approach exemplified by Ludwig von Pastor's *History of the Popes* and more recently by Paolo Prodi's *Il Sovrano pontefice* – has receded into the background, "enriched," one might say, by the cultural turn in the historical and social sciences.⁵ On another level, the history of ecclesiastical institutions which underwent crucial developments during the early modern era – turning them into bureaucratic organizations

2 Massimo Firpo, "The Cardinal," in Eugenio Garin (ed.), *Renaissance Characters*, trans. Lydia Cochrane (Chicago: 1991), 46–97. See also Alain Tallon, "Les cardinaux à la Renaissance: profil historique," in Frédérique Lemerle, Yves Pauwels, and Gennaro Toscano (eds.), *Les cardinaux de la Renaissance et la modernité: actes du colloque de Tours, 8–10 juin 2005* (Lille: 2009), 7–21.

3 On the uses of the prosopographical approach see Lawrence Stone, "Prosopography," *Daedalus* 100, no. 1 (1971), 46–47. See also Jürgen Dendorfer and Ralf Lützelshwab, "Zur Geschichte des Kardinalats im Mittelalter: Ein historiographischer Überblick," in *Geschichte des Kardinalats im Mittelalter*, eds. Jürgen Dendorfer and Ralf Lützelshwab (Stuttgart: 2011), 22–26.

4 Christoph Marksches, "Geschichte/Geschichtsauffassung – VI Kirchengeschichte," in *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, eds. Hans Dieter Betz, Don S. Browning, Bernd Janowski, and Eberhard Jüngel (Tübingen: 2000), 3:791 and Nicholas Terpstra, "Early Modern Catholicism," in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern European History, 1350–1750*, vol. 1, *Peoples and Place*, ed. Hamish Scott (Oxford: 2015), 601–02.

5 Jaap Geraerts, "Early Modern Catholicism and Its Historiography: Innovation, Revitalization, and Integration," *Church History and Religious Culture* 97 (2017), 381.

par excellence – is often still written by specialists whose findings are yet to be absorbed fully by proponents of Catholic History from below or by scholars attending to minorities and peripheries.⁶ Though becoming part of a lively arena of scholarly enquiry has led to a less isolated position for Church History, paradoxically it has also led to a growing disinformation about the formal and informal institutional structures of the early modern Church in Rome.⁷

Yet it was precisely during the early modern period that the Latin Church of the medieval West turned from a local to a global institution – and from a moving to a fixed structure, as Nicholas Terpstra has recently argued.⁸ Cardinals were hugely important ecclesiastical figures in the later Middle Ages as both patrons and administrators; however, the scope of their administration, and the variety of their patronage, both grew substantially in the centuries after 1400 as a result of these two broader changes. The instigation of global Catholic missions, and the simultaneous evolution of a bureaucratic apparatus for enforcing the pope's temporal government introduced a changing scope to ecclesiastical administration and to the way the pope kept track of it by means of standardizing and centralizing practices. Cardinals came to play an increasing role here, taking over fresh responsibilities and thus sharing in some areas of the expanding papal power in the guise of surveyors, administrators, judges, representatives, advisors, etcetera. Wolfgang Reinhard's argument in favor of an "institutionalization" of the cardinal nephew has been accepted widely by other scholars, but, in truth, an "institutionalization" of the figure of the cardinal himself also took place during this period. As a result, and concomitantly, the cardinal's status increased even as the Catholic Church's political position diminished under pressure from the secular state. Urban VIII's decree in 1630 that cardinals should be addressed as "Eminentissimo" was intended to underline the cardinal's superiority over all other ecclesiastics, and even over a large part of the secular nobility – a claim which cardinals from Italy's noble families soon contested, ironically enough.⁹

The constant process of change and consolidation of the cardinal's role in various contexts is what interests us here. This is important, and not just for ecclesiastical historians in the traditional sense of the term. Art historians, social, cultural, economic, political, and intellectual historians also investigate aspects of the historical reality in which these "Princes of the Church" were

6 Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin, *Catholic Europe, 1592–1648: Centre and Peripheries* (Oxford: 2015).

7 James E. Kelly and Susan Royal (eds.), *Early Modern English Catholicism: Identity, Memory and Counter-Reformation* (Leiden: 2017), 1.

8 Terpstra, "Early Modern Catholicism," 607–17.

9 Moroni, 55:320.

situated, so they too have much to gain. In fact, cardinals were in some respects distinguished from other early modern elites by the simple fact that they did not have (or were not supposed to have) offspring.¹⁰ Yet, on the other hand, most cardinals still belonged to aristocratic circles in Italy or elsewhere and shared many characteristics with their lay cousins and siblings. We have wanted to show not only how the cardinal's profile evolved out of medieval models (both those of Rome and of Avignon), but also how early modernity's new constellations impacted those models – and, in turn, how cardinals and their activities were organized. In order to pursue this, we have followed neither a top-down perspective (in which the pope could be said to have guided the course of the Church) nor a bottom-up one (in which the devout have exclusively or primarily determined conceptions of what Catholicism is). Rather, we adopt a meso-perspective which considers the cardinal's impact, often through his patronage networks, on a dynamic field in which centripetal governing impulses interacted with centrifugal lower hierarchies. Amongst the questions we try to answer in this volume are: (1) how the cardinal's office could shape a man's life, ambitions, strategies for achieving them, or even his status within secular society; (2) in what ways cardinals balanced their obligations towards their sacred and profane duties; (3) how far they prioritized the former over the latter; (4) what impact cardinals had on the Church, either as individuals or as a College; (5) how influential they were in formulating papal policy and shaping its implementation; and (6) how they operated in certain crucial positions, for instance as members of congregations or within highly visible offices like the Propaganda Fide and the Penitentiary.

This book, though the first to provide an overview on many aspects of the cardinal's role and image, has not appeared in a vacuum. We would like to emphasize how it relies upon, and builds on, a range of exemplary studies and works of scholarship from medievalists and early modernists alike. Amongst scholars of the late medieval papacy and College, David d'Avray, Arnold Esch, Werner Maleczek, I.S. Robinson, Jöelle Rollo-Koster, Bernhard Schimmelpfenig, and Walter Ullmann stand out for their importance. However, we would be gravely remiss not also to draw attention to two of our two sister volumes: that which Atria Larson and Keith Sisson edited on the medieval papacy and Thomas Izbicki and Jöelle Rollo-Koster's *Companion to the Great Western*

10 In fact, forty-nine cardinals from this period, including four who later became popes, acknowledged illegitimate children and a further thirty entered the College as widowers who had already produced families. Christoph Weber has analysed both phenomena in *Senatus Divinus: Verborgene Strukturen im Kardinalskollegium der frühen Neuzeit (1500–1800)* (Frankfurt a.M.: 1996), 36–43 and 76–79.

Schism. Within early modern studies, the prosopographic works of Christoph Weber, notably his six-volume *Genealogien zur Papstgeschichte*, which sets out the family lines and descents of many of the Italian subjects of the present study, and his *Senatus Divinus: Verborgene Strukturen im Kardinalskollegium der frühen Neuzeit*, which offers a series of analyses and observations about the nature of the early modern cardinalate, have been particularly invaluable and merit special mention here. We might also acknowledge the residual value for scholarship in Konrad Eubel's now venerable *Hierarchia Catholica*, which places the careers of individual cardinals within their wider ecclesiastical context and Salvador Miranda's website of all known cardinals hosted by Florida International University, which has become an indispensable resource within the English-speaking world. There are also many studies of individual cardinals and of the College as a whole – too many, in fact, to list the names of all their authors here. The work of Paolo Prodi, both his *Papal Prince* and his magisterial biography of Cardinal Gabriele Paleotti, and that of Wolfgang Reinhard and Maria Antonietta Visceglia remains pre-eminent in this regard, but their scholarship is a mere point of entry into a vast and flavoursome body of historiography. The master bibliography at the end of our volume should provide a broad range of references for those who are interested to pursue their inquiries further – not just in English, but also in French, German, Italian, and even Spanish.

Of course, not each and every function of a cardinal's office can be discussed within a single volume – and, as editors, we have been constrained both by the availability of expertise in particular areas and also by the willingness of those scholars with that expertise to share it with a wider audience via this project. Readers may also inquire whether we really see this entire block of time as a single historical or historiographical period – and that is a valid question. The current trend in scholarship is generally to agonize over the implications of terms such as “early modern” but we have set such debates aside somewhat, preferring to agree with the editors of our sister volume on early modern Rome that the phrasing in our title is primarily a utilitarian term that generates the “diversity and flexibility” we need.¹¹ On the other hand, a book such as this may well be nothing if it is not comprehensive – so we cannot fully remedy the problems caused by the gaps which have emerged when we found ourselves unable to locate an author for a particular chapter or when colleagues who had previously agreed to come on board later revised their commitments in the light of personal or professional developments. We have done our best, on the

11 Simon Ditchfield, Pamela Jones, and Barbara Wisch, *A Companion to Early Modern Rome, 1492–1692* (Leiden: 2019), 2.

basis of our own general knowledge and additional research, and we certainly acknowledge the limitations of that enterprise. Nevertheless, we feel that, by offering various perspectives and scrutinizing the complexities of a number of roles cardinals could invest, we at least show that Ecclesiastical History in this period was much more than the result of accreted papal decisions in which cardinals were relegated to bit part players.

Cardinals matter because the decrees coming from the top of the ecclesiastical hierarchy were reinterpreted not only at the diocesan level but also at (or near) the apex of ecclesiastical governance all the time. In fact, cardinals were the Curia's – and therefore the Catholic Church's – most visible source of continuity: they remained in post when a pope died and continued his government, at least in theory. Cardinals were eminently suited to fulfil these duties, precisely because of the webs of connections which they spun out from themselves and because they were already heavily involved in a majority of the practices that constituted the Catholic Church's institutional and religious aspects, both in the Papal States and elsewhere. Cardinals were always at least partially responsible for the development and implementation of papal policies while the pope was alive and their present-day reduction to mere papal electors, invested only in religious and ceremonial duties (a result of the papal monarchy's elimination in 1870), has largely obscured how eminently influential cardinals were in all spheres of politics and society during earlier periods.¹² We hope therefore that this book sheds new light on them and will stimulate further scrutiny of them as a historical phenomenon. There are certainly plenty of potential directions for showing this in research.

¹² An example of this is the exclusion of cardinals from ceremonies which took place in the public sphere in Italy after 1870 leading to diplomatic conflicts; see Paolo Cozzo and Andrea Merliotti, "Tra lealtà alla Corona e fedeltà a Roma: I cardinali degli Stati sabaudi dalla Restaurazione alla fine del XIX secolo," in *Les Cardinaux entre Cour et Curie*, eds. Jankowiak and Pettinaroli, 21–32.

PART 1

The Concept and Function



The Medieval Background to the Cardinal's Office

Barbara Bombi

The *Begriffsgeschichte* of the office of cardinal, namely the evolution in the use of this term and its ecclesiological and canonical legitimation, unfolded throughout the Middle Ages alongside the papacy's growth as an institution. The Middle Ages in fact represent a formative period for understanding the evolution of the cardinalate in the 16th and 17th centuries. This essay focuses on four stages in the development of the cardinal's office: its origins and development in the age of the Gregorian reforms; the position of the cardinals within the context of papal claims to plenitude of power between the late 12th and the 13th centuries; the cardinalate's role under the Avignon papacy and at the time of the Great Schism; and finally, the legacy of the debate on the cardinalate during the early modern period.

1 The Origins of the Cardinalate

Historians have debated at length the etymology of the word “cardinal” and its evolution during the Middle Ages. While they agree that the word *cardinalis* derives from the Latin *cardo*, namely a physical pivot which in the figurative language came to stand for “something central, essential, fundamental, principal, firmly established,” they ultimately disagree on its use in late antique and early medieval ecclesiastical and canonical texts.¹ It was not until the second half of the 8th century that the word *cardinalis* was used with reference to the service of the seven suffragan bishops of the Roman province, namely the bishops of Ostia, Albano, Palestrina, Porto, Silva Candida, Gabii, and Velletri, who

¹ Stephan Kuttner, “Cardinalis: The History of a Canonical Concept,” *Traditio* 3 (1945), 134–45; Michel Andrieu, “L'origine du titre de cardinal dans l'église romaine,” in *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati* (Vatican City: 1946), 5:116–43. For a different interpretation see Johann B. Sägmüller, *Die Tätigkeit und Stellung der Kardinäle bis Papst Bonifaz VIII.* (Freiburg i.Br.: 1896), 5–31; Carl G. Fürst, *Cardinalis: Prolegomena zu einer Rechtsgeschichte des römischen Kardinalskollegiums* (Munich: 1967), 43–44. On the cardinal bishops and their higher rank position in the Lateran Basilica see also Hans-Walter Klewitz, “Die Entstehung des Kardinalkollegiums,” *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonistische Abteilung* 25 (1936), 149–67.

had been permanently entrusted with weekly liturgical functions outside their diocese at the altar of St. Peter in the Lateran Basilica in Rome. Alongside these cardinal bishops, the word *cardinalis* was also reserved for those priests attached to the twenty-eight Roman *tituli*, namely parish churches, who traditionally performed liturgical functions in the Roman basilicas of the Lateran, St. Peter, San Paolo fuori le Mura, Santa Maria Maggiore, and San Lorenzo fuori le Mura – the *tituli* accounted for about seven priests serving in each basilica (see Arnold Witte’s chapter in this volume).² From the 8th century onwards the qualification of cardinal therefore became connected *ex officio* to the holding of certain parochial and episcopal churches in Rome and its province. Finally, at the beginning of the 11th century the word *cardinalis* became associated with the seven Roman palatine deacons (*diaconi palatini*), who traditionally performed administrative and liturgical tasks in the Lateran Basilica, as well as with the twelve regional deacons (*diaconi regionarii*), who customarily administered charitable activities in the districts of Rome.³

Meanwhile, cardinal bishops and priests slowly outgrew traditional liturgical functions and assumed the connotation of higher ranking members of the Roman Synod.⁴ During the pontificate of Leo IX (1048–54) the cardinals became involved in Church government.⁵ This development coincided with papal claims to plenitude of power both within the Church and over secular rulers – claims which grew from the mid-11th century towards a peak during the 13th century.⁶ Furthermore, in the mid-11th century the ecclesiological primacy of Rome in the Western Church was boosted by the Schism between the Latin and the Greek Churches of 1054 (see Camille Rouxpetel’s chapter in this volume).⁷ In 1053, within the context of the clash with the Greek Church, Leo IX’s close adviser and legate to Constantinople, Cardinal Humbert of Silva Candida, maintained the primacy of Rome as “head of all churches” (*caput omnium ecclesiarum*) with reference to the cardinals as parts (*membra*) of the

2 Kuttner, “Cardinalis,” 146–50; Andrieu, “L’origine,” 123–40.

3 Kuttner, “Cardinalis,” 178–98; Claudia Zey, “Entstehung und erste Konsolidierung: Das Kardinalskollegium zwischen 1049 und 1143,” in *Geschichte des Kardinalats im Mittelalter*, eds. Jürgen Dendorfer and Ralf Lützelshwab (Stuttgart: 2011), 63–65.

4 Kuttner, “Cardinalis,” 150–51; Fürst, *Cardinalis*, 72–73.

5 Zey, “Entstehung,” 64–65.

6 Kuttner, “Cardinalis,” 173–74; Brian Tierney, *Foundations of the Conciliar Theory: The Contribution of the Medieval Canonists from Gratian to the Great Schism* (Cambridge, Eng.: 1968), 69–70.

7 Giuseppe Alberigo, *Cardinalato e collegialità: Studi sull’ecclesiologia tra l’XI e il XIV secolo* (Florence: 1969), 5–14.

Roman Church alongside the pope.⁸ Leo IX outlined the same doctrine in a letter to the Patriarch of Constantinople in 1054, using the metaphor of “head and hinge” (*caput et cardo*) of the Church to describe the Apostolic See. He stated that “like the immovable hinge which sends the door forth and back, thus Peter and his successors have sovereign judgment over the entire Church. ... Therefore his clerics are named cardinals, for they belong more closely to the hinge by which everything else is moved.”⁹

In 1059, Leo IX's successor Nicholas II expanded the cardinals' pivotal role in the government of the Church by reforming the procedure for the papal election.¹⁰ Traditionally, the procedure for electing the pope followed that of episcopal elections, meaning that the pope as bishop of Rome ought to have been chosen by the clergy and people of the city. But in episcopal elections, a special role was assigned to the metropolitans, who were at the head of the hierarchy within ecclesiastical provinces. Nicholas II equated the role of cardinal bishops during papal elections to that of metropolitans in episcopal elections, giving the cardinal bishops priority in the discussion on the election of the new pope, since they were nominally in charge of the clergy of Rome and its suffragans. Furthermore, cardinal bishops were entitled to open the discussion on the most suitable candidate for the Apostolic See to the cardinal priests. Finally, they presented the cardinals' decision to the clergy and people of Rome for acclamation as well as to the German emperor for confirmation.¹¹ Nicholas's reforms were by no means original; they built upon the theological arguments of his advisor Peter Damian, who maintained the primacy of the Roman Church and the cardinal bishops and who ruled over the Church alongside the pope in what Damian called the “Senate of the Church.” Thus, pope and cardinals came to embody the so-called Roman Church (*Ecclesia Romana*), whose nature and function had been already outlined in Humbert of Silva Candida's doctrine.¹²

8 *Decretum Magistri Gratiani*, in *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, ed. Emil Friedberg (Leipzig: 1879; reprint Graz: 1959), c. 6 D. XL. See Alberigo, *Cardinalato*, 19–27; Tierney, *Foundations*, 36–46.

9 *Regesta pontificum romanorum*, ed. Philip Jaffe (Leipzig: 1885–88; reprint Graz: 1956), 4302. See also Alberigo, *Cardinalato*, 27–28.

10 *Decretum Magistri Gratiani*, pars I, dist. XXIII, c. 1. See also Alberigo, *Cardinalato*, 28–30, and Ian S. Robinson, *The Papacy, 1073–1198: Continuity and Innovation* (Cambridge, Eng.: 1990), 369–70.

11 Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, *Il trono di Pietro: L'universalità del papato da Alessandro III a Bonifacio VIII* (Rome: 1996), 13; Zey, “Entstehung,” 76–79.

12 Tierney, *Foundations*, 70; Alberigo, *Cardinalato*, 36–42; Paravicini Bagliani, *Il trono*, 58.

By the late 11th century Nicholas II's decree had been incorporated in the major canonical collections, such as the *Collectio canonum* of Anselm of Lucca (ca. 1083), the *Collectio* of Deusdedit (ca. 1087), the *Liber de vita christiana* of Bonizo of Sutri (ca. 1095), and the *Decretum* of Ivo of Chartres (ca. 1096), which mentions cardinal bishops as electors alongside cardinal priests and cardinal deacons, and also as members of the "Senate of the Roman Church," sharing papal responsibilities in the government of the Church.¹³ Finally, by ca. 1100 the "Senate of the Roman Church" became known as the "College of Cardinals." The College came to be managed by its own financial officer known as the "chamberlain" (*camerarius*) and shared papal governmental and judicial tasks in the consistory.¹⁴

Accordingly, from the pontificate of Urban II (1088–99) the consistory replaced the old Roman synod as the collegiate body comprising the pope and the cardinals, which had the duty of passing judgements about bishops, ecclesiastical appointments, and secular rulers.¹⁵ Furthermore, from the 1120s the cardinals increasingly represented papal authority *in partibus*, where they were dispatched as legates *a latere* with plenitude of power by virtue of special papal mandates (see Alexander Koller's chapter in this volume).¹⁶ Finally, from the pontificate of Celestine II (1143–44) cardinals routinely took part in judicial decisions on major lawsuits arbitrated at the papal Curia (*cause maiores*).¹⁷ By the mid-12th century the cardinals had therefore become an integral part of Church government, sharing papal primacy over the Church. Thus Bernard of Clairvaux provided a crucial ecclesiological justification of the role of the cardinals in a letter of 1146 to Eugene III, when he compared the cardinals' relationship with the papacy to the one between the "head," namely the pope, and the "eyes," namely the cardinals; in his *De consideratione* (1150) he defined the cardinals as papal assistants and *coadiutores*, whose power was directly invested by the pope.¹⁸

13 Robinson, *The Papacy*, 34–40; Alberigo, *Cardinalato*, 30–36; 42–46; Alberto Melloni, *Il conclave: Storia dell'elezione del Papa* (Bologna: 2001), 35–39; Zey, "Entstehung," 87–90; 92–93.

14 Tierney, *Foundations*, 69–72; Robinson, *The Papacy*, 41–44.

15 Kuttner, "Cardinalis," 176–77; Alberigo, *Cardinalato*, 52–63; Paravicini Bagliani, *Il trono*, 53–54.

16 Zey, "Entstehung," 80–85.

17 Werner Maleczek, "Die Kardinäle von 1143 bis 1216: Exklusive Papstwähler und erste Agenten der päpstlichen *plenitudo potestatis*," in Dendorfer and Lützelshwab, *Geschichte*, 124–26.

18 Alberigo, *Cardinalato*, 63–66.

2 The Cardinalate and Papal Claims to Plenitude of Power

Although canonical collections soon incorporated Nicholas II's decree, the efficacy of that decree was challenged by a series of divisive papal elections, which gave rise to two major papal schisms (1130–39 and 1159–77) and to the election of three successive popes and six anti-popes. Indeed, while the 1059 decree gave cardinals the right to decide on the most suitable candidate for the Apostolic See, it did not settle any precise rule on how the cardinals should reach a majority decision. On the one hand, the 12th-century anti-popes and their supporters challenged the cardinals' right to elect the pope and called for papal elections to be opened to the clergy and people of Rome by virtue of the pope's position as bishop of the city.¹⁹ On the other hand, popes controlled papal elections by managing access to the cardinalate. The College of Cardinals' actual size varied remarkably in accordance with the inclination of different popes, although in the 12th century the figure was nominally fixed at fifty-three. But during the pontificate of Alexander III (1159–81) the College only included twenty-four cardinals. Historians have interpreted this in different ways: some explained the decrease in size either as the result of accidental circumstances, such as the sudden death of cardinals who were not promptly replaced, while others hinted at papal attempts to impose a more centralized government on the Church.²⁰ The latter point is evidenced during Alexander III's pontificate, when the majority of promotions to the cardinalate were French or northern and central Italian bishops – a policy in line with papal attempts at transforming the cardinalate from a Roman into a more international institution.²¹

Unsurprisingly, Alexander III immediately addressed the problem of papal elections once he had returned to Rome after having been challenged by three schismatic pro-imperial anti-popes. In 1179, at the opening of the Third Lateran Council he issued a new decree (canon 1, *Licet de vitanda*) which acknowledged the unlikelihood of a unanimous agreement between the cardinals and established that the new pope should be elected by a two-thirds majority (*maior et sanior pars*).²² By the late 12th century this canon was received into early decretal collections, while in 1234 it finally entered the mainstream of canon law in the *Liber Extra* (x 1.6.42). Later on, Henry of Segusio (Hostiensis)

19 Robinson, *The Papacy*, 57–83; Maleczek, "Die Kardinäle," 111–17.

20 Robinson, *The Papacy*, 45; Paravicini Bagliani, *Il trono*, 61–63; Zey, "Entstehung," 68–70; 72–74.

21 Robinson, *The Papacy*, 47–55; Maleczek, "Die Kardinäle," 96–111.

22 Robinson, *The Papacy*, 84–90; Maleczek, "Die Kardinäle," 117–20.

emphasized in his *Lectura* on the *Liber Extra* (ca. 1271) that the two-thirds majority had to be reached only amongst the cardinals present at the election, and maintained the “special” status of papal elections, which could not be challenged through appeals.²³ The matter was further addressed during the pontificate of Innocent III (1198–1216) in canon 24 (*Quia propter*) of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215). Although lacking any direct reference to papal elections, *Quia propter* decreed that elections could take place in three ways: *electio per scrutinium*, where three trusted members of the electoral college counted the secret ballot and published the outcome of the election in writing; *electio per compromissum*, when the election was delegated to a commission of arbiters (generally three); and, finally, *electio per inspirationem*, when there was an agreement of the electoral college on one candidate. These different procedures were all adopted in papal elections in the first half of the 13th century.²⁴

The canonistic debate on the procedure of papal election during the first half of the 13th century consolidated the role of the cardinalate and complemented the contemporary ecclesiological debate on its position within the Church. Indeed, Innocent III elevated the status of the cardinals, who came to share the papal plenitude of power in the government of the Church.²⁵ In 1201 Innocent III refused to confirm the election of the cardinal priest of Santa Prassede to the archbishopric of Ravenna, outlining the need to retain him in the service of the universal Church (*sollicitudo communis*).²⁶ In his written refusal, Innocent III reviewed the traditional metaphor of cardinals as “parts of the pope’s body” (*membra corporis domini pape*) and referred to them as “parts of the head” (*membra capitis*), situated at the top of the ecclesiastical hierarchy beside the pope.²⁷ Accordingly, in his decretal *Per venerabilem* of 1202 Innocent III maintained that the cardinals were direct descendants of the priests of the Levitical tribe, mentioned in the Old Testament (Deut. 17:8–12). This association gave them the right to be *coadiutores* of the pope, who holds plenitude of power as successor of St Peter, priest and universal judge.²⁸ Commenting on

23 Henricus de Segusio (Hostiensis), *Lectura siue apparatus domini Hostiensis super quinque libris Decretalium*, 1 (Strasbourg: 1512), fol. 37ba. See also Henricus de Segusio (Hostiensis), *Summa aurea* (Venice: 1574), col. 122–23.

24 Paravicini Bagliani, *Il trono*, 14–15; Melloni, *Il conclave*, 40–43.

25 Alberigo, *Cardinalato*, 74; 80–84.

26 *Liber extravagantium decretalium*, in *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, 2:1.5.3. See also Tierney, *Foundations*, 94–95; Alberigo, *Cardinalato*, 69–72.

27 Maleczek, “Die Kardinäle,” 127–28. See also Wilhelm Imkamp, *Das Kirchenbild Innocenz’ III. (1198–1216)* (Stuttgart: 1983), 176–201.

28 *Liber extravagantium decretalium*, 4.17.13. See John A. Watt, *The Theory of Papal Monarchy in the Thirteenth Century* (London: 1965), 35–39; Alberigo, *Cardinalato*, 72–76; Imkamp, *Das Kirchenbild*, 273–89; Maleczek, “Die Kardinäle,” 130–32.

Per venerabilem in his *Lectura*, Hostiensis further expanded on this point, arguing that cardinals have the duty of assisting and counselling the pope in the government of the Church and, by virtue of their position, they are especially (*specialiter*) known as “the pope’s brothers” (*fratres pape*).²⁹

These ecclesiological remarks on the role of the cardinalate in practice meant that cardinals increasingly participated in the government of the Church in the localities, where they were increasingly employed on delicate diplomatic missions as legates *a latere*, as well as at the papal Curia. In particular, from the second half of the 12th century the cardinals took over the management of judicial and administrative affairs: managing the papal state as officials; controlling petitioners’ access to the pope; presiding over the apostolic chancery, apostolic chamber and the courts (so-called *audientie*) at the papal Curia; and participating in papal decision-making in consistory and through the subscription of papal privileges.³⁰ This increasing approximation of the authority of cardinals and that of the pope was given visual expression in cardinalatial dress (see Carol Richardson’s chapter in this volume).

However, the extent to which the pope was under obligation to consult the cardinals on governmental matters remained a question for debate amongst canonists in the 13th and 14th centuries. Some, like Laurentius Hispanus in the *Glossa Palatina* to Gratian’s *Decretum*, maintained that the pope could not issue a general decree for the Church without consulting the cardinals, while others, such as Alanus and the late 13th-century canonist Guido de Baisio, emphasized that the pope was welcome, but not bound, to consult the cardinals.³¹ A related matter concerned the role of the cardinals during papal vacancies. While Huguccio (1188–90) and Johannes Teutonicus (1216) maintained that the cardinals were not the “head” of the Church during papal vacancies, since they were a plurality of individuals, but they acted in place of the “head,” subsequent 13th-century canonists agreed that during papal vacancies the cardinals held papal plenitude of power as a corporate body and could act on the pope’s behalf in judicial matters, such as episcopal depositions, in case of pressing necessity.³²

29 Henricus de Segusio (Hostiensis), *Lectura*, 11, fol. 234vb; Tierney, *Foundations*, 149–53; Alberigo, *Cardinalato*, 76–84; 100–06.

30 Maleczek, “Die Kardinäle,” 133–48; Andreas Fischer, “Die Kardinäle von 1216 bis 1304: Zwischen eigenständigem Handeln und päpstlicher Autorität,” in Dendorfer and Lützel-schwab, *Geschichte*, 165–73; 177–83. See also Watt, *The Theory*, 107–25.

31 Sägmüller, *Die Tätigkeit*, 215–49; Tierney, *Foundations*, 80–84, 209; Paravicini Bagliani, *Il trono*, 58–59.

32 Tierney, *Foundations*, 72–75, 98–105; Paravicini Bagliani, *Il trono*, 60–61; Maleczek, “Die Kardinäle,” 129–30.

From the 1220s onwards these canonistic debates concerning the role of the cardinalate within the Church and during papal vacancies became pressing because of the political clash between Emperor Frederick II and the papacy.³³ In 1239, Frederick II used Peter Damian's doctrine that maintained that cardinals acted as "senators of the Roman Church" and ruled over the Church alongside the pope as successors of the Apostles, in order to confront his enemy Gregory IX. By upholding that cardinals thus participated in the government of the Church in equal measure alongside the pope, Frederick II was in fact hoping that the cardinals would summon a general council against Gregory IX.³⁴ But his successor Innocent IV (1243–54) deposed Frederick II at the Council of Lyons (1245) and endorsed Gregory's interpretation, arguing in his *Apparatus* on the *Liber Extra* that the College of Cardinals represented the senate of the Church, while the cardinals stood at the pope's side (*latus principis sive pape*), sharing his judicial and governmental responsibilities.³⁵

From the 1240s, decretalists also touched on the involvement of the secular powers in papal elections, which became a thorny issue in the mid-13th century. Bernard of Parma asserted that if there was a risk of intervention of the secular arm, the cardinals should be enclosed in a safe location until they agreed on a suitable candidate. In support of his argument Bernard cited the elections of Honorius III in Perugia (1216), of Celestine IV (1241), and Innocent IV (1241–43), when the Roman senator Matteo Rosso Orsini locked up the cardinals to avoid Emperor Frederick II's interference. This became known as the first conclave in history.³⁶ In his *Lectura*, Hostienses rejected the legitimacy of secular intervention in disputed papal elections and maintained that the election of Honorius III in Perugia was ultimately reached *per compromissum*, once the cardinals had been enclosed.³⁷ In 1274 Gregory X finally outlined the rules that the cardinals had to follow during the conclave in canon 2 of the Second Council of Lyons, *Ubi periculum*. The latter prescribed a strict procedure for the celebration of the conclave aimed at restricting the length of papal vacancies.³⁸ However, Gregory X's decree encountered a lot of resistance and in 1276, John XXI suspended *Ubi periculum*, resulting between 1276 and 1294 in

33 Fischer, "Die Kardinäle," 186–88.

34 Alberigo, *Cardinalato*, 84–91; Paravicini Bagliani, *Il trono*, 56–57. See also Tierney, *Foundations*, 47–67; 77–81, and Maleczek, "Die Kardinäle," 131–32.

35 Alberigo, *Cardinalato*, 94–97; Fischer, "Die Kardinäle," 193–201.

36 Gregory IX, *Decretales epistole supremi orthodoxe ecclesie principis Gregorii Noni* (Paris: 1529), fol. 37r with *glossa ordinaria* of Bernard of Parma. See also Melloni, *Il conclave*, 43–44.

37 Henricus de Segusio (Hostiensis), *Lectura*, I, fol. 38vb.

38 Paravicini Bagliani, *Il trono*, 15–21; Fischer, "Die Kardinäle," 204–09.

three papal vacancies with a duration of over six months. In 1294 Celestine V reinstated *Ubi periculum* and Boniface VIII had it included in the *Liber Sextus* (VI 1.6.3).

3 The Avignon Papacy and the Great Schism

The ecclesiology on cardinals, and their role vis-à-vis the pope and bishops, was heavily influenced by Boniface VIII's disputes with Philip IV of France (Philip the Fair) and with Cardinals Giacomo and Pietro Colonna in the period 1296–1303. While the clash with the French king was part of Boniface VIII's efforts to assert the papal plenitude of power over secular authorities and to defend the freedom of the Church, the Colonna affair grew out of a dispute within that family, which the pope had initially been asked to arbitrate. On this occasion Boniface VIII took unprecedented steps: on 10 May 1297 he excommunicated Giacomo and Pietro Colonna, declared them schismatics, and removed them from the College of Cardinals. In response, the Colonna cardinals challenged Boniface VIII's election to the Apostolic See.

The dispute between the pope and the Colonna hence reopened the debate on the role of the cardinalate as a body, on its share of governmental responsibilities within the Church, and on its relationship to the papal plenitude of power. Both Boniface VIII and his opponents acknowledged the cardinals' liturgical and governmental roles, which derived from the union of Christ and the Apostles.³⁹ On the one hand, papal supporters based their arguments on ideas of the papal plenitude of power and the superiority of spiritual over temporal power. In particular, Egidio da Viterbo (d. 1316) maintained that the cardinals were successors of the Apostles alongside the pope and the bishops: while the episcopate carried out the government of the Church *in partibus*, the cardinals shared a closer proximity to the pope, as the Apostles did to Christ.⁴⁰ On the other hand, John of Paris (ca. 1255–1306), a thinker less sympathetic to papal claims, maintained that the bishops also shared papal governmental responsibilities. However, he differentiated their role from that of the cardinals, maintaining that the latter elected the pope and controlled his actions. Hence, in the opinion of John of Paris, the pope shared his jurisdictional power with

39 Tierney, *Foundations*, 154–61; Alberigo, *Cardinalato*, 111–21; Joseph P. Canning, *Ideas of Power in the Late Middle Ages, 1296–1417* (Cambridge: 2011), 29–50.

40 Alberigo, *Cardinalato*, 111–13; Canning, *Ideas of Power*, 29–39. See also Étienne Anheim, "Zur Legitimation des Kardinalats im 14. Jahrhundert," in Dendorfer and Lützelshwab, *Geschichte*, 248–51.

the cardinals who elected him, and their consent could be withdrawn in special circumstances.⁴¹

This debate culminated in the infamous attack of French envoys supported by the Colonna on Boniface VIII at Anagni in 1303, which was followed by the pope's sudden death. In 1305 the cardinals elected the Gascon Clement V, who was the first of the Avignon popes. During the Avignon era, the papacy developed into a more bureaucratic institution characterized by the rising importance of the French party within the College of Cardinals, where individual popes' nepotistic agendas and regional interests came to play a bigger role.⁴² Since the conclave for the election of Clement V had lasted eleven months, this pope published the decree *Ne Romani* at the Council of Vienne (1311–12) which maintained that the chamberlain and the major penitentiary should keep their office during papal vacancies and, in accordance with *Ubi periculum*, confirmed strict enclosure and rules for the location of the conclave. In 1317 *Ne Romani* entered the *Clementine* promulgated by John XXII.⁴³ Finally, in 1353 in the constitution *Sollicitudo pastoralis*, Innocent VI (1352–62) emphasized the role of the pope as Vicar of Christ, limiting the College of Cardinals to an advisory body on matters regarding papal vacancies.⁴⁴

All through the Avignonesse period, these same arguments were revisited and thereby influenced the ecclesiological and canonistic debate on the cardinalate.⁴⁵ To this was added the interpretation of William of Ockham (d. 1347), who was very critical of the cardinalate as a concept. In his opinion, it represented a man-made institution created after the age of the Apostles and was therefore subject to fallibility. He maintained that the College of Cardinals' authority derived from the pope rather than Christ, and, that it was not more

41 Tierney, *Foundations*, 162–78; Alberigo, *Cardinalato*, 134–36; Canning, *Ideas of Power*, 49–59.

42 Étienne Anheim, Blake R. Beattie, and Ralph Lützelshwab, "Die Kardinäle des avignonesischen Papsttums (1305–1378): Kreaturen des Papstes, Sachwalter partikularer Interessen und Mäzene," in Dendorfer and Lützelshwab, *Geschichte*, 225–48; Ralph Lützelshwab, "Papst und Kardinäle – zwischen Konsens und Konflikt," in Dendorfer and Lützelshwab, *Geschichte*, 264–79. On the French influence on the Avignon papacy see Daniel Waley, "Opinions of the Avignon Papacy: A Historiographical Sketch," in *Storiografia e storia: Studi in onore di Eugenio Duprè Theseider*, eds. Paolo Brezzi et al. (Rome: 1974), 175–88; Guillaume Mollat, *The Popes at Avignon (1305–1378)*, trans. Janet Love (London: 1963), 249–68; Yves Renouard, *The Avignon Papacy, 1305–1403* (London: 1970); Jean Favier, *Les papes d'Avignon* (Paris: 2006).

43 *Clementine*, in *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, 2: 1.3.2. On the election of John XXII and the use of canon law see Barbara Bombi, "The English Crown and the Election of Pope John XXII," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 68 (2017), 263–66.

44 Alberigo, *Cardinalato*, 159–61; Lützelshwab, "Papst und Kardinäle," 279–81.

45 Anheim, "Zur Legitimation," 259–63.

important than the college of bishops and archbishops.⁴⁶ The cardinals' advisory role, especially during papal vacancies, was another perennial issue. Johannes Monachus, author of the so-called *Glossa Aurea* to the *Liber Sextus* (ca. 1301) and a cardinal himself, reiterated the traditional metaphor of the cardinals as parts of the Church's body (*membra corporis*), and maintained that they held papal jurisdictional powers during vacancies. However, Monachus also argued that the pope was only morally obliged to involve the cardinals in papal decision-making, since he ultimately held plenitude of power.⁴⁷ In his gloss to Clement v's *Ne Romani*, Johannes Andreae further emphasized the papal plenitude of power and challenged the view that the cardinals could act as papal vicars during vacancies or correct papal rulings.⁴⁸

This debate on how far the cardinals should participate in Church government, especially during papal vacancies, was further complicated during the Great Schism (1378–1417).⁴⁹ When the election of the Italian Bartolomeo Prignano as Pope Urban VI in April 1378 resulted in a disappointment for the French cardinals, who had hoped that he would return the papal residence to Avignon, they elected the French anti-pope Clement VII, thus marking the beginning of the Great Schism.⁵⁰ Initially, between 1378 and 1380 Clement VII and his supporters tried to resolve the divisions within the Church *via facti*, namely by forcing out Urban VI.⁵¹ Commenting on this option, the jurist John of Legnano (ca. 1320–83) maintained that the College of Cardinals participated in the government of the Church alongside the pope and were at the top of the Church hierarchy; he therefore could only distinguish faithful from unfaithful cardinals on the basis of moral principles.⁵² Accordingly, Cardinal Pierre Flandrin (1301–84), supporter of Clement VII, argued for the intrinsic

46 Alberigo, *Cardinalato*, 140–44; Anheim, “Zur Legitimation,” 252–53.

47 Tierney, *Foundations*, 181–90; Anheim, “Zur Legitimation,” 253–54. Similar arguments were put forward by Alvarus Pelagius (ca. 1280–1350): Anheim, “Zur Legitimation,” 256.

48 *Constitutiones Clementis Quinti, quas Clementinas vocant* (Venice: 1567), fol. 15a. See also Tierney, *Foundations*, 210–12; Alberigo, *Cardinalato*, 151–53; Anheim, “Zur Legitimation,” 257–58.

49 For a general discussion of the Schism and its historiography, see Joëlle Rollo-Koster, “Civil Violence and the Initiation of the Schism” in *A Companion to the Great Western Schism (1378–1417)*, eds. Joëlle Rollo-Koster and Thomas M. Izbicki (Leiden: 2009), 9–65.

50 Favier, “Le Grand Schisme,” 9–10, and Kaminsky, “The Great Schism,” 676–77.

51 Philippe Genequand, “Kardinäle, Schisma und Konzil: Das Kardinalskolleg im Großen Äbenlandschen Schisma (1378–1417),” in Dendorfer and Lützelshwab, *Geschichte*, 315–19.

52 Tierney, *Foundations*, 206–08; Alberigo, *Cardinalato*, 160–65; Canning, *Ideas of Power*, 166–67.

union between the pope and the cardinals, the latter being the Apostles' successors and papal electors on behalf of the universal Church.⁵³

The ecclesiological debate on resolving the Great Schism fed into the discussion on the status of the cardinals with respect to popes, bishops, and the Church as a community. The Councils of Pisa (1409) and Constance (1414) ultimately deposed both the Avignon and Roman popes, proceeding to the election of Martin V in 1417, which brought the papacy back to its nepotistic and Italian roots.⁵⁴ Indeed, while the Council of Pisa reaffirmed that the universal Church consisted of the pope and the cardinals, who ultimately could depose heretical popes in case of necessity, at the Council of Constance it was argued that the council represented the Church, as it held power directly from Christ, and it was therefore positioned above the papacy (see also Bernward Schmidt's contribution to this volume).⁵⁵ As a result, on 30 October 1417 at Constance the first article agreed between Martin V and the council before its dissolution also sanctioned the control of the council over the cardinalate.⁵⁶ Furthermore, the conclave that elected Martin V tried to limit the power of the pope through the so-called electoral capitulation, namely setting conditions the candidate would have to fulfil after his election.⁵⁷ In sum, while the pope tried to increase his dominance over the cardinals through the council, the cardinals attempted to gain the upper hand over the pope through another route.

4 The Legacy of the Middle Ages into the Early Modern Period

During his pontificate Martin V (1417–31) had to agree his reforms with the “nations,” that had emerged as real powers during the Great Schism and continued to influence papal policy through the conciliar representatives at the Councils

53 Alberigo, *Cardinalato*, 165–68.

54 Kaminsky, “The Great Schism,” 692–96. See also Jürgen Dendorfer, “Wer wird Kardinal? Kardinalskarrieren und die Zusammensetzung des Kollegs (1417–1471),” in Dendorfer and Lützelshwab, *Geschichte*, 368–72. See also John A.F. Thomson, *Popes and Princes, 1417–1517: Politics and Polity in the Late Medieval Church* (London: 1980), 30; Jürgen Dendorfer, “Papst und Kardinalskolleg im Bannkreis der Konzilien – von der Wahl Martins V. bis zum Tod Paulus II. (1417–1471),” in Dendorfer and Lützelshwab, *Geschichte*, 334–37. See also Genequand, “Kardinäle,” 319–22. See also Canning, *Ideas of Power*, 167.

55 Canning, *Ideas of Power*, 179–83.

56 *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo (Bologna: 1973), 444. See also, Jürgen Dendorfer, “Zur Theorie des Kardinalats im konziliaren Zeitalter,” in Dendorfer and Lützelshwab, *Geschichte*, 376–77.

57 J. Dendorfer, “Papst und Kardinalskolleg,” 338.

of Pavia and Siena (1423–24).⁵⁸ Similarly, Eugene IV (1431–47) had to come to terms with the increasing power of the nations at the Council of Basel, which in 1431 again had to agree to the electoral capitulation, thus subjecting the papal reforms of the Curia and its move to the cardinals' consent.⁵⁹ Yet, on 26 March 1436 session XXIII of the Council of Basel decreed the reform of the College of Cardinals, fixing their number at twenty-four, prescribing that the College should approve the appointment of new cardinals, limiting the proportion of members coming from the same nation to one-third and establishing that at least one-third or one-fourth of cardinals for each nation should be graduates in theology.⁶⁰ Furthermore, the decree forbade nepotism for the pope and the cardinals; it also ruled over the cardinals' income and their oath of office, stating that they had the duty of assisting and controlling the pope in the government of the Church.⁶¹ In 1439 Eugene IV's resistance to these reforms led to the council's declaration of his deposition and the election of the anti-pope Felix V, giving birth to a new schism within the Church until 1449.⁶²

The 15th-century ecclesiological debate discussed at length the divisions over conciliar reforms, papal authority and the cardinalate. On the one hand, in his *De concordantia catholica* (1432–34), Nicholas of Cusa maintained the necessity of inner harmony and unity amongst the different components of Church and provided the doctrinal justification for the above decree issued at session XXIII of the Council of Basel. In his opinion the Council represented the Universal Church (*universalis ecclesia*), while the College of Cardinals stood as a council advising the pope on a permanent basis (*concilium cottidianum*).⁶³ On the other hand, Martino Garati da Lodi's *Tractatus de cardinalibus* (1448–49) and Andrea Barbazza's *De praestantia cardinalium* (1452–55) built on the

58 Anthony Black, "Popes and Councils," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, VII: c. 1415–c. 1500, ed. Christopher Allmand (Cambridge, Eng.: 2008), 66; Canning, *Ideas of Power*, 187–92.

59 Anthony Black, *Council and Commune: The Conciliar Movement and the Fifteenth-Century Heritage* (London: 1979), 29–31; 49; Black, "Popes and Councils," 71. See also Morimichi Watanabe, "Pope Eugenius IV, the Conciliar Movement, and the Primacy of Rome," in *The Church, the Councils and Reform*, eds. Gerald Christianson, Thomas M. Izbicki, and Christopher M. Bellitto (Washington, D.C.: 2008), 186–87; Dendorfer, "Papst und Kardinalskolleg," 338–40.

60 Dendorfer, "Papst und Kardinalskolleg," 340–41.

61 *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo (Bologna, 1973), 501–04. See also Dendorfer, "Zur Theorie," 377–78.

62 Black, *Council and Commune*, 40–41; Black, "Popes and Councils," 72–73; Claudia Märkl, "Die Teilhabe der Kardinäle an der Kirchenregierung," in Dendorfer and Lützel Schwab, *Geschichte*, 359–61.

63 Giuseppe Alberigo, "The Conciliar Church," in Christianson, Izbicki, and Bellitto, *The Church*, 273–77; Dendorfer, "Zur Theorie," 375.

13th-century canonical tradition that considered the cardinals as Levitical priests (see also the chapter by David S. Chambers in this volume).⁶⁴ In practice, the growing importance and autonomy of the cardinalate in the ecclesiological debate mirrored the rise of the number of cardinals and the support of ecclesiastical nepotism in defiance of the decrees of the Council of Basel.⁶⁵ By the end of the 15th century, the ecclesiological debate commonly maintained that the College of Cardinals was the senate of the Roman Church, reinterpreting traditional medieval canonical concepts in the light of political and philosophical humanistic ideas, especially building on Cicero's doctrine of state.⁶⁶

64 Dendorfer, "Zur Theorie," 379–80.

65 Dendorfer, "Zur Theorie," 382–83; Marco Pellegrini, "Il Sacro Collegio cardinalizio tra Rinascimento e Controriforma: Orientamenti tematici e bibliografici," in *Die Kardinäle des Mittelalters und der frühen Renaissance*, eds. Jürgen Dendorfer and Ralph Lützel-schwab (Florence: 2013), 321–22.

66 Marco Pellegrini, "Das Kardinalskolleg von Sixtus IV. bis Alexander VI. (1471–1503)," in Dendorfer and Lützel-schwab, *Geschichte*, 434–35.

The College of Cardinals

Miles Pattenden

Far more has been written about individual early modern cardinals than about the cardinals of that period as a group. But, in point of fact, the cardinals' collective identity as a College, and the jurisdiction each of its members derived from it, was always what ultimately empowered them as individuals. A historian of *the early modern cardinal*, or any individual cardinal who contributed to that prototype, is therefore obliged to address the question of how the College itself developed as a central institution within the Roman Curia. Barbara Bombi has explained in the previous chapter how the concept of the Cardinal evolved from the late Middle Ages into the 16th century, and the discussion here to some extent runs in parallel with, and complementary to, that. But it also seeks to demonstrate how the cardinals' corporate identity (or, rather, identities) and their collective relationship with the pope changed in the centuries after 1500 as a result of various factors: the growth of the pope's temporal government, the input of foreign powers, the religious imperatives of the Counter-Reformation. A large number of scholars have contributed to what we know about the cardinals' place within the papacy's constitution at a general level and the following pages therefore engage their work to chart the changes in the College's corporate power and influence both *de facto* and *de jure*.

One crucial, but often implicit, debate within the historiography on the College is how far its authority co-existed in harmony with that of the pope, with the one complementing and bolstering the other, and how far the two authorities were entangled in a zero-sum game in which one scored points at the other's expense. Paolo Prodi in his *Sovrano pontefice* (1982) emphasized the at times competitive nature of the relationship between medieval popes and cardinals (a view he held in common with the doyen of earlier papal history Walter Ullmann). Indeed, Prodi characterized the College's jurisdiction as essentially oligarchic, forged in opposition to – and incompatible with – the “monarchic” view of their own office which most early modern popes advanced with increasing vim. For Prodi, the interplay between competing papal and collegiate imperatives typically lay at the heart of developments in the history of the papacy's central institutions and explains both the College's marginalisation as a political body and the rise, and subsequent evolution, of the so-called congregations from the late 16th century onwards. That narrative arc

forms the centrepiece of his work and, implicitly or explicitly, continues to shape how we read the papacy's contribution to the formation of "the modern state."

Simon Ditchfield has recently mused on how we might move "beyond the Prodi paradigm," although he takes aim more at Prodi's narrative of papal decline rather than at his astute theorized observation of the nature of power dynamics.¹ By contrast, other recent scholarship, notably by Antonio Menniti Ippolito, has proposed that congregations, insofar as they furnished cardinals with a new form of corporate identity separate to – and therefore independent of – their collective identity as a College, can be seen as having marked a key development within the papacy's institutional evolution overall. Because they occurred in parallel to, and perhaps even in conjunction with, rapid changes to cardinals' social profiles after 1500 (the subject of Maria Antonietta Visceglia's chapter) congregations also simultaneously turned the papal Curia itself into a structure with more complex and more formalized processes than had ever been the case before. Menniti Ippolito's arguments are set out in greater detail below. Yet it is worth caveating them at the outset with a warning against overstating discontinuities between the medieval and early modern Colleges: for instance, the College's jurisdictional claims and its members' ability to enforce them politically may both have declined, but that decline was not necessarily matched by a commensurate loss in the cardinals' aggregate agency *as individuals*. The College, moreover, continued to serve as the guarantor of the papacy's institutional continuity in the Vacant See, as John M. Hunt shows in his chapter here. The problem of how to interpret the cardinals' constitutional history is thus an acute one. And yet, it matters a great deal, because it provides the fundamental base on which we must graft all the other histories we write about the activities with which cardinals were engaged.

1 The Origins of the College of Cardinals

Medieval historians have taken significant steps towards reconstructing the origins of the College of Cardinals and the early phases of its evolution as a corporate body.² Barbara Bombi recounts a good part of this story in her

1 Simon Ditchfield, "Papal Prince or Papal Pastor? Beyond the Prodi Paradigm," *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 51 (2013), 117–132.

2 I draw the reader's attention to our sister volume, Atria Larson and Keith Sisson (eds.), *A Companion to the Medieval Papacy: Growth of an Ideology and Institution* (Leiden: 2016), in particular to pages 28–29, and to Jürgen Dendorfer and Ralf Lützelshwab (eds.), *Die*

chapter and I shall not reiterate her remarks here. However, it may still be worth noting that from the outset cardinals performed the core functions which defined their office – assisting in the pontiff’s administrative, liturgical, or other sacerdotal duties – collectively.³ Medieval popes met with cardinals on a regular basis, even as often as twice weekly in the 9th century, in gatherings called “consistories” (from the Latin *consistere*, to stand together) which served as forums for discussion of both judicial and administrative matters. The pope would seek the cardinals’ advice and opinions, including via formal voting, before reaching his own decision. New cardinals could also be presented to the rest of the College on these occasions, as part of the ceremonies which Jennifer Mara DeSilva describes in her chapter. Of course, Gregorian Reform, the movement for ecclesiastical renewal championed by Gregory VII (1073–85), caused the cardinals to develop their corporate identity further in another specific way. Nicholas II’s bull *In nomine Domini* (1059) arrogated the election of the pope specifically to the seven suburbicarian bishops of Rome’s surrounding dioceses, empowering them to confer amongst themselves whenever the old pope died so that they might agree on a candidate to present to the rest of the Church (for more detail on how medieval papal elections evolved and affected cardinals, see Bombi’s chapter). Understandably, the cardinal priests were unhappy with this arrangement and both they and the cardinal deacons agitated for more formal inclusion in the election, apparently achieving this by the end of the century – at which point the modern process for the papal election had begun to adopt a recognizable form.

At least initially, there was little to bind the three orders of cardinal bishops, deacons, and priests into a single College beyond their shared papal service and assorted electoral privileges. The three orders rarely co-existed in harmony, not least because the members of each order instinctively favoured a candidate from their own ranks in every papal election and disputes soon broke out between them over the precise nature of the electoral prerogatives they each enjoyed. Alexander III only resolved those disputes via the major electoral reforms in *Licet de vitanda* (1179). However, we can hardly be sure how long it took to embed Alexander’s pronouncements in practice. The impetus to recognize a single College of Cardinals in fact derived less from the clerics who themselves came to compose it but from the outside: in particular, from

Kardinäle des Mittelalters und der frühen Renaissance (Florence: 2013), which offers much of the latest German and Italian scholarship.

3 Thomas Noble, *The Republic of St Peter: The Birth of the Papal State, 680–825* (Philadelphia: 1984), 215–219. Stephan Kuttner, “Cardinalis: The History of a Canonical Concept,” *Traditio* 3 (1945), 176.

amongst those who now recognized them as the pope's exclusive electors. The first recorded mention of a "Sacred College of Cardinals" was at the Council of Rheims in 1148.⁴ However, I.S. Robinson has shown how a number of scholastic theologians were also soon according the cardinals a distinct collective identity.⁵ Bernard of Clairvaux simultaneously warned Eugene III (1145–53) in these portentous tones: he should view his cardinals as a separate and powerful body "whom you did not choose, but who chose you."⁶ Yet a collective identity is neither the same as an institutional nor legal status. Questions about whether the College of Cardinals held independent authority or jurisdiction therefore abounded from this time on – indeed, they emerged almost in parallel with acceptance of the College as an institution and an idea. Bernard of Clairvaux, in his admonition to Eugene III, referred to the cardinals as a Senate of the Church. But what did such a formulation mean in fact beyond inviting comparison to the now defunct corporate body of the ancients? The answer was important, and not just symbolically, because it touched on such matters of practical, tangible importance as whether or not the College was entitled to a share of the papacy's revenues and whether or not its members could legitimately resist the pope's arbitrary authority in matters affecting their collective interests. Most presciently, the answer had a bearing on the awkward problem of the *Sede Vacante*: under the theory of papal monarchy that developed from Gregory VII to Innocent III (1199–1216), all legitimate authority within the Church ultimately derived from the pope himself, because the Holy Spirit, acting through the cardinals, had chosen him as Christ's Vicar on Earth. But if the pope's covenant came thus, directly from God, what residual authority did that leave for the College? Could it claim the Church's mantle during a time in which there was no pope or not? Agostino Paravicini Bagliani has provided a useful commentary on some of the livelier debates amongst the canonists about this point.⁷

Walter Ullmann, in arguments which foreshadowed Prodi, believed that questions about the College's legal status were the ultimate cause of the Great Schism: two mutually incompatible ideologies, papal absolutism and the cardinals' oligarchic vision of their College, were impelled to confront each other

4 Auguste Molien, "Cardinal," in *Dictionnaire de droit canonique*, eds. Antoine Villein and Étienne Magnin (Paris: 1937), 2:col. 1310–1339.

5 I.S. Robinson, *The Papacy, 1073–1198: Continuity and Innovation* (Cambridge, Eng.: 1990), 39–41.

6 Bernard of Clairvaux, *De consideratione*, IV.4.9:778B.

7 Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, *The Pope's Body*, trans. David S. Peterson (Chicago: 2000), 147–148, and passim.

with disastrous results for all involved.⁸ Essays in the *Companion to the Great Western Schism* by Jöelle Rollo-Koster and Stefan Weiss complicate, but do not seem to me to fundamentally alter, this view.⁹ Certainly, no pope was willing to countenance that the cardinals had a *de iure* basis for authority within the Church independent of the pope's own, because to do so risked suggesting that they might have some supervisory capacity over him. Boniface VIII's (1294–1303) well-known statement on this subject is a masterpiece of doublespeak and equivocation:

Some might say that the cardinals do not have status. They do and they do not, since he who is established in plenitude of power over all and has the power to loose and to bind, as the Vicar of Jesus Christ, is chosen by and proceeds from their canonical election. Indeed, there is no one, after the Roman pontiff himself, who has such an elevated status as this. It is well known that they are members of our head. However, they do not have the same status of pre-eminence that the pope himself has. No one else has this kind of status except the pope himself alone, since he is not beneath that of anyone inferior to him. But the cardinals who have status are beneath the Roman pontiff, who has the power to correct and to punish them.¹⁰

By the time the Schism was healed in 1417 the matter was scarcely resolved, but papal prestige had descended to a low not seen for centuries. Moreover, in choosing Martin V (1417–31) the Council of Constance had mandated representatives of the six Christian “nations” to sit alongside the cardinals, thus stripping them of their exclusive right to serve as papal electors. The cardinals' entire case for the College's independent identity and legal status still depended on the exclusivity of their claims and this precedent thus threatened to undermine it. As they returned with Martin to Rome in 1420, the members of the newly re-united College, in their efforts to advance their corporate claims, thus faced an unenviable paradox: any attempt to resist further papal encroachment

8 Walter Ullmann, *The Origins of the Great Schism: A Study in Fourteenth-Century Ecclesiastical History* (London: 1948).

9 Jöelle Rollo-Koster, “Civil Violence and the Initiation of the Schism” and Stefan Weiss, “Luxury and Extravagance at the Papal Court in Avignon and the Outbreak of the Western Schism,” in Jöelle Rollo-Koster and Thomas Izbicki, *A Companion to the Great Western Schism (1378–1417)* (Leiden: 2009), 9–66 and 67–88.

10 *Gesta Boemundi archiepiscopi Treveriensis*, in Norman Zacour, “The Cardinals' View of the Papacy, 1150–1300,” in *The Religious Roles of the Papacy: Ideas and Realities, 1150–1300*, Papers in Medieval Studies 8, ed. Christopher Ryan (Toronto: 1989), 435–436.

of the College's rights was likely to turn into an act of mutual self-destruction between them and the reigning pope. Yet, future popes would know that threat, and might even leverage it against them to curb their pretensions entirely. How were the cardinals to avoid this while yet still dependent on papal goodwill to retain their privileges and status?

2 The College in the 15th and 16th Centuries

The above then is background to how the College's status changed in the course of the early modern period. A number of historians have written about the 15th century – specifically, about how the cardinals responded over its course to the renewed threats to that status posed by Conciliarism and how this affected the College's corporate development. Emily O'Brien has provided a neat summary of scholarship on Conciliarism – that rival constitutional theory to papalism which ultimate arbitrary authority over the Church not in the pope's hands but in those of a General Council of its senior members – which is worked around a fresh analysis of Pius II's notorious *Commentaries*.¹¹ Francis Oakley's *The Conciliarist Tradition* explores the subject in rather greater depth, but from the perspective of the Conciliarists and their arguments rather than from that of the College or of practical politics.¹² Carol Richardson has drawn particular attention to a number of texts, in particular several by Domenico de' Domenichi, which reasserted the College's prerogatives forcefully in the face of both Conciliar thought and papal abrogation.¹³ Richardson, John Thomson, and Prodi also all wrote about the rise of electoral capitulations – a seemingly quaint genre of documents which the cardinals drew up and agreed amongst themselves in advance of every papal election in order to bind the future pope. The first such capitulation had appeared in 1352 but, in part because of the Schism, their regular usage dates only from 1431 onwards. Each capitulation tried to hold the pope to an obligation to respect the College's collective rights and revenues and to call a General Council at which he would account to them and to others for his actions. Yet such constraints were entirely ineffective. Indeed, as Walter Ullmann pointed out: they were simply incompatible with the pope's *plenitudo potestatis* – his plenitude of power – which no document

11 Emily O'Brien, *The "Commentaries" of Pius II (1458–1464) and the Crisis of the Fifteenth-Century Papacy* (Toronto: 2016), 20–28, 45–85.

12 Francis Oakley, *The Conciliarist Tradition: Constitutionalism in the Catholic Church, 1300–1870* (Oxford: 2008), 61–110.

13 Carol Richardson, *Reclaiming Rome: Cardinals in the Fifteenth Century* (Leiden: 2009), 89–93.

could ever limit in this way.¹⁴ Every new pontiff whom the cardinals elected ignored them and it is hard to see capitulations as anything more than a programmatic statement for the Church with a vision for the College's institutional place within it. Prodi argued that by 1500 they had already lost even this value and instead had descended into mere lists of specific, and not necessarily mutually compatible, demands by interested parties.¹⁵

The need to force popes to commit to accepting the College's collective rights was, furthermore, far from the cardinals' only problem at this time: the resurgence of Christian princes' interest in the College and their demands for their subjects to be represented amongst its members caused a new division to emerge between curial and non-curial cardinals which, of course, also challenged existing understandings of their corporate identity. How easy was it to conceive of the College as a single corporate body when a significant proportion of its members had not been chosen by the pope's own free will but on the recommendation of princes, when they no longer attended on the pope in any practical way, and if they did not even usually reside within striking distance of Rome? English historians refer to one effect of this: a dispute over precedence between John Kemp, Cardinal Archbishop of York, and Archbishop Chichele of Canterbury. Chichele argued that a cardinal separated from the pope was an anomaly and thus did not enjoy the full usufruct of his dignity, forcing Eugene IV (1431–47) to rule that the cardinal's was a jurisdictional office, unrelated to any other clerical position its holder might hold. This not only gave Kemp precedence over Chichele but it also explicitly acknowledged that cardinals had a separate – and exalted – corporate status, wherever they resided. A cardinal's presence or not within the Roman Curia had no impact on the nature of his dignity, which was guaranteed in all places and at all times.¹⁶ However, Eugene's ruling also, arguably, had important implications for the College's "senatorial" model: it admitted that cardinals were not expected to gather as a complete group at all times nor therefore to act in unison as papal counsellors which arguably undermined the idea of them as a specific "senate."

Recent historiography about the Renaissance papacy, like that for the mid-15th century, has generally emphasized the cardinals' failure in advancing their collective rights as a college during this period. Jennifer Mara DeSilva and Marco Pellegrini have both built on Prodi's scholarship to argue that the cardinals

14 Walter Ullmann, "The legal validity of the papal electoral pacts," *Ephemerides iuris canonici* 12 (1956), 246–278.

15 Paolo Prodi, *The Papal Prince: One Body and Two Souls. The Papal Monarchy in Early Modern Europe*, trans. Susan Haskins (Cambridge, Eng.: 1987), 84.

16 John Thomson, *Popes and Princes, 1417–1517* (London: 1980), 64. On this dispute, see also Richardson's chapter.

resident in Rome regressed decisively from their senatorial pretensions to become something more akin to papal courtiers. Consistorial activity seems to reflect this: the cardinals were gradually marginalized from decision-making processes and their role was primarily limited to assenting resolutions already reached beforehand and participating in ceremonies like the presentation of news and ambassadors.¹⁷ Prodi quotes from Paolo Paruta's *Relazione* of 1595, which describes how this happened:

In earlier periods, the cardinals used to be made participants by the popes in the greatest transactions which took place in that government, which they dealt with by voting in consistory, taking decisions, and publishing those decisions as taken, they said, *de consensu fratrum*. But already for some years, that is, from the pontificate of Pius II up till now, this restriction has progressed so far that in the consistory, at the moment, nothing except the distribution of churches takes place...¹⁸

Prodi saw the College's collective marginalization as a consequence of its politicization, which was in turn a result of its rapid expansion in the decades after 1470 (see Maria Antonietta Visceglia's chapter for more on the College's changing composition over this period).¹⁹ Popes, having consolidated their temporal state and with access to far greater monetary resources than before, were able to promote loyalists and support them financially, thereby diluting the number and weakening the clout of dissenters to their policies within the College; this made it impossible for cardinals to press their claims for a separate corporate identity in meaningful ways. Cardinals had little recourse against a pope so long as he had the resources needed to expand their numbers. However, their complaints whenever a new set of red hats was announced reflected their disquiet: Pastor records such objections having taken place in 1476, 1485, 1505, 1535, 1542, and 1588.²⁰ Pius II, in his Commentaries recorded a scathing attack Ludovico Trevisan made against his plan to create new cardinals in 1460:

I am ashamed to sit in this place which every man thinks due him. The path to this eminence used to be open only to the most illustrious... You

17 On the place of consistory in diplomacy, and of cardinals in that process, see Catherine Fletcher, *Diplomacy in Renaissance Rome: The Rise of the Resident Ambassador* (Cambridge, Eng.: 2015), 49–50, 63–66.

18 Eugenio Alberi, *Relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al Senato*, 2nd series (Florence: 1857), 4:413–414.

19 Prodi, *Papal Prince*, 84–85.

20 Pastor, 4:410, 5:534, 6:220–222, 9:141 and 201–202, 21:239–241.

have named a number whom I would not have as servants in my kitchen or stable. Nor do I see the necessity for the creation of new cardinals. There are enough of us already... We are cheapened by too great numbers. We have not enough resources for ourselves, and you wish to add others to take the bread out of our mouths. Further, you have not yet mentioned anyone whom I consider worthy of the red hat.²¹

Despite their diminished capacity to resist the pope during his lifetime, early 16th-century cardinals nevertheless did still acquire new powers during the *Sede Vacante* which appeared to strengthen their corporate identity considerably. Various scholars have written on this, most recently John M. Hunt and Maria Antonietta Visceglia, who have both noted the increasing prominence of the *Capi degli Ordini* – the head of the three orders of cardinal bishops, cardinal priests and cardinal deacons – in the obsequies for the late pope, and of the College as a whole in the continued governance of the Papal States.²² The College asserted the right to issue *bandi* regulating Rome during the Vacant See and also to confirm or remove the late pope's temporal officials, though instances in which they did this remained rare. In 1562 Pius IV codified the cardinals' various rights and responsibilities as a College in the bull *In eligendis*.²³

Lorenzo Spinelli wrote about *In eligendis* at length, viewing it as an important synthesis of earlier legislation.²⁴ Yet it may be worth noting that Pius IV's fiat had a double-edged effect: it confirmed the College's powers during the *Sede Vacante* but it also once again explicitly limited them. A College constrained in its exercise of authority during *Sede Vacante* was likely desirable from Pius's perspective because that meant it was also necessarily weaker during *Sede Plena*: expectations about what the cardinals might be able to do after the pope's death also being reduced. Prodi showed how several late 16th-century popes who followed Pius further invoked the College's legal identity in order to bind the cardinals in similar fashion: Pius V did so to prevent them from enfeoffing papal lands and Sixtus V to prevent them from spending the

21 Margaret Meserve and Marcello Simonetta (eds.), *Pius II: Commentaries* (Cambridge, MA: 2003–07), 2:229–230.

22 John M. Hunt, *The Vacant See in Early Modern Rome: A Social History of the Papal Interregnum* (Leiden: 2016), 32–39. Maria Antonietta Visceglia, *Morte e elezione del papa: Norme, riti e conflitti. L'Età moderna* (Rome: 2013), 61–96.

23 Pius IV, "In eligendis," 9 October 1562, in *Bullarum, Diplomatum et Privilegiorum Sanctorum Romanorum Pontificum Taurinensis editio*, eds. Luigi Tomassetti et al. (Turin: 1862), 7:230–236.

24 Lorenzo Spinelli, *La vacanza della Sede Apostolica: dalle origini al concilio tridentino* (Milan: 1955), 229–246.

“Sacred Treasure” (*erario sanziore*) in the Castel Sant’Angelo.²⁵ Of course, the cardinals’ relationship with the pope was far from the only factor to contribute to changes in the College’s status as a central institution within the Church during the 16th century. Two others grew in importance in the decades after 1520: Charles v’s imperial agenda in Italy and the Church’s response to the Reformation, in particular the convocation of a new General Council and the instigation of the Holy Office (see Vincenzo Lavenia’s chapter in the present volume). The impact of Charles v in Italy is perhaps the easier of these two to assess and was also the shorter-lived in its effects. Several historians, notably Massimo Firpo and José Martínez Millán, have written about how Charles’ attempts to forge an “imperial faction” within the Italian Church and Roman Curia impacted religious life. One of the more important ways was to set up a rival circle to attract papal opponents, both political and spiritual.²⁶ Charles’ intervention affected the College as a collective body in two ways: first, by offering protection to opponents of the papal will which allowed the cardinals to assert their collective rights once more. However, second, it undermined the idea of the College as a single corporate entity by splitting it into overtly political factions.

Maria Antonietta Visceglia has explained how these factions developed – and their development was very fluid – but has also drawn our attention to the potentially divisive language this generated between those promoting the pro-Habsburg and the pro-French (or anti-Habsburg) cause. While the Habsburg faction justified its actions through the need for “paz” (peace) and “quietud” (quiet), their opponents retorted with demands to guarantee the Church’s “salut” (health) and “liberté” (liberty).²⁷ This division, which Visceglia and others have argued continued into the 18th century, albeit in diluted form, represented a major impediment against any further reassertion of the College’s collective status. Seen in that way, it is perhaps unsurprising that “reformist” cardinals in the 17th century, for example those of the *Squadron Volante*, were highly critical of factional allegiances and sought to reconstitute the College – and, indeed, the papacy as a whole – in such a way as to close ranks against

25 Prodi, *Papal Prince*, 90.

26 Massimo Firpo, “Politica imperiale e vita religiosa in Italia nell’età di Carlo v,” *Studi Storici* 42 (2001), 245–261. José Martínez Millán, “Fazioni politiche e correnti spirituali nel servizio dell’imperatore Carlo v,” in *L’Italia di Carlo v: Guerra, religione e politica nel primo Cinquecento*, eds. Francesca Cantù and Maria Antonietta Visceglia (Rome: 2003), 3–40.

27 Maria Antonietta Visceglia, “Factions in the Sacred College in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,” in *Court and Politics in Papal Rome, 1492–1700*, eds. Gianvittorio Signorotto and Maria Antonietta Visceglia (Cambridge, Eng.: 2001), 111–112.

those whose activities perpetuated them.²⁸ The impact of religious or spiritual factors on the cardinals as a College is more difficult to describe, not least because so many individual (and, indeed, highly personal) developments weighed in on it. The Council of Trent, a potential threat to the College's pretensions for the same reason it was a threat to papalism, in the end happened without altering them significantly. On the other hand, Massimo Firpo has written at length on broader events in the late 1540s and early 1550s. His thesis is that these years were highly divisive: the growing power of the Inquisition, in particular, and the identification of rival groups within the College affected the cardinals' ability to act collectively – something that was laid bare in the deadlocked conclaves of 1549–50 and 1559.²⁹

Giovanni Morone's arrest on heresy charges in 1557 and Paul IV's subsequent publication of the bull *Cum ex apostolatus* (1559), which forbade the cardinals from even considering anyone who had been suspected of heresy as a candidate for pope, may therefore in retrospect have been decisive in shaping the College's relationship with religious faction: together they made it possible for every cardinal to imagine himself one day being at risk of condemnation for having cast a vote for someone whom a reigning pope now indicted for his beliefs; elsewhere I have argued that this made it all but impossible to sustain public (i.e. not anonymous) voting for the new pontiff.³⁰ Whether or not that argument is correct is a separate question, but it surely affected the cardinals' identity as a College in two ways if it is: first, it inclined cardinals to seek safety in the membership of political factions and, second, it made them more cautious and conservative in their choice of papal candidates. Factions offered an important protection to the individual cardinal, but they did so at the expense of the College's unity overall. It is perhaps not a surprise therefore that the period after 1559 saw a further erosion of the College's status and claims to jurisdictional independence within the Church.

3 The Rise of Congregations

The rise of congregations – permanent committees with their own delineated competences which framed and executed papal policy both within the

28 Gianvittorio Signorotto, "The *Squadron Volante*: 'independent' cardinals and European politics in the second half of the seventeenth century," in Signorotto and Visceglia, *Court and Politics in Papal Rome*, 177–211.

29 Massimo Firpo, *La presa di potere dell'inquisizione romana (1550–1553)* (Rome: 2013).

30 Miles Pattenden, *Electing the Pope in Early Modern Italy, 1450–1700* (Oxford: 2017), 44–45.

temporal sphere and the wider Catholic Church – is now generally seen as the development of the later 16th century with the most significant impact on the cardinals' corporate identity. The Holy Office which Paul III established in 1542 might be seen to have been the first of these bodies; however, Paul IV's abortive *Sacro Consiglio*, which he convened in 1559, is an alternative forerunner. Either way, the number of proto-congregations grew substantially under Gregory XIII and Sixtus V – indeed, Sixtus' bull *Immensa aeterni Dei* (1588) marked the crucial moment when the congregations became fully instituted. The bull established fifteen congregations as permanent: of the Holy Office, of the *Segnatura*, for the Establishment of Churches, of Rites and Ceremonies, of the Index of Forbidden Books, of the Council of Trent, of the Regular Orders, of Bishops, of the Vatican Press, of the Annona, of the Navy, of Public Welfare, of the Sapienza (university), of Roads and Bridges, and of State Consultations.³¹ The *Buon Governo* (Good Governance), which Clement VIII instituted in 1592 to oversee economic, administrative, and financial affairs in the Papal States, and the *Propaganda Fide* (Propaganda of the Faith), which Gregory XV established in 1622 to oversee the Church's evangelization efforts (see Giovanni Pizzorusso's chapter on the role of cardinals in this congregation, specifically) were two of those founded after Sixtus V's reign which achieved particular significance.³² Congregations were initially intended to advise the pope, drawing up reports to facilitate his arbitral role and, as such, they displaced the consistory as the major space in which decisions within papal government were taken. Consistories, which became less frequent from the final decade of the 16th century onwards, reverted still further towards being mere formal and ceremonial occasions. However, Prodi has argued that we should not see the congregations' rise necessarily as the prime factor responsible for the consistory's demise: they were two parallel processes.³³ Some congregations also had jurisdictional powers which gradually led them into conflict with each other and even potentially with the jurisdiction of the pope himself. Cardinal Bellarmine famously rebuked Clement VIII that he was not qualified to pronounce on the controversy over Divine Grace because he was not a theologian. A number of

31 Sixtus V, "Immensa aeterni Dei," 22 January 1588, *Bullarum Romanum*, 8:985–999.

32 Concerning the total number of congregations in the early modern period, see the detailed entries in Niccolò del Re, *La Curia Romana: Lineamenti storico-giuridici* (Rome: 1952; 4th edition, Vatican City: 1998) and also the information collated by Christoph Weber in *Die ältesten päpstlichen Staats-Handbücher: Elenchus congregationum, tribunalium et collegiorum urbis 1629–1714* (Rome: 1991). Del Re and Weber identify between fifty and seventy congregations as being operational in Rome at various points in the 17th and 18th centuries.

33 Prodi, *Papal Prince*, 87.

other 17th-century cardinals also seem to have felt empowered by their new institutional status to pursue policies independently, or quasi-independently, of those of the pope himself. How this affected the cardinals' corporate status as a College is not clear.

A broad consensus nevertheless agrees that the cardinals' corporate power declined in this period – something both reflected by, and impacted by, the congregations' rise. For some historians, including Prodi, the congregations were a means of controlling the cardinals. Maria Teresa Fattori has gone further in her important early work on Clement VIII and the Sacred College to show how comprehensively that pope came to dominate it in the 1590s via a range of behaviours and sanctions.³⁴ But the cardinals had also acquired a new source of authority in the congregational system – and one which, although its legitimacy derived entirely from that of the pope himself, freed them to develop and pursue their interests in particular areas, as Menniti Ippolito observed. This was a classic example of the paradox of absolutist government, which other perspicacious historians have observed elsewhere.³⁵ The prince (in this case the pope) had unlimited control over his subordinates *in theory*, but in practice was constrained by all manner of factors and considerations: his physical limitations and mental inhibitions, which included his degree of motivation for intervening *in principle*, his access to information about what his subordinates were actually doing, and his ability to get other subordinates to execute his instructions when they were at odds with what the subordinate in question was doing. Seen in that light, the advent of congregations may have been very disadvantageous to cardinals, in that it changed their dominant collective formation from the College itself into smaller groups – and through that significantly diminished the College's overall stature as a corporate entity. However, it also offered each cardinal fresh opportunities which many seem to have taken up – perhaps a reason why the congregations' establishment and later expansion (under Clement VIII and Paul V) met with only limited resistance on the part of the College and its members.

The College's status and development in the 17th century is much less well researched than during the 16th, though quite why this should be the case is far from self-evident (perhaps we should ascribe it to a greater interest in political networks than formal institutions on the part of pivotal scholars such as Wolfgang Reinhard and his school). The system of congregations nevertheless

34 Maria Teresa Fattori, *Clemente VIII e il Sacro Collegio: Meccanismi istituzionali ed accentramento di governo* (Stuttgart: 2004).

35 See, for example, the remarks of James Collins in "State-Building in Early Modern Europe: The Case of France," *Modern Asian Studies* 31 (1997), 603–633.

continued to evolve, with various additions and subtractions; the character of popes, likewise, shifted subtly, with the average age at election increasing by more than five years and a significant increase in the proportion of time the reigning pope was a man of advanced old age. Menniti Ippolito describes an institution beset by inertia but also by serious financial challenges, occasioned in part by the unique costs of papal nepotism (see Birgit Emich's chapter in the present volume) as well as the more generalized costs of meeting obligations to the holders of venal office and of shares in the papacy's debt *monti* – themselves, arguably, side-effects from the papacy's Italianization in these centuries.³⁶ The most obvious effects of this were a series of fiscal crises in the 1650s, 1670s, and 1690s, which eventually persuaded Innocent XII to abolish both institutional nepotism and venality in 1692 and 1694 respectively. The self-styled *Squadron Volante* (flying squad) of independent cardinals also appeared around the same time. However, on the basis of Christoph Weber's prosopographical investigations into this small group of Italians and their heirs within the College in subsequent generations, we might also legitimately ask whether their efforts did not also represent something of a closing of ranks by a group who, driven by financial necessity or not, were determined to protect their own position as an oligarchic elite within the Church.³⁷ Foreign cardinals certainly sometimes suspected as much.³⁸

How such a situation impacted on the College's place within the Curia and on the cardinals' corporate relationship with the pope we know only partially. The apparently increasing desire of Italian cardinals to self-identify as a group ought to have strengthened the College's identity and the force of its collegiate claims; likewise, the ageing of popes and the decline of institutional nepotism should certainly have weakened the degree to which the papacy operated as a personal monarchy – something which ought to have increased the College's status within it, even if it did not necessarily increase the College's jurisdictional privileges in and of itself. Gian Battista de Luca, the great theorist of papal government of this age (and also a cardinal connected to the *Squadron*), reaffirmed the College's corporate and senatorial status in his writings,

36 Antonio Menniti Ippolito, *Il tramonto della Curia nepotista: Papi, nipoti e burocrazia curiale tra XVI e XVII secolo* (Rome: 1999) and *Il governo dei papi nell'età moderna: Carriere, gerarchie, organizzazione curiale* (Rome: 2007). On Italianization, see his "Il papato italiano," in 1664: *Un anno della Chiesa universale* (Rome: 2011), 43–70.

37 Christoph Weber, *Senatus Divinus: Verborgene Strukturen im Kardinalskollegium der frühen Neuzeit (1500–1800)* (Frankfurt a.M.: 1996), 116–181.

38 See, for instance, Jean-François-Paul de Gondy, "Mémoire sur la promotion," in *Le cardinal de Retz et ses missions diplomatiques à Rome*, ed. François Régis Chantelauze (Paris: 1879), 401–416.

comparing its functions to those of other representative bodies and asserting its legitimate role in guaranteeing the continuity of the temporal state as well as in representing the most senior spiritual rank within the Church.³⁹ Nevertheless, how far de Luca reported practice – as opposed to idealizing it – remains a pertinent question. But within the constantly shifting patterns of such practice it may be impossible to answer decisively. Not for nothing did Menniti Ippolito write about “continuous discontinuity” as one of the papacy’s defining features in this period.⁴⁰

Such research as has been undertaken into the College in the 18th century tends to suggest a continuation of 17th-century trends. The College remained overwhelmingly Italian – only 76 of the 335 cardinals promoted between 1700 and 1799 were from beyond the peninsula. It also almost certainly became more oligarchic. When the pope was a skilled political operator, as Benedict XIV was, he might still accomplish much with his *plenitudo potestatis*, but other 18th-century popes lacked either his nous or his drive. Mario Rosa has contributed the most to our understanding of this, but much work is clearly still to be done, especially on the question of the pope’s personal power over the cardinals.⁴¹ Orietta Filippini’s study of the pontificate of Benedict XIII (1724–30) offers some insights, albeit as pertaining to a quite limited period of just six years.⁴² Jeffrey Collins suggests that “the maze of overlapping congregations controlled by the College of Cardinals” caused Pius VI to suffer considerably in his efforts to turn St. Peter’s barque around in the 1770s.⁴³ However, like much other interesting research into the papacy in this period, Collins’ work engages primarily with the pope’s attempts to assert the papacy’s cultural significance in the face of geopolitical decline and fiscal turbulence. The role that the College of Cardinals played in this – as the pope’s agents or as a cultural patron in its own right – is still underexplored in relative terms.

The Age of Revolutions, which erupted in Rome in 1796 and continued intermittently until the Papal States’ final extinction in 1870, must have come as something of a shock to many cardinals. Several historians have interpreted the history of the early 19th-century papacy as an essentially reactionary one:

39 Gian Battista de Luca, *Theatrum veritatis et iustitiae* (Venice: 1734), book xv, Part 2: “Relatio romanae curia,” disc. 3, no. 40, 15:231.

40 Antonio Menniti Ippolito, *Il governo dei papi*, 19.

41 Mario Rosa, *La curia romana nell’età moderna: Istituzioni, cultura, carriere* (Rome: 2013).

42 Orietta Filippini, *Benedetto XIII (1724–1730): Un papa del Settecento secondo il giudizio dei contemporanei* (Stuttgart: 2012).

43 Jeffrey Collins, *Papacy and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Rome: Pius VI and the Arts* (Cambridge, Eng.: 2004), 17.

Pius VII and his successors were, above all, determined not to let the events of 1796 or the Napoleonic invasion occur again. As Gene Burns has put it:

In papal eyes, liberal political principles of rationalism, freedom of thought, freedom of religion, and so on were nothing but declarations of war on the Catholic faith, both as belief system and as institution. And the imprisonment of two popes [Pius VI and VII] seemed good evidence to Church conservatives that the papacy needed temporal independence.⁴⁴

The College's corporate role in this perhaps needs to be studied further, given the tendency to downplay it in favour of narratives of the political initiatives of specific individuals (notably the compelling personalities of Pius IX and his secretary of state Giacomo Antonelli). Of course, focussing on the narrowly political in this way also risks obscuring the growing diversity of the papacy's interests at this time, in particular that of providing ministry to growing churches both beyond the traditional Catholic world and outside Europe. Nevertheless, the impression of the cardinals on the eve of the Risorgimento embedded in the historiography remains one of a conservative group who had finally set aside age-old points of contention with the pope in order to protect their common interest: the papacy's institutional survival. No doubt this is a gross simplification – and, certainly, the post-Risorgimento papacy has never lacked for tensions between pope and cardinals – but it speaks to the sense of an institution, if not exactly dying, then at least undergoing an unsolicited and extreme transformation. Knowing the precise role that the College played in this could go a long way towards re-interpreting the history of the papacy in these turbulent years and ought to be a major priority for research in the years ahead.

4 Conclusions

What conclusions can we reach about the development of the College of Cardinals from the 15th to the early 19th century? The first which I hope this essay has shown is its non-linear nature. Menniti Ippolito wrote of the non-contiguous nature of achievement in asserting or projecting papal power and we should probably say that something similar applied to the cardinals too. The College itself, unlike the papal office, existed continuously throughout the period

⁴⁴ Gene Burns, *The Frontiers of Catholicism: The Politics of Ideology in a Liberal World* (Berkeley: 1992), 27.

without suspensions for interregna. Yet, its status and jurisdiction were just as prone to the changes in papal personality as the papal office itself was – different popes imagined, or were capable of imposing themselves on, the Sacred College in different ways and, as with so much else in the history of the Roman Curia, the differences between individual pontificates could be as great as those between different eras.

Some generalizations still apply, however. Prodi is surely correct in seeing the underlying constitutional tension between the pope's jurisdiction and the College's as being resolved in this era in the pope's favour, at least at an ideological level. Moreover, this embrace of absolutism over "oligarchy" is entirely in keeping with developments in similar polities elsewhere in Europe (even if it played out in slightly different ways and according to its own unique timetable). But, as elsewhere, practical politics only reflected partially the theoretical paradigm: the cardinals were often less constrained than they seemed and through the congregations, in particular, found new outlets for pursuing their agenda which liberated them from the need to act in unison as a single body, the College. This insight might perhaps have significant implications for how we study the early modern cardinal: it means that it is never enough to study his identity merely as individual or as a member of a corporate institution. Instead, we have to trace the full range of identities which he acquired or invested in: as a patron, protector, *titularis*, or member of specific congregations.

The Rituals of the Cardinalate: Creation and Abdication

Jennifer Mara DeSilva

Examining the elevation and abdication ceremonies reveals how the rituals of the cardinalate created visions of institutional cohesion and collaboration between pope and cardinals. Maria Teresa Fattori, Paolo Prodi, Günther Wassilowsky, and others have highlighted the tensions that surrounded early modern cardinals' participation in ecclesiastical governance and the popes' inability to resolve the issue satisfactorily.¹ In this fraught environment the images and messages produced by ritual acts worked to counteract this tension.² While the College of Cardinals grew substantially throughout the early modern period, the transformative experience of becoming a cardinal changed little from the late 15th century. Joaquim Nabuco identified the late 15th-century ceremonialists Agostino Patrizi Piccolomini and Johann Burchard as pivotal initiators to the changes that characterized the early modern papal liturgy as "more and more solemn and officially ceremonious."³

As Marc Dykmans and Bernhard Schimmelpfennig have shown, the ceremonial texts describing and guiding the papal liturgy and ceremonies before this point are a mixed collection that focus primarily on the pope and pay little sustained attention to cardinals.⁴ This irregular and myopic character is especially apparent when seeking rubrics that describe the cardinal's elevation,

1 Maria Teresa Fattori, *Clemente VIII e il Sacro Collegio 1592–1605: Meccanismi istituzionali ed accentramento di governo* (Stuttgart: 2004), 10, 263–314; Paolo Prodi, *The Papal Prince: One Body and Two Souls. The Papal Monarchy in Early Modern Europe*, trans. Susan Haskins (Cambridge, Eng.: 1987), 80–91; Günther Wassilowsky, *Die Konklavereform Gregors xv. (1621/22)* (Stuttgart: 2010).

2 Maria Antonietta Visceglia, *La città rituale: Roma e le sue cerimonie in età moderna* (Rome: 2002); Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, *The Pope's Body*, trans. David S. Peterson (Chicago: 2000), 163. See also Günther Wassilowsky and Hubert Wolf (eds.), *Werte und Symbole im frühneuzeitlichen Rom* (Münster: 2005).

3 Filippo Tamburini and Joaquim Nabuco, *Le cérémonial apostolique avant Innocent VIII* (Rome: 1966), 22.

4 Marc Dykmans, *Le cérémonial papal de la fin du Moyen Âge à la Renaissance*, 4 vols. (Brussels: 1977–1985); Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, *Die Zeremonienbücher der römischen Kurie im Mittelalter* (Tübingen: 1973).

abdication, or deprivation through the Middle Ages.⁵ Whereas Cardinal Jacopo Stefaneschi's ceremonial (ca.1300–40) offers an extensive discussion of the elevation ceremony, mirroring much of what is found in Patrizi Piccolomini's *Caeremoniale Romanum* (1488), texts written between these dates often omit this material leading to uncertainty regarding the development of ritual forms and practices.⁶ However, from the end of the 15th century, extant ceremonialist diaries reveal the fundamental role in papal court ritual occupied by the College of Cardinals, and how certain ceremonies positioned cardinals in relation to other curialists and courtiers.⁷ To understand the ritual structure underpinning the cardinalate one must consider the elevation ceremonies as a series of gestures that created *clientelismo* bonds between the pope and new cardinals, projected institutional cohesion between new and old cardinals, and asserted the pope's authority overall. In a parallel fashion, the abdication ceremony drew on themes that originated at the elevation ceremony.

Gestures of obedience and consensus formed the basis of both elevation and abdication ceremonies, which strengthened both individual and institutional ties.⁸ In a period of criticism and conflict, these ceremonies moved men into and out of the College of Cardinals while also projecting messages about loyalty to the pope and collegiate cohesion to the public and members of the

5 A mid-15th-century ceremonial, likely authored by the ceremonialist Petrus Burgensis, presents only a brief ordination ritual for new cardinal-deacons constituted as a dialogue spoken by the pope and the prior of the cardinal-deacons. This elevation ceremony could take place as part of a single mass; Tamburini and Nabuco, *Le cérémonial apostolique avant Innocent VIII*, 118–20. Likewise, the late 14th-century text by Pierre Amiel, which offers a papal ceremonial, a twelve-month liturgical calendar, and diary-like additions, includes no rubric for the cardinal's elevation, abdication, or deprivation; Dykmans, *Le cérémonial papal de la fin du Moyen Âge à la Renaissance*, vol. 4: *Le cérémonial de Pierre Amiel* (Brussels: 1985).

6 Stefaneschi describes a multi-day event that begins with the pope broaching the College of Cardinals' expansion in a consistory session. This description includes the presentation of new cardinals and announcement of their titles, the obeisance to the pope and senior cardinals, the escort of the new cardinals home, the closing and opening of their mouths, a thanksgiving visit to the cathedral, and the receipt of hats and rings. Dykmans, *Le cérémonial papal de la fin du Moyen Âge à la Renaissance*, vol. 2: *De Rome en Avignon ou Le cérémonial de Jacques Stefaneschi* (Brussels: 1981), 475–89.

7 Unfortunately, and in contrast to Burchard's diary, there is no complete copy of Grassi's diary in print; Paride Grassi, *Le Due Spedizioni Militari di Giulio II*, ed. Luigi Frati (Bologna: 1886); *Il Diario di Leone X di Paride de Grassi Maestro delle Cerimonie Pontificie*, eds. Pio Delicati and Mariano Armellini (Rome: 1884); Johann Burchard, *Johannis Burckardi Liber notarum ab anno MCCCCLXXXIII usque ad annum MDVI*, ed. Enrico Celani, 3 vols. (Città di Castello: 1907–1914).

8 One of the best-known and longest-used gestures of obedience and consensus is the kiss of peace (*osculum pacis*); Kiril Petkov, *The Kiss of Peace: Ritual, Self, and Society in the High and Late Medieval West* (Leiden: 2003).

Curia. Notably, it was the pope's own masters of ceremonies who organized, codified, and modified these rituals in order to diminish conflict and emphasize the papacy's ongoing strength and the elite Catholic Church's institutional unity.

From 1420, when the papacy returned to Rome after the end of the Schism, to 1800, all but four pontiffs elevated men to the College of Cardinals.⁹ The popes of this period shared two basic expectations. Firstly, that the pope alone determined when to create cardinals.¹⁰ Secondly, that balancing the cardinals' corporate expectations, potential for factionalism, and utility as institutional supporters was an ongoing challenge (see Miles Pattenden's chapter in this volume). Even amid squabbles about the proper size of the College and the role of the cardinals in papal governance, there was a general consensus that each new pope could expect to announce at least one elevation at some point in his pontificate.¹¹ Rumours of elevations elicited enthusiasm from the public, lists of satisfactory candidates from ambassadors and their rulers, and objections from members of the College.¹² In contrast to these pragmatic and divisive negotiations, the rituals themselves emphasized consensus, institutional cohesion, and a top-down movement of authority. Paradoxically, the rituals of elevation brought accomplished men to the feet of their new colleagues, both physically and hierarchically, temporarily muted men of great intellect and influence, and incorporated men of illustrious names into an institution that expected their labour to be given on behalf of the pope and ecclesiastical unity. The acknowledgement of hierarchy, humility, and silent adaptation that the

9 These popes are Pius III (1503), Adrian VI (1522–23), Marcellus II (1555), and Urban VII (1590).

10 This exclusive right did not prevent other cardinals and princes from offering suggestions of their favoured candidates. While ambassadors continued to lobby for the elevation of preferred candidates over the long term, from the late 16th century princes also submitted lists to the pope in advance of each elevation and tried to block candidates whom they considered unfavourable or who disturbed the balance of geographic factions in the College. However, ultimately, these consultations and recommendations were merely that, as the pope steadfastly protected his right to determine who became a cardinal; Maria Antonietta Visceglia, "La corte de Roma," in *La Monarquía de Felipe III*, eds. José Martínez Millán and Maria Antonietta Visceglia (Madrid: 2008), 4:983–86; John F. Broderick, "The Sacred College of Cardinals: size and geographical composition (1099–1986)," *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 25 (1987), 45–46, 48–58; Stefan Kuttner, "Cardinalis: The History of a Canonical Concept," *Traditio* 3 (1945), 129–214.

11 John A.F. Thomson, *Popes and Princes 1417–1517: Politics and Polity in the Late Medieval Church* (London: 1980), 65–71.

12 See the extensive work by John M. Hunt on this topic: *The Vacant See in Early Modern Rome: A Social History of the Papal Interregnum* (Leiden: 2016), 61–67, 72–73 and "Betting on the Papal Election in Sixteenth-Century Rome," *Center for Gaming Research Occasional Paper Series* 32 (2015), 1–8.

rituals demanded from the new cardinals sat in stark contrast to their origins as princes, elite curialists, and monastic leaders. In practice, the rituals of the early modern cardinalate offered popes a way to balance images of collaborative governance with images of princely obedience.

Commissioned by Pope Innocent VIII, Agostino Patrizi Piccolomini's guide to papal ceremony, called *Caeremoniale Romanum* (1488), articulates the early modern path to becoming a cardinal.¹³ This guide to papal ritual collated scripts representing ideal forms and relationships that were not always followed precisely, but which offered precedents and models for early modern ceremonialists. Notably, while the cardinal-candidate might already hold authority through elite office or social status, the elevation ritual recreated his identity within the narrow bounds of the College, while emphasizing institutional hierarchy, corporate service, and obedience to the pope. At the beginning of the volume's section on cardinals, Patrizi Piccolomini clearly states the origin from which the authority and work of the cardinals descends:

From the fullness of his power, the Roman pontiff is able to admit cardinals into the Holy Roman Church, both when he wishes and who he thinks to be useful. Nevertheless, he has been accustomed to celebrate the creation of cardinals in all four seasons and in imitation of the Holy Fathers, who in those days made the ordinations of clergy to the Roman Church, just as the bishops of other cities do today.¹⁴

As the bishop of Rome, the heir of St. Peter, and simultaneously the Vicar of Christ on Earth, and thus bearing the plenitude of power, the pope elevated men to serve the city of Rome, to meet the administrative needs of the larger Catholic Church, and to help fulfil the mandate bestowed on him by Jesus

13 The *Caeremoniale Romanum* generally mirrors accounts left in Pius II's *Commentaries* and other early modern observers. For an annotated manuscript in the hand of Patrizi Piccolomini's collaborator and fellow ceremonialist Johann Burchard, see BAV, Vat. lat. 4971. The liturgical historian Marc Dykmans published a critical edition of this important text, which will serve as a reference throughout this study: Marc Dykmans, *L'oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini, ou, Le Cérémonial papal de la première Renaissance*, 2 vols. (Vatican City: 1980–82). See also, Manlio Sodi, "Il contributo di Agostino Patrizi Piccolomini e Giovanni Burcardo alla compilazione del *Pontificale Romanum*," *Rivista liturgica* 94 (2007), 459–72.

14 Dykmans, *L'oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini*, 1:140. All translations are by the author, unless otherwise indicated. "Quamvis Romanus pontifex de plenitudine potestatis quando voluerit et quos utiles reipublice christiane putaverit, possit in sancte Romane ecclesie cardinales assumere, tamen consuevit cardinalium creationem celebrare in Quatuor temporibus, ad imitationem sanctorum partum qui illis diebus ordinationes faciebant clericorum Romane ecclesie, sicut et hodie faciunt aliarum civitatum episcopi."

Christ. In raising men to the College of Cardinals, Patrizi Piccolomini considered the pope to be following in his ancient predecessors' footsteps, nominating and inducting worthy men whose contributions would strengthen the Church, both spiritually and bodily.

The creation process was a series of rituals, both bureaucratic and sacramental, that happened over several days. First, in a secret consistory the pope proposed a new elevation to the cardinals present. Only after securing their free consent to the creation, to the men proposed by the pope, and to their respective ranks within the College (cardinal deacon, priest, or bishop), did the pope release this information to the public. During this interim the pope admonished the cardinals not to leak the names of their proposed colleagues or visit them before the public announcement.¹⁵ Presumably this was to maintain the pope in consistory as the sole source of reliable information, protect the new cardinals from importunate advances, and to prevent wagering on who would be elevated.¹⁶

Notably, Patrizi Piccolomini recorded that at the secret consistory organized for announcing the elevation, the pope should make a show of eliciting the cardinals' consent for the list of nominees. Each man should be of high personal merit or be a princely advisor. After the cardinals provided their assent the pope should name each man and, absolving him from his previous dignity as a bishop or cleric in other orders, elevate him to the new cardinalial dignity.¹⁷ This action framed the process as one that originated with the pope, but that procedurally depended upon the cardinals' consent rather than their active collaboration in choosing new colleagues. While the passage implied collaboration between the pope and cardinals, it did not reflect the tension surrounding elevations or the negotiations that continued between popes, cardinals, and princes.¹⁸ The College of Cardinals expanded through the 16th

15 Dykmans, *Loeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini*, 1:141. The ceremonialist Paride Grassi repeated this admonition to confidentiality in 1505: "no act or public demonstration should be made nor privately" that would indicate the identities of the new cardinals; BAV, Vat. lat. 5635, fol. 144r: "nullum actum seu demonstrationem publicam fecerunt nisi privatè."

16 John M. Hunt, "The Conclave from the 'Outside In': Rumor, Speculation, and Disorder in Rome during Early Modern Papal Elections," *Journal of Early Modern History* 16 (2012), 371.

17 Dykmans, *Loeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini*, 1:141.

18 Evidence of the College's dissatisfaction with its continued growth, and the consequent dilution of its authority and increased competition for financial resources, appears in the capitulations drafted and signed by cardinals attending conclaves from 1458 to 1513. Thomson, *Popes and Princes 1417–1517*, 66–71; Prodi, *The Papal Prince*, 83–84. See also the relevant volumes of Ludwig von Pastor, *The History of the Papacy from the Close of the Middle Ages*.

and 17th centuries, encouraged by more frequent elevations and periodic large elevations.¹⁹

Although Patrizi Piccolomini ignored the ambiguity between consent and consensus, it is clear that consent could be active and vocal or passive and silent. In some cases, the absence of argument or obstructionism indicated consent and consensus to the pope and ceremonialists. In some situations, observers were expected to identify consensus as implicit in the College's ritual participation, with only insiders being aware of any tension or dissent. Indeed, the diaries of later papal masters of ceremonies indicate the difficulty that some popes had in convincing the College that it needed to expand.²⁰ Rarely did new cardinals receive a voluntary standing ovation from the College, as Giulio Savelli (1574–1644) and Alessandro Orsini (1592–1626) did in 1615.²¹ At the other end of the spectrum was the nomination of Niccolò Coscia (1681–1755), whose elevation in 1725 was disputed by twenty out of the twenty-six cardinals present in consistory.²² At the heart of this tension was the fact that creating cardinals was essential to the pope's authority in the early modern period. As he was the only individual with the power to do so, the rituals that publicly proclaimed his decision to expand the College functioned as an expression of his authority.²³ As Paolo Prodi has noted, "the political functions [of ceremonies and rituals] are those aimed at the sublimation of sovereignty, and at the exaltation of the sovereign's charisma."²⁴ Thus, any effort made by the College to prevent the pope from elevating new cardinals was a direct attack on the pope's sovereign will. Invariably, these efforts appeared as an attempt to increase the College's authority at the expense of its spiritual and lawful superior, the pope. While the cardinals' presence in public evoked the

19 Marco Pellegrini, "A Turning-Point in the History of the Factionalism System in the Sacred College: The Power of the Pope and Cardinals in the Age of Alexander VI," in *Court and Politics in Papal Rome, 1492–1700*, eds. Gianvittorio Signorotto and Maria Antonietta Visceglia (Cambridge, Eng.: 2002), 17–20; Barbara McClung Hallman, *Italian Cardinals, Reform, and the Church as Property 1492–1563* (Berkeley: 1985); A. V. Antonovics, "Counter-Reformation Cardinals: 1534–90," *European Studies Review* 2 (1972), 301–28.

20 Jennifer Mara DeSilva, "Senators or Courtiers: Negotiating Models for the College of Cardinals under Julius II and Leo X," *Renaissance Studies* 22 (2008), 165–66.

21 BAV, Urb. lat. 1083, fol. 583r (5 December 1615).

22 Lorenzo Cardella, *Memorie storiche de' Cardinali della Santa Romana Chiesa* (Rome: 1794), 8:207–08.

23 Notably, the diary kept by papal ceremonialist Paolo Alaleone indicates that in April 1621 Gregory XV appears to have dispensed with this sort of negotiation in consistory. Günther Wassilowsky and Hubert Wolf, *Päpstliches Zeremoniell in der frühen Neuzeit: Das Diarium des Zeremonienmeisters Paolo Alaleone de Branca während des Pontifikats Gregors xv. (1621–1623)* (Münster: 2007), 151–53.

24 Prodi, *The Papal Prince*, 48.

ecclesiastical hierarchy, their participation in elevation rituals, which could signal the weakening of the individual cardinal's power, reminded observers of the pope's exclusive authority over the College. Nevertheless, certain parts of the elevation ceremony sought to obviate that tension with ritualized gestures that evoked allegiance and collegiality.

Immediately after the pope's announcement of the new cardinals' names in consistory, these men assembled and pledged their gratitude and obedience to the pope. This occurred at a public consistory (often at the Vatican Palace) in which all the cardinals, new and old, made a reverence to the pope, called the *osculatum*, kissing his foot, hand, and mouth.²⁵ Notably, that public consistory would have been attended by a large audience that included foreign ambassadors, leaders and/or procurators of the monastic orders, visiting dignitaries, and members of the papal chapel and Curia.²⁶ With the pope seated on a throne, this ritual articulated a clear relationship between pope and cardinal that emerged from service and harmony of goals, and depended on continued allegiance. One by one both new and old cardinals participated, further suggesting that the most powerful relationships amongst the Church's elite were vertical, between pope and cardinal, otherwise patron and client, rather than lateral alliances that could lead to potential criticism. As an obeisance ritual, the *osculatum* (kiss), had roots in feudal ceremonies and was an important part of ceremonies by which new ambassadors and visiting princes pledged obedience and loyalty.²⁷

Observers might imagine that a prelate's elevation to the College was a transforming experience. As a cardinal, he adopted a new name, distinctive dress, joined an exclusive community with an elaborate institutional culture, and received a titular church to protect and patronize.²⁸ In the same way that the pope crossed Rome to take possession of his episcopal seat, St. John Lateran, offering himself to the public in celebration and witness of his new identity and responsibilities, the cardinals also appeared publicly. The announcement

25 Dykmans, *L'oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini*, 1:143.

26 *Ibid.*, 1:166–68.

27 The act of kissing the pope's foot, hand, and/or mouth is a standard part of *ordines* that instruct monarchs, ambassadors, clergy, and other lay people in greeting and pledging obedience to the papacy. Even during the nine days before burial, mourners kissed the dead pope's slipped foot as an expression of fidelity; Dykmans, *L'oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini*, 1:208–09.

28 In the 15th and 16th centuries it was common for cardinals to be known either by their surname (e.g. Cardinal Colonna), by their home state (e.g. the Cardinal of Florence), or by their chief benefice or titular church (e.g. the Cardinal of San Pietro in Vincoli). Ceremonial diaries that provide lists of living cardinals show this diversity of names. In the 17th and 18th centuries, most cardinals were known by their surnames.

of the elevation occurred at a public consistory, where the pope justified the expansion of the College, and the new men each received a *galero*, the wide-brimmed red hat with tassels that served as a sign of their new institutional identity (see Carol Richardson's chapter in this volume). After singing *Te Deum laudamus* in thanks, the pope proceeded to another ritual called the "closing of the mouth." Considering the induction into the cardinalate from Arnold van Gennep's perspective as a rite of passage, this part of the ceremony moved the candidates into a liminal position.²⁹ Described by Patrizi Piccolomini as the time between one or two consistory sessions, this liminal and limited status was presented as a period of observation and learning that embraced the procedural, political, and social. During this period the new cardinals visited their new colleagues, which involved traveling as a group to the Roman lodgings of each senior member of the College. Publicly, this group ritual moved the cardinals into the city and forced the integration of new and old cardinals through brief ritualized and observable social interactions.³⁰ To avoid this ritual was to undermine the message of institutional consensus and cohesion that formed the narrative backbone of the elevation.³¹

After this period, during which the cardinals were silent witnesses to the business of consistory and their new colleagues, the imposed silence ended with the pope's invocation that the new cardinals "act with gravity, modesty, humanity and prudence."³² At a final consistory session the pope "opened the mouth" of the new cardinal, granting him a consistorial voice and vote, and describing the cardinal's proper demeanour. In all situations the cardinals should maintain the honour and justice of the Holy See, which Patrizi Piccolomini connected with the cardinal's own elevated dignity. This alluded to the *de facto* role that the cardinals played in the papacy's visualized strength and public reputation.³³

29 Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage* (London: 1960, repr. 2004), 11, 21.

30 DeSilva, "Senators or courtiers," 166–68, 170–73.

31 Nevertheless, throughout this period there were efforts by cardinals to avoid rituals that appeared dull, or as Ippolito d'Este described "tedious and long" (*fastidiose e lunghe*). Notably, Girolamo Lunadoro does not include the seemingly unpopular visitation and reciprocal visitation in his description of the elevation rituals; Girolamo Lunadoro, *Lo Stato presente o sia la relatione della corte di Roma* (Rome: 1774), 13–25; Mary Hollingsworth, *The Cardinal's Hat: Money, Ambition, and Everyday Life in the Court of a Borgia Prince* (Woodstock, NY: 2006), 232; DeSilva, "Senators or courtiers," 167–68.

32 Dykmans, *L'oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini*, 1149.

33 Another opportunity for projecting a visualization of institutional cohesion was during conclave. On this topic, see Mary Hollingsworth's chapter in this volume, as well as Miles Pattenden, *Electing the Pope in Early Modern Italy, 1450–1700* (Oxford: 2017).

Themes of institutional consensus and cohesion continued through the rituals that Agostino Patrizi Piccolomini prescribed for new cardinals who were not resident in Rome. While Roman residents came to the pope to receive their regalia directly from his hands, which emphasized physically their role as his clients, non-residents received their title and regalia from a papal *nunzio*.³⁴ Nevertheless, the ceremony in which the cardinal-elect received the red hat emphasized ecclesiastical virtue and unity over papal obedience and loyalty. The *nunzio* carried the hat to the church in which the ceremony would take place and during mass displayed it on the altar. Patrizi Piccolomini advocated a brief sermon on the dignity of the cardinalate, as well as the cardinal's proper merits and virtues, and the merits he ought to cultivate in his prince.³⁵ Surrounded by the local clerical elite, the *nunzio* read the papal bull appointing the new cardinal. Then the cardinal-elect knelt before the altar, while an attending bishop, repeated a formula emphasizing the pope's jurisdiction and purpose in nominating and creating cardinals.³⁶ The *nunzio* passed the red hat to the bishop who placed it on the new cardinal's head proclaiming the cardinalate's role in the exaltation of the Catholic Faith and defence of the Church. The new cardinal remained kneeling before the altar until the end of mass, when he was escorted on horseback to his lodgings.³⁷ In this ceremony a bishop substituted for the pope, which scrambled the hierarchical vision created by the ritual, but set an ecclesiastical stage similar to a consistory session. The ritual's speeches reminded the new cardinal of his prescribed role in an institution much larger than the local ecclesiastical assembly arrayed before him. The papal bull and sermon underlined the fact that Rome was the home of the cardinalate and the origin of his dignity. The sermon and formula emphasized the prestige of the new office and the authority of the cardinal's new patron, the pope. This depiction of the elevation as a papal prerogative highlighted the descent of patronage, while framing the relationship between pope and cardinal as one of guided consensus. Amid these descriptions of his grand new identity, the

34 Cardinals-elect who did not participate in or complete the required rituals that facilitated their transformation of status risked losing their place in the College. Domenico Capranica (card. 1426/30–58) was shut out of the conclave of 1431 because Pope Martin V died before he could come to Rome. Only in 1434 did Eugene IV formally and ritually admit Capranica to the College of Cardinals. For a discussion of Capranica's situation, see Bernard Schmidt's chapter in this volume.

35 This advice appears to have been followed by John Colet, the Dean of St. Paul's in London, who gave the sermon at Thomas Wolsey's elevation; J.S. Brewer (ed.), *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII* (London: 1864), 2, 1153 (15 November 1515).

36 This theme of the creation of cardinals as maintaining the Church's health repeats throughout the elevation's rituals, reminding listeners of the cardinal's focus and justification for his virtuous service.

37 Dykmans, *L'oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini*, 1152–55.

cardinal remained kneeling, much as he would have before the pope when giving the *osculatum*, signalling his status as a subordinate. However, once the bishop left, much as occurred in Rome, the local crowd escorted the cardinal to his lodgings, thus publicizing and celebrating his new identity.

The 17th-century observer of the papal court, Girolamo Lunadoro, confirms that the elevation ceremony remained unchanged from 1488 to 1635. Agostino Patrizi Piccolomini's *Caeremoniale Romanum* continued to function as a guide for papal ritual and also served as the foundational text for the new *Pontificale Romanum* (1595–96). Published by the Congregation for Rites and Ceremonies, the latter text was part of the post-Tridentine effort to regularize Catholic belief and practice by publishing officially revised liturgical texts.³⁸

In practice, the process of creating cardinals was not a unilateral or top-down process but a careful and strategic progression toward consensus, compromise, or an acceptable defeat. That first period of multi-directional negotiation was followed by a series of rituals that projected public symbolic messages framing the transition of men into the cardinalate, the prestige and cohesion of the College, and more generally the divine authority of the pope. Without these symbolic messages directed at the outside world, the elevation of cardinals would lack the charisma that separated it from a political turnover. This charisma could only descend to the new cardinal through the pope's *plenitudo potestatis*, which hinged on his own legitimate election to an office that descended from St. Peter, who was chosen to lead the Church in Jesus' absence. While the ritual of elevation conferred this charisma on the man, transforming him into a cardinal, the public signs of this transformation were necessary to remind the world of the pope's divine authority and his ability to deputize others in the service of Jesus Christ. The cardinal's new hat, robes and name were external signs of his new charisma, visible and recognizable to all Christians, not just people who observed the elevation ceremony. The cardinal's new name and titular church anchored that charisma within the city of Rome and the history of the Church and College of Cardinals.³⁹ Thus, the distinct and visible changes that the elevation rituals wrought on new cardinals were intended to bolster the authority of the pope, and project images of institutional cohesion, homogeneity, and historical continuity.

38 *Pontificale Romanum Clementis VIII. Pont. Max. iussu restitutum atque editum* (Rome: apud Iacobum Lunam, 1595). See also the modern edition: *Pontificale Romanum: editio princeps: 1595–1596*, eds. Manlio Sodi, Achille Maria Triacca, and Gabriella Foti (Vatican City: 1997).

39 Indeed, the galero became part of the new cardinal's coat of arms, which he would mount to the façade of his new titular church and his lodgings. For more information about titular churches, see Arnold Witte's chapter in this volume.

These themes are continued in the rituals of abdication and deprivation. Although neither occurred frequently during this period and there was no ceremonial rubric for either process, the elevation ritual offers a framework for comparison that reveals continued concern to show consensus and cohesion within the College, even when cardinals left it.⁴⁰ For a complete list of all the cardinals that abdicated or were deprived of the cardinalate between 1420 and 1800, see Table 3.1. Stefano Infessura's diary provides the fullest account of an abdication that was aborted by the College itself. In June 1491 Cardinal Ardicino II della Porta (1434–93) resolved to resign the cardinalate and retire to a monastery outside of Rome. He had already obtained Pope Innocent VIII's permission, notified his relatives, and set off when he received a letter from the College.⁴¹ His colleagues argued that a cardinal wishing to abdicate needed to obtain permission from both the pope and the College. In response della Porta described the simple ceremony by which Innocent had accepted his resignation after repeated requests. During a personal audience, the pope asked della Porta to make his request again. When the cardinal did, the pope gave his permission for retirement from Rome and resignation from the cardinalate.⁴² The audience closed with the pope blessing della Porta and the former cardinal kissing the pope's foot as a sign of his continued loyalty and obedience.⁴³ Although the unhappy della Porta continued his letter by mobilizing examples of other cardinals (Peter Damian and Pietro da Morrone, later Pope Celestine V, 1294) who had abdicated with only the authority of the pope, his suit was in vain. As the College threatened him with excommunication if he deserted his duty, he returned to Rome the same month and resumed his life at court.⁴⁴

40 *Pontificale Romanum* includes generic *ordines* entitled “Ordo suspensionis, et reconciliationis,” “Degradationis forma” and “Degradatio ab ordine Pontificali” (followed by rubrics for priests, deacons, subdeacons, and acolytes), but no *ordo* that guides the abdication of or deposition from the cardinalate. *Pontificale Romanum Clementis VIII. Pont. Max.*, 619–35.

41 Stefano Infessura, *Diario della città di Roma* (Turin: 1960), 265–66.

42 Literally della Porta calls this “cum resignatione pilei,” which creates an evocative symbol for the cardinal's identity hinging on his dress. See Appendix 31 in Johann Burchard, *Diarium; sive, Rerum urbanarum commentarii*, ed. Louis Thuasne (Paris: 1883), 1:524: “Sanctitas Vestra post multas rationes contra petitiones meas, allegatas, tandem acquievit: et vivae vocis oraculo, ingrediendi religionem mihi licentiam impartita est, quam postea per duas supplicationes, manu ejusdem Sanctitas Vestrae signatas, denuo concessit. Dehinc quum appropinquaret dies recessus, petii denuo a Sanctitate Vestra licentiam pro recessu meo, quam Sanctitas Vestra cum resignatione pilei gratiose concessit, et benedixit mihi, ad osculum sacratissimorum Pedum admissio.”

43 Burchard, *Diarium*, 1:524 (Appendix 31).

44 *Ibid.*, 1:525 (Appendix 31); Infessura, *Diario della città di Roma*, 266.

TABLE 3.1 A complete list of all the cardinals who either abdicated or were deprived of the cardinalate, 1420–1800.

Tenure in the College of Cardinals	Name	Action
1426–40, 1449–50	Louis Aleman	Deprived (restored 1449)
1477–1517, 1517–21	Raffaele Riario	Deprived (restored 1517)
1493–98	Cesare Borgia	Abdicated
1492–1512, 1513–16	Federico Sanseverino	Deprived (restored 1513)
1493–1511, 1513–23	Bernardino de Carvajal	Deprived (restored 1513)
1495–1511, 1514	Guillaume Briçonnet	Deprived (restored 1514)
1500–11	Francisco de Borja	Deprived
1503–18	Adriano de Castello	Deprived
1506–11, 1514–19	René de Prie	Deprived (restored 1514)
1511–17, 1517–18	Bandinello Sauli	Deprived (restored 1517)
1511–17	Alfonso Petrucci	Deprived and executed
1527–34, 1535–49	Benedetto Accolti	Deprived (restored 1535)
1533–63	Odet de Coligny de Châtillon	Deprived
1555–61	Carlo Carafa	Deprived and executed
1563–88	Ferdinando de' Medici	Abdicated
1577–98	Albrecht von Austria	Abdicated
1607–15	Ferdinando Gonzaga	Abdicated
1615–16	Vincenzo Gonzaga	Deprived
1607–42	Maurizio of Savoy	Abdicated
1626–34	Nicolas François de Lorraine-Vaudémont	Abdicated
1644–47	Camillo Pamphilj	Abdicated
1646–47	John Casimir II Wasa	Abdicated
1686–95	Rinaldo II d'Este	Abdicated
1686–1709	Francesco Maria de' Medici	Abdicated
1725–33	Niccolò Coscia	Deprived (restored 1734/42)
1735–54	Luis Antonio Jaime de Borbón y Farenio	Abdicated
1777–98	Vincenzo Maria Altieri	Abdicated (retracted 1800)
1788–91	Étienne-Charles de Loménie de Brienne	Abdicated
1789–98	Tommaso Antici	Abdicated

Six years later another cardinal requested to leave the cardinalate. Following his elder brother Juan's death, in August 1498 at a private consistory the pope's own son, Cesare Borgia, applied for a dispensation "in order that, having laid aside the ecclesiastical habit and dignity, it would be allowed for him to return to the world and contract a marriage."⁴⁵ Unlike his precursor della Porta, Cardinal Borgia placed his supplication before both the pope and the cardinals. After the pope agreed to release him from all his ecclesiastical offices and benefices, the cardinals voted unanimously to dispense their colleague according to the pope's wish.⁴⁶ While the master of ceremonies Johann Burchard did not record any further ceremonial action on Borgia's part after the vote, he did note the former cardinal's quiet departure from Rome for France where he hoped to marry a French noblewoman.⁴⁷

Where Ardicino II della Porta's desire to retreat from Rome into a monastic life of prayer and contemplation might seem more suited to the clerical character of the College, it was Borgia's desire to marry and live as a layman that became the model for resignation from the cardinalate. When considering the College from a social or dynastic perspective, and the archetype of the second son's ecclesiastical career, this trend makes sense. Between 1420 and 1800 fourteen cardinals abdicated. The majority of these men applied to resign the cardinalate after an elder brother died childless or there was a possibility of becoming the heir-apparent to the family state.⁴⁸ They include: Ferdinando de' Medici (1588), Albrecht von Austria (1598), Ferdinando Gonzaga (1615), Maurizio of Savoy (1642), Camillo Pamphilj (1647), John Casimir II Wasa (1647), Rinaldo II d'Este (1695), and Francesco Maria de' Medici (1709). Because of their implied yet inherent responsibility as heir-apparent, several of these cardinals showed prudent reluctance to process beyond minor orders.

Just as in 1498, each cardinal applied to the pope and the College of Cardinals, pledging his preference for the secular state, and requesting a dispensation

45 Burchard, *Liber notarum*, 2:116: "ut, omissis habitu et dignitate ecclesiastica, liceat ei redire ad seculum et matrimonium contrahere."

46 Ibid., 2:116: "Cardinales omnes communi et concordi voto remiserunt dispensationem huiusmodi voluntati et arbitrio ss. d. n. pape."

47 Ibid., 2:118: "Feria secunda, I die mensis octobris, in mane, secreta et sine pompa recessit ex Urbe r. in Christo p. et d., d. Cesar, cardinalis Valentinus, iturus per mare in Franciam."

48 Camillo Pamphilj is the exception. In 1644 he joined the College against his mother's wishes, served briefly as cardinal nephew to his uncle Innocent X, and then in 1647 he resigned to marry Olimpia Aldobrandini, princess of Rossano. Nevertheless, this match was important to balancing the fortunes of the Pamphilj family; ASV, Segr. Stato, Avvisi 20, fols. 7r-7v.

from the ecclesiastical state. However, the need for immediate rule meant that these men did not appear in person to request permission to resign. Instead their applications proceeded by letter, ambassador and procurator, which respectively announced their intent and facilitated the legal process.⁴⁹ The cardinal's absence shifted the ceremonial responsibility to the pope and cardinals, whose receipt of the procurator and vote became the central ceremonial focus. Beyond these legal necessities the pope had little role in the cardinal's transition from cleric to prince. Famously, Pope Clement VIII performed the *sposalizio* ceremony in Ferrara in November 1598 in which the former cardinal Albrecht von Austria married the Infanta Isabel Clara by proxy.⁵⁰ While in other cases, papal participation might ensure the validity of marriage and the legitimacy of resulting offspring, in 1598 Clement's presence cemented Ferrara's recent devolution to papal rule.⁵¹

Similarly, in 1642, before his wedding to Ludovica Maria of Savoy, which ended that state's civil war, Maurizio of Savoy (1593–1657) consigned his red hat to the papal *nunzio* in Turin, Monsignore Cecchinelli, the bishop of Montefiascone, who accepted it on behalf of the pope and College. After the *sposalizio* the *nunzio* met the couple and verified that the marriage had been consummated.⁵² As in other instances, a procuratorial suit followed the pope's announcement, emphasizing the importance of legal forms and the administrative process in the resignation of ecclesiastical offices. In April 1643 Maurizio's procurator appeared in consistory to request leave to resign, which the pope granted. In this situation rituals appear less important and desired than the grant of a reliable legal dispensation, freedom to take up secular roles of prince and husband, and full social transformation.⁵³ As clerical marriage was prohibited by canon law, Catholic clergy who contracted unions were guilty of breaking their vow of celibacy and entering into concubinage.⁵⁴

Beyond the cardinals that abdicated, between 1420 and 1800 several cardinals were dispossessed of their rank and offices on charges of heresy, rebellion,

49 In January 1647 the Abbé Rallanti Marchegiano appeared at the papal court on behalf of Jan Kasimir, the Polish prince who wished to renounce the cardinalate; ASV, Segr. Stato, Avvisi 20, fol. 7r.

50 Bonner Mitchell, *1598: A Year of Pageantry in Late Renaissance Ferrara* (Tempe, AZ: 1990).

51 The diarist Giacinto Gigli recorded that Olimpia Aldobrandini wanted Pope Innocent X to conduct the marriage ceremony as a perk of *parentado*, rather than to ensure its validity; Giacinto Gigli, *Diario di Roma*, ed. Manlio Barberito (Rome: 1994), 2:495.

52 ASV, Segr. Stato, Avvisi 18, fols. 532v–33r, 558v–59r, 562r, 631r, 655v, 770v.

53 *Ibid.*, fols. 1041v, 1047r–47v.

54 Marjorie Elizabeth Plummer, *From Priest's Whore to Pastor's Wife: Clerical Marriage and the Process of Reformation* (Farnham: 2013).

or misbehaviour. Early in this period Louis Aleman (ca. 1390–1450) attended the Council of Basel, serving as its president after 1438 and, as the sole cardinal in attendance, he consecrated and crowned Felix v (anti-pope 1440–49). In response, Eugene iv judged Aleman to be a schismatic and stripped him of his dignity as a cardinal and his episcopal office. His poor relations with Eugene meant that Aleman only reconciled with Rome under his successor Nicholas v, when he obtained Felix's abdication and reinstatement in the College the same year (see also Bernward Schmidt's chapter in this volume).⁵⁵ As the Protestant threat increased through the 16th century, several cardinals came under suspicion of sympathy for Protestantism, but only one was deposed.⁵⁶ Cardinal Odet de Coligny de Châtillon (1517–71), was a French noble layman, who joined the College of Cardinals in 1533 at the request of King Francis i. In a private consistory session in March 1563 Pope Pius iv declared Coligny a Protestant and deprived him of his rank in the College of Cardinals and all his benefices. In contrast, the other deprivations that took place in the 16th century were all of cardinals based in Italy, whose careers had been cultivated through curial offices and papal favour. Thus, the loss of status and benefices left them vulnerable, politically, financially, and legally.

Through the 16th century the ceremonies that deposed cardinals were built on a legal and bureaucratic framework and was relatively free of the obedience-focused ritualized gestures found in the elevation ceremony. In 1511, Pope Julius ii moved to excommunicate and unseat a group of cardinals for their involvement in the schismatic Council of Pisa and intent to depose him.⁵⁷ In a fashion similar to the abdication ceremony, at a private consistory the pope secured the votes of the College in favour of deposing the Pisan cardinals.⁵⁸ A week later, in a public consistory on 29 October 1511, the four absent men

55 Joachim W. Stieber, *Pope Eugenius IV, the Council of Basel and the Secular and Ecclesiastical Authorities in the Empire* (Leiden: 1978), 56–57, 190–91, 324–28.

56 On the accusation, trial and imprisonment of Cardinal Giovanni Morone by Pope Paul iv, see Adam Patrick Robinson, *The Career of Cardinal Giovanni Morone (1509–1580): Between Council and Inquisition* (Farnham: 2012). On the Roman Inquisition's suspicion of Cardinal Reginald Pole, see Thomas Mayer, *Reginald Pole: Prince & Prophet* (Cambridge, Eng.: 2000).

57 The five cardinals had already received and ignored orders from the pope to assemble in Bologna, instead heading to Pisa and then onward to French-controlled Milan. The group included Cardinals Bernardino López de Carvajal, Federico di Sanseverino, Francisco Borja, Guillaume Briçonnet, and René de Prie; BAV, Vat. lat. 12268, fols. 314r–16r.

58 Paride Grassi, the papal master of ceremonies who attended, recorded that the College's votes were "freely given," but also that the cardinals retained some reluctance to establish a precedent for deposing their colleagues; BAV, Vat. lat. 12268, fol. 315r.

were deprived of their red hats.⁵⁹ At consistory a papal advocate read a report that identified with certainty the cardinals' schismatic and rebellious actions and requested that the pope accept sentences against the cardinals.⁶⁰ After the pope affirmed the sentences, they were notarized and sent to be printed.⁶¹ Thus, what acted as a the deposition ceremony included none of the traditional ritualized signs of individual obedience to the pope, but a reliance on the legal and bureaucratic forms that would be acknowledged by courts across Christendom.

Cardinal Vincenzo Gonzaga (1594–1627) had accepted the cardinalate half-heartedly. At the death of his eldest brother Francesco IV of Mantua in 1615, and in order to accede to the ducal throne, another brother, Ferdinand, resigned all of his ecclesiastical offices to Vincenzo. Although Paul V proclaimed him cardinal deacon in December 1615, the twenty-one-year-old neither travelled to Rome nor received sacred orders.⁶² Instead during his brother's reign he patronized artists and musicians, chiefly ignoring his ecclesiastical role. Only months after Vincenzo's elevation the pope received evidence of his marriage to the widow of the marquis of Gazzuolo.⁶³ In September 1616 during a secret consistory session the College of Cardinals voted to strip Vincenzo of the cardinalate and his ecclesiastical offices.⁶⁴

It is hazardous to describe the later condemnation and deprivation of cardinals by Popes Leo X, Paul III, and Pius IV as rituals using a specifically papal language of gestures and images. While they occurred within consistory sessions, involved members of the College of Cardinals as both deliberators and defendants, deprivation became a judicial and administrative act.⁶⁵ In 1534 Paul III arrested Cardinal Benedetto Accolti (1497–1549) on charges ranging from unlawful execution to embezzlement. While imprisoned in Castel Sant'Angelo the pope named a commission of six cardinals to examine the

59 An identical ceremony took place on 30 January 1512 for the deprivation of the remaining cardinal, Federico Sanseverino; BAV, Vat. lat. 12268, fols. 331r–32r.

60 BAV, Vat. lat. 12268, fols. 315v–316r.

61 *Breue Iulii Secu[n]di Pont. Max. ad reges duces [et] pri[n]cipes [Christ]ianos: in quo continentur potiores: licet plures sint alie cause priuationis cardinalium heretico[rum] scismaticorum[que]* ([Rome: 1511]). Another edition of this brief exists bearing the date 24 October 1511.

62 BAV, Urb. lat. 1083, fols. 582v, 591r, 611v.

63 On Vincenzo's later attempts to annul the marriage, see Guido Errante, "Il processo per l'annullamento del matrimonio tra Vincenzo II e Isabella Gonzaga di Novellara (1616–1627)," *Archivio Storico Lombardo* 43 (1916): 645–764.

64 BAV, Urb. lat. 1084, fols. 346v–47r, 368r.

65 On this topic see Irene Fosi, *Papal Justice: Subjects and Courts in the Papal State, 1500–1750*, trans. Thomas V. Cohen (Washington, DC: 2011).

evidence.⁶⁶ In 1560 Pius IV established a commission of eight cardinals to oversee the investigation of Cardinal Carlo Carafa's crimes, much as in 1517 Pope Leo X had used a commission of three cardinals to oversee and advise him during the examination of Cardinals Bandinello Sauli, Alfonso Petrucci, and Raffaele Riario.⁶⁷ During 1517, 1534 and 1561 the accused cardinals remained in prison for the duration of the trial.⁶⁸ Unlike at the cardinal's elevation, there was no need to establish the new man through dress and association as a legitimate office-holder. Instead, if he was present, the ritual stripped him of the garments that visualized his rank, while the notoriety of imprisoned cardinals, already excluded from consistory, reduced the need to visualize bonds.⁶⁹ In the same way that the College could release a willing man, it ejected a suspect. Also, by requiring that all cardinals assent to a colleague's deprivation the pope reinforced the bonds between the remaining cardinals, while separating them from their outcast colleagues.

At the other end of the spectrum, rituals of reconciliation were a combination of the ritual forms of the elevation and legal and administrative processes of the abdication and deposition. Cardinals read confessions of guilt and begged absolution from the pope and the Roman Church.⁷⁰ After receiving papal absolution and reinstatement to offices, the reconciled cardinals kissed the pope's foot, hand, and mouth. This repetition of the *osculatum* recalled the elevation ceremony and offered a symbolic reintegration into papal obedience. By extending the *osculatum* to the rest of the College, the reconciliation ceremony ended by visualizing institutional cohesion and obedience.⁷¹ Indeed, through this period the College of Cardinals experienced a remarkable amount of institutional stability. For all the debate over the extent of cardinals' role in Church governance, far more men wished to join the College than leave it. Of the 1,261 cardinals elevated between 1420 and 1800, twenty-nine men (2.3 per cent) abdicated or were deprived of their dignity, and nine of those men

66 ASV, Archivio Concist., Acta Misc. 32, fol. 68v; Enea Costantini, *Il Cardinal di Ravenna al Governo d'Ancona e il suo processo sotto Paolo III* (Pesaro: 1891), 270–76, 281.

67 BAV, Vat. lat. 12275, fol. 219v.

68 Two volumes examine these trials: Miles Pattenden, *Pius IV and the Fall of the Carafa. Nepotism and Papal Authority in Counter-Reformation Rome* (Oxford: 2013) and Helen Hyde, *Cardinal Bandinello Sauli and Church Patronage in Sixteenth-Century Italy* (Woodbridge: 2009).

69 *Pontificale Romanum Clementis VIII. Pont. Max.*, 627–30.

70 For examples, see the reconciliation of cardinals implicated in the Pisan council of 1511 and the conspiracy of 1517 recorded in Paride Grassi's diary; BAV, Vat. lat. 12275, fols. 53r, 54r–55v, 228v–30r, 233r–34v.

71 BAV, Vat. lat. 12275, fol. 53v.

(0.7 per cent) were restored to the cardinalate.⁷² Most cardinals departed the institution only through death.

In a broad discussion of papal court ritual Peter Burke noted that the purpose of “recurrent and repetitive” rituals, such as those found in the liturgical year or over the course of a pontificate, allowed the actors to work out relationships in a way that resolved ambiguity and conflict.⁷³ While Burke considered papal ritual’s purpose to resolve the tension between the pope’s dual identity as an absolute monarch and a charismatic holy man, this secular-spiritual tension ignores disputes over collaborative governance. There is ample evidence that ritual articulated the cardinalate’s public identity and cohesion, while encouraging ambiguous messages about collaboration and institutional authority. Maria Teresa Fattori’s assertion that ceremonies became more central to the cardinalate through the 17th century acknowledges a contemporary tension that had little resolution.⁷⁴ Between 1420 and 1800 elevations to the College could provoke protest, and on occasion resistance to rituals of cohesion, yet abdication, deprivation and restitution rituals pivoted on collegiate consent and collaboration with the pope. Thus, in distinct and occasionally ambivalent ways the cardinals projected messages of consent and participated in rituals of integration, which articulated a narrative of collaborative relations with the pope that continued throughout the early modern period.

Looking back at Peter Burke’s analysis from 1987 also helps to chart how far the field has progressed across thirty years. There has been some progress, but there remains ample room to continue expanding research in a field numbering over 1,200 cardinals, and far fewer scholars. In addition to integrating ritual studies further with political, cultural, and art historical discussions, little scholarship addresses the ritual life of cardinals outside of Rome or ceremonies that articulated relationships in the pope’s absence. Looking down the hierarchy and outwards, rather than up and inwards (and thus back towards the pope and his court), should produce new and fascinating results that complement today’s scholarship. While ritual and festival studies are an active field, Rome has comparatively few recent publications that focus on the ceremonial experiences, texts, costs or responsibilities of cardinals. Opening up this area to further scholarship will provide an important avenue to understanding more of the interstices between ritual, the culture of relationships, and the early modern worldview.

72 This analysis employed Salvador Miranda’s online database, *The Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church* (1998–2015), <https://webdept.fiu.edu/~mirandas/cardinals.htm>.

73 Peter Burke, “Sacred Rulers, Royal Priests: Rituals of the Early Modern Popes,” in *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy: Essays in Perception and Communication* (Cambridge, Eng.: 1987), 175–76.

74 Fattori, *Clemente VIII e il Sacro Collegio*, 286–87, 289–96, 308–09, 312.

Cardinals in Conclave

Mary Hollingsworth

The death of a pope left the Church in the hands of the College of Cardinals, who took charge of both the secular administration of Rome and the Papal States (see John M. Hunt's chapter in this volume), and the more spiritual task of choosing a successor. Papal elections have a very long and, until recently, an unusually well-documented history. Whereas those cardinals attending modern conclaves are bound by strict rules of secrecy, those who took part in early modern elections were only obliged to remain silent for the duration of the conclave, and even this rule was not scrupulously observed. As a result we have plenty of original source material: first-hand accounts of the process in letters from the cardinals and their conclavists, which include such detail as precise counts of the day's votes; the more formal records kept by the masters-of-ceremonies, including his plans of the layout of the cardinals' cells; and from Rome the *Avvisi* reports, even the odds offered by betting touts in the city on the result of the election.

The historiography of the early modern conclave, typified by Ludwig von Pastor's magisterial history of the papacy, has traditionally concentrated on the goal of the conclave to show how and why a particular cardinal was elected – the mysterious process by which God made his choice known to man.¹ More recently, in a world less conditioned by confessional divides, the focus of research has shifted to the cardinals themselves and their role as power-brokers in the conclaves that took place in an era in which their influence on the political stage steadily declined. In addition to general histories of the conclave, we now have more detailed analyses of the conclave's early modern evolution, of the electoral process, and of the rituals of life in the conclave, and in Rome, during the *Sede Vacante*.²

1 Ludwig von Pastor, *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages*, trans. Ernest Graf, 40 vols (London: 1891–1953).

2 Alberto Melloni, *Il conclave: Storia di una istituzione* (Bologna: 2001); Frederic J. Baumgartner, *Behind Locked Doors: A History of the Papal Elections* (New York: 2003); Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, *Morte e elezione del papa: Norme, riti e conflitti. Il Medioevo* (Rome: 2013); Maria Antonietta Visceglia, *Morte e elezione del papa: Norme, riti e conflitti. L'età moderna* (Rome: 2013); Miles Pattenden, *Electing the Pope in Early Modern Italy, 1450–1700* (Oxford: 2017); Günther Wassilowsky, *Die Konklavereform Gregors xv. (1621/22): Wertekonflikte, symbolische*

First came the mace-bearer with the mace of his Most Reverend patron, followed by two footmen with their batons, painted the same colour as the food baskets; then came the steward with four or six equerries who carried carafes filled with wine of various sorts and clear water; and between these came the sommelier ... then two footmen who carried the container filled with dishes from the *credenza*, followed by the *credenziere*, and two more footmen carrying the basket of dishes from the kitchen; also with them were several of the cardinal's courtiers to accompany the food.³

One of the early modern conclave's distinctive rituals was the twice-daily ceremony of the arrival of the cardinals' meals in the courtyard of the Vatican, described here by Bartolomeo Scappi, self-styled "cook to Pius v." This procession featured regularly amongst the scenes of the key events of the *Sede Vacante* – from the funeral obsequies of the dead pope and the entry of the cardinals into the conclave to the election of his successor – which illustrated the printed plans of 16th- and 17th-century conclaves.⁴ It was a curiously formal ritual, and one that offered a significant contrast to the anarchy on the streets during the *Sede Vacante* (see John M. Hunt's chapter in this volume). Imbued with all the pomp of a formal banquet, it served to remind Romans and visitors alike of the power and prestige of the popes-in-waiting, out of sight and inside the Vatican. Behind the palace's locked doors, however, conditions were far from princely. Forced to eat, sleep, even wash in their cramped cubicles, the cardinals endured a daily routine that alternated between tedium and excitement, frustration and discomfort, presided over by the papal master

Inszenierung und Verfahrenswandel im posttridentischen Papsttum (Stuttgart: 2010); Josep M. Colomer and Iain McLean, "Electing Popes: Approved Balloting and Qualified-Majority Rule," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 29 (1998), 1–22; John M. Hunt, *The Vacant See in Early Modern Rome* (Leiden: 2016); Miles Pattenden, "The Conclaves of 1590 to 1592: An Electoral Crisis of the Early Modern Papacy," *The Sixteenth-Century Journal* 44 (2013), 391–410, and "Cultures of Secrecy in Pre-Modern Papal Elections," in Serena Ferente, Lovro Kuncevic, and Miles Pattenden (eds.), *Cultures of Voting in Pre-Modern Europe* (London: 2017), 94–112.

- 3 Bartolomeo Scappi, *Opera dell'arte del cucinare* (Sala Bolognese: 2002), 2: fol. A3v: "Il suo Mazzero con la Mazza del Reverendiss[imo] suo patrone precedeva innanzi, et seguitavano dui parafrenieri, con dui bastoni, pinti del medesimo colore che era la cornuta, et poi veniva il Scalcho con quattro, o sei scudieri, che portavano caraffe piene di vino di piu sorti, et d'acqua limpida; et in mezzo di essi andava il Bottigliere ... Venivano due Palafrenieri, che portavano lo sportone, con le vivande della Credenza. Seguitava poi il Credentiero, con due altri Palafrenieri, che portavano la Cornuta. Venivano ancora alcuni gentiluomini di quello Reverendiss[imo] ad accompagnare le vivande" (author's translation).
- 4 Franz Ehrle and Hermann Egger, *Die Conclavepläne: Beiträge zu ihrer Entwicklungsgeschichte* (Vatican City: 1933).

of ceremonies whose bell summoned them to mass each morning, to the twice-daily voting sessions, and finally confined them to their cubicles for the night.⁵ One of the perks of this official's job was to receive all the pottery and glass containers sent in with the cardinals' lunches and dinners, a valuable bonus. For the rest of the conclave servants, "that is barbers, builders, carpenters, apothecaries, cleaners and others," the perk was all the left-over food.⁶

1 The Conclave Space

Electing the pope had been the cardinals' responsibility since the 11th century.⁷ Frustrated by the influence wielded by secular powers in Church affairs, Nicholas II issued the bull, *In nomine Domini* (1059), giving the seven cardinal bishops the right to name his successor, though their choice had to be ratified by the other cardinals as well as by the clergy and people of Rome and the Holy Roman Emperor, titular King of the Romans. All three orders of cardinals received equal voting rights a century later, when Alexander III issued *Licet de vitanda* (1179), which also required their choice to be supported by a two-thirds majority.

The concept of the conclave itself – as both a physical space and an assembly – was only introduced in the 13th century by Gregory X, whose own election had been the result of three years of bitter argument in the papal palace at Viterbo. In a radical attempt to speed up the electoral process, his *Ubi periculum* (1274) decreed that the cardinals were to be incarcerated behind locked doors (*con clave*) until they reached the majority needed. After 1417 most early modern conclaves took place in the Vatican palace. The conclave of 1417 itself was exceptional in several ways: it was held at Constance, as part of the council convened there to negotiate an end to the Great Schism and, in a break with tradition that reflected the political issues dividing the council, the cardinals were joined by thirty prelates chosen by Europe's secular rulers (all 53 electors swore to uphold the Gregorian rules before being locked in a warehouse to vote).⁸ The next two conclaves, 1431 and 1447, both took place in Rome, but in the Dominican convent of Santa Maria sopra Minerva. It was

5 For example, see Giovanni Battista Gattico, *Acta Selecta Caeremonialia Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae* (Rome: 1753), 1:333 (5 October 1559).

6 Scappi, *Opera*, fol. A4r: "Le vivande ... erano distribuite alli servitori del Conclave, cioè, barbieri, muratori, falignami, spetiali, scoppatori, et altri di varii essercitii."

7 Pattenden, *Electing the Pope*, 59–63; on medieval elections, see Paravicini Bagliani, *Morte e elezione*.

8 Baumgartner, *Behind Locked Doors*, 65–66.

Nicholas V (1447–55) who, in a move designed to emphasize his authority as successor to the first pope, moved the official residence of the papacy from the Lateran to St Peter's, expanding the modest palace there and the Vatican became the location for papal elections. There were thirty-eight conclaves between the years 1417 and 1700 and just half of them lasted less than ten days (thirteen of those, five days or less) while, at the other end of the scale, eleven lasted over a month, and three (1559, 1670 and 1691) went on for over three months.⁹

One of the College's first tasks during the *Sede Vacante* was to arrange for the isolation of a space for the conclave. In the Vatican this comprised the chapels and halls and other rooms leading off the Sala Regia, which was accessible by staircase from the courtyard below – apart from the door into this hall, all other entrances were blocked off and the windows sealed. Until the Sistine Chapel was completed (1483), the cardinals were accommodated in the old Cappella Magna while the voting sessions were held in the Cappella Parva of St Nicholas.¹⁰ For the 1484 conclave, Sixtus IV's new chapel, built to replace the Cappella Magna, also took over the role of dormitory but it was soon to prove inadequate for the task. The College grew dramatically in the late 15th century: there were 25 cardinals in 1471, the year of Sixtus IV's election and 45 in 1503 after the death of Alexander VI. It might have been the discomfort of the narrow cubicles in the Sistine Chapel that persuaded Julius II to commission his architect, Bramante, to draw up plans for a new, purpose-built hall to house future conclaves, though it was never constructed. We know that in the conclave following Julius II's death in 1513 all the cardinals were accommodated in the Sistine Chapel – the 35 cells would have been just over two meters wide and very cramped. In later 16th-century conclaves the maximum number of cubicles erected in the chapel was 21, which suggests a slightly more comfortable width of 3.5 meters.

The extensive building programme at the Vatican commissioned by Paul III to create a more impressive area for the reception of foreign dignitaries also created a more spacious setting for papal elections.¹¹ He remodelled the Sala Regia, demolished the old Cappella Parva to allow for a much grander staircase up to the hall, and added a new chapel off it, the Cappella Paolina, which was first used for voting in the conclave following his death in 1549. For that election the cubicles for the cardinals – who now numbered 54 – were distributed

9 Pattenden, *Electing the Pope*, 93 fig. 3.1.

10 The following discussion is based on David S. Chambers, "Papal Conclaves and Prophetic Mystery in the Sistine Chapel," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 41 (1978), 322; see also Visceglia, *Morte e elezione*, 205–08.

11 Christoph Luitpold Frommel, "Antonio da Sangallo's Cappella Paolina: Ein Beitrag zur Baugeschichte des Vatikanischen Palastes," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 27 (1964), 1–42.

between the Sistine Chapel and the halls adjoining the Sala Regia but, after the long conclave of 1559, this chapel was used increasingly less as a dormitory until, finally, after the death of Gregory xv in 1623, the cardinals decided to hold the election itself in this magnificent space, rather than in the Cappella Paolina.¹² From 1549 onwards the majority of the cardinals were accommodated in the adjoining halls: the Sala Regia, the Sala della Lettoria and the Sala del Consistoro Pubblico (these last two rooms were combined to create the Sala Ducale in 1655–7 to a design by Gian Lorenzo Bernini), the Sala del Consistoro Secreto with its anteroom, and the Borgia apartments. By 1600 the conclaves extended into the new wing of the palace built by Pius iv on the north side of the Cortile San Damaso and into the block that Sixtus v added to the east side of the courtyard. Despite the extra space, conditions remained cramped and, as we shall see, unhygienic – several 17th-century popes considered the possibility of a new conclave hall, though none was ever built; there were even suggestions that the conclave should take place in the Quirinal palace, the pope's summer residence (four did take place there in the 19th century).¹³

A few days before the conclave opened the master of ceremonies presided over the ritual of allocating the cubicles – one for each cardinal, regardless of whether he was expected to attend – by drawing names out of one pouch and cell numbers out of another, recording the results on a sheet of paper which the printers copied for their published plan of the conclave. At this stage, the cubicles were rudimentary wooden frames, erected by the same team of builders entrusted with the job of isolating the conclave, with a doorway, hinged openings in the ceiling and above the door, and a pallet on the floor. Each cardinal now customized his cell to suit his tastes, adding storage cupboards in the ceiling space or screening off a small section for the private use of their commodes. They also displayed their rank on the facade of their cubicles, with coats-of-arms and colourful hangings – purple for those who had been created by the dead pope and green for the rest. It is evident from the ledgers of Ippolito II d'Este (1509–72) that it was not just the exterior curtains that were colour-coded. For the 1565 conclave a certain Camillo *bandiraro* (banner-maker) was given pieces of green cloth from the cardinal's wardrobe to cover two chairs, a commode and a writing desk for Ippolito as well as lengths of purple cloth, also from Ippolito's wardrobe, to make similar items for his nephew, Luigi d'Este (1538–86), who had been created a cardinal by Pius iv in

12 Gattico, *Acta Caeremonialia*, 1:352.

13 Visceglia, *Morte e elezione*, 211–16; Pattenden, *Electing the Pope*, 94.

1561.¹⁴ And the wardrobe supplied silk hangings which luxuriously festooned the inside walls of the two cells in the same colours, 163 metres of purple silk for Luigi and 156 metres of green silk for Ippolito.¹⁵

The cubicles were stuffed with supplies. In his diary Paride Grassi wrote a list of items which a cardinal was expected to bring into the conclave, including a bed, a trestle table, chamber pots, a commode, bed linen and table linen, a bed cap and a clock, towels, carpets, plates, glasses and dishes, dustpan and brush, ink, pens and writing paper, biscuits and cakes, and a ladder to reach those items stored in the ceiling cupboards – many of these items are illustrated in Scappi's *Opera*.¹⁶ An inventory of Ippolito II d'Este's wardrobe dated 1555 lists fifty-two "miscellaneous items for use in the conclave," including food baskets, leather bags, footstools marked with his coat-of-arms, wooden boxes for rubbish, brass food warmers, crystal lamps, copper water jugs, wine coolers and equipment for the fire.¹⁷ Like other princely cardinals of opulent tastes, Ippolito converted the cubicles he occupied for six conclaves into lavish settings for the display of his status, bringing the whole paraphernalia of Renaissance dining into his cell: fine linen tablecloths and napkins, gilded and engraved cups, plates, dishes, salts, silver carafes and crystal glasses for his wine, and silver candlesticks for his fragrant beeswax candles.¹⁸

The cubicles were objects of considerable curiosity to Romans and visitors alike, who had a chance to view them in their pristine state before their occupants took up residence in them. By tradition, during the day on which the cardinals entered the conclave the doors remained open until the evening and huge crowds swarmed through the palace, men as well as women, of all classes, flocked to see the sight. One of the visitors in 1670 was Queen Christina of

14 ASMO, Camera Ducale, Amministrazione Principi (hereafter CDAP), 933, fol. 5v: "[14 December 1565] A m[aestr]o Camillo bandirar ... palmi 14 pano verdi per far doi seddie di una scarana dalli affari e uno pulpitto da scriver tutti per il conclavio ... palmi nove de panno pavonazzo di uno tavolino vechio per fare una scarana dalli affari dui orinalli e uno pulpitto da scriver per il Cardinale da Este."

15 ASMO, CDAP, 933, fol. 9r: "A m[aestr]o Camillo bandirar li sotto scritte robbe per tapezar ... la camera del conclavi per il Cardinale da Este ... telli quarantacinque ½ di taglia pavonazza ... qualli erano di uno paramento da camera che sono canni novantuna ... Saia verde cremonese canni ottantasette palmi 1 ... per la camera di Monsignore nostro Illustrissimo."

16 Gattico, *Acta Caeremonialia*, 1:310; see also Mary Hollingsworth, *Conclave 1559* (London: 2013), 101–06, 132–34; for the illustrations, see Scappi, *Opera*, vol. 1, endpapers.

17 ASMO, CDAP, 928, fol. 171 Ent: "Piu et diverse robbe per bisogno del conclave"; see also Hollingsworth, *Conclave*, 71–72; Visceglia, *Morte e elezione*, 209.

18 Hollingsworth, *Conclave*, 132–34.

Sweden; there was such a crush in 1689 that a heavily pregnant woman was forced to give birth “in public view” in the Sala Regia.¹⁹ Once the visitors had gone the cardinals and their servants moved in, their arrival watched by the crowds gathered in the courtyard outside. At midnight, having checked to see that no unauthorized persons were hiding in the palace, the master of ceremonies officially locked the door and the conclave began.

2 Inside the Conclave

Gregory X's *Ubi periculum* (1274) had also contained several other measures to enforce the conclave's isolation from the outside world. The locked door of the Sala Regia was guarded by soldiers – there were also armed guards stationed in the piazza in front of St Peter's, though these were more to protect the conclave from any attack by the notoriously violent Roman mob. The cardinals themselves were forbidden from leaving the conclave except in cases of serious illness. They were each allowed just two servants (conclavists) to attend to their needs, though by the 16th century, according to the list of the Gregorian rules printed alongside the cubicle plan of the 1559 conclave, they could each have “two or rather (as it is now understood), three servants to administer to their needs.”²⁰ Apart from the cardinals and the conclavists, the only other people allowed inside were the master-of-ceremonies and his staff, a doctor and the conclave barbers. Visitors were forbidden, though the ambassadors of foreign rulers or delegations from the Roman civic government could address the assembled cardinals through the door of the Sala Regia. There were also occasions when other visitors might be sanctioned by the master of ceremonies, such as confessors to hear confessions on solemn feast days, or workmen needed to do repairs and so on. Both the writing and receiving of letters were forbidden. The bull threatened the dire punishment of excommunication for any infringement of the rules.

Access into the conclave was monitored by teams of four bishops, who were on duty at the door into the Sala Regia all day and all night, working two-hourly shifts and sleeping in dormitories prepared for them downstairs. All goods arriving at the conclave had to be checked before being passed inside on a revolving shelf (*ruota*), like those by which enclosed orders of nuns were isolated from contact with the outside world. Twice a day the bishops had to go through

19 Visceglia, *Morte e elezione*, 268.

20 Ehrle and Egger, *Conclavepläne*, plate v: “cum duobus tantum (vel ut nunc fit) cum tribus famulis qui eis necessario subministrent.”

the contents of each individual food basket, prodding the “salads of various sorts, fruits and other dishes from the *credenza*,” as well as those hot dishes supplied by the cardinals’ kitchens.²¹ One of Gregory X’s more drastic measures was to use starvation as a tool to hasten an election: if no pope had been elected after three days, the cardinals were to be restricted to just one course per meal and after eight days they were to be allowed only bread, wine, and water.

The first rituals of the election itself, presided over by the master of ceremonies, were the solemn ceremonies at which the cardinals agreed to electoral capitulations that would govern the behaviour of the next pope, one of the ineffective means by which the cardinals sought to stem their depleted powers, and swore to uphold the rules governing the conclave.²² These latter included not only Gregory X’s regulations, which were printed with the conclave plans, but also that of later popes, such as Julius II, whose decree, *Cum tam divino* (1510), annulled simoniacal elections.²³ Crucially, it is difficult to overstate the extent to which these rules were flouted in the early modern era – and the longer the conclave, the worse the infringements.²⁴

Papers in archives across Europe show that the cardinals wrote letters from the conclave and passed on information to ambassadors who forwarded it to their respective sovereigns – they evaded punishment by using their conclavists, who were not subject to the same restrictions as their masters, as their messengers. They also brought in far more than the permitted three servants: at one stage during the long 1559 conclave, the master of ceremonies was forced to expel as many as 80 unauthorized personnel.²⁵ There was even a fist-fight between Louis I de Lorraine, Cardinal de Guise (1527–78) and the Spanish ambassador, Francisco de Vargas, who entered the conclave most nights through a hole in the wall.²⁶ And it was not just the cardinals who ignored the rules. The masters of ceremonies were also lax in their application of the Gregorian sanctions, especially with regard to limiting the cardinals’ food: in 1559 he only limited the cardinals to meals of one course after the conclave had been running for three months, rather than the three days prescribed in Gregory X’s bull.²⁷

21 Scappi, *Opera*, fols. A3v-A4r.

22 On electoral capitulations, see Pattenden, *Electing the Pope*, 28–29; Paolo Prodi, *The Papal Prince* (Cambridge, Eng.: 1987), 84–85.

23 Pastor, 6:440; Visceglia, *Morte e elezione*, 151–53.

24 Pattenden, *Electing the Pope*, 76–83.

25 Pastor, 15:44.

26 Hollingsworth, *Conclave*, 203–05.

27 Gattico, *Acta Caeremonialia*, 1:334 (5 December 1559).

The new pope, Pius IV issued *In eligendis* (9 October 1562) to regulate the cardinals' authority during the *Sede Vacante* and several of its clauses give an idea of the anarchy that had pervaded the 1559 conclave: cardinals were no longer permitted to change their cells, nor to enlarge them; all the rooms above, below and adjacent to the conclave halls were to remain empty for the duration of the conclave, and the walls, ceilings and floors of the whole conclave, including the cubicles, were to be inspected regularly.²⁸ The number of servants was restricted to two, as per Gregory X's original bull, with a third allowed only if a cardinal fell ill, but all of them had to belong to the cardinal's own household and be approved by a deputation of his fellow electors. There were to be no visitors, no correspondence and no betting; those too ill to remain in the conclave would be allowed to leave, but they would not be permitted to return.

Long conclaves, like that of 1559, led inevitably to a deterioration in conditions, which could become very unpleasant. Writing shortly after the 1655 conclave, which lasted eleven weeks, Alderano Cibo commented: "the torments of the conclave are not small, the cold, the sleep, vigils, difficulties and apprehension were all spent in this holy election, from which we are liberated by God's grace, the conclave itself being cramped and the stench becoming unbearable."²⁹ In 1559, after serving three months as a dormitory for nineteen cardinals and their servants, the Sistine Chapel stank so appallingly that it had to be fumigated.³⁰ In winter the magnificent marble floors of the conclave chilled its inhabitants to the bone, despite the fires that burned in the public areas; in summer the oppressive heat made the Cappella Paolina, with its huge windows sealed from the air, intolerably stuffy. There was a very real fear of disease. Robert Bellarmine brought a handbook into the 1621 conclave with tips on how to stay healthy – it advised cardinals to accept gifts of food and wine politely, but warned against consuming them.³¹ Long conclaves invariably resulted in deaths amongst the cardinals, their illnesses worsened by the weather and by infestations of fleas, lice and ticks. It is a telling measure of just how important the conclave was to these princes of the Church that they were prepared to endure such privations and squalor for weeks, even months, on end.

28 Pastor, 16:69–72; Visceglia, *Morte e elezione*, 157–61.

29 Pastor, 31:8 n. 2.

30 Hollingsworth, *Conclave*, 182–84.

31 Visceglia, *Morte e elezione*, 271; on disease, see Pattenden, *Electing the Pope*, 70, 72–75, 74 table 3.2.

3 Conclave Politics

“It is not of the least consequence who will be pope,” Carlo Carafa was reminded by his brother during the 1559 conclave, “the only thing that is of importance is that he who is chosen should realize that he owes the dignity to the Carafa; our house does not enjoy any favour with the Spanish or French kings, and everything therefore depends on securing the favour of the future pope as otherwise the ruin of the family is assured.”³² Conclaves were pivotal moments a cardinal’s career: his choice of candidate could make or mar his fortune in the new regime which would be put in place after the election. We often forget that, although the conclave may have been assembled to choose the next pope, the negotiations between the cardinals were about much more than that.

Above all, papal elections were about personal ambition. A cardinal’s future depended not so much on becoming pope himself but on being on the winning side – papal favour remained a valuable commodity, even if the real influence that a cardinal could exert had diminished significantly by the end of the early modern era. And the scale of what was at stake was reflected in the loud and vicious arguments which took place, and the rampant scale of bribery.³³ Cardinals would go to great lengths to oppose the election of an enemy, from the undignified behaviour of Bessarion and d’Estouteville grappling with Prospero Colonna to stop him adding his *accessus* to elect Pius II to the poisoning of Niccolò Ridolfi during the 1549–50 conclave.³⁴

The electoral process itself was complex. The cardinals gathered for the regular routine of morning and afternoon voting sessions, or scrutines, seated in strict order of precedence – bishops, priests and lastly, deacons, each group ranked by seniority. If there was a written ballot, which was generally the case, cardinals wrote the name of their candidate or candidates on their voting papers; they could vote for as many as they wished, a practice that inevitably prolonged the conclave. The slips were then placed in a chalice before being read out and counted by the senior cardinal deacon – in the 1513 conclave this was Giovanni de’ Medici and he had the welcome task of announcing his own election. But achieving the necessary two-thirds majority was not always easy.³⁵ In an attempt to speed up the process the 1455 conclave introduced the system of *accessus*, which allowed cardinals to add their votes to any of the candidates

32 Pastor, 15:15.

33 Pattenden, *Electing the Pope*, 78–79; Hollingsworth, *Conclave*, 149–50, 155–56, 187, 210–14.

34 Pius II, *Secret Memoirs of a Renaissance Pope*, trans. F.A. Gragg (London: 1988), 80–81; Pattenden, *Electing the Pope*, 83.

35 On the various methods of voting, see Pattenden, *Electing the Pope*, 63–65; see also Colomer and McLean, “Electing Popes.”

named in the scrutiny, a procedure lucidly described by Pius II in his own election in 1458.³⁶ There was also a procedure which did not require a written ballot: election *per adorazione* (also sometimes referred to as “acclamation”) whereby a candidate was announced and his supporters did homage by kissing his foot, until the required number had been reached.

The decision of who to vote for was rarely a simple personal choice: there were too many other factors involved – family or political loyalties, religious beliefs, economic interests and private rivalries. In the early scrutinies of a conclave many cardinals took the opportunity to honour their elderly and esteemed colleagues with a respectable vote count; others voted for colleagues they hoped would join their own cause.³⁷ During the early modern era a tradition evolved whereby those cardinals created by the dead pope would vote together, under the leadership of the cardinal nephew – this group was readily identifiable in the conclave itself by the purple curtains of their cubicles. There were divisions amongst the cardinals on the issue of how to reform abuses within the Church, attitudes which became increasingly significant as Protestantism took hold north of the Alps and split the cardinals into moderates (*spirituali*), who favoured negotiating with the Protestants, and hardliners (*zelanti*) who rejected any attempt at compromise.³⁸

As the election process got underway, however, the cardinals began to coalesce into groups divided around the contentious issues of the day, often more political than spiritual.³⁹ Pius II’s account of his own election (1458) shows that that conclave was divided over whether to elect an Italian or a Frenchman (Guillaume d’Estouteville).⁴⁰ With an Italian majority established in the College by the middle of the 15th century, the focus moved to the rivalry between Italy’s major secular powers, Milan and Naples. This pattern changed in the early 16th century as Italy became the battleground for the Habsburg-Valois wars, absorbing these local rivalries into the wider European context.⁴¹ Those cardinals who had benefices in the territories of Naples or Milan now all owed

36 Pius II, *Secret Memoirs*, 80–81.

37 Hollingsworth, *Conclave*, 95–96.

38 Pattenden, *Electing the Pope*, 39–43.

39 Maria Antonietta Visceglia, “Factions in the Sacred College in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,” in *Court and Politics in Papal Rome 1492–1700*, eds. Gianvittorio Signorotto and Maria Antonietta Visceglia (Cambridge, Eng.: 2002), 99–131.

40 Pius II, *Secret Memoirs*, 77.

41 On this process, see Marco Pellegrini, “A turning-point in the history of the factional system in the Sacred College: The power of pope and cardinals in the age of Alexander VI,” in *Court and Politics in Papal Rome 1492–1700*, eds. Gianvittorio Signorotto and Maria Antonietta Visceglia (Cambridge, Eng.: 2002), 8–30.

their livelihoods to the King of Spain – and the French crown countered this advantage by the judicious grant of French benefices to woo favoured Italian cardinals to its cause.

These connections mattered: the rulers of France, Spain and the Empire all had the right to state their preferences for the papal throne and to name those they did not want elected.⁴² Charles v was careful in exercising this right, publicly urging the cardinals to elect a good pope while privately informing his ambassador of which candidates he favoured and excluding all candidates of the French party – Francis I did much the same in reverse. This order was seen as advisory rather than obligatory: Clement VII was the Emperor's candidate but excluded by Francis I, while Paul IV was one of Henry II's candidates though excluded by Charles v. Above all, these rulers ensured a loyal following inside the Vatican, with national groupings usually led by the cardinal protector (see Arnold Witte in this volume). It is difficult to understate the scale of political chicanery involved in the negotiations, led by these party leaders, that finally resulted in an election. It is also important to recognize that interference from outside often resulted in the cardinals' choice being overthrown – Reginald Pole for example, was excluded by Henry II of France in 1549–50, or Ercole Gonzaga, whose candidacy was rejected by Philip II in 1559.⁴³

Moreover, election by adoration had become increasingly prevalent by the 1550s – of the 18 popes elected between the years 1513–1621, only four were not elected this way.⁴⁴ The fact that this was such a public form of ballot made cardinals reluctant to voice their own opinions for fear of losing favour. Effectively these popes were chosen after the faction leaders had agreed a compromise candidate who was, by implication, the choice of the secular rulers rather than the cardinals themselves. With France torn by the Wars of Religion (1562–89), the Spanish crown became increasingly influential in later 16th-century conclaves, cleverly exploiting the system to bully the cardinals into electing a succession of pro-Spanish popes.⁴⁵

Despite calls from prominent cardinals for anonymous ballots, it was not until the pontificate of Gregory XV, and in the face of stiff opposition from those with vested interests in retaining the status quo, that two bulls *Aeterni patri filius* (1621) and *Decet Romanum pontificem* (1622) made radical changes to papal elections, enabling cardinals to follow their consciences and not the

42 On secular interference in conclaves, see Pattenden, *Electing the Pope*, 46–55, 60–61.

43 Pastor, 13:1–19 and 15: 23–48; Hollingsworth, *Conclave*, passim.

44 Pattenden, *Electing the Pope*, 64.

45 Pattenden, "The Conclaves."

orders of their party leaders or patrons.⁴⁶ Under the new rules elections by adoration were banned; cardinals were restricted to voting for just one candidate but that choice was now secret, recorded on specially-printed ballot papers; and a similarly secret ballot was introduced to replace the verbal *accessus*.

However, the cardinals' new independence was soon challenged again by Europe's monarchs who found their way around the new legislation, claiming that their ancient privileges gave them the right not just to state their preferences for election but actually to impose a veto on rival candidates, the *jus exclusivae*.⁴⁷ The debate over this contentious issue came to a head in the 1655 conclave when a group of young cardinals created by the dead pope challenged the influence of these secular rulers. Known as the *Squadrone Volante* (flying squad), they came predominantly from families with a tradition of service in the Curia, rather than owing allegiance to either the Spanish or French crown: they refused to recognize the *jus exclusivae*, insisting that they would only vote for someone who was "prudent, learned and pious" – they expressed their political neutrality by casting their votes for "no one" (*nemini*).⁴⁸

If conclaves had one feature in common, they were never straightforward. While the basic procedure remained largely unchanged, each individual conclave had its own agenda. For the cardinals they were an "anticipated, but unplanned and unwanted, intervention" in their lives, "which might, but did not always, shake up the established order."⁴⁹ Above all, they were a gruelling race for political power that often made exceptional demands on both their physical and mental reserves. And the latent violence inherent in the electoral process – and perhaps relief that the race was over – was reflected in the final ritual of the conclave: the looting of the palace that had belonged to the new pope and of his cell in the Vatican (see Hunt's chapter in this volume).

46 Pattenden, *Electing the Pope*, 57–58, 89–97; Visceglia, *Morte e elezione*, 162–76; Wasilowsky, *Die Konklavereform*, passim; Pastor, 27:108–19.

47 Pattenden, *Electing the Pope*, 51–52; Visceglia, *Morte e elezione*, 177–84.

48 On the 1655 conclave, see Pastor, 31:1–9; for two different views on the *Squadrone Volante*, see Pattenden, *Electing the Pope*, 52–53 and Gianvittorio Signorotto, "The *Squadrone Volante*: Independent cardinals and European politics in the second half of the seventeenth century," in *Court and Politics in Papal Rome 1492–1700*, eds. Gianvittorio Signorotto and Maria Antonietta Visceglia (Cambridge, Eng.: 2002), 181.

49 Pattenden, *Electing the Pope*, 265.

The Cardinal Nephew

Birgit Emich

Within the Curia the cardinal nephew represented a particular type of early modern cardinal. He was distinguished by two characteristics: first, he was a close relative, usually the nephew, of the pope; secondly, he was given not only a red hat but also a series of offices directly after his uncle's election. These offices allow us to put a precise date on this institution: the cardinal nephew existed as a formalized office from 1538 until 1692, when Innocent XII officially abolished nepotism in the bull *Romanum decet pontificem*.

The following contribution explains how the office of cardinal nephew evolved during the 16th and 17th centuries: why this institution came about in the first place, which functions were assigned to it, and why it ultimately vanished in 1692. It is important to underline that what characterizes the cardinal nephew is not the nepotism itself, but its formalization – the topic on which the second part of this chapter will focus. In order to contextualize nepotism in historical terms, we must begin with some general observations.

1 Nepotism: Forms and Functions

In itself, nepotism – involving one's own family in important duties and letting them share the symbolic and economic capital generated by such offices and duties – is as old as the Church itself.¹ Medieval popes included members of their families in their entourages as assistants and also beneficiaries of papal rule. From the perspective of our modern meritocracy, which relies far more on qualifications and formal aptitude, this preferential treatment of relatives may seem like corruption.² Pre-modern societies saw things differently, since

1 Wolfgang Reinhard, "Nepotismus: Der Funktionswandel einer papstgeschichtlichen Konstanten," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 86 (1975), 145–85.

2 Thus, the Berlin-based Transparency International, an NGO dedicated to the worldwide battle against corruption, has included the term "nepotism" in its Anti-Corruption Glossary and defines it as a "form of favouritism based on acquaintances and familiar relationships whereby someone in an official position exploits his or her power and authority to provide a job or favour to a family member or friend, even though he or she may not be qualified or deserving." See also "clientelism," <https://www.transparency.org/glossary/term/nepotism>.

those societies were essentially structured by family and clientage. Within certain limits, the pre-modern age considered nepotism legitimate, even morally imperative as well as functional. Thus, popes' provision for their relatives could be based on an explicitly moral norm: the precept of *pietas*.³ As early as antiquity this term encompassed every person's obligations towards relatives and fellow countrymen. The norm of *pietas* virtually demanded permitting one's own family to partake of the fruits of one's success. Of course, the extent of this participation was negotiable, but the principle was incontrovertible. The moral norm was supplemented by a functional argument. No less a figure than Thomas Aquinas taught that, when candidates were equally worthy, a bishop or a pope not simply *could* but actually *should* prefer his own relatives over other applicants: ultimately they were more trustworthy.⁴ Nepotism thus had not only the function of providing for the pope's relatives, thereby observing the precept of *pietas*, but also had a role in the pope's power.

The function of provision and the function of power: with the help of these two analytical categories Wolfgang Reinhard outlined the history of papal nepotism as early as 1975.⁵ These two concepts remain the best suited to two tasks: tracing the basic features of this phenomenon over the centuries and describing the special features of the formalized version – for, even if nepotism did function, as Reinhard suggests, as a constant throughout papal history, including our era, it still manifested itself in ever-changing forms and constellations. Moreover, in order to place our type, the cardinal nephew, within this sequence, we should consider some wider issues and this chapter complements Reinhard's approach by demonstrating that the formalization of the nephew's role, and the functions and consequences of this process, are also worth investigating.

First, however, we should address the function of power and provision. The weighting of these functions and their relationship to each other has shifted throughout history.⁶ From the early Christian Church to the Middle Ages,

3 Wolfgang Reinhard, "Papa Pius: Prolegomena zu einer Sozialgeschichte des Papsttums," in *Von Konstanz nach Trient: Festgabe für August Franzen* (Paderborn: 1972), 261–99 and idem, "Symbol und Performanz zwischen kurialer Mikropolitik und kosmischer Ordnung," in *Werte und Symbole im frühneuzeitlichen Rom*, eds. Günther Wassilowsky and Hubert Wolf (Münster: 2005), 37–50.

4 The justification in Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologica*, 2 II q. 63 a. 2 ad 1, is as follows: "quia saltem magis in hoc praeeminent, quia de ipsis magis confiteri potest, ut unanimiter secum negotia spiritualia pertractent," quoted after Reinhard, "Nepotismus," 162.

5 Reinhard, "Papa Pius" and idem, "Symbol und Performanz"; Reinhard introduces the categories employed in his analysis in "Nepotismus," 146–49.

6 Birgit Emich, "Nepotismus," in *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit*, ed. Friedrich Jaeger (Stuttgart: 2009), 9:94–98 and Péter Tusor, *The Baroque Papacy 1600–1700* (Sette Città: 2016), 135–61.

papal nepotism's function was predominantly as an instrument of papal power. Thus, as outlined by Thomas Aquinas, popes appointed their own relatives to important posts to secure their rule. The function of providing for relatives came to the fore during the papacy's period of residence in Avignon. However, when the popes returned to Rome and began the recapture of the Papal States, the function of nepotism as an instrument of power was once again in evidence. Jennifer Mara DeSilva recently emphasized how this was initially true, above all, for the popes' lay nephews. Without clerical status and not celibate, such nephews could perform two key tasks: undertaking military duties and continuing the family line.⁷ According to DeSilva, lay relatives' participation in papal rule developed a distinctive pattern between 1420 and 1549: they exercised papal authority over entire provinces as Apostolic Vicars; as Superiors General of the Church, as castellans of the Castel Sant'Angelo, and as commanders of the Pontifical Guard; they also secured sensitive military offices within the papal family. Letters appointing lay nephews stated that the pope placed particular faith in his blood relatives.⁸ While these documents may also emphasize the relatives' aptitudes and past services, it is evident that blood ties ensured loyalty; and nepotism developed its function as an instrument of power to the full.

Nonetheless, the function of providing for relatives was not neglected. Military men related to the pope could be given aristocratic titles for reasons of status vis-à-vis their subordinates.⁹ Provision for lay nephews was combined with *nepotismo ecclesiastico*, which saw another nephew given a red hat and entrusted with leadership positions in the Curia. These nephew-cardinals, like the lay relatives in the military, received the perquisites of office and other privileges, the accepted reward for their loyal services.

Nevertheless, the late 15th century saw the start of a social dynamic that gave nepotism a new dimension, calling its legitimacy into question. The fact that Sixtus IV (1471–84) and his successors enriched their nephews to an unprecedented level should be seen against the backdrop of growing social mobility. Popes no longer came from the upper echelons of the aristocracy, but increasingly from the patriciate, above all that of northern and central Italian cities. These parvenu families exploited the limited term of a pontificate to acquire wealth and to establish themselves in the aristocratic elite. This goal was also served by the new form of nepotism, the so-called territorial or "major

7 Jennifer Mara DeSilva, "Articulating Work and Family: Lay Papal Relatives in the Papal States, 1420–1549," *Renaissance Quarterly* 69 (2016), 7.

8 See, for example, the quotation in DeSilva, "Articulating Work and Family," 11.

9 DeSilva, "Articulating Work and Family," 8.

nepotism” aimed at acquiring a princely title. Major nepotism also performed a function in papal power. Popes could bring peripheral areas of the Papal States under their control by granting them to a member of their family: by appointing his nephew as Lord of Imola, Sixtus IV secured his authority over this city, which had only recently been regained by Rome. Alexander VI (1492–1503) used his son, Cesare Borgia, to crush both the feudal lords of Romagna and the Roman barons’ claims to power in Lazio. In the long run, Borgia’s campaigns liberated the papacy from a series of old competitors. However, because papal relatives continued to claim these princely titles after the death of their uncle, major nepotism threatened to alienate Church property and ultimately to divide the Papal States. When Julius II reconquered Cesare Borgia’s state in the Romagna, he showed that the Papal States could be successfully governed by office-holders who could be dismissed at will. With this, major nepotism forfeited its function in maintaining power, although Paul III (1534–49) still dared to invest his son Pier Luigi and his grandson Ottavio with territories belonging to the Church – the former with the duchies of Parma and Piacenza; the latter with Castro.¹⁰ However, this marked the end of major nepotism: in 1563 the Council of Trent prohibited bishops from enriching their families with Church property and in 1567 Pius V banned the practice of carving out new fiefs in the Papal States. Thenceforth only so-called “lesser nepotism” was tolerated; this was orientated towards acquiring capital rather than duchies.¹¹

These developments made it increasingly necessary to legitimize the enrichment of the papal family, which had been criticized by Church reformers but continued unabated as a tool of social advancement. It was in this context that the role of the cardinal nephew became firmly established as an institution. Unlike his lay relatives, he had access to the Church’s financial resources with which to benefit his family; and, securely anchored at the heart of the Curia, he was also able to function as an instrument of papal power. The document considered the birth certificate of the office of cardinal nephew is Paul III’s brief of January 1538 which clarified a fixed canon of the nephew’s offices and duties.¹² Paul III decreed that his “nephew” Cardinal Alessandro Farnese

10 On Farnese nepotism see Clare Robertson, *“Il Gran Cardinale”: Alessandro Farnese, Patron of the Arts* (New Haven: 1992) and Helge Gamrath, *Farnese: Pomp, Power and Politics in Renaissance Italy* (Rome: 2007).

11 Birgit Emich, “Verstaatlichung des Nepotismus: Der Heimfall Ferraras an den Kirchenstaat,” in *Modell Rom? Der Kirchenstaat und Italien in der frühen Neuzeit*, eds. Daniel Büchel and Volker Reinhardt (Cologne: 2003), 223–39.

12 A report on the creation of the office of cardinal nephew by Paul III says: “Primo die ianuarii 1538 Pontifex deputavit cardinalem Farnesium ad tractanda negotia Sedis Apostolicae et status ecclesiastici.” Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 6978, 140, quoted after Reinhard,

would, with immediate effect, conduct the Curia's entire correspondence – in his own name but with the same authority as that of the pope. The reason given was that the pontiff needed help with his burdensome and diverse duties and, since the ties of blood guaranteed both loyalty and dedication, he was transferring responsibility for correspondence to his meritorious nephew.¹³ The expansion of internal state administration and the extension of the international diplomatic network had indeed ensured an increase in correspondence. The diversity of duties grew in line with the number of letters and several specialized authorities were formed to handle incoming correspondence.¹⁴ The College of Cardinals declined in significance vis-à-vis these authorities. By contrast, the pope, who always ruled with absolute power, had to ensure that decisions in Rome continued to be passed under a single name: his own. Hence the idea immediately suggested itself of placing a cardinal related to the pope at the head of an increasingly diverse administrative landscape. The cardinal nephew presided over both the Secretariat of State and the key authorities in the administration of the Papal States, namely the Congregations of the *Sacra Consulta* (a dicastery with judicial competences) and of *Buon Governo* (for the municipal administration) – since Pius V (1566–72) these offices were combined under the title of Superintendent of the Papal States.¹⁵ Until the abolition of this office in 1692 the cardinal nephew was a sort of “super-minister” or even “vice-pope” attending to the secular interests of the Apostolic Throne.

The cardinal nephew also enjoyed additional offices: it was standard for the formalized type of cardinal nephew to be appointed not only cardinal and superintendent directly after his uncle's election, but also Legate of Avignon, and Governor of Fermo and other hard-to-govern papal provinces (see also Irene Fosi's chapter in this volume).¹⁶ Military posts such as that of Castellan of

“Nepotismus,” 172 n. 151. The Pope explains what was meant by this in a brief of 2 January 1538, in ASV, Instrumenta Burghesiana 93.

13 The letters of appointment of the cardinal nephews and their formal competences are discussed in Madeleine Laurain-Portemer, “La Surintendance de l'état ecclésiastique: Absolutisme et népotisme,” *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 131, 2 (1973), 487–568.

14 An initial overview of the development of the curial landscape in Birgit Emich, *Bürokratie und Nepotismus unter Paul v. (1605–1621): Studien zur frühneuzeitlichen Mikropolitik in Rom* (Stuttgart: 2001), 18–34. More detailed information on the curial authorities is provided by Lajos Pásztor, *Guida delle fonti per la storia dell'America Latina negli archivi della Santa Sede e negli archivi ecclesiastici d'Italia* (Collectanea Archivi Vaticani 2) (Vatican City: 1970) and Niccolò Del Re, *La curia romana: Lineamenti storico-giuridici* (Rome: 1998).

15 Laurent-Portemer, “La Surintendance de l'état ecclésiastique,” 494.

16 *Ibid.*, 515.

Castel Sant'Angelo, on the other hand, continued to go to lay papal nephews.¹⁷ Thus it seems as if the function of both ecclesiastical and lay nepotism in consolidating papal power reached its peak in the period between 1538 and 1692.

It is important to recognize, however, that these nephews did not do the actual work themselves. From the 16th century onwards the lay nephews relied increasingly on local deputies; similarly, cardinal nephews also delegated their duties to lower-ranking associates. The existence of cardinal nephews who were minors or evidently incompetent makes it unlikely that they always adhered to the wording of the letters of appointment. Moreover, detailed analyses of the work of the administration during individual pontificates indicate that, alongside politically ambitious cardinal nephews, such as Francesco I Barberini, there were others like Scipione Borghese who wanted nothing to do with the daily administrative routine.¹⁸ At the same time, the enrichment of papal nephews assumed ever greater dimensions.¹⁹ Does this mean, then, that we are not dealing with the zenith of nepotism as an instrument of papal power, but rather with dummy offices which served only to justify the acquisition of exorbitant wealth? Not at all. In order to understand what sort of power function formalized nepotism continued to fulfil we must be clear on one thing: formalization permits fictions, and fictions provide the explanation, so this chapter contends, for the success of formalized nepotism.

2 Fictions and Functions: Formalized Nepotism and Informal Rule

The first fiction is to be found in the division of duties. Just as the cardinal nephew represented the pope in the day-to-day administration, so the lay

17 Ulrich Köchli, "Zusammensetzung und Organisation des päpstlichen Heeres im 17. Jahrhundert," in *Krieg, Militär und Migration in der frühen Neuzeit*, eds. Matthias Asche, Michael Herrmann, Ulrike Ludwig, and Anton Schindling (Berlin: 2008), 60.

18 On the range of the possible ways in which cardinal nephews could understand and exercise their role, see Daniel Büchel, "Raffe und regiere! Überlegungen zur Herrschaftsfunktion römischer Kardinalnepoten (1590–1655)," in *Historische Anstöße: Festschrift für Wolfgang Reinhard zum 65. Geburtstag am 10. April 2002*, eds. Peter Burschel, Mark Häberlein, Volker Reinhardt et al. (Berlin: 2002), 197–234 and recently Miles Pattenden, *Electing the Pope in Early Modern Italy, 1450–1700* (Oxford: 2017), 195–204. On Borghese see Emich, *Bürokratie und Nepotismus*; on Barberini see Irene Fosi, *All'ombra dei Barberini: Fedeltà e servizio nella Roma barocca* (Rome: 1997), Ulrich Köchli, *Urban VIII. und die Barberini: Nepotismus als Strukturmerkmal päpstlicher Herrschaftsorganisation in der Vormoderne* (Stuttgart: 2017); on the Carafa cardinals, see Miles Pattenden, *Pius IV and the Fall of the Carafa: Nepotism and Papal Authority in Counter-Reformation Rome* (Oxford: 2013).

19 Volker Reinhardt, *Kardinal Scipione Borghese (1605–1633): Vermögen, Finanzen und sozialer Aufstieg eines Papstnepoten* (Tübingen: 1984) offers insights not only into the extent of the enrichment but also into its structure and techniques.

nephews assumed responsibility for the Church's military protection in the pope's stead. The pope himself could retreat into his role as the Church's spiritual head, his other duties resting in safe hands – formally, at least, since, in this division of labour within the family, it made no difference whether they carried out their duties personally or delegated them to others.

The second fiction manifests itself in the force of nepotism. Thanks to their formalized role, even inactive cardinal nephews performed a function in maintaining papal power, even if they did nothing more than sign letters. The Curia was still required to have the pope's name on its correspondence, regardless of whether the nephews knew the contents or not. Moreover, precisely because the cardinal nephew was officially in charge of conducting the Curia's business, but in practice left the work to secretaries and experts, the still-fledgling authorities could – in the cardinal's slipstream, so to speak – develop into the sole viable bureaucracy.²⁰

In addition, the cardinal nephew's fictive character as superintendent secured him the latitude necessary to attend to other duties or, more precisely, to his real task which was – ironically enough during this era of “formalization” – informal rule. The need for dependable assistants rose sharply with the expansion of the administrative apparatus. It was no longer sufficient to fill a number of key positions with relatives; now whole networks of clients and faithful servants were needed.²¹ This clientelism, which in Rome, as throughout early modern Europe, recruited on the basis of family relationship, compatriotism and patronage, had to be managed. And that management in particular became the cardinal nephew's real and foremost task.²²

In fact, the cardinal nephew's role as manager of the clientele was quite open and official: the longer it went on, the more frequently he was addressed by the whole world not by his formal function as Superintendent of the Papal States but as *Cardinale Padrone*. After 1600 this was consistently the case. While this title may have circumvented the fiction of the ruling “super-minister,” it was an obvious progression. In the end everyone who wished to be rewarded for his services to the papacy, petitioned the cardinal nephew to be his patron. Such a client could make this request orally, in the cardinal nephew's public

20 This is the thesis propounded in Emich, *Bürokratie und Nepotismus*.

21 Renata Ago, *Carriere e clientela nella Roma barocca* (Bari: 1990).

22 The seminal work on this topic is Wolfgang Reinhard, *Freunde und Kreaturen: “Verflechtung” als Konzept zur Erforschung historischer Führungsgruppen: Römische Oligarchie um 1600* (Munich: 1979). A whole series of studies have shown that in the early modern period power throughout Europe was based on such networks. Ground-breaking in its time was Sharon Kettering, *Patrons, Brokers, and Clients in Seventeenth-Century France* (Oxford: 1986) and more recently Andras Vari, Judith Pal and Stefan Brakensiek, *Herrschaft an der Grenze: Mikrogeschichte der Macht im östlichen Ungarn im 18. Jahrhundert* (Cologne: 2014).

audiences or by post, a method which connected the pope's kinship with ever-expanding clientage networks in ever-looser forms. Some cardinal nephews, overwhelmed by all the petitioners who came in front of them, took flight into their gardens.²³ As well as increasing in volume, in the 17th century the correspondence of cardinal nephews' clients evolved in style and content, becoming a distinct genre: patronage correspondence. The office in which the cardinal nephew and his associates processed this post was separate from that for other business and constituted a virtual secretariat for patronage.²⁴

The secretariat for patronage dealt with requests for privileges and honours, letters of recommendation, Christmas greetings, requests of every sort, and the gifts exchanged by patrons and clients across Europe. Its working methods, record-keeping, and bureaucratic procedures were identical to those of the Secretariat of State and the way in which the Curia handled political and diplomatic correspondence. In other words, just as nepotism has been a constant of papal history, so patronage and clientelism may have played a role in the Curia both before and after the phase of formalized nepotism. However, it was only at this point, with the institutionalization of the cardinal nephew, that papal patronage was managed in a bureaucratic fashion – the two processes could be termed the “formalization of the informal.” The hitherto unofficial phenomena of nepotism and patronage were now formalized – for nepotism this was signalled by the official letters of appointment of the cardinal nephew and the titles of the offices he held; for patronage by the dominance of the written form and record-keeping in his secretariat for patronage.²⁵

23 For example, Scipione Borghese, who in summer 1612 preferred to continue playing cards with his associates rather than receiving the advancing Venetian Ambassador. See the evidence in Emich, *Bürokratie und Nepotismus*, 168, n. 304.

24 For this institution during the Borghese pontificate and for pointers to the Proprietary Secretariat of the cardinal nephew during the Pontificate of Urban VIII see Emich, *Bürokratie und Nepotismus*, 263–83 and 345–56.

25 This chapter follows Niklas Luhmann's conceptual model in defining formalization as the superimposition of systems of organization onto systems of interaction with the purpose of overcoming the boundaries to the growth of pure systems of interaction. Systems of interaction are based solely on interaction amongst those present and are thus limited in their potential to form structures. Organizational elements which infiltrate during the process of formalization include, for example, written communication, the keeping of records, membership rules and communication aimed at decision-making. See Niklas Luhmann, *Funktionen und Folgen formaler Organisation* (Berlin: 1964) and idem, *Organisation und Entscheidung* (Opladen: 2000). Instead of a, still lacking, English edition, see David Seidl and Kai Helge Becker (eds), *Niklas Luhmann and Organization Studies* (Frederiksberg: 2006). This author's thoughts on the formalization of the informal can be found in Birgit Emich, “Die Formalisierung des Informellen: Der Fall Rom,” in *Informelle Strukturen bei Hof: Dresdener Gespräche 111 zur Theorie des Hofes*, eds. Reinhardt Butz and

This process of formalizing the informal had ramifications for the cardinal nephew's function in maintaining papal power: the institutionalization of his role enhanced his authority; the bureaucratization of patronage expanded the coverage of his networks. To understand this we need to remember the dual nature of communication: the official correspondence with local officeholders and that dealing with patronage adding a second tier of communication.²⁶ The same people were engaged in both tiers: in letters dealing with patronage the cardinal nephew faced his clients in his role as their patron, whereas in his official correspondence as head of the administration, he spoke to the same officeholders in their function as bureaucrats. The channels which processed both types of correspondence were rapidly being formalized, as were the semantics of both forms. Hence letters dealing with official business can be distinguished from correspondence dealing with patronage, since they differ in their salutations, signal words, and fixed formulae. Whereas in correspondence related to patronage an ever-benevolent patron and his assiduous clients exchange mutual assurances of personal esteem and promise to perform for each other any favours which make life more agreeable; by contrast, in official correspondence the matter under consideration is dealt with in a sober style and "without respect of person."²⁷

However, both types are linked by their subject matter; and the behaviour of the players, too, can only be understood when the informal dimension of these relationships is scrutinized alongside the official version. Above all, the combination of formality and informality, of bureaucracy and patronage, soon affected the workings of the papal administration in the ways discussed above. That the cardinal nephew headed both the administration and the patronage networks was bound to enhance the authority of his directives, of both types.

Jan Hirschbiegel (Münster: 2008), 149–56. However, in its discussion of the formalization of the role of cardinal nephew, the current contribution focuses on a hitherto barely discussed, specific aspect.

26 Emich, *Bürokratie und Nepotismus*, 115–47, takes the concrete example of the Ferrara cardinal legate and his correspondence with cardinal nephew Borghese on official and patronage matters.

27 For Max Weber, respect of the person is a decisive criterion in classifying administrations in his typology of legitimate rule. While in traditional rule the prince's personal staff make decisions explicitly with respect to the person, the sole job of the modern civil servant in a rational, bureaucratic government is to perform his official duties and to avoid any respect of the person. See Max Weber, "Die drei reinen Typen der legitimen Herrschaft," in idem, *Soziologie – Universalgeschichtliche Analysen – Politik*, 5th revised ed. (Stuttgart: 1973), 151–66. By contrast, the findings from Rome suggest that the one does not exclude the other; and that in analysing phenomena in the history of administrations it is crucial to inquire about the conjunction of these two pure forms.

Whoever served his patron by carrying out the latter's official instructions could reckon not only with recognition for the conscientious administration of his office, but also with *quid pro quo* as a client. Whoever hoped for reciprocal rewards of this sort must also have been loyal to his patron in the latter's role as his superior in office. Consequently, the cardinal nephew's double role strengthened staff loyalty and gave the still-weak fledgling authorities an authority which they would have lacked without the integration of these informal aspects.

In addition, the bureaucratization of patronage facilitated highly useful fictions. Thanks to the formalization of relationships and their semantics, it was possible to create client networks without any actual personal ties, indeed, even without any personal acquaintanceship. Thus, in the archives of the secretariat for patronage we repeatedly encounter correspondence in which the cardinal nephew assures, for example, a governor in the Papal States of his willingness to help, a willingness sustained by the profoundest affection. In return, the governor swears his unswerving loyalty as a servant of the papal family – even when he had never met his correspondent in person in his entire life.²⁸ The use of these formalized turns of phrase in correspondence created obligation even without personal proximity; interaction – that is, personal encounter and presence – was no longer necessary.²⁹ If, however, the binding power of such fixed formulae enabled the use of correspondence to produce loyal service, then this power enhanced the number and range of client networks enormously.³⁰ This was a very useful tool for the integration of peripheral provinces in a Europe made up of composite monarchies.

To recapitulate: the cardinal nephew was the fixed point for the pope's clients, the manager of a network of party men and clients which the pope, like every other territorial lord, needed in an age of patrimonial rule based on personal relationships but which he, as head of the Church and hence obliged to be a loving father to all men in equal measure, was not officially permitted

28 Birgit Emich, Nicole Reinhardt, Hillard von Thiessen, and Christian Wieland, "Stand und Perspektiven der Patronageforschung Zugleich eine Antwort auf Heiko Droste," *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 32 (2005), 239–44.

29 Arthur L. Herman in "The Language of Fidelity in Early Modern France," *The Journal of Modern History* 67 (1995), 1–24 shows how the language of loyalty can be understood as an action designed to serve a horizon of values and how such declarations of loyalty are consequently to be understood as speech acts which also create bonds between people who do not know each other personally.

30 Therefore, the expansion of possibilities exemplifies the impact of formalization as described by Luhmann in *Organisation und Entscheidung*, namely the overcoming of the boundaries to growth inherent in pure systems of interaction by means of organizational elements such as written communication.

to possess. In this regard, too, the cardinal nephew functioned as the pope's *alter ego*: just as he deputized for him in the day-to-day business of administration (even if only formally), he also stood in for him as patron in the cultivation of informal power structures. This twofold nature as formal minister and actual patron was the cardinal nephew's essential characteristic: thanks to the formalization of his role he was able to devote himself entirely to informal rule. Formalized nepotism and informal rule: this brief portrait of the cardinal nephew has been painted from these two angles. At the same time it should have become apparent that the formalization of nepotism in the figure of the cardinal nephew also had implications for his informal power – and that there was, therefore, considerable correlation between the formalization of the nephew-role in the office of the cardinal nephew and his informal function in maintaining papal power. The formalization of the nephew-role permitted such fictions as the role of the cardinal nephew in representing the interests of the state. In so doing, it also reinforced, in his position as supreme patron, the man who was officially supreme head of the administrative authorities. Because the formalization of nepotism also went hand in hand with the bureaucratization of patronage, the papal family's client networks could surmount the obstacles to growth imposed on the mere personal interaction.

3 New Spaces for Informality

Doubts might arise in view of the cardinal nephew's track record. After all, both Protestant polemics and older research considered the cardinal nephew to be the very embodiment of immorality and nepotism itself a variety of corruption. Today these moral judgements are less meaningful: consideration of its function can bring out the usefulness of the office of cardinal nephew for papal power; the question of what contemporaries considered the norm has led to recognition that in the pre-modern period nepotism and patronage were by no means viewed as corruption, but as ethically desirable patterns of reciprocal behaviour. Nevertheless, a system which placed a single family member at the top of both formal, institutional and informal, client-based power structures had a price. The papers of cardinal nephew Scipione Borghese provide one example. Alongside the official and patronage correspondence, there was also a third thematic level linked to the organization of the administration of the papal family's estates and fortunes, conducted by the cardinal nephew's private secretary and displaying the unvarnished language of financial interest. This reflected the cardinal nephew's third function: he was also – entirely in the spirit of the traditional function of provision – responsible for enriching

his family. The details of the papal family's finance administration were managed by the *maestro di casa* or by the maggiordomo and his specialized team. Their main task was to take care of bills and accounts.³¹ But whenever letters to leaseholders and other business partners had to be drafted, the private secretariat took care of this correspondence.³²

This institution became active mainly when measures were being taken which, while increasing the cardinal nephew's earnings, ran counter to the general good and, from the perspective of the authorities responsible, ought therefore to have been strictly rejected.³³ Such situations arose frequently – even regularly in the case of Scipione Borghese when the estates of his commendatory abbeys were affected. In his role as provider, the cardinal nephew was expected to tap ecclesiastical sources of income for the benefit of his family, and his uncle had invested him with a whole series of such abbeys *in commendam*. In order to optimize his revenues, the cardinal nephew occasionally rerouted waterways or ordered mandatory labour from his farmhands. Time and again correspondence from the authorities – over which, it should be remembered, he presided – explicitly prohibited measures of this kind when undertaken in the interest of (other) individuals. Since local officeholders knew what they owed their patron, they followed the instructions from the nephew's private secretariat and contravened the official directives by the authorities. The fact that these official directives also bore the cardinal nephew's signature did not cause the officeholders to doubt that his private interests took precedence. Obviously, contemporaries were well aware which of his numerous roles the cardinal nephew considered most important.

31 An overview of the staff and working methods of the administration of the Borghese estates is given in Emich, *Bürokratie und Nepotismus*, 316–32; on the finances themselves see Wolfgang Reinhard, *Papstfinanz und Nepotismus unter Paul v. (1605–1621): Studien und Quellen zur Struktur und zu quantitativen Aspekten des päpstlichen Herrschaftssystems*, 2 vols (Stuttgart: 1974) as well as Reinhardt, *Kardinal Scipione Borghese*.

32 This is also true of the correspondence concerning other of the nephew's additional roles. Thus, the private secretariat dealt with both the concerns of the archdiocese of Bologna, over which Borghese briefly presided as absentee archbishop between October 1610 and April 1612, and the issues arising from his function as cardinal protector of orders such as the Camaldolese. On Borghese's private secretariat see Emich, *Bürokratie und Nepotismus*, 284–316. On the cardinal nephew's protectorates see Martin Faber, *Scipione Borghese als Kardinalprotektor: Studien zur römischen Mikropolitik in der frühen Neuzeit* (Mainz: 2005). These additional roles as protectors were just as much part of the standard furnishings of a cardinal nephew as the various secretariats. Their customization may differ in detail. Fundamentally, however, all cardinal nephews in this period must have maintained a private and/or patronage secretariat alongside the curial authorities. See also note 24.

33 Emich, *Bürokratie und Nepotismus*, 381–93.

Nevertheless, it was not just the cardinal nephew's special requests that were followed up, discretely but effectively, in this third tier of correspondence running parallel to that dealing with official matters and patronage. Amongst the requests which the private secretariat pursued with some vigour we occasionally find the preoccupations of particularly important clients which obviously ran counter to the aims of the authorities. Cases of this nature were in danger of being identified and discredited as corruption. For precisely this reason they were probably not entrusted to either the authorities or the highly formalized secretariat for patronage.³⁴ Here a finely developed sensitivity to the boundaries of the tolerated emerges: if the cardinal nephew's self-enrichment or his partisanship for one particular client threatened to become excessive, if the informal openly posed obstacles to the aims of the formal organizations, then the extent to which such practices could be formalized was curtailed. It seems as if the private secretariat was established in order to create space for the informal threatened by formalization.

Whenever the private interests of the cardinal nephew or his closest clients clashed with the general good and the private secretariat circumvented the authorities' policies, the dysfunctional impact of institutionalized nepotism becomes obvious. By acting out his threefold role in opposition to the authorities' interests, the cardinal nephew could bring about decisions solely in respect of the person and without taking factual objections into account. However, in general this threefold role had obvious ramifications for the functioning of papal power as well. If the sources of his personal income were not directly affected, the cardinal nephew acted merely as head of the authorities and manager of patronage. As the head of the authorities he allowed his associates in the secretariats and congregations to work almost without impediment; and even in the early modern period this already meant performing administrative duties in as task-orientated a manner as possible. As the manager of patronage, by contrast, he maintained an overview of the wishes of the numerous clients and their urgency. Thanks to this division of labour, the client-based dimension of decisions made in respect of person was removed from the work of the administration. Just how far this circumstance eased the burden on the Roman administration becomes most tangible when the authorities had to decide on access to limited resources. Whenever the issue at stake was the granting of privileges which for objective reasons were not unlimitedly available, the cardinal nephew decided which of his clients were given first chance and which, if need be, were given none at all. However, in the meantime, the authorities determined the extent to which such privileges could be granted

34 Emich, *Bürokratie und Nepotismus*, 363–81.

without harming the general community.³⁵ In this way the cardinal nephew's politics of patronage was tied into the authorities' decision-making processes and simultaneously kept within bounds. Thanks to the nephew's twofold role at the head of both the machinery of officialdom and patronage networks, it was possible, as a rule, to co-ordinate the clients' wishes effectively with practical interests. Moreover, the dysfunctional potential of informal power was brought under control by the formalization of nepotism. Hence the relationship between the two spheres, the world of patronage and the world of the authorities, was not always harmonious. However, as a rule, the cardinal nephew performed useful services for his papal uncle in both worlds, even and precisely in his institutionalized variant.

Meanwhile we encounter the cardinal nephew as his uncle's deputy not only in his role as Superintendent of the Papal States and as chief patron of papal clients. In the arena of courtly representation, too, the cardinal nephew functioned as his uncle's *alter ego*.³⁶ The pope himself could assume responsibility for signing off on church buildings and infrastructure measures that were in the interests of the population – Paul v, for example, did so for the façade of Saint Peter's or the Acqua Paolina, which supplied Rome with water. However, the cardinal nephew had to leap in when it came to secular building commissions, patronage of the arts and court festivities. Scipione Borghese performed this role on Paul v's behalf. Borghese not only had the Villa Borghese built on the Pincian Hill outside Rome, but also assembled its art collection, known as the Galleria Borghese and still world-famous today. He personally commissioned its thoroughly secular masterpieces such as the sculptures by Gian Lorenzo Bernini and bought paintings by Caravaggio – not least in order to impress ambassadors and visitors from across the world at his receptions in

35 This is illustrated by the example of the allocation of licences for the export of grain from the Papal States. While they promised considerable profits, such licences always endangered the supply of bread for the native population. See Birgit Emich, "Verwaltungskulturen im Kirchenstaat? Konzeptionelle Überlegungen zu einer Kulturgeschichte der Verwaltung," in *Herrschaft und Verwaltung in der frühen Neuzeit*, eds. Stefan Brakensiek, Corinna v. Bredow, and Birgit Näther (Berlin: 2014), 163–80.

36 Volker Reinhardt, "Der päpstliche Hof um 1600," in *Europäische Hofkultur im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert: Vorträge und Referate gehalten anlässlich des Kongresses des Wolfenbütteler Arbeitskreises für Renaissanceforschung und des Internationalen Arbeitskreises für Barockliteratur in der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel vom 4. bis 8. September 1979*, ed. August Buck (Hamburg: 1981), 709–15. On the cardinal nephew as patron of the arts see Arne Karsten, *Künstler und Kardinäle: Vom Mäzenatentum römischer Kardinalnepoten im 17. Jahrhundert* (Cologne: 2003) and Robertson, "Il Gran Cardinale."

the Villa Borghese.³⁷ The demands of early modern self-representational display on the part of the ruler were thereby satisfied without violating the restrictions which the papal role entailed in this sphere as well. The fact that the status of the pope's family was, at the same time, set in stone in palaces and galleries demonstrates how closely the functions of power and provision were entangled in this arena as well.

4 The End of Formalized Nepotism

Ceremonial self-representation by the papacy and its attendant costs provide the first indication of why Rome freed itself from this variant of nepotism in 1692: in the course of the 17th century the institutionalized form of nepotism became, on the one hand, simply too expensive and, on the other, functionally superfluous. The cardinal nephews' activities as builders and collectors may have shaped Baroque Rome, but in the long run nepotism overextended the pope's weakened finances. With the political and financial crisis of papal rule under Urban VIII (1623–44), criticisms of the way that the papal family enriched itself, which had smouldered for a long time, became clearly audible. *Pietas* had become too costly; other norms, such as the revived ideas of the Council of Trent or even notions of a meritocracy, came to the fore in the discourse of the age.³⁸ After a final burst of nepotistic excess under Alexander VIII (1689–91), in 1692 the debate, which had found its way into papal commissions and expert assessments, resulted in Innocent XII's decision to abolish institutionalized nepotism in the papal bull *Romanum decet Pontificem* of 22 June 1692. The bull suppressed the cardinal nephew's offices and set sharp limits on permissible payments to all papal relatives.³⁹ Thus the formalized variant of nepotism was disestablished. As far as its actual function was

37 Wolfgang Reinhard, *Paul v. Borghese (1605–1621): Mikropolitische Papstgeschichte* (Stuttgart: 2009), 67–73.

38 Marzio Bernasconi, *Il cuore irrequieto dei papi: Percezione e valutazione ideologica del nepotismo sulla base dei dibattiti curiali del XVII secolo* (Frankfurt a.M.: 2004). This process is also described by Antonio Menniti Ippolito, *Il tramonto della Curia nepotista: Papi, nipoti e burocrazia curiale tra XVI e XVII secolo* (Rome: 2008). Recently Pattenden, *Electing the Pope*, 247, has argued for greater consideration of the power struggle between Pope and cardinals when looking for explanations for the pope's handling of nepotism. His plea is supported by his findings concerning the first major anti-nepotism offensive by the popes in 1560 and 1561 and the background to it. See Pattenden, *Pius IV and the Fall*.

39 The bull *Romanum decet Pontificem* of 22 June 1692 can be found in Luigi Tomassetti (ed.), *Bullarium Romanum* (Turin: 1857–72) 20:441–46.

concerned, it left behind only a small gap: the Papal Secretary of State now moved into the institutionally key position which the cardinal nephew had occupied previously. The once low-ranking Secretary, operating in the cardinal nephew's shadow, had already been conducting the business of the Secretariat of State for some time. Individual secretaries, who were ever more frequently rewarded with a cardinal's hat for their services, now began to sign curial correspondence in their own name by virtue of their office. By contrast, care of the papal clientele seems to have lost its urgency and clients no longer had their own dedicated cardinal at their disposal.

There are, however, signs of the return of nepotism in an informal guise. The post of Secretary of Petitions (*Memoriali*), who had to present supplications from around the world to the pope, seems, from 1692 onwards, to have offered itself as a sort of fall-back position for cardinals related to the pope. It remains to be seen whether we really are dealing with a form of crypto-nepotism, as Antonio Menniti Ippolito has suggested plausibly.⁴⁰ It must be borne in mind, however, that formalized nepotism came to an end in 1692.

Summing up briefly: nepotism may be a constant in the history of the papacy, but it assumed many concrete forms. We have encountered "major" and "minor" nepotism, formalized and informal nepotism, lay and ecclesiastical nepotism. This diversity is hardly surprising. After all, numerous factors contributed to the formation of nepotism and of the cardinal nephew's role: ethical discourses and social dynamics, booms and busts in the marketplace of Church politics, developments in the history of the papal authorities, cultural requirements, and financial constraints. This list could be continued. Only brief mention can be made of the fact that female nepotism also existed and hence the theme should also be considered from a gender perspective.⁴¹ Such diversity can certainly be encompassed within the two categories: the function of power and the function of provision. However, as should have become evident, looking out for processes of formalization and their impact might also produce worthwhile results, since then the type known as the cardinal nephew can also be more readily grasped. The cardinal nephew was both the result and the essence of a process of formalization which embraced both nepotism and

40 Antonio Menniti Ippolito, "Il Segretario di Stato e il Segretario dei Memoriali: La difficile ricerca di stabilità all'interno della Curia papale prima e dopo l'abolizione del nepotismo (con appendice documentaria)," *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 46 (2008) 75–106, and idem, "La 'Familia' del papa: Struttura e organizzazione," in *Offices, écrits et papauté*, eds. Armand Jamme and Olivier Poncet (Rome: 2007), 545–58 on crypto-nepotism (above all 553, where further evidence can be found).

41 Marina d'Amelia, "Nepotismo al femminile: Il caso di Olimpia Maidalchini Pamphilj," in *La Nobiltà romana in età moderna*, ed. Maria Antonietta Visceglia (Rome: 2001), 353–99.

the Roman Curia's politics of patronage. The cardinal nephew role was institutionalized; patronage was bureaucratized.

To the cardinal nephew himself fell the double role of super-minister and super-patron. He could not do justice to both roles at the same time. However, that was also not necessary: formalization permits fictions. Precisely because his official role was set out in writing under the title of Superintendent and was amply documented for the outside world through his signature on official correspondence, the cardinal nephew could concentrate on his real duties: on the enrichment of the family, on its courtly self-representation and above all on the cultivation of the pope's clients. Looking after his own retinue by means of patronage served his own informal power but also buttressed the institutions, thanks to the bureaucratization of patronage and of the personal union at the apex of both the authorities and the networks of papal clients. Alongside his obvious function as provider, therefore, an important function in preserving papal power also fell to the cardinal nephew in his institutionalized variant. Without doubt, this system could also cause dysfunction, something which led to growing criticism and ultimately to the end of formalized nepotism. However, the abolition of the formalized role of cardinal nephew in 1692 could certainly also be ascribed to the ways in which the Roman administration had been able to develop in the cardinal nephew's slipstream. Consequently, the cardinal nephew had rendered himself redundant.

Translated from German by Anne Simon

PART 2

Cardinals and the Church



Cardinals, Bishops, and Councils

Bernward Schmidt

Questions of status were fundamental to the early modern cardinalate, and symbolic practices and methods – and discussions about them – provide an excellent avenue for thinking about questions surrounding the cardinals' ecclesiological status. The following chapter pursues these issues with respect to the history of councils from the 15th to the 18th century. Historiography has never dealt with this topic but limited itself to the actions of individual cardinals in specific councils or the College of Cardinals' changing ecclesiological status.¹ The only exception to this has been concerning the Councils of Basel and Ferrara-Florence when the cardinals acted as their own party within the council quite independent to that of the pope.² Thus, we will have to bring together the different research areas of cardinals and councils establishing a link between those two in the field of symbolic practice and status.

The *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* describes councils as “legitimate conventions of bishops and other church dignitaries for consultation, decision-making and legislation on church matters. While the Universal Church is represented by the ecumenical council, churches of districts are represented by particular councils.”³ However, this functional definition neglects important aspects that have been considered in recent historic-cultural approaches.⁴ In a

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- 1 Jürgen Dendorfer and Ralf Lützelshwab (eds.), *Geschichte des Kardinalats im Mittelalter, Päpste und Papsttum* 39 (Stuttgart: 2011); Massimo Firpo and Ottavia Niccoli (eds.), *Il cardinale Giovanni Morone e l'ultima fase del Concilio di Trento* (Bologna: 2009); Vincenzo Criscuolo, “Marcello Cervini Legato Pontificio al Concilio di Trento,” in *Papa Marcello II Cervini e la Chiesa della prima metà del '500*, eds. Carlo Prezzolini and Valeria Novembri (Montepulciano: 2003), 103–25; Klaus Ganzer, “Der ekklesiologische Standort des Kardinalskollegiums in seinem Wandel: Aufstieg und Niedergang einer kirchlichen Institution,” *Römische Quartalschrift* 88 (1993), 114–33; Gerald Christianson, *Cesarini: The Conciliar Cardinal. The Basel Years, 1431–1438* (St. Ottilien: 1979).
 - 2 Bianca Concetta, “I cardinali al concilio di Firenze,” in *Firenze e il concilio del 1439*, ed. Paolo Viti (Florence: 1994), 147–73; Wolfgang Decker, “Die Politik der Kardinäle auf dem Basler Konzil (bis zum Herbst 1434),” *Annuario Historiae Conciliorum* 9 (1977), 112–53; 315–400.
 - 3 Hermann Lais, “Konzil,” in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, 2nd ed. (Freiburg i.Br.: 1961), 6:526.
 - 4 Bernward Schmidt and Hubert Wolf (eds.), *Ekklesiologische Alternativen? Monarchischer Papst und Formen kollegialer Kirchenleitung (15.-20. Jahrhundert)* (Münster: 2013); Bernward Schmidt, *Die Konzilien und der Papst: Von Pisa (1409) bis zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*

highly formalized context such as in a council, “technically-instrumental” actions do not merely serve a distinct purpose (e.g. decision-making on doctrinal or disciplinary matters) but are counterbalanced by the “symbolically-expressive” dimensions; councils generate a “symbolical overvalue.” This means that a council’s seating arrangements and each of its actions have to be considered according to both instrumental and symbolical dimensions.⁵ In this regard, the representational aspect becomes particularly interesting – something that could take many different shapes in late medieval and early modern councils. The council would consider itself as *universalem ecclesiam repraesentans*; the pope is being represented by his papal legates, the secular rulers by their envoys, and the dioceses by their bishops.

How is this form of representation being constituted and which symbolic actions of the convention create an image of the Universal Church and its structure?⁶ Especially the council’s venue, its arrangement and seating plan shaped the convention’s outward appearance, reflecting and at the same time creating the hierarchy within the Church. Assignment and acceptance of a position – often negotiated through complex processes – went hand in hand. With this structure, the council addressed God during the session’s liturgy and prayed for the Holy Spirit’s inspiration for its actions and edicts.⁷ Both positions and actions of each participant are given great attention by normative and discursive sources around 1500. For that reason alone, simply examining the technical-instrumental dimensions of councils or considering the edicts and their content does not suffice. Instead, the history of early modern councils provides an excellent approach to the theological and political status of

(1962–65) (Freiburg i.Br.: 2013); Mona Kirsch, *Das allgemeine Konzil im Spätmittelalter: Organisation – Verhandlungen – Rituale* (Heidelberg: 2016).

- 5 Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger, “Herstellung und Darstellung politischer Einheit: Instrumentelle und symbolische Dimensionen politischer Repräsentation im 18. Jahrhundert,” in *Die Sinnlichkeit der Macht: Herrschaft und Repräsentation seit der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Jan Andres (Frankfurt: 2005), 73–92; Günther Wassilowsky, “Symbolereignis Konzil: Zum Verhältnis von symbolischer und diskursiver Konstituierung kirchlicher Ordnung,” in Schmidt and Wolf, *Ekklesiologische Alternativen*, 37–53.
- 6 Hasso Hofmann, *Repräsentation: Studien zur Wort- und Begriffsgeschichte von der Antike bis ins 19. Jahrhundert*, 3rd ed. (Berlin: 1998); Roger Chartier, “Le monde comme représentation,” *Annales* 44 (1989), 1505–1520.
- 7 Natacha-Ingrid Tinteroff, “The Councils and the Holy Spirit: Liturgical Perspectives,” in *The Church, the Councils and Reform: The Legacy of the Fifteenth Century*, eds. Gerald Christianson et al. (Washington, D.C.: 2008), 140–54; Bernward Schmidt, “Synodus in Spiritu Sancto legitime congregata: Zur Liturgie konziliarer Sessionen im Spätmittelalter,” in *Gottes Werk und Adams Beitrag: Formen der Interaktion zwischen Mensch und Gott im Mittelalter*, eds. Thomas Honnegger et al. (Berlin: 2014), 298–310.

cardinals which also reveals the transformation of the Sacred College itself between 1400 and 1725.

1 Pisa (1409) and Constance (1414–18)

The profound crisis caused by the Great Schism, which erupted in 1378, was closely connected to the cardinalate's medieval foundations. After the formation of the College of Cardinals in the 11th century and its subsequent exclusive right to elect the pope, the cardinalate's theory and practices were extended in the 13th century, granting cardinals also the position of legates and directors of curial authorities. The pope gathered their advice in consistory or in commissions that became mandatory for important issues from the late 13th century, thus justifying the juristic metaphor of the College of Cardinals as "the church's senate."⁸ In the following period, cardinals as well as bishops were sometimes called successors to the apostles.⁹ However, theological descriptions more often made use of the body metaphor and termed the cardinals *pars corporis domini papae*; even the highest rank of the Papal legate, the *legatus a latere* draws on this verbal image.¹⁰ Henry of Segusio (Hostiensis) considered the College of Cardinals as a corporation with a firm organizational structure headed by the pope; even though cardinals did not possess the highest official powers, they were involved in their execution. This theory of the cardinalate was symbolically expressed by the rites for the papal inauguration or the appointment of cardinals (see Jennifer Mara DeSilva's contribution in this volume).¹¹

As the Great Schism was ignited by the question of the validity of the papal elections in 1378, the electoral body became the focus of interest during the subsequent period. Therefore, the cardinals lie at the heart of tracts trying to resolve the Schism; bishops seemed to have been necessary for the implementation of a council, yet insufficient for convoking a council or gathering the different papal obediences.¹² Two authors of such treatises, who were to

8 Andreas Fischer, "Die Kardinäle von 1216 bis 1304: Zwischen eigenständigem Handeln und päpstlicher Autorität," in Dendorfer and Lützelshwab, *Geschichte*, 177–85.

9 Giuseppe Alberigo, *Cardinalato e collegialità: Studi sull'ecclesiologia tra l'XI e l'XIV secolo* (Florence: 1969), 112–44.

10 Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, *The Pope's Body* (Chicago: 2000), 63–65.

11 Paravicini Bagliani, *The Pope's Body*, 63–65.

12 Dendorfer and Lützelshwab, *Geschichte*, 305–29; on the tracts see Brian Tierney, *Foundations of the Conciliar Theory: The Contribution of Medieval Canonists from Gratian to the Great Schism* (Leiden: 1998); Hermann Josef Sieben, *Traktate und Theorien zum Konzil:*

become cardinals themselves, and who were to participate in the Council of Constance, became influential: Pierre d'Ailly (1350–1420) and Francesco Zabarella (1360–1417).¹³ For both, the cardinalate was of the utmost importance regarding the legitimacy of the papal election as well as for the resolution of the Schism.¹⁴ Both authors advocated devolving the pope's right to summon a council to the cardinals if the pope were unable to do so or in the case of a lack of a legitimate pope; the Church's authority would lay within this assembly.¹⁵ Zabarella deduced an additional consequence for the College of Cardinals from this body metaphor: the College must back the pope, yet may withdraw its support if the pope's actions harm the Church. However, neither this nor the resignation of the pretenders to the papal throne could possibly end the Schism as they had established competing Colleges of Cardinals.

Therefore, the *via concilii* turned out to be the only practicable way to resolve the Schism.

Neither the enforced negotiations on the mutual relinquishment of the papal throne, nor the councils brought the Church's unity closer as both the popes in Avignon and in Rome continued to appoint cardinals.¹⁶ After the cardinals of both papal obediences had commenced discussions in May 1408, both groups formally summoned two councils to Pisa for May 1409 – this joint

Vom Beginn des Großen Schismas bis zum Vorabend der Reformation (1378–1521) (Frankfurt: 1983).

- 13 Bernard Guenée, "Pierre d'Ailly," in *Between Church and State: The Lives of Four Prelates in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. Bernard Guenée (Chicago: 1991), 102–258; Dieter Girgensohn, "Francesco Zabarella aus Padua: Gelehrsamkeit und politisches Wirken eines Rechtsprofessors während des großen abendländischen Schismas," *Zeitschrift für Rechtsgeschichte, kanonistische Abteilung* 79 (1993), 232–77.
- 14 Louis B. Pascoe, *Church and Reform: Bishops, Theologians and Canon Lawyers in the Thought of Pierre d'Ailly (1351–1420)* (Leiden: 2005); Christopher M. Bellitto, "The Early Development of Pierre d'Ailly's Conciliarism," *The Catholic Historical Review* 83 (1997), 217–32; on Zabarella: Tierney, *Foundations*, 220–37; Friedrich Merzbacher, "Die ekklesiologische Konzeption des Kardinals Francesco Zabarella (1360–1417)," in *Festschrift Karl Pivec*, eds. Anton Haidacher and Hans Eberhard Mayer (Innsbruck: 1966), 279–87; Thomas E. Morrissey, "Cardinal Franciscus Zabarella (1360–1417) as a Canonist and the crisis of his age: Schism and the Council of Constance," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 96 (1985), 196–208; Hofmann, *Repräsentation*, 268–71.
- 15 Merzbacher, *Ekklesiologische Konzeption*, 248.
- 16 Dieter Girgensohn, "Kardinal Antonio Gaetani und Gregor XII. in den Jahren 1406–1408: Vom Papstmacher zum Papstgegner," *Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 64 (1984), 116–226. On the course of events see Florian Eßer, "Aus zwei mach eins: Der Pisaner Lösungsversuch des Großen Abendländischen Schismas 1408/1409: Schismatologie und Konzilsform," in *Der Verlust der Eindeutigkeit: Zur Krise päpstlicher Autorität im Kampf um die Cathedra Petri*, ed. Harald Müller, Schriften des Historischen Kollegs, Kolloquien 95 (Berlin: 2017), 37–54.

convention was supposed to prevent issues of legitimation.¹⁷ Particularly in the sources on the Council of Pisa, the representation of the Universal Church clearly is connected to the issue of legitimacy.¹⁸ In this context the bishopric, as the essential pillar of the Church in terms of theology and even the cardinalate, receded as the emphasis was put on the Church's hierarchical order. Thus, the deposition of Benedict XIII and Gregory XII obtained concrete legitimacy for the Universal Church which was also true for the upcoming papal election: in view of the doubts about the legitimacy of the cardinals who had been appointed by the popes of the Schism era, the right to vote was granted to the council which then commissioned the cardinals for its implementation.

The Pisan popes Alexander V and John XXIII enjoyed greater legitimacy than their competitors as their authority had been granted by a council representing the Universal Church.¹⁹ They appointed a new College of Cardinals thus confirming their claim.²⁰ The separation of resignation or deposition and election was also implemented in Constance, and at that occasion, the College of Cardinals did not occupy an independent position.²¹ Nor could the 1417 conclave meet until after a compromise was reached regarding questions of reform called for by King Sigismund and regarding the electoral procedure.²² After the College of Cardinals had been discredited as an electoral body, the Council Fathers decided that the new pope should be elected by the council which was implemented despite partial resistance of the cardinals.²³ The electoral body thus consisted of the College of Cardinals and six deputies from each of the five nations in the council. To win the election, two thirds of the votes from each of the six groups was required. The cardinals accepted this electoral procedure only as an exception to the uncontested electoral law.

17 Eßer, *Aus zwei mach eins*, 46–53; for the procedural matters see Kirsch, *Das allgemeine Konzil*, 411–59.

18 Hélène Millet, “La représentativité, source de la légitimité du concile de Pise,” in *Le concile de Pise: Qui travaillait à l'union de l'Eglise d'Occident en 1409?*, ed. Hélène Millet (Turnhout: 2010), 285–308.

19 Dieter Girgensohn, “Von der konziliaren Theorie des späteren Mittelalters zur Praxis: Pisa 1409,” in *Die Konzilien von Pisa (1409), Konstanz (1414–1418) und Basel (1431–1449): Institution und Personen*, eds. Heribert Müller and Johannes Helmroth (Ostfildern: 2007), 89.

20 Dendorfer and Lützelshwab, *Geschichte*, 316.

21 Walter Brandmüller, *Das Konzil von Konstanz*, 2 vols. (Paderborn: 1991–97); Ansgar Frenken, *Die Erforschung des Konstanzer Konzils (1414–1418) in den letzten 100 Jahren* (Paderborn: 1995).

22 Phillip H. Stump, *The Reforms of the Council of Constance (1414–1418)* (Leiden: 1994), 31–42.

23 Pierre d'Ailly worked out an electoral procedure that was rejected by King Sigismund, but in a modified version was implemented: Stump, *Reforms*, 34; Frenken, *Erforschung*, 168.

Yet, within the council's structure, the cardinals were hardly visible as a rank of their own. Its president was elected each month, and this post was often occupied by a distinguished bishop.²⁴ The preparation of decrees was basically carried out by the nations of the council that had only had informal positions in Pisa. Nor was the rank of the cardinals mentioned in the relevant sources on the ceremonial of the council's sessions.²⁵ This reflects the fact that the cardinal's status could functionally be determined by the papal election, yet, it could not be defined as a clerical order or on the basis of specific judicial duties. However, the cardinals present at Constance were far from idle regarding the debate on reform as can be inferred from the suggestions by Pierre d'Ailly or the correspondence by Francesco Zabarella.²⁶ Many decrees on the cardinalate were included in the concordat between Martin v and the nations of the council, which determined the number of cardinals (a maximum of 24) and a certain proportional representation of regions and religious orders within the College. Furthermore, theological and legal education, as well as flawless conduct were declared as prerequisites for promotion to the College.²⁷ In 1436, the decrees were accepted by the Council of Basel.²⁸ The promotion should have been preceded by an open session within the College of Cardinals. For consistency, the apparently whispered *vota auricularia* (meaning that each cardinal separately whispered his consent with the new candidate(s) in the pope's ear) was firmly rejected, in favour of a collegiate counsel. Those decrees are of long-term relevance as they influenced the electoral capitulation of Eugene IV (1431) and were included in the decrees of the Council of Basel.²⁹

2 Basel (1431–47)

Like the brief Council of Pavia/Siena (1423–24), the Council of Basel was summoned by Martin v based on the Constance decree *Frequens* that required regular meetings. *Frequens* aimed at eliminating (Hussite) heresy, reforming the Church, and establishing peace in Christianity. Martin v had already

24 Stump, *Reforms*, 33, mainly referring to Sigismund's abiders amongst the bishops.

25 Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, "Zum Zeremoniell auf den Konzilien von Konstanz und Basel," *Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 49 (1969), 273–92.

26 Stump, *Reforms*, 30.

27 Dendorfer and Lützelshwab, *Geschichte*, 376.

28 Dendorfer and Lützelshwab, *Geschichte*, 340, 377–78.

29 Stefan Sudmann, *Das Basler Konzil: Synodale Praxis zwischen Routine und Revolution* (Frankfurt: 2005), 415–17.

appointed Giuliano Cesarini as the council's president and Cesarini took its lead after a military expedition had been undertaken against the Hussites.³⁰ At the same time, however, the relation between Martin and the College of Cardinals had become critical, a situation that prolonged itself under his successor Eugene IV.³¹ Subsequently, the cardinals established themselves as a third group holding power next to the pope and the council.³² Furthermore, the electoral capitulation Eugene had signed meant that he could not make decisions independently from the College of Cardinals.³³ While one part of the Sacred College was more or less loyal to him throughout 1431–34, the other part opposed him and sided with the council.

Furthermore, Domenico Capranica's (1400–58) position remained unresolved after the conclave of 1431. Capranica had been appointed a cardinal by Martin V, yet had not officially received his *galero* and ring. Although Capranica had advocates amongst the Colonna faction, he was robbed of his dignity as a cardinal by Eugene. Capranica appealed to the council (see also DeSilva's chapter in this volume).

Other cardinals like Alfonso Carrillo, Branda Castiglione and especially Prospero Colonna also expected a weakening of their positions under the new pope: in Italian politics, Carrillo and Castiglione had sided with Milan against Venice, the city of Eugene's birth. Besides, the Avignonese wanted Carrillo to become papal vicar there, but Eugene appointed his own nephew instead. Juan de Cervantes, a sympathizer of Capranica, and Louis Aleman, also joined the council which meant that from early September, three out of 22 cardinals were present in Basel and another 11 cardinals had made favourable gestures towards the council. In the late autumn of 1432, another 4 cardinals headed for Basel. Thus, at that moment, the pope no longer commanded the majority of the College of Cardinals.

30 Christianson, *Cesarini*, 10–30. For the council of Pavia/Siena the pope appointed four bishops and abbots as presidents: Walter Brandmüller, *Das Konzil von Pavia/Siena 1423–1424* (Paderborn: 2002), 99–104.

31 Michiel Decaluwe, *A Successful Defeat: Eugene IV's Struggle with the Council of Basel for Ultimate Authority in the Church 1431–1449* (Brussels: 2009).

32 Decker, "Politik der Kardinäle"; Johannes Helmuth, *Das Basler Konzil 1431–1449: Forschungsstand und Probleme* (Cologne: 1987), 112.

33 Hans-Jürgen Becker, "Primat und Kardinalat: Die Einbindung der plenitudo potestatis in den päpstlichen Wahlkapitulationen," in *Akten des 26. Deutschen Rechtshistorikertages*, ed. Dieter Simon (Frankfurt: 1987), 109–27; Jürgen Dendorfer, "Veränderungen durch das Konzil? Spuren der Wirkungen des konziliaren Zeitalters auf die Kurie unter Papst Eugen IV.," in *Das Ende des konziliaren Zeitalters (1440–1450)*, ed. Heribert Müller (Munich: 2012), 105–32.

Giuliano Cesarini (1398–1444) played the most important role amongst the cardinals in Basel after Eugene IV confirmed his nomination as its President. The major controversy between council and pope over who had the right to transfer or dissolve it makes Cesarini's key position obvious. Whereas according to the participants from the Holy Roman Empire, including King Sigismund, the council was primarily intended for resolving the schism with the Hussites, Eugene IV put greater emphasis on negotiating re-unification with the Patriarchate of Constantinople – “the Greeks,” as contemporaries called them. These positions had an impact on the respective preference for Basel or for an Italian city as the council's venue (see also Camille Rouxpetel's chapter in this volume). The escalating conflict between pope and council in 1432–33 ranged from a reconstitution of the council to a declaration of its superiority and to a summoning of the pope and the cardinals before it.

The cardinals' opposition to Eugene reflected the pope's isolation within the Church at a wider political level. Curial pressure on the cardinals, threatening them with the loss of benefices, seemed to have been less effective. The pope's submission to the council in early 1433, as well as the compromise regarding the acceptance of the president of the council appointed by the pope, was thus only logical.³⁴ The cardinals present at Basel individually responded to the conflict between pope and council and were only partially followed by Eugene IV's other opponents. So, with the help of the council, Capranica tried to maintain his status as cardinal, Castiglione used the council as an instrument of his anti-papal policy in Milan, and Carrillo competed with pope's nephew Marco Condulmer (and later with Cardinal Pierre de Foix) for the vicariate in Avignon which he had been granted by the council.³⁵ Cesarini applied “controlled pressure” on Eugene by warning him of an imminent escalation, engaging in conciliar commissions after he had vacated his office on Eugene's order, and petitioning Roman cardinals to use their influence on the pope.³⁶ When the council began impeachment proceedings against Eugene, the cardinals, Cesarini in particular, found themselves in a quandary. They were trapped between the majority of the council on the one hand, and King Sigismund and Venice on the other.³⁷ Thus, the cardinals' position as the third power within the Church besides the pope and the council brought severe pressure on them,

34 Gerald Christianson, “Nicholas of Cusa and the Presidency Debate at the Council of Basel 1434,” in *Nicholas of Cusa on Christ and the Church*, ed. Gerald Christianson (Leiden: 1996), 87–103; Decaluwe, *Successful Defeat*, 100–51.

35 Heribert Müller, *Die Franzosen, Frankreich und das Basler Konzil* (Paderborn: 1990), 2:475–500.

36 Decker, *Politik der Kardinäle*, 326.

37 Christianson, *Cesarini*, 92–112; Helmrath, *Basler Konzil*, 116.

particularly from the Empire and from France. Cardinal Niccolò Albergati assumed a particular role: he had been appointed president of the council by Eugene IV in the spring of 1433 and refused to be monopolized by any of the parties; in addition, he refused to be incorporated into the council and rejected the conciliarist interpretation of Constance's decree *Haec sancta* (1415).³⁸

In the course of Eugene's submission to the council and the quarrel about the oath of the presidents appointed by the pope (1433–34), the majority of the cardinals again turned to the pope, however, without abandoning their conciliarist dogmatics.³⁹ They unanimously prevented both the Emperor and the council from seizing power during the vacuum caused by Eugene's illness and his political weakness, an event which would have resulted in either having exercised much greater influence over the Papal States – through this, the cardinals safeguarded their income from the Papal States. It was especially thanks to the mediation by Sigismund and Cesarini, that Eugene finally submitted to the council, accepting its right to regulate its own presidency and confirming Domenico Capranica as cardinal. Thus, the position of the cardinals towards the pope had clearly been strengthened.

Regarding the issues of reform and the question whether the council was able to commission a legation, the cardinals increasingly distanced themselves from the assembly; it had become increasingly influenced by France throughout the second half of 1433. This swing was intensified by the Roman upheaval against the pope in early 1434.⁴⁰ Albergati and Cervantes were sent as legates to the pope, a journey which they welcomed; and thus they stayed with him for the time being. Capranica also came to Rome in 1435 and left the Avignon administration to Cardinal Foix; Rochetaillée, Castiglione, and Colonna also left Basel.⁴¹ When in 1437 the council reached its worst crisis over the transfer to Ferrara for the purpose of negotiating the unification with the patriarchate of Constantinople (see also Rouxpetel's chapter in this volume), only three cardinals remained: Cesarini and Cervantes left Basel for the papal council in Ferrara and only Louis Aleman stayed to assume the presidency of the council's "rump."

After the council had deposed Eugene IV and after it had appointed Felix V, who had to appoint new cardinals, in due course Eugene removed Aleman

38 Thomas Prügl, "Antiquis iuribus et dictis sanctorum conformare: Zur antikonkiliaristischen Interpretation von *Haec sancta* auf dem Basler Konzil," *Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum* 31 (1999), 72–144.

39 Decker, *Politik der Kardinäle*, 374.

40 Helmuth, *Basler Konzil*, 117.

41 Joseph Gill, *Konstanz und Basel-Florenz*, Geschichte der ökumenischen Konzilien 9 (Mainz: 1967), 190.

from office and deprived him of his ecclesiastical titles accusing him of schism, heresy, and conspiracy against the Pope. It was not until after Felix's resignation in 1449, that Aleman's former titles were restored by Eugene's successor Nicholas v.⁴² Aleman was the only cardinal present at Felix's election who on his part appointed new cardinals. Of course, this antipapal "College" was by no means independent but was rather bound to the council to such an extent that some of its proposed members refused the red hat (e.g. Talaru).⁴³

Yet the Council of Basel had staged itself as a conciliar counter project against the Curia (*concilium perpetuum*) and seized many controversial questions usually decided on by the latter, so the cardinalate became superfluous in Basel's conciliarism – a path that led to a dead end.⁴⁴ The Council of Basel therefore reflects the development of the cardinalate from a rank within the Church that had at least partially been independent from the pope to one with ever-closer ties to the papacy. At the same time, the council was brought again under the control of the pope after the Schism and the crisis in Basel; a fact underlined by the Council of Ferrara-Florence and the appointment of new cardinals in 1439.⁴⁵

3 Ceremonial Transformations

The Council of Basel urged theologians to reconsider their positions with regard to the cardinalate and the episcopate.⁴⁶ More important, however, was the development of the conciliar ceremonial in Basel's aftermath. The cardinals had been rather irrelevant *as cardinals* at Basel.⁴⁷ However, this changed with the conciliar procedures in the *Caeremoniale Romanae Curiae* which the papal master of ceremonies Agostino Patrizi Piccolomini (ca. 1435–1495) drew up in 1488 on the basis of his experiences at Constance, Basel, and

42 See also the chapter by Jennifer Mara DeSilva.

43 Sudmann, *Basler Konzil*, 119–26 and 418f.

44 Johannes Helmraath, "Basel, the Permanent Synod? Observations on Duration and Continuity at the Council of Basel (1431–1449)," in Christianson, *Nicholas of Cusa*, 35–56.

45 Concetta, "I cardinali al concilio di Firenze," 147–73.

46 Werner Krämer, *Konsens und Rezeption: Verfassungsprinzipien der Kirche im Basler Konziliarismus* (Münster: 1980); Thomas Prügl, "Successores Apostolorum: Zur Theologie des Bischofsamtes im Basler Konziliarismus," in *Für euch Bischof – mit euch Christ*, eds. Manfred Weitlauff and Peter Neuner (St. Ottilien: 1998), 195–217; Schmidt, *Die Konzilien und der Papst*, 77–95. See also the chapter by David S. Chambers in this volume.

47 Schimmelpfennig, "Zeremoniell," 286; Natacha-Ingrid Tinteroff, "Assemblée conciliaire et liturgie aux conciles de Constance et Bâle," *Cristianesimo nella Storia* 27 (2005), 395–425; Helmraath, *Basler Konzil*, 113; Sudmann, *Basler Konzil*, 416.

Ferrara-Florence.⁴⁸ It is unsurprising for a curial document, yet relevant for the cardinals, that Patrizi Piccolomini emphasized the extraordinary position of the papal throne. The cardinals' seats were aligned with those of the other prelates. Their configuration was to serve as the role model for the royal thrones in the event that a king participated in a council. Cardinal bishops and cardinal priests were seated to the pope's right and cardinal deacons to his left. Thus, the cardinal bishop of Ostia, as the highest-ranking cardinal, occupied the second highest position within the council – just as he did in consistory, as Domenico Jacovacci, for example, emphasized.⁴⁹

Thus, Roman curial ceremonial practices served as the role model for the council's seating plan. This was obvious insofar as several church officers were seated according to their rank in the Cappella Papalis or in public consistory.⁵⁰ The close bonds between the pope and the College of Cardinals, theologically expressed by the image of the single body since the 13th century, were visible in the council's ceremonial around 1500 only to a more limited degree. Whereas the cardinals occupied the first rank amongst the council's members, the pope was visually clearly separated from the cardinals in order to underline his ecclesiological position. This concept was implemented and partially increased in the Fifth Lateran Council.

4 The Fifth Lateran Council (1512–17)

In the run-up to the Fifth Lateran Council, the ecclesiastical hierarchy was somewhat disturbed when seven cardinals and several bishops, supported by the French King Louis XII, refused obedience to Pope Julius II (1503–13) and summoned a council to Pisa in order to depose him.⁵¹ The pope reacted by also summoning a council which started in May 1512 and which Leo X (1513–21)

48 Marc Dykmans (ed.), *L'Oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini ou le cérémonial papal de la première Renaissance*, 2 vols. (Vatican City: 1980–85).

49 Domenico Jacovacci, *De concilio* (Rome: 1538), 47.

50 Jörg Bölling, "Das Papstzeremoniell der Hochrenaissance: Normierungen – Modifikationen – Revisionen," in Schmidt and Wolf, *Ekklesiologische Alternativen*, 273–307.

51 Nelson H. Minnich, "The Healing of the Pisan Schism," *Annuario Historiae Conciliorum* 16 (1984), 59–192; Minnich, "Rite Convocare ac Congregare Procedereque: The Struggle between the Council of Pisa-Milan-Asti-Lyons and Lateran V," in Minnich, *Concils of the Catholic Reformation: Pisa I (1409) to Trent (1545–63)* (Aldershot: 2008), no. IX; Jean-Louis Gazzaniga, "L'Appel au Concile dans la politique Gallicane de la monarchie de Charles VII à Louis XII," *Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique* 85 (1984), 111–29.

continued after Julius' death in February 1513.⁵² Especially because of the council's genuinely ecclesiological purpose for meeting, ceremonial questions were of the utmost significance. Therefore, the papal master of ceremonies, Paride Grassi orchestrated the council's ceremonies with the greatest care.⁵³ In contrast to the poorly attended Council of Pisa, the Lateran Council was supposed to emphasize the pope's outstanding position in the Church. In this respect, the interior disposition of the assembly hall was unambiguous: the pedestal for the papal throne was supposed to be as high as the backrests of the kings' thrones which were installed in order to make the French king and Emperor Maximilian symbolically present – despite their physical absence.⁵⁴ Also elements of papal court ceremonial were also adopted and, according to the liturgical model of the *cappella papalis*, masses and ceremonial celebrations were always presided over by a cardinal with Julius II participating in the garb of the council's president.⁵⁵ At the Fifth Lateran Council, the cardinals were Council Fathers as well as the pope's "governmental committee" since the Curia's everyday business had to be continued.

Under Julius II, the council was dominated by efforts to condemn the heretic Pisan Council, its record and followers, and to oppose Gallicanism which was rejected ceremoniously during the sessions. Conciliar decrees were issued as papal bulls *sacro approbante concilio* and thus, the council had no independent function. Bishops and abbots were present – if at all – as onlookers. On the other hand, from 1513, participants of the Council of Pisa were gradually reintegrated in consistory by means of a reconciliation with the pope and their readmission into the College of Cardinals.⁵⁶ The pope was in charge of assigning the schismatics their position within the Church after a penitential ceremony.⁵⁷ The College of Cardinals was staged as *pars corporis papae* and mainly served as the centre of events between the pope and the penitent.

52 Olivier de la Brosse, *Lateran v und Trient* (Geschichte der ökumenischen Konzilien, 10) (Mainz: 1978).

53 Marc Dykmans, "Le cinquième Concile du Latran d'après le Diaire de Paris de Grassi," *Annuaire Historiae Conciliorum* 14 (1982), 271–369; Nelson H. Minnich, "Paride de Grassi's Diary of the Fifth Lateran Council," in Minnich, *Councils of the Catholic Reformation*, 370–460.

54 Nelson H. Minnich and Heinrich W. Pfeiffer, "De Grassi's 'Conciliabulum' at Lateran v: The De Gargiis Woodcut of Lateran v Re-Examined," *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 19 (1981), 147–73.

55 Dykmans, *Le cinquième Concile du Latran*, 293, 299, 305, 311, and 324.

56 Minnich, *Healing*, 105–11; see also the chapter by Jennifer Mara DeSilva in this volume.

57 Schmidt, *Die Konzilien und der Papst*, 128–30.

It was not until after the Church's reunification under Leo X that the council dealt with questions of Church reform more extensively.⁵⁸ This revealed the bishops' crucial position: they were undisputedly indispensable for a reform in situ. But many bishops were opposed to curial cardinals using reform decrees to confirm financial privileges in their dioceses and they faced the privileges of mendicant orders vis-à-vis episcopal authority. In April 1514, the bishops therefore threatened to reject decisions on curial reform or to absent themselves from the first meeting, which led to modifications of the template. In the course of the controversy over the privileges of exemption of the mendicant orders, the bishops managed to postpone the decisive session for almost a year. This must certainly be seen in the context of the bishops' conception of their office: according to conciliar theory, they were supposed to act as judges in matters of faith and discipline, and thus they attempted to found a "bishops' union" (*sodalitium episcoporum*).⁵⁹ The cardinals, on the other hand, acted as representatives of their rank's interests. This fact hints at the opposition between the Curia and the council as a leitmotif in conciliar history. We may also note a correspondence with the description of the cardinalate as *officium cum dignitate* in the treatise by Domenico Jacovacci that was to become influential in subsequent centuries. The *officium* – as the main part of the definition – refers to the cardinal's functions, in the first place the election and advising of the pope. *Dignitas* includes the rank and all corresponding authorities. In contrast to the patriarchs and the bishops, the cardinalate is not a higher *dignitas* but a *maior officium*.⁶⁰

5 Trent (1545–63)

Even though the Council of Trent did not present an ecclesiological concept, one can speak of an "implicit" ecclesiology that is reflected in the conciliar

58 Nelson H. Minnich, "Julius II and Leo X as Presidents of the Fifth Lateran Council (1512–17)," in *La Papauté à la Renaissance*, eds. Florence Alazard and Frank La Brasca (Paris: 2007), 153–66.

59 Francis Oakley, "Conciliarism at the Fifth Lateran Council?," *Church History* 71 (1972), 452–63 and Nelson H. Minnich, "The Proposals for an Episcopal College at Lateran V," in *Ecclesia militans: Studien zur Konzilien- und Reformationsgeschichte*, eds. Walter Brandmüller et al. (Paderborn: 1988), 1:213–32.

60 Jacovacci, *De concilio*, 48. In the tract *Synodia Ugonia episcopi Phamaugustani. De Conciliis*, ([Toscolano]: ca.1534), fol. 59r-v, compiled in the context of the Fifth Lateran council by Mattia Ugoni, the terms *dignitas* and *officium* are used synonymously; Sieben, *Traktate und Theorien*, 209–80.

methods.⁶¹ A ceremonial source, the “Ordo,” written by the council’s secretary Angelo Massarelli (1510–66) after its completion, unintentionally provides an insight into interesting ecclesiological tendencies of the council.⁶² It also indicates the role the cardinals played at the Council of Trent; Massarelli discusses comprehensively where the envoys of secular rulers were seated but writes nothing of the cardinals’ seating arrangements.⁶³ By “cardinals,” Massarelli primarily meant the papal legates; “regular” cardinals, however, are barely mentioned. Despite the complex history of the Council of Trent, it can be said that during its three periods, the cardinals fulfilled three different functions: as presidents, as bishops in the rank of a cardinal, and as cardinals in the Curia.⁶⁴

The office of the council’s president was always executed by the papal *legati a latere* (see Alexander Koller’s chapter in this volume): Gian Maria del Monte (1487–1555; Julius III after 1550); Marcello Cervini (1501–55; Marcellus II in 1555); and Reginald Pole (1500–58), were put in charge during the first period of the council (1545–48); Marcello Crescenzi (1500–52) was supported by two (arch-)bishops as legates during the second period (1551–52); and finally a group of cardinals headed by Girolamo Seripando (1493–1563), Ercole Gonzaga (1505–63), Ludovico Simonetta (ca. 1500–68), and later Giovanni Morone (1509–80) during the third period (1562–63).⁶⁵ The transition of the council’s conduct was accompanied by a new perception of cardinals as representatives: during the first period, the pope and the College of Cardinals could be represented by three legates who acted *in persona papae*; besides, each of them was part of a different rank in the Sacred College. In the third period, however, the legates were defined merely by their function as president, since with such a

61 Giuseppe Alberigo, “Concezioni della chiesa al Concilio di Trento e nell’età moderna,” in *Il Concilio di Trento: Istanze di riforma e aspetti dottrinali*, ed. Massimo Marcocchi (Milan: 1997), 117–53.

62 Umberto Mazzone, “Versammlungs- und Kontrolltechniken,” in *Das Konzil von Trient und die Moderne*, eds. Paolo Prodi and Wolfgang Reinhard (Berlin: 2001), 79–106; Klaus Ganzer, “Zu den Geschäftsordnungen der drei letzten allgemeinen Konzilien: Ekklesiologische Implikationen,” in *Juri canonico promovendo*, eds. Winfried Aymans and Karl-Theodor Geringer (Regensburg: 1994), 835–67.

63 Angelo Massarelli, “Ordo celebrandi concilii generalis Tridentini,” in *Concilium Tridentinum*, ed. Klaus Ganzer (Freiburg i.Br.: 2001), 131, 680–96.

64 Hubert Jedin, *Geschichte des Konzils von Trient*, 4 vols. (Freiburg i.Br.: 1949–75); John W. O’Malley, *Trent: What Happened at the Council* (Cambridge, MA: 2013).

65 William Hudon, *Marcello Cervini and Ecclesiastical Government in Tridentine Italy* (DeKalb: 1992), 43–69; Criscuolo, “Marcello Cervini,” 103–25; Michele Cassese, “Girolamo Seripando, il Concilio di Trento e la riforma della Chiesa,” in *Geronimo Seripando e la Chiesa del suo tempo*, ed. Antonio Cestaro (Rome: 1997), 189–225; Firpo and Niccoli, *Il cardinale Giovanni Morone*.

heterogeneous group, a representation of the pope was no longer possible.⁶⁶ In each period, the cardinals stood at the intersection between pope and council and therefore, they had to protect the pope's interests against the council while also obtaining enough freedom for the council in order to ensure its continuity. Thus, not every decision was met with approval, particularly during the initial discussions of the council regarding the procedure, or during its crisis in the spring of 1563.

A second group was formed by comparatively few cardinals who attended the council and had not been mandated by the pope, like the bishops of Trent, Cristoforo and Ludovico Madruzzo, or the Spaniard Pedro Pacheco (1488–1560), who attended the council during its first two phases in his role as bishop of Jaén and spokesman of the Spanish bishops. Pacheco continuously demanded the council's protection against dominance by the Curia as well as the consistent treatment of questions of reform. During the third phase, Charles de Guise (1524–74), cardinal of Lorraine and representative of the French king, voiced the French opinion on the decree of episcopal consecration and thus supported an ecclesiology that greatly differed from the Curia.⁶⁷ Even though Pacheco and Guise's views and interests differed significantly, they had one thing in common: they acted not as members of the clergy but leaders of a pressure group.

Finally, we must not forget the cardinals who did not attend the council but remained in Rome to set the course for the conciliar process. Here the cardinal nephews must be mentioned because they acted as "filters" between the legates and the pope, accepting the legates' reports and issuing them instructions about the direction of the council (see Birgit Emich's chapter in this volume). This was particularly true of Alessandro Farnese (1520–89) during the council's first period and Charles Borromeo (1538–84) during its third – their continuous correspondences with the papal legates reflect several important issues, particularly conciliar procedures. Furthermore, there was a deputation of cardinals in charge of the issues of the council even prior to the first session to

66 Bernward Schmidt, "Repräsentanten des Papstes – Repräsentation der Gesamtkirche," in Schmidt and Wolf, *Ekklesiologische Alternativen*, 121–41.

67 For the French, the consecration provided the bishop with *potestas ordinis* and *potestas jurisdictionis* conferred to him immediately by God; the Curia considered the jurisdictional power as conferred by God with the pope as intermediary, assigning to each bishop his diocese. Klaus Ganzer, "Gallikanische und römische Primatsauffassung im Widerstreit: Zu den ekklesiologischen Auseinandersetzungen auf dem Konzil von Trient," in *Kirche auf dem Weg durch die Zeit: Institutionelles Werden und theologisches Ringen: Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, eds. Heribert Smolinsky and Johannes Meier (Münster: 1997), 282–334.

which belonged future legates of the first two phases as well as Gian Domenico de Cupis, dean of the College, or Gian Pietro Carafa (the future Paul IV).⁶⁸ The deputation discussed questions that Pope Paul III (1534–49) was only willing to decide on Alessandro Farnese's advice – issues such as, for example, the council's translation to Bologna or its return to Trent (1547).⁶⁹ In this way, the councils of the 16th century mirror a general development: cardinals showed closer ties to the papacy, while some of them acted as spokesmen for their kings. Thus, the College of Cardinals was no longer an independent third party in conciliar matters, but a part of the papal court and administration.

6 The *Concilio Romano* (1725)

This tendency towards shared goals between the cardinals and the pope intensified during the only synod attended by a pope between the end of the Council of Trent and the First Vatican Council (1869–70): the provincial synod held by Benedict XIII (1724–30) in 1725 for the church province of Rome. A fundamental question for the pope's self-conception arose at this gathering: could the pope be reduced to the function of the metropolitan of the Church's Roman province or were papal actions automatically valid for the Universal Church?⁷⁰ In order to circumvent this issue, the term *Concilio Romano* was agreed for this synod: *Concilio* meaning the universality of a papal council, *Romano* indicating the restriction to the Roman church province.⁷¹ This tension also manifested itself in the *Concilio Romano's* decrees and, particularly, in the role of the Curia and the College of Cardinals. Contrary to Benedict XIII's intentions, the cardinals were by no means willing simply to place themselves on the same level with the bishops.⁷² The cardinals disputed the need for a synod, since according to their understanding, there was already a well-functioning Curia with whose help all regulations could be worked out and implemented effectively. Therefore, the cardinals dominated the debates by preparing drafts of decrees in the curial institutions and by their speeches, while bishops were hardly

68 Jedin, *Geschichte des Konzils von Trient*, 2:34–41.

69 Jedin, *Geschichte des Konzils von Trient*, 3:112 and 225.

70 Luigi Fiorani, *Il Concilio Romano del 1725* (Rome: 1977); Bernward Schmidt, *Das Concilio Romano 1725: Anspruch und Symbolik einer päpstlichen Provinzialsynode* (Münster: 2012).

71 Maria Teresa Fattori, "Il concilio provinciale del 1725: Liturgie e concezioni del papato a confronto," *Cristianesimo nella storia* 29 (2008), 53–111.

72 Stefano Tabacchi, "Cardinali zelanti e fazioni cardinalizie tra fine seicento e inizio settecento," in *La corte di Roma tra Cinque e Seicento: "Teatro" della politica europea*, eds. Gianvittorio Signorotto and Maria Antonietta Visceglia (Rome: 1998), 139–65.

given a chance to speak.⁷³ Finally, the cardinals were present as a College during all liturgical celebrations and had the right to vote first. Thus, the *Concilio Romano* by no means reflected the Roman ecclesiastical church province but rather mirrored the hierarchy of the Universal Church as it was conceived during the Council of Trent.⁷⁴ In this hierarchy, the cardinals were clearly superordinate to the bishops because of their papal association. Yet, the curial reforms of Sixtus V had transformed them into a functional bureaucratic elite holding leading positions in the congregations (see Miles Pattenden's chapter in this volume). At the same time, the consistory was obviously restricted to ceremonial occasions, e.g. the visits of princes or the creation of new cardinals.⁷⁵ As cardinals were normally members of more than one congregation, 18th-century cardinals had an advantage of information over the bishops, who could hardly – or maybe even did not want to – overcome this imbalance.

7 Conclusion

The different dimensions of councils enable us to consider and analyze the College of Cardinals as a particular part of the Church from an ecclesiological perspective. While the College was increasingly discredited as an electoral body and seemed to require supplementation in Pisa and Constance, and while it aspired at least partial independence from the pope and the Council in Basel, the cardinals' relationship to the pope was finally defined at Basel. Only as a result of this, the departure of a cardinal from the College in 1511 had become synonymous with opposition against the pope. Order was dogmatically restored by the Lateran Council and legally restored by the pope within consistory. In the context of the Council of Trent, cardinals – except for bishops who held the rank of a cardinal and/or were the spokesmen of secular rulers – acted as the pope's representatives or his direct advisors. The more the cardinal's office turned into a leading administrative office of the Curia, the less individual cardinals saw the need to attend synods – they only participated in them if general ecclesiastical affairs were discussed, as was the case in the *Concilio Romano*. Thus, the Roman Curia dominated the preparation and conduct of this provincial synod, as it later attempted to do during the Vatican Councils of 1869–70 and 1962–65. Vatican II, however, underlined the episcopate's fundamental ecclesiological importance; cardinals appeared there in the first place

73 Schmidt, *Concilio Romano*, 50–165.

74 Schmidt, *Concilio Romano*, 22–24; *ibid.*, *Die Konzilien und der Papst*, 189–207.

75 Ganzer, *Der ekklesiologische Standort*, 130.

as (arch-)bishops of major sees, and only secondarily as heads and members of curial congregations. The fact that bishops and the Curia have continued their confrontation since Vatican II, and also that Pope Francis has considered it prudent to establish the Council of Cardinals (C9), suggests that the developments we have traced here are by no means concluded and that the status of cardinals might be subject to further change.

Translated from German by Corinna Gannon

Cardinals and the Inquisition

Vincenzo Lavenia

1 Medieval Origins?

The Inquisition's medieval origins were recorded by Luis de Páramo (1545–1608), judge of the Spanish Holy Office (*Sant'Uffizio*) in Sicily and author of the institution's first history. Páramo described how Urban IV, worried about the difficulties Dominicans and Franciscans faced in combatting heresy, had appointed an “inquisitor general” in 1263 to stop heretics from making direct appeals to Rome over the heads of the mendicants and thus escaping justice. The man chosen for this task was the Roman Cardinal Giovanni Gaetano Orsini, later Pope Nicholas III (1277–80). According to a brief preserved in Bologna and published in 1578 by Francisco Peña, Orsini was given the task of liaising with the magistrates of the *officium fidei* examining contentious or disputed cases.¹ Páramo used a comment by judge Camillo Campeggi in 1568 in another late medieval manual for inquisitors to claim that Nicholas III in turn had appointed another cardinal to this office: Latino Malabranca Orsini, a Dominican friar, master of theology, legate to Bologna and Tuscia – and, most significantly, also the pope's own nephew.² According to Páramo, it was not until Clement VI's pontificate that another cardinal was nominated to this position. This was Cardinal Guillaume d'Aure (d. 1353) from Toulouse, former Abbot of Carcasone, one of the cities in which the fight against heresy was particularly violent during the 13th and 14th centuries. D'Aure had condemned some dissidents to burn at the stake, but after his death – again, according to Páramo – no other cardinal was nominated inquisitor. The functions of cardinals and inquisitors, therefore, remained separate until the threat posed by the Protestant reformers persuaded Paul III to set up a special Congregation of the Roman Curia: the papal Holy Office, established in 1542 with the bull *Licet ab initio*.³

1 Nicolau Eymerich, *Directorium Inquisitorum* [...] *cum scholiis seu annotationibus eruditissimis D. Francisci Pegnæ* (Rome: 1578), pars III, scholium X, 121–22.

2 Zanchino Ugolini, *Tractatus de haereticis, cum additionibus f. Camilli Campegij* (Rome: 1568), 256–62. Campeggi did not discuss Latino Orsini as an inquisitor but limited himself to discussing his letters to a Ferrarese judge about the treatment of the Jews in 1281.

3 Luis de Páramo, *De origine et progressu officii Sanctae Inquisitionis* (Madrid: 1598), 124–125. See also Kimberly Lynn Hossain, “Was Adam the First Heretic? Diego de Simancas, Luis de

In their histories of the Inquisition, Campeggi, like Peña, and Páramo all attempted to create a tradition for what they saw as an innovation of their own era. Yet the tribunal of the Holy Office's centralization marked an important development that set it apart from the medieval tradition: prior to the founding of the Congregation of the Roman Inquisition, popes did not normally delegate control over orthodoxy to one of their cardinals. The issue of continuity between the medieval and the early modern inquisitions has long been controversial amongst scholars, and thus merits further research.

Thanks to several recent studies, it is now clear that the three examples of the medieval Inquisition cited above were not unique. Even if the figure of the inquisitor general did not exist in the Middle Ages – Henry Charles Lea, in his pioneering study, attempted to trace the origins of this position before the foundation of the Spanish Inquisition in 1478 – the title was used just occasionally in papal documents from 1242 onwards to identify the judges appointed to undertake investigations in certain regions of Europe.⁴ Moreover, from the 13th century onwards, some cardinals intervened by directing these inquisitors, especially in provinces of the papal dominions such as the region of Avignon and in central Italy.⁵ Wolfram Benziger has clarified that Giovanni Gaetano Orsini is described in papal briefs of 1262 as supervisor in the fight against heresy, which was led by the Dominicans and the Franciscans in both Italy and countries across the Alps. The cardinal acted as referee or protector: he had to be informed when an inquisitor was obstructed in the exercise of his duties but he was not himself the head of an inquisitorial board complete with judicial functions; nor did his counsel carry the same force of law that the Holy Office would have in the decades after 1542. Not even the Franciscan Bentivegna de' Bentivegni (d. ca. 1290), the Major Penitentiary, held the position of “inquisitor general,” despite the fact that he provided formal replies (*responsa*) to several judges involved in the suppression of heresy.⁶

Unlike the abbots, bishops, and their vicars, who according to ecclesiastical law were regular magistrates of the Church in matters of heresy, moral crimes

Páramo, and the Origins of Inquisitorial Practice,” *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 97 (2006), 184–210.

- 4 Henry Charles Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages* (New York: 1888), 1:397.
- 5 Riccardo Parmeggiani, “Inquisizione e Frati Minori in Romagna, Umbria e Marche nel Duecento,” in *Frati Minori e Inquisizione* (Spoleto: 2006), 115–50, referring to cardinal Conte Casati (1281–97) and to Benedetto Caetani, the later Pope Boniface VIII (1294–1303). See also Riccardo Parmeggiani, *I consilia procedurali per l'Inquisizione medievale* (Bologna: 2011), passim.
- 6 Wolfram Benziger, “Dezentralisierung und Zentralisierung: Mittelalterliche Ketzerinquisition und neuzeitliche römische Inquisition,” *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 81 (2001), 67–106.

and superstition, cardinals were not perceived as judges but rather as papal counsellors and electors. They were members of a “senate,” assisting the electoral monarchs and governing the ecclesiastical hierarchy in case of grave negligence or heresy of the popes. More significantly, the foundation of the Congregation of the Holy Office did little to change this perception, and treatises on the ideal cardinal (see David S. Chambers’ chapter in this volume) rarely discussed the position of cardinals as judges of the Faith.⁷ While Paolo Cortesi and Giovanni Girolamo Albani had published their discourses prior to Paul III’s *Licet ab initio*, later authors largely ignored the role of the cardinals as inquisitors. Not even Giovanni Botero, who dedicated his *Dell’uffitio del cardinale* to the Spanish Inquisitor General Cardinal Niño de Guevara (1541–1609), discussed Guevara’s position at the head of the *Suprema* (Supreme Council).⁸ This is all the more surprising given that in the aftermath of the Council of Trent, the lawyer Girolamo Manfredi had stressed the Sacred College’s pivotal role in stemming the spread of heresies that could threaten the Church’s survival and brought with them the risk of schism. Even if the pope would not intervene, or was “negligent,” Manfredi stated, the cardinals were obliged to take the initiative and call for a council that could condemn the pope if he were found to be heretical. If, on the other hand, a cardinal were guilty of heresy, the Sacred College would have to act in order to prevent harm to the Church (Manfredi, however, did not explain what this involved).⁹ Sixtus v’s bull, *Immensa aeterni Dei* (1588), reorganized the Curia into fifteen separate congregations (see Miles Pattenden’s chapter in this volume), placing the Inquisition at their apex. Gabriele Paleotti discussed how this new governmental system had converted cardinals from princes into high papal officials but even he failed to explain the role played by cardinals as judges of heresy.¹⁰

There may have been little interest in the cardinal inquisitor in treatises of the period but there were developments in legislation that furthered his role. Paul III’s *Licet ab initio* marked a significant change: while the opening of the Council of Trent was delayed by war, the pope nominated a number of cardinals

7 Nicoletta Pellegrino, “Nascita di una ‘burocrazia’: Il cardinale nella trattatistica del XVI secolo,” in *“Familia” del principe e famiglia aristocratica*, ed. Cesare Mozzarelli (Rome: 1988), 2:631–77.

8 Giovanni Botero, *Dell’uffitio del cardinale libri due* (Rome: 1599).

9 Girolamo Manfredi, *De cardinalibus Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae liber* (Bologna: 1564), 98: “were a schism to arise or any other serious case such that it was necessary to convoke a council to occur, then the right to convoke the council pertains to the cardinals if the pope himself neglects to do so” (“Orto scismate, vel alio casu gravi occurrente, in quo concilium convocare debet, si papa sit negligens in eo congregando, tunc convocandi concilij facultas ad Cardinales pertinet”) and 93.

10 Gabriele Paleotti, *De sacri Consistorii consultationibus* (Rome: 1592), 309–16, pars v, quaestio XI, “De Congregationibus cardinalium.”

as inquisitors general (even *generalissimi*), giving them even pre-eminence over bishops in investigations, trials, and the punishment of heresy wherever it occurred, without legal restriction, even within the Roman Curia (“we assign cardinals ... as inquisitor generals, with our apostolic authority, in each and every town, region, mountain, land and location of the Christian Republic, on this side and also beyond the mountains, even if it is ... in the Roman Curia”).¹¹ From that moment onwards, it fell to the cardinals of the Holy Office to select and appoint local magistrates, tax officials, officers, and all other functionaries of the tribunals, depriving the mendicant orders of their authorities in these matters – and they alone were permitted to receive and judge appeals. By this means the pope ceded a part of his own powers of delegation and pardon to a part of the Sacred College, which thus acquired the character of a magistracy for heresy, an important step in the creation of the modern papal monarchy.

The new court of cardinal inquisitors had to start without any conciliar decrees, but the plan of centralization adopted by Paul III that had been taken as a measure of urgency (which soon became normal practice) was not a Roman invention. Indeed, it was an important feature of the Inquisition that had been created at the end of the 15th century in Castile and Aragon – and the Portuguese Crown was also planning a similar magistracy. Paul III's bull deliberately specified that the jurisdiction of the Roman Inquisition, which in theory was to extend across the entire Catholic world, did not apply within the realm of the Habsburg monarchy of Spain (and, after 1580, Portugal). Before discussing the relation of cardinals with the Inquisition from a Roman (and Italian) perspective, it is therefore necessary to discuss what the situation was in the Iberian peninsula.

2 Cardinals and Inquisitors in Spain

On 5 June 1507 Ferdinand II of Aragon appointed the Franciscan Francisco Ximénez de Cisneros (1436–1517) as inquisitor general in Castile (he had already persuaded Julius II to grant Cisneros a red hat earlier that year). Cisneros, a strict reformer of the Observant branch of his order, was appointed as Queen

11 *Bullarum Diplomatum et Privilegiorum Sanctorum Romanorum Pontificum*, eds. Luigi Tomassetti et al. (Turin: 1857–72), 6:344: “... cardinales, nostros et apostolicae Sedis in omnibus et singulis reipublicae christianae civitatibus, oppidis, terris et locis, tam citra quam ultra montes, ubilibet etiam in Italia consistentibus ac in Curia romana, super negotio fidei ... inquisitores generales et generalissimos, auctoritate apostolica ... deputamus.”

Isabella's confessor and as Archbishop of Toledo; he founded the university at Alcalá, was the inspiration behind the polyglot Bible, and an ardent supporter of the crusade against Muslims and of the forced conversions at Granada (see Luis Martínez Ferrer's chapter in this volume for more on his career).¹² Cisneros' nomination as cardinal occurred at a time when the College of Cardinals was not so "Italianized" as it would later become under Leo X (see Maria Antonietta Visceglia's chapter in this volume). Moreover, several of Julius II's cardinals took a political decision to back Louis XII of France's calls to convene a council to accuse the pope of negligence so there was scope for vacancies.¹³

In Spain, Cisneros was regent in Castile after the death of Philip of Castile, a post he would retain until the advent of Charles V, and consolidated the inquisitorial machine to punish the Jewish *conversos* and to discipline the "old Christians." This was nevertheless the first time that an inquisitor general had also worn a cardinal's hat – neither Torquemada nor Diego de Deza, both Dominicans, had acquired the power that Cisneros was able to wield as their successor. After the bull *Exigit* (1478), with which Sixtus IV had authorized the Castilian Inquisition, which was soon extended to include Aragon, the organization of the new tribunal soon escaped from the Curia's control – even if, before the arrival of Charles V, popes had tried on various occasions to repeal the concessions they had made to the Spanish monarchy regarding royal rights over the appointment of major Church officials on the Iberian peninsula as well as in their colonies overseas. The right of the accused to appeal to Rome would not be confirmed until after the mid-16th century. Moreover, it was soon evident that inquisitors general enjoyed enormous powers. This was due to the fact that the Inquisitor was an apostolic jurisdiction, meaning that he was a papal appointee nominated with a special brief that allowed him to select and dismiss the staff of the Holy Office; this also gave him authority over archbishops, bishops, and abbots, and over secular and religious magistrates thus enabling suspects to be punished regardless of their rank.

Despite being papal appointees, these inquisitors were always chosen by the Spanish king. However, there were frequent clashes between them and

12 Tarsicio de Azcona, "La Inquisición española procesada por la Congregación General de 1508," in *La Inquisición española. Nueva visión, nuevos horizontes*, ed. Joaquín Pérez Villanueva (Madrid: 1980), 89–164; José García Oro, *El cardenal Cisneros. Vida y empresas*, 2 vols. (Madrid: 1992–93); Erika Rummel, *Jiménez de Cisneros: On the Threshold of Spain's Golden Age* (Tempe: 1999); Stefania Pastore, *Il vangelo e la spada: L'inquisizione di Castiglia e i suoi critici (1460–1598)* (Rome: 2003); Joseph Pérez, *Cisneros, el cardenal de España* (Barcelona: 2014).

13 Nelson Minnich, *Councils of the Catholic Reformation: Pisa 1 (1409) to Trent (1545–63)* (Aldershot: 2008).

both the civic authorities and the monarchy. For example, in 1483, the king decided to set up a *Consejo* or council (the *Suprema*)¹⁴ to curb the inquisitors' arbitrariness – indeed, they experienced rapid changes of fortune when they ran into conflict with the ecclesiastical hierarchy, or, more often, the monarchy, and, later on, the royal favourites. Between the 16th and the 19th centuries, the Spanish monarchy's political crises often resulted in a new inquisitor general being nominated, something which underlines the importance of their role in the network of client-patron relationships at the Spanish court.¹⁵

Thanks to his position as cardinal, however, Cisneros was able to protect the Inquisition during the political transition after Ferdinand's death, when it was under attack both from rival factions at the Spanish court and from the Roman Curia whose manoeuvrings were intended to abolish or, at least, diminish inquisitorial powers. Cisneros' successor, the Flemish canonist lawyer Adriaan Florisz Boeyens (later Pope Adrian VI, 1522–23), combined the positions of inquisitor general of Castile and Aragon with that of cardinal; moreover, for a short period, he also acted as regent for Charles V. Alonso Manrique de Lara, archbishop of Seville, was appointed inquisitor general in 1523 but was not given his cardinal's hat until 1531 – his rank, however, did not protect him from the disgrace which befell him at the Spanish court in 1529.¹⁶ His successor, Juan Pardo de Tavera, who was nominated at the same consistory, served as

14 José Martínez Millán and Teresa Sánchez Rivilla, "El Consejo de Inquisición," *Hispania Sacra* 36 (1984), 71–193; Pilar Huerga Criado, "La etapa inicial del Consejo de Inquisición (1483–1498)," *Hispania Sacra* 37 (1985), 451–63.

15 Miguel Avilés Fernández, "Los inquisidores generales: Estudio del alto funcionariado inquisitorial en los siglos XV y XVI," *Ifigea. Revista de la Sección de Geografía e Historia* 1 (1984), 77–96; Roberto López-Vela, "Sociología de los cuadros inquisitoriales," in *Historia de la Inquisición en España y América*, eds. Joaquín Pérez Villanueva and Bartolomé Escandell Bonet (Madrid: 1993), 2:670–840; Kimberly Lynn Hossain, *Between Court and Confessional: The Politics of Spanish Inquisitors* (New York: 2013), 294–331. The bibliography on the Spanish Inquisition is vast; more recent studies offering a synthesis of earlier publications in which the inquisitor general is discussed: Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition: A Historical Revision* (New Haven: 1997); Jaime Contreras, *Historia de la Inquisición española (1478–1834)* (Madrid: 1997); John Edwards, *The Spanish Inquisition* (Stroud: 1999); Ricardo García-Cárcel and Doris Moreno Martínez, *Inquisición. Historia crítica* (Madrid: 2000); Helen Rawlings, *The Spanish Inquisition* (Oxford: 2006); Francisco Bethencourt, *The Inquisition: A Global History, 1478–1834* (Cambridge, Eng.: 2009). The inquisitorial instructions are partially published in Miguel Jiménez Monteserín, *Introducción a la Inquisición española: Documentos básicos para el estudio del Santo Oficio* (Madrid: 1980).

16 See (even if disputed) Marcel Bataillon, *Erasmus et l'Espagne*, ed. Charles Amiel, 3 vols. (Geneva: 1991).

inquisitor general from 1539 to 1545.¹⁷ Pardo was succeeded by the Dominican García de Loaysa, bishop of Osma, who had been made a cardinal in 1530, and served the Holy Office until a few months before his death in 1546. He in turn was succeeded by the harsh Fernando de Valdés, archbishop of Seville, who did not hesitate to prosecute the archbishop of Toledo, Bartolomé de Carranza y Miranda. Valdés left his mark on the history of the Spanish Inquisition, which saw its power increase in the twenty years of his office; but he was never made a cardinal, largely due to the fact that his policies brought him into conflict with several popes, notably Pius v who had served as inquisitor general in Rome. Valdés was sacked from his post in 1568.¹⁸

Valdés' successors continued to come from the *Colegios mayores* within Spanish universities, from the episcopal hierarchy, from the aristocracy, and from the *Consejos* (state advisory committees); by the 17th century, moreover, they were often royal confessors. However, following the tenures of Diego de Espinosa (inquisitor general 1567–72 and cardinal in 1568) and Gaspar de Quiroga (archbishop of Toledo, inquisitor in 1573–94 and cardinal in 1578), both of whom had major conflicts with the Spanish court, only very few Spanish inquisitors general were given the increased status of *porporati*.¹⁹ The Roman Curia probably aimed to establish the principle that the only true inquisitorial court was in Rome and that it consisted of cardinals. For that reason, popes generally avoided elevating Spanish inquisitors to the purple.

In 1602 Philip III got rid of one of his father's confidants, Cardinal Niño de Guevara, notwithstanding the fact that Niño de Guevara had been given his red hat in 1597 and appointed inquisitor general in 1599, forcing him to "retire" to his diocese of Seville. In 1608 Philip III nominated Bernardo de Sandoval y Rojas, who had received his red hat in 1599 as inquisitor – Rojas was the uncle of the royal favourite, Francisco Gómez de Sandoval y Rojas, Duke of Lerma who, having fallen into disgrace, managed to safeguard his future by negotiating

17 Tavera was Deza's nephew and archbishop of Toledo, see Ignacio Ezquerra Revilla and Henar Pizarro Llorente, "Juan Pardo de Tavera," in *La Corte de Carlos v*, ed. José Martínez Millán (Madrid: 2000), 2:316–25.

18 José Luis González Novalín, *El Inquisidor General Fernando de Valdés (1483–1568)*, 2 vols. (Oviedo: 1968–71).

19 On Espinosa see José Martínez Millán, "Grupos de poder en la Corte durante el reinado de Felipe II: La facción Ebolista, 1554–1573," in *Instituciones y élites de poder en la monarquía hispana durante el siglo XVI*, ed. José Martínez Millán (Madrid: 1992), 11–24; José Antonio Escudero, "Notas sobre la carrera del inquisidor general Cardenal Espinosa," *Revista de la Inquisición* 10 (2001), 7–16; Ezequiel Borgognoni, "Confesionalismo, gobierno y privanza. El cardenal Diego de Espinosa (1565–1572)," *Chronica Nova* 43 (2017), 169–86. On Quiroga who signed the Spanish Index which updated that published by Valdés, see Henar Pizarro Llorente, *Un gran patrón en la Corte de Felipe II: Don Gaspar de Quiroga* (Madrid: 2004).

his own red hat in 1618.²⁰ After Sandoval, the next Spanish inquisitor general elevated was Antonio Zapata de Cisneros y Mendoza, archbishop of Burgos, whom Urban VIII nominated to the Inquisition in 1627, after a long career in royal service. More importantly as a former member of the Roman Holy Office and a cardinal since 1604, Zapata de Cisneros y Mendoza had already served as cardinal protector of the Spanish crown (see Bertrand Marceau's chapter in this volume) and as viceroy of Naples (see Joseph Bergin's chapter in this volume).

Finally, from the end of the Thirty Years' War until the tribunal's abolition in 1834 only four inquisitors general had the extra status of a red hat, and all served short terms of office: Pascual de Aragón (1665–66) was made a cardinal in 1660 but preferred to reside in his archbishopric of Toledo; Alonso Fernández de Córdoba y Aguilar (1699), who received his red hat in 1697; and, during the revolutionary period, Francisco Antonio de Lorenzana (1794–97), who had been created cardinal in 1789 and served as papal legate to Spain (see Alexander Koller's chapter in this volume). Another 18th-century inquisitor, Diego de Astorga y Céspedes (1720), was also made a cardinal in 1727, but only after he had retired from inquisitorial office.

3 Cardinals and Inquisitors in Portugal

The Portuguese Inquisition, which modelled itself on the Spanish example, took more time to become established. The bull *Cum ad nihil magis* (1531), issued by Clement VII, gave King John III the right to nominate a "chief inquisitor," of whom the first to be appointed was Diogo da Silva, royal confessor and bishop of Ceuta. A second Bull, issued by Paul III in 1536 with the same *incipit*, provided Silva with three inquisitors (two of whom had to be bishops) and a council which Silva was to appoint himself. The first mention of an inquisitor general dates from 1539 when the king's brother, Infante Dom Henrique (1512–80) took up the reins of this nascent tribunal and then directed it for forty years until 1579. Dom Henrique turned the Portuguese Inquisition into an instrument tied to the exercise of royal power, even more closely than it was in Spain, and with a jurisdiction that, naturally, stood above that of Portuguese bishops.

20 On Sandoval, who revised the Spanish Index, and who was an "enlightened" inquisitor with respect to witches, but fierce in the prosecution of the *moriscos*, see José Goñi Gaztambide, "El cardenal Bernardo Rojas Sandoval, protector de Cervantes (1546–1618)," *Hispania Sacra* 32 (1980), 125–91.

At first, Rome tried to protect the families of the “new Christians” from repression, but after Dom Henrique was nominated a cardinal in 1545, Paul III issued *Meditatio cordis* (1547) which allowed the Portuguese Inquisition to be restructured so as to enable it to act more effectively against heresy. The first regulations of this Holy Office (of 1552) and all successive ones outlined exactly the powers of the inquisitor general and his council. Dom Henrique had enormous power in Portugal, unparalleled in the context of 16th-century Catholic Europe. As archbishop of Braga, then of Évora and Lisbon, a member of the royal family, and also legate *a latere* which meant he could act on behalf of the pope, Dom Henrique turned the Inquisition into a fearful weapon to combat both religious dissent and the presumed Jewish threat. Moreover, as regent during the minority of Sebastian I, and after the latter’s premature death in 1578, Dom Henrique renounced his red hat (see Jennifer Mara DeSilva’s chapter in this volume) in order to ascend the Portuguese throne (though his reign only lasted a few years before Philip II annexed Portugal). Finally, the competences of the Portuguese Holy Office extended to the censure of books, prosecution of superstition, and of sexual crimes, a jurisdictional scope which undermined the normal ecclesiastical jurisdiction in both Portugal itself and her colonies such as Goa and Bahia, where this harsh tribunal was also introduced.²¹

Of the eighteen inquisitors general who directed the tribunal after the Spanish Monarchy annexed Portugal, only a few were cardinals. Even after Portugal successfully regained her independence from Madrid in 1640 and the change of dynasty in 1668, the Portuguese monarchy never acquired sufficient influence in Rome to nominate its own candidates for the Sacred College. Notwithstanding this general rule, the fourth inquisitor was a cardinal: Archduke Albert of Habsburg, the son of Maximilian II and viceroy of Portugal, who was also, like Dom Henrique, apostolic legate *a latere*. Albert had been created a cardinal in 1577 aged seventeen, *ex peculiari gratia*, by the pro-Spanish Gregory XIII, and he was nominated as head of the tribunal in 1585. He directed the Inquisition and the monarchy for ten years, until Philip II decided that his undoubted political skills were needed more in Flanders, where he served as governor (1595–1621) – a role for which he renounced his cardinal’s hat. Albert’s

21 For a discussion of the Portuguese Inquisition, see Bethencourt, *The Inquisition*; Giuseppe Marcocci and José Pedro Paiva, *História da Inquisição Portuguesa 1536–1821* (Lisbon: 2013). On the *infante*, see Maria do Rosário de Sampaio Themudo Barata de Azevedo Cruz, *As regências na menoridade de D. Sebastião: Elementos para uma história estrutural*, 2 vols. (Lisbon: 1992); Giuseppe Marcocci, *I custodi dell’ortodossia: Inquisizione e chiesa nel Portogallo del Cinquecento* (Rome: 2004); Amélia Polónia, *D. Henrique: O cardeal-rei* (Lisbon: 2005).

power as inquisitor was so great that the papal brief *Inter alias curas* (1586) awarded him the power to put even bishops and Portuguese cardinals on trial for heresy.²² This power was inherited by his successors who after John IV's ascent to the Portuguese throne in 1640 did not hesitate to oppose the monarch by continuing the prosecution of "new Christians."

The Apostolic See did not recognise the Bragança dynasty until 1668 and this was reflected in the choice of inquisitors. It was only with the appointment of Veríssimo de Lencastre in 1676 that the crisis of the Portuguese Inquisition – under attack from "new Christians" and the anti-colonial criticism of the Jesuit António Vieira – was resolved. In 1682, Rome signalled the end of the conflict by giving a red hat to Veríssimo, the first Portuguese cardinal inquisitor since Dom Henrique.²³

Veríssimo's successor was his brother José de Lencastre, who was not a cardinal. The next inquisitor, Nuno da Cunha de Ataíde, served as deputy inquisitor before being promoted to inquisitor general (1707–50) and received his red hat in 1712. John V (1706–50) strengthened Portugal's ties to Rome and was rewarded with the elevation of Lisbon to a patriarchate, the title of *fedelissimo* for the king, and an unprecedented number of cardinals. Cunha in fact resided in Rome in 1721–22, and was a member of the Congregation of the Propaganda Fide (see Giovanni Pizzorusso's chapter in this volume); however, he was not appointed as member of the Roman Inquisition.²⁴

When Joseph I (1750–77) appointed his stepbrother José de Bragança as head of the Holy Office in Portugal, the institution's loss of autonomy was obvious. In 1760, Pombal's government even deposed an inquisitor general, a move that led to a conflict between the Portuguese crown and the Roman Curia, which was only resolved in 1770 with the nomination of the trusted João Cosme de Cunha, archbishop of Évora, who was made a cardinal the same year. Cunha's loyalty to the papal court did not refrain him, however, from issuing a

22 Francisco da Gama Caeiro, *O arquiduque Alberto de Áustria, vice-rei e inquisidor-mor de Portugal, cardeal legado do papa, governador e depois soberano dos Países Baixos* (Lisbon: 1961); Federico Palomo, "Para el sosiego y quietud del reino: En torno a Felipe II y el poder eclesiástico en el Portugal de finales del siglo XVI," *Hispania* 216 (2004), 63–94; Ana Isabel López-Salazar Codes, *Poder y ortodoxia: El gobierno del Santo Oficio en el Portugal de los Austrias (1578–1653)* (Ciudad Real: 2008).

23 José Pedro Paiva, "Lencastre, Veríssimo de," in *Dizionario storico dell'Inquisizione*, eds. Adriano Proserpi, Vincenzo Lavenia and John Tedeschi (Pisa: 2010), 2:882; Ana Isabel López-Salazar, "General Inquisitors and the Portuguese Crown in the Seventeenth Century: Between Political Service and the Defense of the Faith (1578–1705)," *Mediterranean Studies* 21 (2013), 79–90.

24 Maria Luísa Braga, *A Inquisição em Portugal: Primeira metade do séc. XVIII. O inquisidor geral D. Nuno da Cunha de Athaide e Mello* (Lisbon: 1992).

rule in 1774 which asserted the tribunal's independence, and the crown's sole right to nominate the inquisitor general.²⁵

4 The Roman Holy Office: A Court of Cardinals

When Clement VII nominated Callisto Fornari as “inquisitor general for Italy against the Lutheran heresy” in 1532, he might have envisaged an Italian Inquisition modelled on the Spanish example, but this project never materialized.²⁶ The cardinals created by his successor, Paul III, included many churchmen determined to fight the Protestant rebellion. One of these was Gian Pietro Carafa, a prelate of noble Neapolitan origins and a Theatine priest. Carafa enthusiastically supported the foundation of the Inquisition in 1542, which at the start consisted of six members; as inquisitor general (1542–55) and then as Paul IV (1555–59) his hardline reformist attitude dictated the tribunal's early development. Amongst Paul III's other cardinals were Rodolfo Pio da Carpi, Juan Álvarez de Toledo, and Marcello Cervini, all of whom played important roles in the initial period of the Congregation of the Holy Office.²⁷

Recent studies have shown that Carafa was leader of an uncompromising party which planned a highly centralized institution of judiciary officials, who would extend their inquisitorial activities across Italy with the aim of eliminating religious dissent – one of their tasks was to issue a list of forbidden books. Carafa engaged in a fierce battle against pro-imperial prelates who wanted to negotiate with the Protestants, especially those who had been contaminated by the Valdesian heresy. When Paul III died in 1549, Carafa used his influence

25 Luís António de Oliveira Ramos, “A Inquisição pombalina,” in *Como interpretar Pombal? No bicentenário da sua morte* (Lisbon: 1983), 111–21; Evergton Sales Souza, *Jansenisme et réforme de l'Église dans l'empire portugais, 1640 à 1790* (Paris: 2004); Ricardo Jorge Carvalho Pessa de Oliveira, “A Inquisição Portuguesa durante o governo de D. João Cosme da Cunha (1770–1783),” *librosdelacorte.es* 6/9 (2017), 110–23.

26 Giovanni Romeo, *L'inquisizione nell'Italia moderna* (Rome: 2002), 7.

27 The bibliography on the Roman Inquisition is vast; fundamental studies include John Tedeschi, *The Prosecution of Heresy: Collected Studies on the Inquisition in Early Modern Italy* (Binghamton: 1991); Adriano Prosperi, *Tribunali della coscienza: Inquisitori, confessori, missionari* (Turin: 1996); Elena Brambilla, *Alle origini del Sant'Uffizio: Penitenza, confessione e giustizia spirituale dal medioevo al XVI secolo* (Bologna: 2000); Andrea Del Col, *L'Inquisizione in Italia: Dal XII al XXI secolo* (Milan: 2006); Christopher F. Black, *The Italian Inquisition* (New Haven: 2009). For a list of the cardinals who were members of the Holy Office (almost exclusively Italians) see Herman H. Schwedt, *Die Anfänge der römischen Inquisition: Kardinäle und Konsultoren 1542 bis 1600* (Freiburg i.B.: 2013), 275–77; Idem, *Die römische Inquisition: Kardinäle und Konsultoren 1601 bis 1700* (Freiburg i.B.: 2017), 642–46.

in the conclave to block the election of Reginald Pole, a key figure amongst the so-called “spirituals,” by insinuating that he had proof of the latter’s covert heresy. This was not an isolated case: until 1572, the Holy Office filed charges against bishops, preachers, theologians, artists and writers, and even against cardinals (both living and deceased) such as Pole, Gregorio Cortese, Gaspare Contarini, Pietro Bembo, Ercole Gonzaga and Giovanni Morone. Carafa’s zeal was briefly restrained by Julius III (1550–55), who placed his own appointees on the tribunal and banned him from starting cases against bishops, generals of religious orders, and cardinals without explicit permission. Despite these measures, Carafa was able to use his inquisitorial powers to intimidate *papabile* cardinals, as well as prevent the pope from promoting “spiritual” bishops to the College (such as Pietro Antonio Di Capua from Otranto, Vittore Soranzo from Bergamo and Giovanni Grimani from Aquileia).²⁸

Marcellus II (1555) was the first pope elected as a result of his service to the Inquisition, though he was reticent about his role as judge.²⁹ He was succeeded by Carafa himself (Paul IV, 1555–59), whose pontificate saw a tenacious and militant fight against heresy, against Habsburg power, and against any alternative movement within the Sacred College. Shortly before he died, Paul IV proclaimed the bull *Cum ex apostolatus* which established that if a bishop, cardinal, general abbot or prince were to be found guilty of doctrinal errors committed prior to their promotion, their appointment would be *ipso facto* invalid. The same would also apply to the election of a pope, even if he had been chosen by general acclaim of the Sacred College (see Miles Pattenden’s chapter in this volume on the implications of *Cum ex apostolatus* for cardinals).³⁰ Who was supposed to furnish the proofs in these cases? The text was not explicit on this point, but it was clear that the Holy Office was intended here, thus its power even loomed over the conclave (see Mary Hollingsworth’s chapter in this volume). A few weeks earlier, the first official Index of the Roman Church had been published by the Inquisition, since the Council did not convene during the pontificate of Paul IV.

Paul IV’s successor, Pius IV (1559–66), followed a pro-imperial policy and finally brought the Council of Trent to its conclusion. Pius reduced the Inquisition’s excessive power and as a result was suspected of heresy. In 1574 the Venetian ambassador, Paolo Tiepolo, was informed by the cardinal inquisitor

28 The best discussion the struggle within the Sacred College during the early years of the Inquisition (and Carafa’s role) is in Massimo Firpo, *La presa di potere dell’Inquisizione romana 1550–1553* (Rome: 2014).

29 Chiara Quaranta, *Marcello II Cervini (1501–1555): Riforma della Chiesa, concilio, Inquisizione* (Bologna: 2010).

30 Tomassetti, *Bullarium Romanum*, 6:551–56.

Scipione Rebiba that “a pope could be a heretic,” especially if he did not listen to the advice of his cardinals. Tiepolo had thought that this in itself was a heretical idea, but hearing this from a member of the Inquisition quickly changed his mind.³¹ Rebiba was one of several cardinals to have obtained his hat after a career as a judge of heretics. Another was Michele Ghislieri, made a cardinal by Paul IV in 1557 and who, as Pius V (1566–72), reopened the controversial case against Cardinal Morone, set up a Congregation of the Index, and completed the “religious cleansing” of Italy and of the Curia.³² He also gave red hats to several inquisitors: the Dominican Michele Bonelli, who was his nephew; the Theatine Paolo Burali; the Franciscan Felice Peretti di Montalto; and Giulio Antonio Santori, a zealous inquisitor famed for his repression of heretics in Naples.

Santori, even though he was a lawyer and not a friar or theologian (see Visceglia’s chapter in this volume) was one of Ghislieri’s “creatures” and manifested himself as a harsh judge fighting the Neapolitan Valdeseans. As a cardinal, he opposed the lifting of the ban of excommunication on Henry of Navarre, King of France, and as such he defended the most intransigent and pro-Spanish position.³³ He failed to be elected pope in any of the four conclaves in the years 1590–92, but during the pontificate of Clement VIII he behaved like an “anti-pope,” documenting the private audiences and consistories, and thus, using his position as “high inquisitor,” acquired considerable power. He provided the Holy Office itself, which he directed for over twenty years, with internal regulations and steady sources of income, thus creating a bureaucracy which extended its tentacles into even the smallest towns in northern Italy. In 1596, the Congregation of the Index, which also consisted of high prelates and cardinals, was unable to publish its new Index until it was approved in minute detail by the Inquisition.

By the 17th century, the Roman Inquisition had become a fully established court, directed by a prelate as secretary, who signed all correspondence. The secretary would convene with the other members of the Congregation, the commissary, the assessors, the tax official and a high number of consultants, in

31 Elena Bonora, *Giudicare i vescovi: La definizione dei poteri nella Chiesa posttridentina* (Rome: 2007), 250–63, 239–42.

32 Massimo Firpo, Dario Marcatto et al. (eds.), *Il processo inquisitoriale del cardinal Giovanni Morone*, 3 vols. (Rome: 2013).

33 Gigliola Fragnito, “Sa Saincteté se resoudra par l’avis des Cardinaux de l’Inquisition, sans les quels il n’oserait rien faire’: Clemente VIII, il Sant’Ufficio e Enrico IV di Borbone,” *Schifanoia* 38–39 (2010), 143–69; Maria Antonietta Visceglia, “Politica internazionale, fazioni e partiti nella Curia romana del tardo Cinquecento,” *Rivista storica italiana* 127 (2015), 721–69.

the new *palazzo* of the Tribunal. This secretary was often one of the more important members of the College: under Urban VIII, for example, this was the pope's own nephew Francesco I Barberini. The other cardinal members were often former inquisitors (such as Agostino Galamini), former diplomats (Berlingiero Gessi), eminent theologians (such as Robert Bellarmine), and familiars and clients of the reigning pope. Above all, from the 1620s onwards, not all cardinal members of the Inquisition were as zealous; for example, Desiderio Scaglia, who before becoming a cardinal had been the subject of inquiry by the Tribunal, and Felice Centini, whose nephew had schemed against Urban VIII.³⁴

Finally, the Congregation of the Index acquired a more fixed structure in the 17th century, with a cardinal prefect and a secretary who organized the work and assigned the texts for evaluation by the consultors. From 1600 onwards, many of these men (Raimondo Capizucchi, Gregorio Selleri, Agostino Pipia, Giuseppe Agostino Orsi) were made cardinals and, in some cases, served also in the Holy Office.³⁵

5 Conclusion

The involvement of cardinals with the Inquisition since medieval times did not, as early modern texts suggested, constitute an unbroken line of succession. However, even if the medieval and early modern inquisitions were strictly separate, the frequent elevation of Spanish and Portuguese general inquisitors to the cardinalate in the 16th century can be interpreted as a curial attempt to try to reduce the royal impact on this fundamentally ecclesiastical office, to which royal confessors and other courtiers were often appointed. At the same time, the Spanish and to a lesser extent the Portuguese kings strove for papal recognition of their appointees, and through that recognition also a signal of curial approval of them via elevation to the purple. Therefore, the cardinalate was not a prerequisite for the functioning of the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisition, but it definitely served all parties involved.

34 For Scaglia see Thomas Mayer, *The Roman Inquisition: A Papal Bureaucracy and Its Laws in the Age of Galileo* (Philadelphia: 2013), and Fiorenza Rangoni Gàl, *Fra' Desiderio Scaglia cardinale di Cremona: Un collezionista inquisitore nella Roma del Seicento* (Gravedona: 2008). For Centini see Maria Antonietta Visceglia, "Attentare al corpo del papa: Sortilegi e complotti politici durante il pontificato di Urbano VIII," in *Per Adriano Prosperi*, eds. Vincenzo Lavenia and Giovanna Paolin (Pisa: 2011), 3:243–57.

35 Giuseppe Catalano, *De Secretario Sacrae Indicis Congregationis libri duo* (Rome: 1751); Marco Cavarzere, *La prassi della censura nell'Italia del Seicento: Tra repressione e mediazione* (Rome: 2011).

Once the Holy Office had been created in the Roman context in 1542, the position of its senior members became defined by their membership of the Sacred College. Indeed, the creation of the Holy Office was based on the concept of delegating legal duties from the pope to the cardinals, who educated either as theologians or as canon lawyers, were eminently suited to fulfil this task. Moreover, the positioning of the Holy Office above all other Cardinals' Congregations in Sixtus V's curial reform shows how central this institution was, and increasingly became, within the Church's administration. As a result, being a member of the Inquisition demarcated a cardinal's centrality to the Curia's networks, and his proximity to the reigning pope or one of his immediate predecessors. And for those prelates who were not yet cardinal – in particular members of religious orders – the position of consultant presented the ideal career path towards this more exalted rank. So, apart from the external image of the Holy Office as the institution for the extirpation of heresy, for the Church the Holy Office constituted the centre of the ecclesiastical network of power, and underlined the cardinals' senatorial pretensions, elevated above the bishops, even if other factors were eroding them at the same time.

Translated from Italian by the editors

Cardinal Protectors of Religious Institutions

Arnold Witte

Apart from being the protector of a geographical entity – a state, nation, region, or town, as discussed in this volume by Bertrand Marceau – a cardinal could also be protector of a religious institution. This might be an order, confraternity, orphanage, conservatory, or any other kind of organization residing under the Church's aegis, for example a hospital. During the early modern period almost every religious order and autonomous congregation had its own protector, as De Luca noted in his treatise of 1680, so it was very common for a cardinal to invest such a position.¹ This chapter describes the development of the protectorship of religious organizations and its impact on the status, influence, and networks of the early modern cardinal. Particular attention will be dedicated to religious orders, as this type constituted the example on which all other types of protectorships were modelled. Apart from the historical development of the function and its importance for the Church as a religious community – and for which it is clearly distinct from the national protectorships, whose loyalty at least in part was to a foreign sovereign – the main issue is also what was expected of a cardinal in this function.

1 Historiography

Until recently, the cardinal's role as a protector of ecclesiastical institutions was dealt with predominantly in the margin of other themes, especially research into religious orders. The various ramifications of this position and its importance for other kinds of organizations remained understudied. Although Benedetto Melata was the first to discuss the function in 1902, he focused

1 Giovanni Battista De Luca, *Il cardinale della S.R. Chiesa pratico* (Rome: 1680), 165: "Nelle religioni così dell'Ordine monastico, come del mendicante si può dire che sia una cosa generale, cioè che ogni Religione o Congregazione che sia separata dall'altra, benchè dell'istesso originario Istituto, abbia il suo Cardinale Protettore. Ma nelle altre degli Ordini chiericali e militari l'uso più comune è in contrario che non l'abbiano" (Every order, whether of monastic or mendicant kind, or congregation distinct from another even though pertaining to the same institution as its origin, has its cardinal protector. But other clerical and military orders usually do not have a protector).

exclusively on canon law and largely ignored the protectorship's historical development.² Later discussions in dictionaries followed Melata's rather factual and generic discussion from an internal, administrative point of view.³ It was thanks to Bernardino da Siena (1940) and Stephen Forte (1959) that other, more complicated aspects of the subject gained attention; however, these scholars limited their studies to the Franciscan and Dominican Order respectively, and their important findings remained largely unnoticed in broader research.⁴ The publications of the 1960s, moreover, remained restricted to specific orders or congregations, until Massimo Giannini dedicated an overarching discussion to the subject in 2005.⁵ In the same year Martin Faber published an in-depth study of Cardinal Scipione Borghese's protectorships, in which the dynamics of this function in a cardinal's professional life was amply discussed.⁶ The latter two publications have greatly increased our understanding of the protectorship in all its ramifications, be it with a decisive focus on the 17th century; and they also show how the subject has been taken up in Italian and German scholarship, but remains totally unexplored in Anglo-American publications.

2 History of the Protectorship of Orders

The office of cardinal protector of religious institutions originated with Saint Francis, for three reasons. First, Francis discovered that his regular absences led to internal quarrels, and therefore deemed it necessary to have someone look after the Franciscans when he himself was not there, during his lifetime and afterwards.⁷ Second, the new mendicant order initially met with staunch ecclesiastical opposition, even after the approval of its first Rule by Innocent III in 1209. For that reason, Francis wished to have a high-ranking prelate at the Curia to act as their spokesman. Third, he wished for someone to ensure that

2 Benedetto Melata, *De cardinali protectore* (Rome: 1902).

3 Andrea Boni, "Cardinale protettore," in *Dizionario degli istituti di perfezione*, eds. Guerrino Pelliccia and Giancarlo Rocca (Rome: 1975), 2:276–77 and Claudio De Dominicis, "Cardinale Protettore," in *Dizionario storico del papato*, ed. Philippe Levillain (Milan: 1996), 1:250–51.

4 Bernardino da Siena, *Il cardinale protettore negli istituti religiosi specialmente negli Ordini Francescani* (Florence: 1940) and Stephen L. Forte, *The Cardinal-Protector of the Dominican Order* (Rome: 1959).

5 Massimo Carlo Giannini, "Politica curiale e mondo dei regolari: Per una storia dei cardinali protettori nel Seicento," *Cheiron* 43–44 (2005), 241–302.

6 Martin Faber, *Scipione Borghese als Kardinalprotector: Studien zur römischen Mikropolitik in der frühen Neuzeit* (Mainz: 2005).

7 Forte, *The Cardinal-Protector*, 10–11.

his rules were being interpreted correctly, preventing laxness in the organization after his demise. Therefore, the second Franciscan Rule, which Honorius III approved in 1223, defined the protector as “gubernator, protector et corrector” – an acknowledgement of the function of cardinal protector by both papacy and the religious institution itself.⁸

This 1223 approval is often interpreted as the inception of the protector’s function, but it had in fact existed on a lower hierarchical level: since the 12th century, cardinals could be “protectors” of a single monastery. This was also called *protectio* and persisted throughout the early modern period, especially in the context of female convents.⁹ The difference from the protectorship of orders was, however, that supervision over single monastic houses did not require formal papal approval and was exercised not only by cardinals but by ecclesiastics of all ranks, sometimes even by secular persons; besides, these protectorships served to guard the convents’ autonomy rather than supervising and controlling them along the lines envisioned by Saint Francis.¹⁰ Moreover, the protectorship of cardinals replaced a prior situation in which bishops had monitored religious communities in their diocese. The increasing span of control of religious orders, turning them into international organizations from the 11th century onwards, necessitated a form of supervision on a higher level, that of the Curia.¹¹

After the approval of the Franciscan cardinal protector, the papacy regularly redefined his status during the later Middle Ages. The 1373 formulation of tasks and obligations of protectors of the Franciscans by pope Gregory XI in the bull *Cunctos cristifideles* suggests that the function had increased in importance and had also become standing practice for other orders.¹² Indeed, the Augustinian Hermits had been assigned a protector in 1256, with explicit reference to

8 Da Siena, *Il cardinale protettore*, and Boni, “Cardinale protettore,” 276–77.

9 Melata, *Cardinali protectore*, 7–8; Philipp Hofmeister, “Die Kardinalprotektoren der Ordensleute,” *Theologische Quartalschrift* 142 (1962), 427; Martin Faber, “Gubernator, Protector et Corrector: Zum Zusammenhang der Entstehung von Orden und Kardinalprotektoren von Orden in der lateinischen Kirche,” *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 115 (2004), 19–44; Claudio De Dominicis, *Repertorio delle protettorie cardinalizie dal 1716 al 1964* (Rome: 2009), 14.

10 Boni, “Cardinale protettore,” 277.

11 Cristina Andenna, “Il cardinale protettore: Centro subalterno del potere papale e intermediario della comunicazione con gli ordini religiosi,” in *Die Ordnung der Kommunikation und die Kommunikation der Ordnungen*, eds. Cristina Andenna, Gordon Blennemann, Klaus Herbers, and Gert Melville (Stuttgart: 2013), 2:231.

12 Luigi Tomassetti (ed.), *Bullarium, diplomatum et privilegiorum sanctorum Romanorum pontificum Taurinensis editio* (Turin: 1985), 4:562–63 and Andenna, “Il cardinale protettore,” 245–60.

the protector's function in the Franciscan order.¹³ The Cistercians were assigned a protector in 1270, and likewise the Vallombrosan Order. The Dominicans, Carmelites, and Olivetans followed in the 14th century.¹⁴ The order of Monte Oliveto was assigned their protector in concomitance with the papacy's move to Avignon and the new distance this placed between superior general and the pope; the Avignonesse exile was probably the main reason for other orders to nominate a cardinal as their representative at the papal see.¹⁵ So, the impetus came from religious institutions that subsequently sought approval for this arrangement from papal authorities.¹⁶ But even before the official appointment of protectors in the 13th century, cardinals originating from the ranks of mendicant orders had unofficially fulfilled tasks that were later formally assigned to protectors. It was for the same reason that some orders – especially the Jesuits and the Theatines – decided not to have cardinal protectors as they had other means of communication with the papal authorities.¹⁷

3 Protectors of Lay Sodalities

The moment when cardinal protectors became a regular feature for confraternities and other charitable institutions under ecclesiastical supervision, called *luoghi pii*, is more difficult to pinpoint.¹⁸ This type of protection probably started only after the papal court's return to Rome in 1420, by which time the number of confraternities had greatly increased (parallel to the growing number of inhabitants in Rome) and cardinals were once again residing in the city permanently.¹⁹ Faber assumed, on the basis of selected examples, that protectors were nominated by brotherhoods in the course of the 15th century, although at first such protectors might be any type of high-ranking cleric; only from the 1470s onwards were cardinals exclusively elected. In the 16th century, cardinals' protectorships over lay sodalities became a widespread phenomenon.²⁰

13 Placido Tommaso Lugano, "I cardinali protettori dell'Ordine di Monteoliveto," *Rivista Storica Benedettina* 12 (1920), 235.

14 Hofmeister, "Die Kardinalprotektoren," 433–36.

15 Lugano, "I cardinali protettori," 237.

16 Forte, *The Cardinal-Protector*, 10–11.

17 Giovanni Battista De Luca, *Il religioso pratico dell'uno, e dell'altro sesso* (Rome: 1679), 444 and 450.

18 Faber, *Scipione Borghese*, 373–75.

19 Carol Richardson, *Reclaiming Rome: Cardinals in the Fifteenth Century* (Leiden: 2009).

20 Faber, *Scipione Borghese*, 378–80.

In contrast to the protectorship over orders, no general rules existed for protectors of *luoghi pii*, simply because no legal confirmation by the papal authorities was required. However, the kind of involvement was similar to that of protectors of regular orders. This can be deduced from the rules of the brotherhood of the Santissimo Crocefisso in San Marcello al Corso in Rome. Their revised statutes of 1731, reiterating those of 1664, formulated the following expectations and provisions about his election:

... since at the start of the confraternity, everything was directed and administered by an eminent cardinal, with the title of Protector, it is now decided and confirmed that, so that the confraternity will have a person of high status to whom it can turn for counsel and favours, there will always be one of the eminent Cardinals as protector, who should be a Roman lord, and especially one who has his residence here in town, and that his election pertains to the congregation of deputies, especially the Guardians and the *Camerlengo* ...²¹

So, counsel, favours, and guidance were expected from protectors of confraternities, whose function remained close to that of “gubernator, protector et corrector,” as formulated in the Franciscan rule. Finally, the aggregation of Italian and sometimes foreign sodalities into (inter)national networks under the aegis of Rome-based arch-confraternities, which started in the early 16th century and was confirmed by Clement VIII in 1604 with the bull *Quaecumque*, necessitated, and facilitated, ecclesiastical control over these institutions. As a result of this development, cardinal protectors were of increasing importance (for the ecclesiastical authorities) and prestige (for the confraternities), and the position became more coveted as well during the 17th century.²²

21 *Statuti della Ven. Archiconfraternita del SS. Crocefisso in S. Marcello di Roma confermati in forma specifica dalla Santità di N. S. Papa Clemente 12* (Rome: 1731), 9: “... come nel principio della sua erezione, era in tutto diretta, ed amministrata da un Eminentissimo Cardinale, con titolo di Protettore, si stabilisce, e conferma dunque, che acciò questa nostra Archiconfraternita abbia un Personaggio di maggior riguardo, a cui nelle sue occorrenze possa ricorrere per consiglio, e favore, sempre vi sia per Protettore uno degl’Eminentissimi Cardinali, quale debba essere de Signori Romani, e massime di quelli, che abbiano domicilio in questa Città, e l’elezione del medesimo spetti alla Congregazione de Signori Deputati, specialmente con li quattro Guardiani, e Camerlengo ...”

22 Christopher Black, *Italian Confraternities in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, Eng.: 1989), 72–75.

4 Appointing a Protector

Cardinal protectors were generally selected by the order or confraternity itself, and in the former case subsequently appointed formally by the pope. However, the pope might overrule the preferences of the order in question. An example of this came when the Camaldolese Order wanted Odoardo Farnese (1573–1626) as its protector after the demise of Ottavio Paravicini (1552–1611); Paul V refused to grant their request.²³ The order's general did not immediately accept this rejection and found himself reproached during a papal audience:

Why, Father General, did you desire Odoardo Cardinal Farnese as protector of the congregation? Why did you reject Scipione Cardinal Borghese, our nephew?... And the Pontiff added: 'I want you to know, General, that when we make Scipione Borghese, our nephew, protector of the Camaldolesi, we personally want to take care of the congregation's needs and fulfil the office of protector.'²⁴

As indicated in the Rules of the Santissimo Crocefisso cited above, brotherhoods most often voted on candidates living in the city or at least the Papal States, sometimes restricting consideration only to cardinals who were already members of the sodality. In the case of national confraternities, of which there were numerous in early modern Rome, an additional requirement was often that the protector came from the region or country in question.²⁵ An example of this can be found in the 1568 statutes of the Lombard brotherhood:

In order to make clear to this brotherhood that it depends on the Holy and Catholic Church of Rome, and exists under its obedience, it is decreed that it can elect one of the illustrious and reverend cardinals as its protector ... and that cardinal shall be of our nation, and if there is no

²³ Cardinal Ottavio Paravicini, then protector of the Camaldolesi, died on 3 February 1611; see Giovanni Benedetto Mittarelli, *Annales Camaldulenses ordinis Sancto Benedicti* (Venice: 1764), 8:211.

²⁴ Mittarelli, *Annales*, 227: "Cur pater generalis Odoardum cardinalem Farnesium in protectorem congregationis cupiebas? Cur Scipionem cardinalem Burghesium nepotem nostrum rejiciebas? ... Addidit Pontifex: Scias volo generalis, quod & si congregationi Camaldulensi protectorem Scipionem Burghesium cardinalem nepotem nostrum tribuimus, tamen nos ipsi congregationis necessitatibus consulere, & officium protectoris exercere volumus."

²⁵ For national brotherhoods and churches in Rome, see Alexander Koller, Susanne Kubersky-Piredda, and Tobias Daniels (eds.), *Identità e rappresentazione: le chiese nazionali a Roma, 1450–1650* (Rome: 2015).

cardinal of our nation, he should at least be Italian ... He has to defend our confraternity and its possessions, arranging these with all his power with the popes and other lords and judges, as will be asked; and in the case that he will have to leave Rome, he can be substituted by another cardinal in his place, which shall be asked by the *compagnia*.²⁶

Some brotherhoods did not elect their protector: for example, the arch-confraternity of the Sacrament and Five Wounds of Christ was located in San Lorenzo in Damaso and it managed to obtain protection from the church's titular cardinal.²⁷ The same was true for the Fatebenefratelli, a hybrid organization with characteristics of both a confraternity and a religious order, whose protector since 1591 was habitually the cardinal vicar of Rome.²⁸

Once a name had been decided upon by casting secret votes, the confraternity's officials would go to the elected cardinal and supplicate him to become "head and guide" of the organization. This honour was not often refused, although examples can be found in the archives of brotherhoods, and regulations stipulated that, if an elected cardinal turned it down, a new election would have to take place.²⁹ All protectorships in principle lasted for life, although cardinals could lay down their function if they left Rome permanently. This was more often the case with protectorships over brotherhoods than in

26 *Relazione della Commissione istituita dal prefetto di Roma con decreto 6 giugno 1904, n 22201 sulla arciconfraternita dei ss. Ambrogio e Carlo della nazione Lombarda in Roma* (Rome: 1907), 275 contains the regulations of 1569, and also those of 1642 (on page 296) that repeat this: "Per far conoscere che questa Compagnia dipende dalla Santa et Catolica Romana Chiesa, et vive sotto l'obedientia sua si è ordinato che possa elegere un'illustrissi. et reverendiss. Cardinale per suo protettore....: et tal Cardinale sia della nazione, et non essendogli cardinale della nazione, sia almeno Italiano: ... debbi diffendere essa Compagnia et suoi beni aggiustandola a tutto suo potere presso li sommi Pontefici, et altri Signori, et Giudici, come sarà richiesto: et in caso c'havesse a partirsi di Roma possa sostituire un altro Cardinale in luoco suo, qual li sarà richiesto dalla Compagnia."

27 *Statuti della venerab. Archiconfrat.ta del s.mo Sacramento, e cinque piaghe di N.S.* (Rome: 1626), 9: "E perche è stato solito sino à quest' hora, che gl'illustriss. Titolari de'SS. Lorenzo, e Damaso habbino tutti volentieri abbracciato questa carica, come anche fà di presente l'illustriss. Sign. Cardinal Ludouisio, mandato da Dio benedetto per Splendore, & ornamento dell'Archiconfraternità ... Detiranno perciò i Fratelli con ogni efficacia operare, che ciaschedun Titolare, che' pro' tempore succederà, si degni d'honorar l'Archiconfraternità della sua protettione."

28 Nicolò Antonio Cuggiò, *Della giurisdittione e prerogative del Vicario di Roma*, ed. Domenico Rocciolo (Rome: 2004), 275–77 and Giannini, "Politica curiale," 269.

29 *Statuti della Ven. Arciconfraternità della Morte ed Oratione* (Rome: 1673), 2. An example of a cardinal refusing can be found in ASVR, Arciconfr. SS. Stimmate di S. Francesco 87, containing a letter of 11 August 1705 in which Cardinal Carlo Barberini announces he cannot accept this position. See also Faber, *Scipione Borghese*, 404–06.

the case of religious orders. Otherwise, a cardinal protector of an order could nominate a co-protector or vice-protector to handle affairs during his absence – in the case of confraternities it was the sodality that had to make the request, which could be only for the period of absence.³⁰ Vice- and co-protectorships of religious orders often lasted also until the death of the cardinal in question.

5 *Possesso*

When the pope officially approved a cardinal as protector of an order, the cardinal was expected to take possession of it. During the 15th and 16th centuries this seems not to have been celebrated with great lustre; we find first instances of that from the mid-17th century onwards. In the 18th century it became an event of increasing pomp and circumstance, comparable to the pope's possession of Rome or a cardinal's of his titular church (see the chapter on titular churches in this volume).³¹ Such events habitually took place at the order's main church in Rome where the protector would be received by the superior general or his representative.³² The symbolic entry began with the kissing of a ceremonial crucifix and the handing over of keys, followed by a mass and/or the adoration of the Eucharist. The central event of the occasion consisted of reading aloud the papal *breve*, and a lengthy allocution of the regular community by the cardinal protector. The event concluded with a reception and an exchange of (lavish) gifts, at least in the 18th century – these might consist of relics and reliquaries for the cardinal, and in exchange food gifts for the religious community.³³

The cardinal's dress was of specific importance – during part of the ceremony, this consisted of the *mozzetta* (or short cape) over the rochet, both derived from the traditional dress of the judges of the Sacra Rota, one of the ecclesiastical courts, as *signum iurisdictionis* (see also Carol Richardson's chapter in this

30 *Statuti della veneranda Compag. de SS. Rocco e Martino de Roma* (Rome: 1589), 4: "Occorendo partirsi di Roma, se supplicarà a lasciar un'altro Illustrissimo alquale sino al suo ritorno possa la Compagnia nelli suoi bisogni ricorrere." See also the *Statuti della venerabile Arciconfraternita della Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini* (Rome: 1587), 21.

31 Francesco Cancellieri, *Storia de'soleni possessi de'sommi pontefici* (Rome: 1802), 108–09, 211–14, 321–23, and 397–99.

32 Forte, *The Cardinal-Protector*, 56, cites the earliest known *possesso* as that of the cardinal protector of the Dominicans in 1671.

33 Moroni, 55:320 and 325–27.

volume).³⁴ The entire event can be interpreted as the expression of both justice and patronage, the two most important aspects of a protector's task.³⁵

In the case of brotherhoods, the first cases of ceremonial events with great pomp can be found somewhat earlier in the 17th century. The event might be described in the rules as "being received as protector," thus underlining that less subservience was expected. However, other sources called it a *possesso* and its constituent elements seem to have been similar to those for ceremonies to mark the beginning of a protectorship over an order.³⁶ Some things were different: in the case of a brotherhood, a *campanello* or small bell could be handed over to the protector at the end of the ceremony – this bell signified the protector's role as presiding over board meetings. In all cases, however, the event was concluded by applying the cardinal's coat of arms above the main entrance of either the church or the oratory. The regulations sometimes also formulated the request for the cardinal's portrait to be hung in the organization's main space – so that these relations were publicly and visually acknowledged, and the cardinal's jurisdictional privileges in the brotherhood's affairs would be confirmed.³⁷

One of the earliest known descriptions of the *possesso* of a brotherhood is that by Cardinal Francesco I Barberini (1597–1679) of the arch-brotherhood of the Santissime Stimmate di San Francesco in 1633, which was celebrated with great pomp, and concluded by a magnificent display of fireworks.³⁸ This

34 Philipp Zitzlsperger, "Der Papst und sein Kardinal oder: Staatsportät und Krisenmanagement im barocken Rom," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 64 (2001), 554–55.

35 Irene Fosi, "Parcere subiectis, debellare superbos: La giustizia nelle cerimonie di possesso a Roma e nelle legazioni dello Stato Pontificio nel Cinquecento," in *Cérémonial et rituel à Rome XVIIe–XIXe siècle*, eds. Maria Antonietta Visceglia and Catherine Brice (Rome: 1997), 89–115.

36 Faber, *Scipione Borghese*, 449.

37 *Privilegi e Statuti della venerabile arciconfraternita della Madonna dell'Itria, detta di Costantinopoli, della Nazione Siciliana* (Rome: 1672), 59 and *Statuti dell'Arciconfraternita del SS. Crocefisso*, 10: "Dato il detto Possesso, si dovrà subito alzar l'Arma del detto Eminentissimo sopra la Porta maggiore del nostro Oratorio, e supplicare l'Eminenza Sua a degnarsi dare un suo Ritratto, per dover star sempre esposto in detto Oratorio" (Decided on the [date of the] *Possesso*, the coat of arms of the most Eminent [cardinal] should immediately be applied above the main entrance of our oratory, and he should be supplicated to donate a portrait of himself which should always be on display in said oratory.) See also Arnold Witte, "Portraits as a Sign of Possession: Cardinals and their Protectorships in early modern Rome," in *Studies in Scarlet: Portrait Cultures of the Early Modern Cardinal*, eds. Piers Baker-Bates and Irene Brooke (Amsterdam: forthcoming).

38 Gualberto Matteucci, "La solenne investitura del card. Barberini a protettore dell'Arciconfraternita delle Stimmate in Roma (1633)," *Miscellanea Francescana* 68 (1968), 128–66.

unprecedented event was related to Barberini's elevated status as the reigning pope's *nipote* (see Birgit Emich's chapter in this volume). However, it also seems to have set the tone for increasing pomp in the case of other cardinals, something indicated by a description of Cardinal Fabrizio Paolucci's *possesso* of the confraternity of San Bernardo (united with the nunnery of Santa Susanna and the male convent at San Bernardo, constituting a hybrid form between monastery and confraternity) on 24 November 1706.³⁹ Preparations for the *possesso* included fetching gold damask drapery from the prior of the monastery of San Bernardo for embellishing the church's interior, obtaining a richly decorated chair and baldachin, and decorations for the atrium in front of the church. During the morning before the ceremony, the cardinal had hens, pigeons, melons and other fruits, and wine delivered to the nuns as gifts. Paolucci's portrait, in a gilded frame, was also transported to the monastery prior to the event, and hung within the *clausura* (the secluded part of the monastery), in front of the main entrance.

The event itself took place at the 22nd hour, which means at the end of the afternoon. Formalities started at the foot of the stairs of the church of Santa Susanna, where the cardinal was met by the monastery's *visitatori* and the confraternity's deputies holding their hats in their hands; at the top of the stairs the nuns' confessor also welcomed him. At the church's doorstep the papal master of ceremonies dressed the cardinal in a purple *soprana* (thus changing into liturgical vestments) and handed him an aspersorium to sprinkle holy water; the cardinal then prayed at the altar and rung a bell to indicate the celebration of mass. Subsequently Paolucci went to the exterior door of the convent, returned to his cardinalitial dress of *rocchetta* and *mozzetta*, proceeding thence to the *clausura*'s interior door. Here he repeated the blessing, this time for the benefit of the nuns who kneeled near the doorstep.

Cardinal Paolucci seated himself on the throne under the baldachin, upon which the kneeling abbess offered him two books with the constitutions of the monastery and its indulgences, both with bindings embellished with his coat of arms; she further gave him the keys to the monastery, while expressing the nuns' obedience and supplication.⁴⁰ Subsequently the cardinal proceeded into the *clausura* with a select company towards the nuns' choir, where he was seated again. There, all the other nuns approached him one by one to profess their obedience. After this, the abbess guided him around the monastic complex, informing him about the nuns' activities. The party returned to the door

39 BNCVE, Varia 30, fol. 101v.

40 BNCVE, Varia 30, fol. 100v.

between the church and the *clausura* where the cardinal was handed a bunch of flowers (according to the remark in the margin, these “should have been handed to him when leaving the Choir...”).⁴¹ Once outside, Paolucci was welcomed again by the brotherhood’s representatives who offered him sorbet ice cream, chocolate, and savoy biscuits; in the *parlatoio* – where nuns could speak to outsiders – he enjoyed these sweets and thanked the officials. Finally, Paolucci was accompanied back to his carriage and returned to his residence. The following day, the abbess had gifts sent to the various officials that had assisted during the ceremony.

6 Tasks and Functions of the Cardinal Protector

How did a cardinal exercise the tasks of governing, protecting and correcting a religious institution? This varied over time, under the influence of discussions within the Curia on the cardinal’s jurisdiction; it also ultimately depended on how the religious organization’s rules or statutes defined that. Saint Francis had given the protector of the Franciscans ample powers: he could intervene on all levels and even overrule the superior general. In practice, he could interfere in affairs of governance, control real estate, decide on the division of provinces, the visitation of monasteries, and arrange legal affairs. Most of these issues were dealt with at general chapters, which the protector could convene and at which he was expected to be present, or even to preside.⁴² During these chapters, the cardinal was to see to it that decisions were taken according to the rules. The cardinal would confirm the chapter’s decisions if this had been the case, often doing so creating a papal bull or brief bearing his signature. Furthermore, if a new superior general was elected, the protector was expected to organize an audience with the pope.⁴³ Last but not least, if the order needed support in ecclesiastical affairs – *in primis* those requiring approval from papal authorities – the order was to be able to call upon its protector who would then see to it that necessary steps were taken.

While cardinal protectors represented the main line of communication of religious orders toward the papacy, for confraternities it was the opposite: cardinal protectors oversaw religious sodalities as a representative of the papal

41 BNCVE, Varia 30, fol. 101r: “q. Fiori para che andasse dato quando usciva dal coro”.

42 Joseph Maria di Lauro, *Acta Capitulorum Generalium Ordinis Minimorum (1507–1697)* (Rome: 1964), 1:334, describing the presence of cardinal protector Ippolito Aldobrandini during the general chapter held at SS. Trinità dei Monti in Rome in 1623.

43 Moroni, 55:324.

authorities, making sure that the members were orthodox in their faith.⁴⁴ This was especially important after the Council of Trent. In practice, the protector was involved in the appointment of *guardiani* and other officials.⁴⁵ Between the mid-16th century and 1694, cardinal protectors also represented the highest juridical authority if a brotherhood was involved in lawsuits – which was nearly always the case. As De Luca wrote in his legal compendium *Il Dottor Volgare*, on the problems this caused:

And apart from that, in Rome still many churches, colleges, monasteries and other religious organisations have their cardinal protectors, who have full jurisdiction in all lawsuits, both civil and criminal, religious and profane, for which they can assign the judges, also in the case of appeal ...⁴⁶

This led to a veritable “web of jurisdictions” with many overlapping powers, also of various cardinals, and in 1694 Innocent XII abolished these unlimited powers (see below).

Apart from that, the protector of a brotherhood habitually assisted the sodality in financial, organizational and religious matters. For example, the protector could commission works of art, he could arrange (and pay for) musical embellishment of masses or prayer services; he might obtain special indulgences for members on, for example, the day of the patronal feast. In the regulations of most brotherhoods, it was for the sodality to supplicate the cardinal to be present at a congregation, something the 1677 regulations of the brotherhood of the Sacred Stigmata of Saint Francis stated explicitly.⁴⁷ In many cases, members of the cardinal’s *familia* (see Mary Hollingsworth’s chapter in this volume) acted as representatives. A cardinal’s final important duty consisted of his participation in processions and other public events, sometimes wearing the *sacco* or particular dress of the confraternity as required.⁴⁸

44 Moroni, 55:337.

45 *Statuti della uenerabile Archiconfraternita del Confalone* (Rome: 1633), 2.

46 Giovanni Battista De Luca, *Il Dottor volgare, ouero Il compendio di tutta la legge ciuile, canonica, feudale, e municipale* (Rome: 1673), xv:3, 342: “Et in oltre, vi è ancora in Roma un gran numero di chiese, e di Colleggi, e di monasterij, e di altri luoghi pij, liquali hanno i Cardinali protettori, con la piena giurisdizione in tutte le cause, civili, e criminali, cosi spirituali, come profane, per lo che deputano i giudici, anche nell’altre istanze in grado dell’appellazione ò del ricorso...”.

47 *Privilegi e Statuti della Venerabile, e Serafica Archiconfraternita delle Sacre Stimmate di S. Francesco* (Rome: 1677), 9.

48 Maria Antonietta Visceglia, “Etichetta cardinalizia in età barocca,” in *Estetica Barocca*, ed. Sebastian Schütze (Rome: 2004), 276.

Although hardly presenting a neutral account, Fuligatti's hagiography of Cardinal Robert Bellarmine (1542–1621; see also Pamela Jones's chapter in this volume) contains indications of what a zealous cardinal might do for the organizations under his supervision – in this case, the Celestine order and the nunnery of Santa Marta in Rome.⁴⁹ Bellarmine gave advice to the Celestine monks in matters discussed at the first general chapter under his protectorship by means of a letter; for the second general chapter he sent a representative to oversee the meeting. It was during the third chapter in Sulmona that the cardinal was personally present. In each case, his role consisted primarily in overseeing the orderly fashion in which things were decided, not the decisions themselves – which accords with the protector's powers as a “father” who guided the organization's moral and religious orthodoxy. Bellarmine did however arrange permission from the Pope to re-elect the outgoing superior, Giovanni Battista da Sulmona, and with that transcended a cardinal protector's normal jurisdiction.⁵⁰

Apart from this overt interference, Bellarmine strictly avoided arranging detailed or individual affairs, such as the transfer of a monk or nun from one convent to another, or dispensations from certain tasks (something which was often done by cardinal protectors in the 15th and 16th centuries, leading to many complaints about the abuse of the function). Bellarmine delegated such tasks to the superior general or provincial. What he did do, however, was arrange the union of the French and Flemish provinces of the Celestine order with the Italian one in order to create a better financial and governmental structure; he further reorganized the education for the noviciates.⁵¹ The same approach characterized Bellarmine's involvement with the nuns at Santa Marta; he oversaw their elections of mother-superiors and also took care that the convent had trustworthy confessors.

A less idealized view of a protector's actions can be obtained from the case of Cardinal Scipione Borghese (1576–1633). As nephew of the reigning pope (Paul V), Borghese was coveted by a great many organizations for this position, and during his life he acquired a whole range of protectorships. Borghese's extensive epistolary archive makes it clear that on the one hand he sometimes operated in ways similar to those of Bellarmine, while on the other, he could also keep his own and his family's interests in mind.⁵² This did not lead him to

49 Giacomo Fuligatti, *Vita del cardinale Roberto Bellarmino Della Compagnia di Gesù* (Rome: 1624), 233–44.

50 Fuligatti, *Vita*, 235 and Giannini, “Politica curiale,” 262.

51 Fuligatti, *Vita*, 237 and 240.

52 Faber, *Scipione Borghese*.

neglect his function – on the contrary: each order or confraternity, to him, constituted part of a wider network serving his interests as a cardinal and those of his extended family. A noticeable difference with Bellarmine is the fact that in Borghese's case, his secretaries were the ones who most often took care of the correspondence and acted as his representatives in meetings.

7 The Accumulation of Protectorships

If one takes into consideration De Luca's remark of 1680 that each religious order or congregation had its own protector, it would seem logical that a great many cardinals were invested with such a position. This is however not entirely true, as religious institutions habitually only selected cardinals residing in Rome.⁵³ Therefore, the exercise of this kind of function tended to be concentrated within a limited group of cardinals, who accumulated several protectorships (see also Bertrand Marceau's chapter in this volume). To what extent cardinals were invested with such positions in more than one organization is, due to scarcity of sources, difficult to ascertain, although the recent publication of cardinal protectorships after 1716 (on the basis of the *Notizie per l'anno* published regularly since then) has thrown more light on this at least for the 18th century and onwards.⁵⁴

During the pontificate of Gregory XIII (1572–85), the accumulation of positions was in fact furthered by the pope. Gregory nominated his two cardinal nephews – Filippo Boncompagni (1548–86) and Filippo Guastavillani (1541–87) – for quite a number of such functions; the same went for Giulio Antonio Santori (1532–1602), whom Gregory favoured as one of his most trustworthy cardinals. The contacts between Santori and Gregory XIII in the institution of the Greek college and the many other protectorships Gregory assigned to him show how closely the pope was involved with the institution through the protector; Santori consulted the pope about almost any important decision.⁵⁵ On the other hand, cardinals with privileged access to the pope and papal authorities were often sought out by brotherhoods and religious orders, which also led to the accumulation of protectorships.

53 Hofmeister, "Die Kardinalprotektoren," 449–52.

54 De Dominicis, *Repertorio delle protettorie*, passim.

55 Giulio Antonio Santori, "Vita del card. Giulio Antonio Santori detto il card. di Santa Severina composta e scritta da lui medesimo," ed. Giuseppe Cugnani, *Archivio della R. Società Patria* 12 (1889), 363, 365–71.

Another cardinal protector who held numerous protectorships was Odoardo Farnese. His accumulation of protectorships began with those of countries that were arranged for him by his father, Duke Alessandro Farnese.⁵⁶ But Farnese also became the protector of *luoghi pii* and religious orders and seems to have attached quite some importance to this role. Farnese was protector of the Roman brotherhoods of the Orazione e Morte, Santa Maria del Carmine, San Girolamo della Carità (which managed a hospital) and of the Casa degli Orfanelli; he also was protector of the Carthusian Order from 1600 onwards, which was only approved officially in 1606 due to Clement VIII's attempt to abolish this function (for which see below). Furthermore, he probably was also protector of the Capuchin Order from the 1610s onwards. As discussed above Farnese was also chosen by the Camaldolese Order as protector in 1611, but Paul V appointed Scipione Borghese instead. Numerous letters in the archives in Parma and Naples attest to the way Farnese took very seriously his obligations towards all these organizations; his 1626 will also shows his sense of obligation as he left all these organizations considerable amounts of money or precious objects such silver chandeliers (see also Fausto Nicolai's contribution in this volume).⁵⁷

This accumulation of functions continued into the 18th century. Some numbers may suffice to illustrate this phenomenon. Between the late 1730s and his death, Troiano Acquaviva d'Aragona (1694–1747) was protector of the arch-confraternity of the Natività di Nostro Signore Gesù Christo (or Agonizzanti), of the arch-confraternity of Santa Maria dell'Itria di Costantinopoli dei Siciliani, of the confraternity of the Spirito Santo dei Napolitani, of the congregation and musical academy of Santa Cecilia, of the orders of the Mercedarians and of the Friars Minor, of the Collegio di Montalti (in Bologna), as well as national protector of the Spanish Crown. Even busier was Giovanni Francesco Albani (1649–1721, later pope Clement XI) and his nephew Alessandro Albani (1692–1779), both of whom accumulated more than 50 such positions; Prospero Colonna di Sciarra (1707–65), also held over 50 protectorships, as did Andrea Corsini (1735–95). Less extreme, but nevertheless significant, are cardinals

56 Roberto Zapperi has argued that Odoardo was only a cardinal because his family – Dukes of Parma and Piacenza and as such fiefs of the papal state – needed a representative at the papal court; Roberto Zapperi, *Eros e Controriforma: Preistoria della Galleria Farnese* (Turin: 1994), 80–81.

57 The importance Farnese attached to his duties as cardinal protector was also visualized in the Camerino degli Eremiti decorated by Giovanni Lanfranco in 1616 with depictions of saints that stood for the orders, churches, and sodalities with which he was affiliated; Arnold Witte, *The Artful Hermitage: The Palazzetto Farnese as a Counter-Reformation Diæta* (Rome: 2008), 178–80.

such as Bernardino Giraud, Neri Maria Corsini, Giovanni Antonio Guadagni, Mario Marefoschi, Andrea Negroni, Domenico Orsini d'Aragona, Pietro Ottoboni and Giovanni Battista Rezzonico, all of whom had at least 10 positions as protector, or more.⁵⁸ What is striking, once again, is that personal proximity to the pope was as an important criterion for consideration as protector of an order, confraternity, or any other religious institution, as it was for consideration as a protector of states or crowns. Popes also entrusted these positions often to their cardinal nephews, as it provided both of them an important network of relations in the city and in international ecclesiastical structures.

Finally, some cardinals considered these functions so important (and their membership part of their religious duties) that they held on to them even after they had been elected to the papal throne: Paul V (1605–21) himself remained protector of the confraternity of the Dottrina Cristiana, Clement XIV (1769–74) remained protector of Santa Barbara dei Librai, and Gregory XVI (1831–46) remained protector of the Arciconfraternita del Santissimo Sacramento e Santa Maria della Neve.⁵⁹ Since a cardinal protector's main function for these institutions was to represent, and have direct access to, papal authority (see also Paul V's answer to the general of the Camaldolesi cited above), there was no reason why a cardinal elected pope could not maintain this position.

8 Impending Abolishment

Over time, interventions by cardinal protectors became increasingly regarded as undesirable excesses, especially in the context of religious orders. The cardinal protector might even openly contest or undermine the superior general's power, since, in many cases, the cardinal's exact jurisdiction was not precisely defined. As a result, cardinal protectors could overrule decisions with respect to individual members of orders on, for example, transferral to another monastery. In effect, abuse of the cardinal protector's function by regular clergy, using it as last means of appeal, led to severe criticism. Several popes tried to correct these wrongs, and with the Tridentine call for ecclesiastical reform this became an important issue. Gregory XIII curbed the protector's legal power over orders, in his brief *Cum nihil* (1580) – this document determined that anything regarding individual monks or nuns could be decided on only by the order's internal administration.⁶⁰ In 1586, Sixtus V (1585–90) erected the

58 De Dominicis, *Repertorio*, passim.

59 Moroni, 55: 337.

60 Forte, *The Cardinal-Protector*, 37.

Congregation of Bishops and Regulars, in which general affairs regarding regular orders were to be discussed and decided. Cardinal protectors were no longer to intervene for their order with the pope directly or in the context of the consistory, but instead had to communicate with this congregation. Legally this meant no change in the protector's position. However, in practice, the protector's powers were curbed, even though cardinals with direct access to the pope (thanks to their personal networks) could still circumvent the congregation – and thus the abuse was not eradicated entirely.

As these measures were still insufficient, Clement VIII came to the conclusion shortly after the start of his pontificate in 1592 that the protector's function should disappear altogether if the reform of the orders was to be successful.⁶¹ Clement did not abolish or suppress the function, but chose to let it disappear gradually by no longer appointing new protectors if such positions fell vacant. As a result, by the end of his pontificate, many orders no longer had a cardinal protector. Other forms of protectorship were maintained – those of countries and regions continued to exist. But Clement's immediate successor, Paul v Borghese, decided that cardinal protectors could indeed be employed in the service of ecclesiastical reform, especially of religious orders, after all. Paul asked one of the Curia's more reform-minded cardinals, Paolo Emilio Sfondrati (1560–1618), to prepare an internal memorandum on this topic with the title "Super officio illustrissimorum dominorum: s.R.E. Card., ordinum, institutorum et congregationum quarumcumque regularium Protectorum."⁶² Its text considered the advantages and disadvantages of the protector's function in regular reform and came to the conclusion that, with sufficient restrictions and indications, excesses could be avoided and the cardinal protector could make a positive contribution to ecclesiastical renewal.

Paul v even considered issuing a bull to reform the protectorship, which would have echoed the contents of Sfondrati's memorandum. The draft of the bull, for example, prohibited any exchange of gifts and permitted any cardinal only one protectorship. It was never officially published. However, a new phrase was subsequently added to the protector's standard brief of

61 Wadding cited after Forte, *The Cardinal-Protector*, 38: "Clemens VIII a gravissimo et magnae auctoritatis viro saepe audierat, se per optime consecuturum reformationem regularium cui obtinendae totus intendebat, si de abrogandis eorundem ordinum protectoribus serio cogitasset" (Clement VIII often listened [to the advice of] a man of great and grave authority, [whose advice was] that for the best possible reform of the Regulars, a goal he completely supported, he should seriously think about abolishing the protectors of those orders).

62 ASV, Fondo Borghese, Ser. IV., 47, fols. 79–84, cited in Forte, *The Cardinal-Protector*, 91–94.

appointment warning him not to abuse his power. Thus, cardinal protectors came to play a crucial role in the implementation of the Tridentine reform in regular orders, and their status was boosted as a result.⁶³

In one of the first consistories of his pontificate, in March 1606, Paul v nominated 15 cardinals as protectors of orders.⁶⁴ It is also clear that he allowed them to interfere quite radically in internal discussions and decisions.⁶⁵ Significantly, many of the candidates belonged to the Curia's reform-minded faction – Sfondrati himself, Odoardo Farnese and Robert Bellarmine. One cardinal refused this honour: Cinzio Aldobrandini (1551–1610), nephew of the deceased Clement VIII. According to the *Avvisi*, “he chose not to accept the protectorship of the Jesuate brothers [*Gesuati* or Apostolic Clerics of St. Jerome] or of San Giovanni e Paolo, [and] they say he did not want that because his uncle had suppressed [protectorships]...”⁶⁶

Towards the end of the 17th century, this solution once again came under attack, for abuse was still threatening regular observance. In 1694, Innocent XII clarified that all individual cases pertaining monks and nuns should be submitted to the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars in the bull *Christifidelium*. Only matters regarding the religious order as an institution could be dealt with by its cardinal protector.⁶⁷ The bull also curbed other legal prerogatives, and essentially delegated all juridical powers previously acquired by cardinals to various curial authorities. This meant that also the legal status of protectors with respect to *luoghi pii* were drastically reduced.⁶⁸ In 1715, Clement XI deemed that this decree needed reconfirmation, noting that regulars still sent their requests for dispensations to their protector. He had a letter sent by Cardinal Paolucci which repeated Innocent XII's regulations.⁶⁹ After that, no further juridical issues arose around the protector's function; only in the 20th century were new regulations pertaining to the function confirmed by Benedict XV

63 Black, *Italian Confraternities*, 72–74.

64 BAV, Urb. lat. 1074: fol. 127r, dd. 4 March 1606; see also Forte, *The Cardinal-Protector*, 87–88.

65 Giannini, “Politica curiale,” 259.

66 Forte, *The Cardinal-Protector*, 88: “non ha voluto accettare la protezione de frati Gesuati o di S. Giovanni et Paolo, dicono non haver voluta protezione, poichè il zio li sopresse...”.

67 Melata, *De cardinali protectore*, 13–14 and Lugano, “I cardinali protettori,” 236.

68 Da Siena, *Il cardinale protettore*, 107–09, Giannini, “Politica curiale,” 298–90, Faber, *Scipione Borghese*, 433–35. For the “web of jurisdictions,” specifically in conjunction with the clerical authorities, see Laurie Nussdorfer, *Civic Politics in the Age of Urban VIII* (Princeton: 1992), 45–50.

69 Melata, *De cardinali protectore*, 14–15 and Lugano, “I cardinali protettori,” 236.

in the 1917 codex of canon law (499 § 2). In 1964, the position was finally suspended.⁷⁰

9 Conclusion and Further Research

For a cardinal, the protectorship of a religious order provided him with profound insight into the Church's ecclesiastical organization and its individual organizations; furthermore, it extended his network within and beyond Italy, and as has recently been argued, created opportunities to provide his clients with positions within the organizations he protected. It therefore also served his interests beyond the strictly ecclesiastical sphere – and this was probably the background against which the continuous interference in individual matters can be explained.⁷¹ The protectorship of brotherhoods might have boosted a cardinal's social standing within Rome, as it provided him with public visibility during ceremonies and processions; again, in this case, such a position might have furthered a cardinal's career through the possibilities these networks offered. Mostly cardinals residing in Rome were asked to take on such positions, because only they had easy access to the pope and could make use of the advantages of a protectorship; and they were most often the ones who profited from these networks during the conclave.

The function of cardinal protector is an aspect of a cardinal's life that only recently has been researched in its various ramifications; the majority of studies focused on the 16th and 17th centuries. This still leaves open the question of how the situation evolved during the 15th century (there are indications that during this period, the financial remuneration played a specific role, with cardinals receiving up to 200 ducats a year for this representation)⁷² and of the directions this function took in the 18th century. A host of archival material is still waiting to be explored in the Archivio del Vicariato in Rome and in the archives of various orders and confraternities. Furthermore, the ceremonial aspects of the protectorship have yet not been taken into account, although many archival and manuscript sources can be traced that shed light on this.

⁷⁰ De Dominicis, "Cardinale Protettore," 250–51.

⁷¹ Birgit Emich, "Protektion und Patronage: Kardinalprotektorate im Kirchenstaat der frühen Neuzeit," in *Protegierte und Protektoren: Asymmetrische politische Beziehungen zwischen Partnerschaft und Dominanz (16. bis frühes 20. Jahrhundert)*, eds. Tilman Haug, Nadir Weber, and Christian Windler (Cologne: 2016), 246.

⁷² See Walter Schürmeyer, *Das Kardinalskollegium unter Pius II* (Berlin: 1914), 103–04, referring to Johannes Voigt, "Stimmen aus Rom über den päpstlichen Hof im fünfzehnten Jahrhundert," *Historisches Taschenbuch* 4 (1833), 90–91.

Thus, the public expression of this function in the urban context of Rome is also under-explored. Together with the *possesso* of a titular church, the cardinal's exercise of a protectorship must have meant that the inhabitants of and visitors to early modern Rome must have witnessed him "in action" quite often in their daily lives.

Cardinals and the Apostolic Penitentiary

Kirsi Salonen

1 What Was the Apostolic Penitentiary?

The apostolic penitentiary is the modern term for an office known as the papal or pope's penitentiary in the Middle Ages.¹ The penitentiary was one of the most important offices within the medieval papal Curia and it functioned under the guidance of a cardinal. The main task of the penitentiary, or "the supreme tribunal of conscience," as it has also been called, was to deal with sins reserved to the papal authority. This definition is not adequate, however, because according to the powers given to the penitentiary in the Middle Ages, it was a papal office rather than a tribunal. The penitentiary only became a tribunal in the strict sense after Pius V (1566–72) renewed its powers during his reorganization of the Curia in 1569.²

The penitentiary functioned under the guidance of a cardinal called the major penitentiary (*poenitentiarius maior*).³ In this role, the cardinal was a special trustee of the pope, from whom the cardinal had received the powers to make

1 Peter D. Clarke and Patrick N.R. Zutshi, "Introduction," in *Supplications from England and Wales in the Registers of the Apostolic Penitentiary 1410–1503*, eds. Peter D. Clarke and Patrick N.R. Zutshi (Woodbridge: 2013), 1: xiii.

2 The history and functioning of the penitentiary has been thoroughly studied. The most important publications are: Emil Göller, *Die päpstliche Pönitentiarie von ihrem Ursprung bis zu ihrer Umgestaltung unter Pius V*, 2 vols. in 2 parts (Rome: 1907, 1911); Filippo Tamburini, "Il primo registro di suppliche dell'archivio della Sacra Penitenzieria Apostolica (1410–1411)," *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia* 23 (1969), 384–427; Ludwig Schmutge, Patrick Hersperger, and Béatrice Wiggerhauser, *Die Supplicationsregister der päpstlichen Pönitentiarie aus der Zeit Pius' II (1458–1464)* (Tübingen: 1996); Kirsi Salonen, *The Penitentiary as a Well of Grace in the Late Middle Ages: The Example of the Province of Uppsala 1448–1527* (Helsinki: 2001); Kirsi Salonen and Ludwig Schmutge, *A Sip from the "Well of Grace": Medieval Texts from the Apostolic Penitentiary* (Washington, D.C.: 2009); Kirsi Salonen, "The Curia: The Apostolic Penitentiary," in *A Companion to the Medieval Papacy: Growth of an Ideology and Institution*, eds. Keith Sisson and Atria A. Larson (Leiden: 2016), 259–75.

3 The earliest sources from the 12th century call him the papal penitentiary (*poenitentiarius papae*); later sources use terms such as *poenitentiarius generalis* or *poenitentiarius summus*. Göller, *Die päpstliche Pönitentiarie* 1:1, 85.

decisions in certain kinds of cases of conscience on the pontiff's behalf.⁴ The cardinal penitentiary did not have to take care of all matters entrusted to the penitentiary personally, because he was assisted by a number of persons working for an office called the *officium maius*. The officials of this part of the penitentiary held certain powers, originally granted to the person of the cardinal penitentiary. These powers allowed his subordinates to bestow four different types of grace on the penitentiary's clients: absolutions for those who had violated regulations of canon law, dispensations that permitted Christians to act against Church regulations, licences that allowed Christians not to observe certain ecclesiastical norms regarding the exercise of one's faith, and official declarations.

In the late Middle Ages, the cardinal penitentiary and his staff could grant absolutions in three areas. First, they could absolve Christians from all those sins that belonged to the faculty of ordinary priests or bishops. Second, they could grant absolutions in matters described in the bull *In coena domini*, which was an "official bull of excommunication," publicly pronounced every year on Maundy Thursday, or to persons excommunicated by the pope.⁵ Third, they could deal with special issues personally entrusted to the cardinal penitentiary by the pontiff *vivae vocis oraculo*.⁶

The best source for understanding the great variety of matters entrusted to the cardinal penitentiary and his staff is the penitentiary registers. The registers are internally divided into different sections, each of which contains abbreviated copies of approved petitions regarding a certain type of case. The seven most common sections in the registers are: *de matrimonialibus*, *de diversis formis*, *de declaratoribus*, *de defectu natalium*, *de uberiori*, *de promotis et promovendis*, and *de confessionalibus*.

The *de matrimonialibus* section records petitions for dispensation and absolution from couples who had married or were intending to marry despite the existence of a marital impediment, such as consanguinity or affinity. The *de*

4 In the course of the development of canon law and the central administration of the Church from the 12th century onwards, the handling of some of the most severe sins was reserved to the pope, meaning that only he could absolve persons of them. The first reserved sin was violence against clerics, which the canon 15 (*Si quis suadete diabolo*) of the Second Lateran Council (1139) reserved to papal authority. Salonen, *The Penitentiary*, 58–77; Salonen and Schmutge, *A Sip*, 13–14.

5 The sins or crimes mentioned in this bull varied somewhat in the course of centuries but included, for example, various heresies and schisms, infringement of papal and ecclesiastical privileges, sacrilege, attacks on ecclesiastical persons and property, piracy, and forgery. Göller, *Die päpstliche Pönitentiaria* 1:1, 85, 108.

6 Göller, *Die päpstliche Pönitentiaria*, 1:1, 100–02.

diversis formis section contains different types of graces: absolution and dispensation for Christians who were guilty of serious offences, such as violent behaviour, apostasy, simony, sacrilege, sexual crimes, or breaking their oath or solemn vow, and license for Christians who for example wished to eat forbidden products during Lent or to make a pilgrimage to territories under Muslim control. The *de declaratoriis* section contains petitions regarding the competence of the penitentiary to grant official declarations either stating that the petitioners (despite their participation in events that resulted in someone's death) were not guilty of causing someone's death and thus could continue in their ecclesiastical career, or that they were not monks or nuns despite the fact that they had stayed in a monastery for some time, or that they were legally married even though some people claimed that they were not. The *de defectu natalium* section contains petitions for dispensation made by illegitimate children who desired to become priests despite the fact that canon law considered an illegitimate person unsuitable for an ecclesiastical career. Petitions by persons who, in addition to an illegitimacy dispensation, sought a license to hold contemporaneously more than one ecclesiastical office with cure of souls are in their turn recorded in the *de uberiori* section. Petitions concerning the sacrament of ordination and promotion in ecclesiastical orders are recorded in the *de promotis et promovendis* section. Constitution 21 of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) (*Omnis utriusque sexus*) stipulates that all Christians had to confess their sins at least once a year to their parish priest. If someone wanted to confess to another priest, that was not possible without a so-called confessional letter, which allowed the person to confess to whom he or she wanted. The section *de confessionalibus* contains petitions for such letters.⁷

The most important officials of the *officium maius* of the penitentiary were the regents, who acted as the cardinal penitentiary's right hand and could make decisions on his behalf in all kinds of cases entrusted to the competency of his office.⁸ In addition to the regents, the cardinal penitentiary was the superior of a number of other persons necessary for the daily practices related to the handling of the petitions. These included scribes, abbreviators, *taxators*, sealers, and correctors, all of whom were involved in registering approved

7 Salonen and Schmutge, *A Sip*, 28–68. See also Ludwig Schmutge, *Marriage on Trial: Late Medieval German Couples at the Papal Court*, trans. Atria A. Larson (Washington D.C.: 2012), 55–98; Ludwig Schmutge, *Kirche, Kinder, Karrieren: päpstliche Dispense von der unehelichen Geburt im Spätmittelalter* (Zürich: 1995), 33–69, 106–11, 135–207; Kirsi Salonen and Jussi Hanska, *Entering a Clerical Career at the Roman Curia, 1458–1471* (Farnham: 2013), 103–05, 114–48.

8 Kirsi Salonen, “L'attività della Penitenzieria Apostolica durante il pontificato di Pio II (1458–1464),” in *La Penitenzieria Apostolica e il suo archivio*, ed. Alessandro Saraco (Vatican City: 2012), 67–72.

petitions in the penitentiary registers as well as in composing penitentiary documents that were issued in the cardinal penitentiary's name and in expediting them to the penitentiary's clients all over Christendom. Additionally, the penitentiary employed proctors who helped his clients during the petitioning process. Furthermore, in more complicated cases, the penitentiary used trained lawyers as auditors. It was their task to check that the decisions of the office were legally correct.⁹

In addition to the staff of the *officium maius*, the cardinal penitentiary was the superior of those priests, called papal or minor penitentiaries (*poenitentiarü pape* or *poenitentiarü minores*), who took care of the souls of Christians in the main churches of Rome. The task of these priests, who belonged to another section of the penitentiary, the *officium minus*, was to hear confessions and absolve sinners on the pope's behalf.¹⁰

The cardinal penitentiary held one of the most significant positions within the Catholic Church. He was not only head of the penitentiary's *officium maius* and *officium minus*, which distributed pardons in the pope's name, but his position was so important that his appointment held even during vacancies of the Holy See. According to Clement V's constitution *Ne Romani* (1312), only the papal chamberlain and the cardinal penitentiary remained in their offices and continued their activities between the pope's death and the election of his successor. The chamberlain had to remain in office, because someone had to manage the Church's property and take care of practicalities regarding the papal funeral and election. The cardinal penitentiary, in turn, had to remain in function because it was crucially important that Christians in need of papal absolution could receive it all the time (see also John M. Hunt's chapter in this volume).¹¹

2 The History of the Penitentiary and the Development of the Powers of Its Cardinals

The precise moment when the penitentiary came into being is not known – like many other papal offices, the penitentiary was never officially founded by a papal constitution but simply developed over centuries. The development of the cardinal penitentiary's office is nevertheless closely related to the expansion

9 Salonen and Schmugge, *A Sip*, 14–16.

10 *Ibid.*, 16, 111–13.

11 Clem. 1.3.2., edited in Emil Friedberg (ed.), *Corpus Iuris Canonici* (Leipzig: 1881), 2: 1135–36. Schmugge, Hersperger, and Wiggenhauser, *Die Supplikenregister*, 12; Salonen, *The Penitentiary*, 49–50.

of the Church's central administration and the development of canon law in the 12th century, a period during which many important issues were reserved to the authority of the pope (see Barbara Bombi's chapter in this volume). When popes could not personally take care of the many issues they had to deal with anymore, they began to delegate their decision-making powers to others around them. The cardinal penitentiary, for example, was entrusted with powers of absolution over Christians from reserved sins. The first popes who delegated their powers in such matters were Alexander III (1159–81) and Innocent III (1198–1216), but during their pontificates the position of the cardinal penitentiary was not yet fully defined or permanent.¹²

The special faculties granted for the cardinal penitentiaries by the different popes offer good source material for the study of the cardinal penitentiary's developing position. The first faculties to be granted, for which we have precise written evidence, date from the pontificate of Innocent IV (1243–54): Innocent entrusted the cardinal and his staff with powers to absolve sinners from various sentences of excommunication. Clement IV's constitution *Saepe contingit* (1266), in turn, allowed the cardinal penitentiary to absolve priests who had been ordained by a foreign bishop instead of the bishop of their home diocese. The following year, Clement entrusted the cardinal penitentiary with a further power: to absolve Christians in cases mentioned in the bull *In coena Domini*, which was annually published on Maundy Thursday.¹³ The cardinal penitentiary's delegated powers multiplied during the pontificates of Clement's successors so that almost every medieval pope added something to his competences.

The cardinal penitentiary's increasing faculties can also be observed in the penitentiary's statutes, which defined the practical side of his office's work. The earliest of the penitentiary's preserved statutes date from 1291, but the statutes of Benedict XII (1335–42), compiled during the Avignon period, are the most influential.¹⁴

Benedict XII's statutes formed the basis for the cardinal penitentiary's faculties for around a century, until Eugene IV (1431–47) promulgated the constitution *In apostolicae dignitatis* in October 1438. With this constitution, Eugene confirmed all earlier faculties given to the cardinal penitentiary for granting absolutions, dispensations, licences, and declarations to Christians; he also

12 Salonen and Schmutge, *A Sip*, 13–14; Patrick Zutshi, "Petitioners, Proctors, Popes: The Development of Curial Institutions, c.1150–1250," in *Pensiero e sperimentazioni istituzionali nella "Societas Christiana" (1046–1250)*, ed. Giancarlo Andenna (Milan: 2007), 275–77.

13 Göller, *Die päpstliche Pönitentiarie* 1:1, 85, 108.

14 The faculties of the penitentiary are listed in Göller, *Die päpstliche Pönitentiarie* 1:2, 1–47 and 11:2, 2–8. See also Salonen, *The Penitentiary*, 58–64.

added several new powers to the cardinal's competency. All in all, the constitution allowed the cardinal to make decisions in the following areas: various forms of simony, cases in which the sinners had been excommunicated or put under interdict by other ecclesiastical authorities, violent behaviour against or by members of the clergy, robbery of pilgrims or people travelling to the Curia, sexual offences, heresy, schism, interaction with infidels, sacrilege, forgery, travelling without permit to the Holy Land, transgression of local ecclesiastical statutes, false promotion or ordination, apostasy, perjury, commutation of solemn vows, marital impediments, and illegitimacy. Additionally, Eugene ordered the cardinal to ensure that those who falsified penitentiary letters would be punished. The cardinal was also instructed to correct and punish the office's personnel for all misdemeanours or for failure to conduct their tasks with due diligence.¹⁵ As the list shows, the cardinal penitentiary could make decisions on a great variety of matters in which the salvation of Christians was at stake.

In apostolicae dignitatis formed the basis for the penitentiary's faculties during the 15th and 16th centuries, since Eugene's successors made only minor adjustments and additions to his fundamental constitution.¹⁶ The situation changed only in the 1560s. Due to growing criticism of the penitentiary, and especially during the period of the Council of Trent, Pius IV decided to review the penitentiary's faculties in their totality, as a part of his wider reorganization of the papal Curia. On 4 May 1562, only a few months after the opening of the Council, Pius promulgated the constitution *In sublimi*, in which he stressed that the penitentiary's task was to safeguard the salvation of the souls. This constitution did not effect major changes in the penitentiary's powers yet, but Pius V's two subsequent constitutions – *Tempus et necessitas* (1 May 1569) and especially *Ut bonus paterfamilias* (18 May 1569) – drastically diminished the penitentiary's faculties. From May 1569 onwards, the penitentiary's faculties were limited only to cure of souls in cases that belonged to the *forum internum* – that is, absolving Christians from sins committed. In practice this

15 The text is available in Göller, *Die päpstliche Pönitentiarie* 1:2, 37–47.

16 The later faculties of the cardinal penitentiaries are listed in Göller, *Die päpstliche Pönitentiarie* 11:2, 1–15. Sixtus IV is usually mentioned as one of the popes who tried to regulate the functioning of the penitentiary. In addition to reviewing the faculties of the cardinal penitentiary immediately after his coronation in September 1471, Sixtus published another constitution in May 1484, in which he concentrated on the practical functioning of the office. Similar to Sixtus IV, Leo X also published a constitution in which he confirmed the faculties of the office and gave instructions concerning practical matters, such as taxation, immediately after his coronation in December 1513. These constitutions are edited in *Bullarium romanum. Bullarum diplomatum et privilegiorum sanctorum romanorum pontificum Taurinensis editio. Tomus v, ab Eugenio IV (an. MCCCXXXI) ad Leonem X (an. MDXXI)* (Turin: 1860), 292–95, 576–80.

meant that the cardinal penitentiary and his staff could no longer distribute public dispensations, declarations, or licences in the *forum externum*. On 18 May 1569 Pope Pius v promulgated a third constitution, *In omnibus rebus*, which defined how the penitentiary's office was to function after the reduction of its faculties.¹⁷

3 The Cardinal Penitentiaries

Emil Göller, in his *magnum opus*, listed all known cardinal penitentiaries from the late 12th century onwards and provides information regarding 41 cardinals who acted as major penitentiaries before the revocation of the office's powers. There were thirteen cardinal penitentiaries who held office between Eugene iv's reforms in 1438 and Pius v's reorganization in 1569: Nicolò Albergati (1438–43), Giuliano Cesarini (1443–44), Giovanni Berardi di Taliacozzo (1444–49), Dominico Capranica (1449–58), Filippo Calandrini (1458–76), Giuliano della Rovere (1476–1503), Pietro Ludovico Borgia (1503–11), Leonardo Grosso della Rovere (1511?–20), Lorenzo Pucci (1520/21–29), Antonio Pucci (1529–44), Roberto Pucci (1544–47), Ranuccio Farnese (1547–65), and Charles Borromeo (1565–72).¹⁸

All these cardinals were experienced servants of the papal Curia and their appointment as major penitentiary had typically occurred at the end of their ecclesiastical career. All belonged to the highest rank of cardinal priests. Since the office of the cardinal penitentiary did not cease during the *Sede Vacante*, the only reason for appointing a new major penitentiary was his predecessor's death or his transferal to another position. This second option was, in fact, a nominal one, since – with the exceptions of Giuliano della Rovere, who was elected pope, and Lorenzo Pucci, who retired two years prior to his death – all late medieval and early modern cardinal penitentiaries served in office until their death. This offers clear testimony to the fact that the position of the cardinal penitentiary was the high point of most of these cardinals' ecclesiastical careers; the only possibility for further advancement was to be elected pope.

17 Alessandro Saraco, "La Penitenzieria al 'secolo' del Concilio di Trento," in *Penitenza e Penitenzieria nel "secolo" del Concilio di Trento*, eds. Manlio Sodi and Alessandro Saraco (Vatican City: 2016), 124–25.

18 Göller, *Die päpstliche Pönitentiarie* 1:1, 86–97; 11:1, 9–12; Filippo Tamburini, "Per la storia dei Cardinali Penitenzieri Maggiori e dell'Archivio della Penitenzieria Apostolica: Il trattato 'De antiquitate cardinalis Poenitentiarum Maioris' di G.B. Coccino († 1641)," *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia* 36 (1982), 332–80.

4 The Penitentiary Registers as Sources about the Cardinal Penitentiary's Daily Activity

The penitentiary registers, the copy-books of the office containing abbreviated copies of petitions approved by the officials of the penitentiary, form the most abundant source material for studying the activity of the cardinal penitentiaries and the penitentiary. In the course of the petition process, approved petitions were recorded into these registers so that the officials could keep track of graces granted. The name and position of the official who made the decision is recorded at the end of each registered petition. This information allows us to examine who took the decisions in the penitentiary. Did the cardinal penitentiary take part in the decision-making actively or did he leave the daily practices to the regents? This information is important because all letters of grace expedited through the penitentiary were always issued in the cardinal penitentiary's name regardless of who made the decision.¹⁹

The penitentiary registers are kept in the *Archivio storico della Penitenzieria Apostolica*. They consist of 746 volumes covering the period from the 1450s until the 1890s. Around 160 volumes date back to the period prior to Pius V's reforms of 1569.²⁰ These registers have been accessible to scholars since 1983 and a significant number of studies and source editions have been published since then. The latter part of the archives was made accessible only recently, in 2011.²¹

In the late Middle Ages, the penitentiary was an extremely busy office. It has been calculated that it granted about 116,000 graces between the years 1455 and 1492, which means that the office handled around ten petitions per day.²² But what was the role of the cardinal penitentiary in this workload? Until now, this question has remained unanswered regarding the whole late medieval and early modern period. The only study conducted until now on the decision-making processes in the penitentiary concerns the pontificate of Pius II (1458–64), when Cardinal Filippo Calandrini held the position of major penitentiary.²³

The penitentiary registers from Pius II's pontificate show that the office approved over 15,700 petitions during these six years. In 8,949 cases (57 per cent),

19 Salonen and Schmugge, *A Sip*, 94–95.

20 APA, Reg. Matrim. et Div., vols. 1–160.

21 It is not possible to include here a comprehensive bibliography of penitentiary studies, but a selection of the most significant publications can be found in Salonen and Schmugge, *A Sip*, 189–92. For the collections of edited sources, see Salonen, "The Curia: The Apostolic Penitentiary," 266.

22 Salonen and Schmugge, *A Sip*, 19.

23 Salonen, "L'attività della Penitenzieria Apostolica," *passim*.

TABLE 9.1 The activity of cardinal penitentiaries in approving German petitions.

RPG	Pontificate	Total of approved petitions	Signatures by the cardinal	%
I	Eugene IV (1431–47)	775	630	81 %
II	Nicholas V (1447–55)	2785	2442	88 %
III	Calixtus III (1455–58)	2242	2217	99 %
IV	Pius II (1458–64)	4028	Not recorded	57 %
V	Paul II (1464–71)	4626	2755	60 %
VI	Sixtus IV (1471–84)	7478	1169	16 %
VII	Innocent VIII (1484–92)	4733	0	0 %
VIII	Alexander VI (1492–1503)	6648	0	0 %
IX	Pius III & Julius II (1503–13)	3270	0	0 %
X	Leo X (1513–21)	2430	0	0 %

Note: The RPG series records the name of the decision-maker in all volumes except for volume 4, covering the pontificate of Pius II, which was the first volume published in the series. The editors later adjusted the principles of their edition such that the identity of the decision-maker is recorded in the other volumes as well. Since my own study on the decision-makers luckily covers this pontificate, it is possible to reconstruct the whole period of 1431–1521.

SOURCE: RPG I–X, PASSIM AND SALONEN, “L’ATTIVITÀ DELLA PENITENZIERIA APOSTOLICA,” 70–71.

the petitions were approved by the cardinal penitentiary, while 181 (1 per cent) were signed by the pontiff himself; the rest (42 per cent) were signed by various regents of the penitentiary. Such a result suggests that Cardinal Calandrini was indeed very much involved in the decision-making of the penitentiary.²⁴ But how was it with other cardinal penitentiaries? It is not possible to count all the signatures from the numerous penitentiary registers, but it is possible to study the signatures in the German collection of sources *Repertorium Poenitentiariae Germanicum*, which cover the years 1431 to 1521.²⁵

The cardinals would seem to have been actively involved in the penitentiary’s decision-making, but only in the first half of the 15th century, as the numbers in Table 9.1 clearly show. The cardinal penitentiary under Eugene IV, Nicolò Albergati, participated very actively in the decision-making, signing four-fifths of petitions presented to the penitentiary during his cardinalate;

²⁴ Ibid., 70–71. The study is based on APA, Reg. Matrim. et Div. vols. 7–11, 13.

²⁵ RPG I–X, passim.

his colleague Dominico Capranica was likewise active during subsequent pontificates. The records from the period of the penitentiary cardinalates of Giuliano Cesarini and Giovanni Berardi di Taliacozzo unfortunately have not survived. However, Filippo Calandrini was less visible in the decision-making of the penitentiary than his predecessors (signing only about 60 per cent of the cases) and the situation changed drastically during the pontificate of Sixtus IV, when Giuliano della Rovere became the cardinal penitentiary in 1476. The penitentiary registers contain references to 1,087 petitions approved by the cardinal, but they date only from the beginning of his cardinalate in autumn 1476 to spring 1479.²⁶ After that Giuliano did not sign any petitions, leaving that task to the regents of the penitentiary. His successors in the office, Pietro Ludovico Borgia and Leonardo Grosso della Rovere, followed the same principle, leaving the penitentiary's daily business to their subordinates.

The penitentiary registers do not offer us any explanation for why the cardinal penitentiaries suddenly stopped participating in the penitentiary's decision-making. Neither does this trend coincide with any reorganizing of the activities of the Curia or the penitentiary that took place in the second half of the 15th century, which might otherwise have explained such a sudden change. One can thus only surmise that the cardinals must have gained so many other more important tasks that they could no longer take care of the daily business of their offices personally.

26 Filippo Calandrini signed 182 petitions during the first years of Sixtus IV's pontificate, when he was still in charge of the penitentiary. RPG VI, *passim*.

Cardinals and Theology

Jean-Pascal Gay

When thinking of the relationship between theology and early modern cardinals, what comes to mind are the examples of prominent theologians such as Robert Bellarmine, Juan de Lugo, or Francesco Maria Sforza Pallavicino. Yet such figures may have been highlighted by hagiography (see Pamela Jones's contribution in this volume) or by heroic historiography which has isolated them from their environment. Although Bellarmine, de Lugo, and Sforza Pallavicino were not exactly prototypical cardinals, they were not necessarily exceptions either; in fact, the figure of the cardinal theologian was quite ordinary throughout the early modern period. We would probably have a better understanding of such examples if we knew more about the institutional and religious patterns within which their actions made sense for their contemporaries.

If some theologians became cardinals, or if some cardinals were still active in the academic field of theology, it is not merely because a theological framework structured the Church as a public space. Cardinals – more than other princes or church officials – operated from within a theologically-determined framework and had a particular need for theologians. Cardinals ordinarily were patrons of theologians and turned to them for counsel in order to accomplish their duties, particularly regarding their contribution to government in the Curia.

Exploring the relationship between the cardinal (from the historian's point of view, primarily a politico-ecclesiastical position) and theology (from the historians' point of view, a discipline rather than a mere discourse) is a difficult task. First and foremost, it would require a social and cultural history of theology which we utterly lack. While for the last twenty years, historians of early modern Catholicism, with Italian historians leading the way, have been more willing to engage with theological material as a source, there remains an important historiographical obstacle to such an agenda: we do not have a history of theology itself that answers the questions and meets the criteria of contemporary historiographical studies.¹ Our understanding of theology is still too

¹ Even *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Theology, 1600–1800*, eds. Ulrich L. Lehner, Richard A. Muller, and A.G. Roeber (Oxford: 2016) does not stray beyond the contents of the theological discussion, apart from discussing the relation with state formation.

dependent on the narrative put forward by theologians themselves; and such a history is usually one of winners and losers, which depends far more on contemporary preoccupations (whether religious or not) than on the actual historical dynamics that presided over the making of the knowledge itself. Therefore, engaging a discussion of the relationship of such powerful churchmen as cardinals to theology can offer an excellent opportunity to advance a more social and cultural history of theology.

This chapter does so by turning to three different sets of questions: 1. the discourse of theologians regarding the office of cardinals; 2. the theological proficiency of cardinals; and 3. their relationship to theological expertise and the figure of the expert cardinal theologian.

1 The Cardinal as a Theological Object

Despite significant ecclesiological shifts in early modern Catholicism, ecclesiology did not emerge as a distinct discipline within theology.² Yet, not only did some theologians discuss the cardinalate as an office from within more general discussions regarding the Church, theology also influenced the discourse of other specialists, particularly canonists. When Giovanni Girolamo Albani wrote his *De cardinalatu liber* (1541) (see the chapter by David S. Chambers in this volume) he discussed issues that bore upon Church law as well as theology (such as the very nature of the cardinal's office within the Church, its institution, and the virtues that it required). So too did Cardinal Francesco Albizzi when he published his *De iurisdictione quam habent SRE Cardinales in Ecclesiis suorum* (1668) (see Arnold Witte's chapter on titular churches in this volume).

Theologians also discussed the status and nature of the cardinalate from within more general ecclesiological discussions or while discussing moral cases that could pertain to the office or to the relationship between lay persons, clerics, and cardinals. Yet, as Sylvio De Franceschi has stated, the cardinalate did not obviously pertain to the field of theology and "there were not that many Catholic theologians who dealt with the cardinal's office."³ Early modern theologians and canonists inherited a significant weight of scholarship produced on this issue during the Great Schism and in its aftermath (see Barbara

2 Stefania Tutino, "Ecclesiology/Church-State Relationship in Early Modern Catholicism," in *The Oxford Handbook*, eds. Lehner, Müller and Roeber, 150–64.

3 Sylvio Hermann De Franceschi, "La théologie catholique face au statut des cardinaux de l'Église romaine: Origines et fonctions du cardinalat selon le discours ecclésiologique du catholicisme posttridentin," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, Italie et Méditerranée modernes et contemporaines* 127 (2015), 307–22.

Bombi's chapter in this volume). Parisian theologians, whose ecclesiological model can be described in broad terms as less monarchic and more aristocratic than that of other contemporary theologians, paradoxically contributed to the discussion by extolling the office of cardinal at the expense of that of the pope: Gerson's *De statibus ecclesiasticis* (ca. 1410) and Pierre d'Ailly's *Liber de ecclesiae et cardinalium auctoritate* (1417) are important early texts in this regard. D'Ailly in particular influenced later discussion by arguing, with Gerson, that the cardinal's office was *de jure divino*, adding that the Apostles were primarily Peter's counsellors, and therefore their office came prior even to that of bishops. To d'Ailly, the Sacred College was therefore the true successor to the Apostolic Senate that had ruled the Church before the dispersion of the Twelve and before Peter even came to Rome.

Controversy with Protestantism was an important step in the elaboration of a more articulate theological discourse about the cardinalate. Robert Bellarmine (1542–1621) discussed the issue in a specific chapter in his disputation *De membris ecclesiae militantis* (1587).⁴ In opposition to Calvin and other Protestant theologians, he reasserted that the role of the cardinal's office in the Church was threefold: first, each cardinal is foremost bishop, priest, or deacon; second, the cardinals elect the pope; third, they support and advise the pontiff in the government of the Universal Church. One of the main points of contention with reformed theologians – particularly with those of the emerging Anglican Church – was the relationship between cardinalate and episcopate. Bellarmine distinguished jurisdiction, sacramentality, and government: while cardinals were inferior to bishops in the first two regards, they were superior, and acknowledged as such within the Church hierarchy, because of their role in the government of the Church.

Such an affirmation also challenged the ecclesiology of other interpretations of Catholicism. Even before he broke with Catholicism, the Venetian Marcantonio de Dominis utterly dismissed the authority of cardinals over other clerics in his *De republica christiana* (1617) by arguing that the sacrament of holy orders is the sole foundation of Church hierarchy and that the Roman cardinalate usurped a more general and original cardinalate within the Church. While not every theologian would agree that the cardinalate was *de iure divino*, most Catholic theologians praised and defended the institution as ecclesio-logically legitimate and necessary. For instance, in his *Pro sacra monarchia ecclesiae catholicae* (1623) – a text answering to De Dominis and compatible

4 Robert Bellarmine, *Primi tomi Quinta controuersia generalis, De membris Ecclesiae militantis, tribus libris explicata* (Ingolstadt: 1587), b. 1, *De clericis*, Ch. 16 “De cardinalibus.” See De Franceschi, “Théologie catholique.”

with Gallican claims and therefore published with support of the French monarchy – the French Dominican theologian Nicolas Coëffeteau vindicated Bellarmine almost entirely. In 1641, the French Jesuit Louis Cellot, whose *De hierarchia et hierarchiis* attempts to account for the structure of the Church from a theological perspective, argued that cardinals were, without any doubt, above any other within the Church because of their immediate connection to the pope (*ut contigua sui corporis membra*). He acknowledged their status as judges within the Church and therefore stated that “in terms of state of perfection” they were higher than the bishops, whose office was mostly pastoral.⁵

While theologians acknowledged some sort of pre-eminence of the cardinals, we could still argue that the evolution of a theological discourse about them also registers the decline of their importance relative to both the episcopate and the papacy itself. A good guide here is Juan Azor, who is one of the few theologians to have included an extensive discussion of cardinals in a theological treatise with no direct controversial purpose. He dedicated two chapters of his *Institutionum moralium* (1606) – one of the most important work of casuistry and one that would strongly influence later Catholic moral theology – to this subject.⁶ While acknowledging that theologians and canonists stood on both sides of this debate, he opposed the concept of *de iure divino* that Bellarmine later would defend. Azor preferred the opinion of the Dominican theologian Domingo de Soto, that the cardinalate was a man-made office. Yet if he did so, it was because he felt that all the cardinals’ power came from the pope himself (*tota cardinalium potestas a Romanis pontificibus manavit ac fluxit*), including their power to elect his successor or to act as counsellors to him. More importantly, Azor broke with the ecclesiological heritage of the Great Schism, and even with Albani, by arguing that it was a common doctrine that the pope could make important decisions (namely creating new cardinals, transferring bishops, appointing a legate *a latere*, alienating Church property, conceding a major fief or even going to war, etc.) irrespective of the consensus and consent of the cardinals whose advice he took. And again, Azor was reluctant to acknowledge the Sacred College as existing *per se* and *ex iure divino*, as this would have conflicted with his rather more absolutist understanding of the Church’s monarchical government. The downplaying of the role of ecclesiastical counsellors within the Church mirrored that of political government in political theory at the very same time.

On what the virtues and education of a cardinal should be, the few theologians who discussed the cardinalate remained rather implicit. The issue

5 Louis Cellot, *De hierarchia et hierarchiis libri IX* (Rouen: 1641).

6 Juan Azor, *Institutionum moralium*, t. 2, pars 2, lib. 4, Chapters 1–2 (Rome: 1606).

pertained to the more general discussion of the appointment of candidates to benefices within the Church (with most theologians arguing that those in charge did not have to look for the worthiest candidate as long as the man who was chosen was worthy enough). Theologians also had to deal with the reality of the cardinalate and could not openly criticize the actual appointees. Azor argued that, considering the part that cardinals played in judging matters for the Church, they required a significant degree of either theological or canonical literacy and that relying on the expertise of more knowledgeable men would not suffice. While acknowledging that there was no clear legal requirement in this regard, he reclaimed the prescription of the Council of Constance that required at least a license in either canon or civil law, or in theology (see Bombi's and Schmidt's chapters in this volume). Yet, he also noted that the sons, brothers, or nephews of princes could and would often be deemed literate enough, without having taken the necessary degrees.

2 Theological Proficiency and Ecclesiastical Careers

One might assume that for most cardinals, going through the ordinary steps of an ecclesiastical career meant at least some sort of theological proficiency. This is basically true, with the important *caveat* that the theological education of most priests changed dramatically over the course of the early modern era.⁷ There is little doubt therefore that – except for such exceptional profiles as that of cardinals who came from the military orders, princely families, and the so-called “crown cardinals” – most cardinals had gone through the ordinary stages of clerical education (including in civil and canon law). While this may have included little theology in the early 16th century, this was no longer the case by the 18th century, when the curriculum for career clergymen had been stabilized and consolidated in order to include more than basic theological knowledge. In the 18th century, many Roman cardinals were educated at the Jesuit *Seminario Romano*, which meant that they had attended classes not only of casuistry but also of basic theology with a curriculum close to that of the Jesuits themselves.

Yet, many differences subsisted late in the 18th century and secular priests, even those clearly aiming at a top clerical career, could remain far less theologically proficient than their regular counterparts. In 1731 Clement XII Corsini

⁷ Kathleen M. Comerford, “Italian Tridentine Diocesan Seminaries: A Historiographical Study,” *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 29 (1998), 999–1022.

created his nephew Giovanni Antonio Guadagni (1674–1759) cardinal.⁸ Guadagni had studied at the University of Pisa, where he had gone through the entire legal curriculum, acquiring doctorates in canon and civil law in 1696. Yet, after a religious conversion, Guadagni became a Discalced Carmelite and, as a member of this order, had to “complete” his education and take classes in philosophy and theology. Without this preparation, there would have been little possibility for him to access governing positions within the order. This occasional lack of theological education could not but have consequences for cardinals when certain issues required theological expertise and validation. Indeed, the persistence of differences within clerical curricula is also part of the reason why there continued to exist a distinct group of cardinals with specific theological expertise throughout the early modern era.

What was the importance of this group within the College of Cardinals and did it change? In order to answer these questions, we need a more systematic prosopography of the cardinals than is currently available. In order to arrive at a partial outline, we can rely on the biographical information gathered by Salvador Miranda. Using that information, one can distinguish four categories of educational background: one that is primarily legal, one that is primarily theological, one that is both, and finally one that is neither. Therefore, a “theologian” can be a theologically-trained and oriented cleric rather than an actual professional theologian. The data is too unreliable here to provide actual figures, but it does indicate some trends, though the numbers remain too small to make them statistically significant.

In terms of sheer size of the group, the proportion of cardinals in the Sacred College actually trained in theology appears small throughout the early modern era. In the 16th century never more than ten theologians were created cardinals over the course of a decade (Figure 10.1). The same goes for the 17th century (Figure 10.3). There is a small spike over ten in the 1710s and in the 1720s (Figure 10.5 and 10.6). The occasional addition of a number of clerics who were proficient both in theology and canon law does not change much in this regard – first, because the numbers here are even lower and, secondly, because more often than not, cardinals holding doctorates in both law and theology seem to have had careers that differed little from those of cardinals who worked mostly within the Curia’s administrative offices with only infrequent connections to congregations that required particular theological expertise (the Inquisition, the Index, the Apostolic Penitentiary and – to a lesser extent – the Propaganda Fide, for which see Giovanni Pizzorusso’s chapter in this volume).

8 Konrad Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica Medii et Recentioris Aevi* (Regensburg: 1913) 6:6.

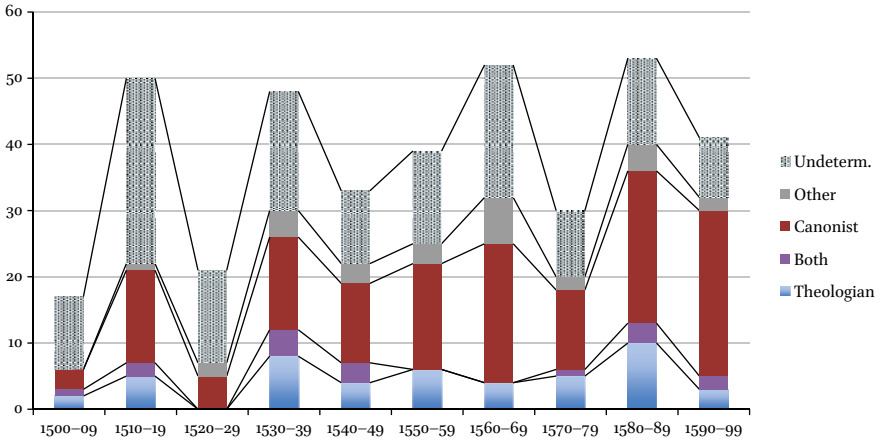


FIGURE 10.1 Education of cardinals, 16th century (numbers)

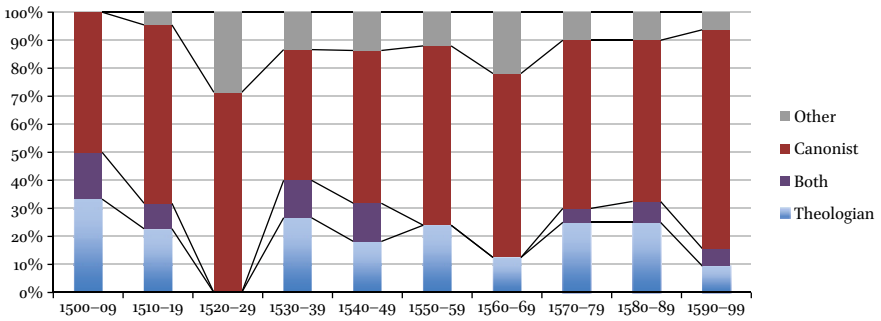


FIGURE 10.2 Education of cardinals, 16th century (proportions, undetermined ruled out)

The second reason why these numbers are misleading is that, at any given time, a significant proportion of those cardinals who can be identified as having built an expertise in theology – or at least built their initial career on their mastering theology – were not Italians. For example, in the 1710s, the twelve cardinals who can be clearly labelled as theologians are Benito de Sala y de Caramany (a Spanish Benedictine), Wolfgang Hannibal von Schrattenbach, Henri-Pons de Thiard de Bissy, Imre Csáky, Léon Potier de Gesvres, Thomas Philippe d’Hénin-Liétard d’Alsace-Boussu, and Luis Antonio Belluga y Moncada. The same goes for the small group of four cardinals who were proficient in both theology and canon law: two, Mihály Frigyes Althan and José Pereira da Lacerda (who had taught both canon law and theology at Coimbra), were not Italians, thereby accounting for half of the entire group. If we look at the French cardinals created throughout the entire early modern era, almost all

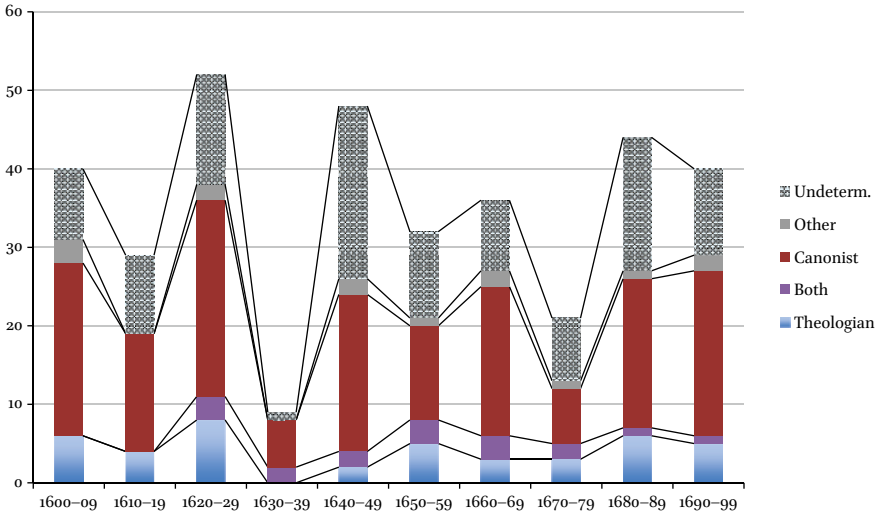


FIGURE 10.3 Education of cardinals, 17th century (numbers)

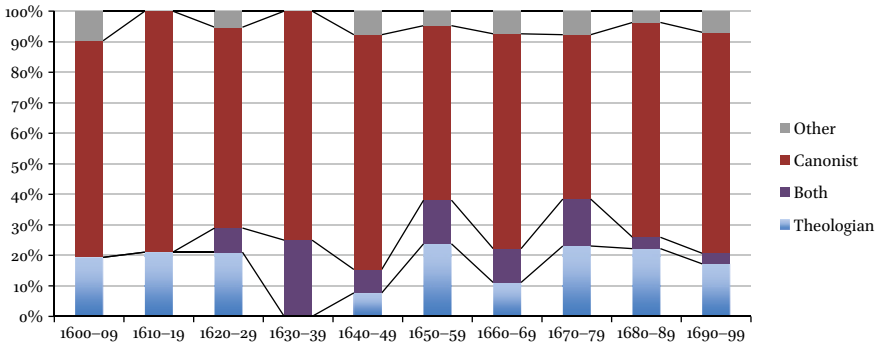


FIGURE 10.4 Education of cardinals, 17th century (proportions, undetermined ruled out)

can be designated as cardinal theologians, with very few exceptions (mostly from the early 16th century, such as Odet de Coligny de Châtillon, who became a cardinal at the age of 16 and so hardly had the time to go through a theological curriculum before getting the *biretta*). Even men with very politically-oriented careers, such as Alphonse-Louis de Richelieu, or diplomats such as d’Estrées or Bouillon in the 17th century, or all the Rohan cardinals in the 18th century, chose to study for a doctorate in theology, mostly at the Sorbonne. Yet not one of these French cardinals was a professional theologian (this includes Pierre de Bérulle whose work would not be considered theology according to the standards of the time). Thus, while Rome was a centre for confessional Catholicism, and certainly fostered confessional emphasis on orthodoxy,

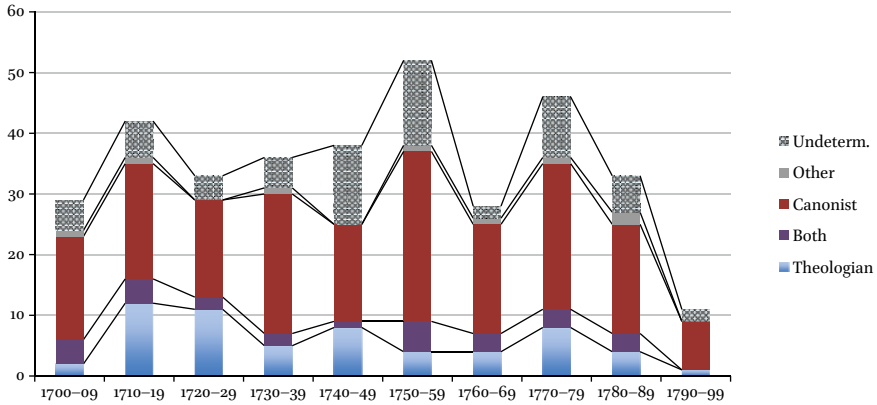


FIGURE 10.5 Education of cardinals, 18th century (numbers)

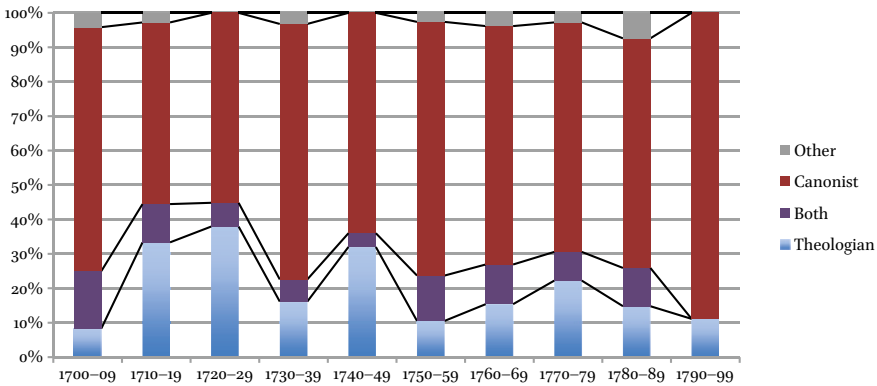


FIGURE 10.6 Education of cardinals, 18th century (proportions, undetermined ruled out)

theology played a much less central part in the Roman style of Catholicism than it did in other European Catholicisms (whether these included an Inquisition, such as Spanish or Portuguese Catholicism, or did not, such as French, Belgian, or, indeed, English Catholicism).

In terms of proportion, Figure 10.7 aggregates most significant numbers and places and may prove more solid statistically. The pattern that emerges is, first and foremost, one of remarkable stability. Throughout the early modern era, in any given period of 30 years, the number of cardinals who were truly proficient theologically (and including those with mixed profiles) never amounted to more than 38 per cent of the total of created cardinals. Moreover, at the same time it never amounted to less than 18 per cent of the total either – with quite counterintuitive lows at the end of the 16th century and again in the first third

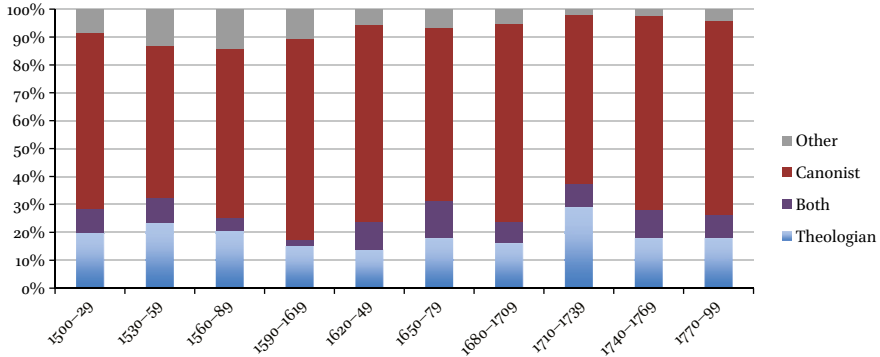


FIGURE 10.7 Education of cardinals, general overview (proportions, undetermined ruled out)

of the 17th century (i.e., the age of Bellarmine, which one might have expected to have been some sort of Golden Age of doctrine in Rome). From the 16th to the 18th century, the proportion of cardinal theologians oscillated around the figure of 25 per cent of the entire College. The group of theologically proficient theologians was therefore always a minority within the cardinalate. Yet theology never disappeared as an important form of expertise or educational backgrounds for cardinals within the Sacred College. This bears witness to the fact that theology's long-term crisis in the world of knowledge in the early modern era never truly translated institutionally within the Church. This might be caused by the inevitable normative status of theology in confessionalised Catholicism.

The other very significant pattern – and one that proves quite difficult to explain – is that of the oscillation itself. This cannot be ascribed to the personalities of individual popes, nor to their ideological inclinations, as the peak during the early 18th century shows. Pontificates which one might expect to have occasioned the appointment of more theologians, because of the pontiffs' religious ideals – such as those of Innocent XI or Pius V – do not seem to have occasioned any significant increase in the number of cardinal theologians, particularly of Italian cardinal theologians. Could it be that there was a cycle within the Curia – with theologically-minded cardinals regularly leaving room for other theologically-minded cardinals? While this is a probable hypothesis, there is little evidence to support it, all the more so as the issue intertwines with several other dynamics within the Sacred College (see Miles Patenden's chapter in this volume).

Indeed, theological proficiency did have a connection with the social background of the individual cardinals (discussed in Maria Antonietta Visceglia's chapter in this volume). Italian aristocrats, whether Roman or not, did not ordinarily specialize in theology in their efforts to secure an ecclesiastical career.

Canon law offered far more chances of success, because it provided better opportunities in the middle stages of an ecclesiastical career, particularly in Rome. This is quite clear for cardinals who were Genoese or Venetian patriicians as well as for those from the Roman aristocracy. No Colonna ever trained in theology with the exception of Marcantonio II in the middle of the 18th century; neither did any Aldobrandini nor any Orsini, except in the case that he was a member of a religious order, as was the case of Vincenzo Maria Orsini (1649–1730; created 1672 and elected Benedict XIII in 1724), who became a Dominican against the will of his parents and trained in his convent in Naples before teaching philosophy in the convent of Brescia.⁹ Cardinal Fabio Chigi (later Alexander VII) recommended to Gregorio Barbarigo that he should study law, which he did at Padua before being made a cardinal in 1660, just five years after having his doctorate *in utroque jure*.

Theological proficiency would therefore always be connected to a particular social or ecclesiastical environment. Three different types of cardinal theologians can be found within the group. First, as we have seen, the foreigners coming from Churches where the power of theological institutions and the profit of investment in the study of theology were greater than in Italy (i.e., the rest of the Catholic world). The second type is that of the former heads of the religious orders who became cardinals because of their role in the government of their congregation and also because of the type of involvement in the functioning of the Roman Curia that their Generalate could entail. An intermediary figure here is the figure of the master general of the Dominican Order, whose theological expertise often proved decisive in his own career within the order. The most famous case here is that of Tommaso de Vio (Cajetan) (1469–1534).¹⁰ Cajetan started teaching theology in Padua aged twenty-four, after having attended the *Studium Generale* of the Province of Lombardy; he became Master in Sacred Theology (a distinction specific to the order) after a public dissertation with Pico della Mirandola at the general chapter of 1494. In 1501, he was called to the general curia of his order as procurator and became vicar general in 1507, before being elected master general by the 1508 chapter. At the same time, he published extensively and his prominence as a theologian certainly contributed to his career. He played a significant part in the defence of anti-conciliarist principles under Julius II and in polemics against the Parisian school. His creation as cardinal in 1517 therefore came as both an

9 Gaspare De Caro, "Benedetto XIII," in *Enciclopedia dei Papi* (Rome: 2000), 3:429–39.

10 Eckehart Stöve, "Tommaso de Vio" in *DBI*, 39:567–78 and Giovanni Allaria, *Tommaso De Vio, Cardinale Gaetano* (Gaeta: 1969).

acknowledgement of his efficient government and of his theological works, including in the defence of Roman claims.

Other Dominican masters general had more low-key profiles, yet theological proficiency certainly played a significant part in their rise within their order, as well as into the cardinalate. Agostino Pipia was first professor of theology in Majorca before being kept in Rome by Antonin Cloche after the 1694 general chapter. There he became regent of Santa Maria sopra Minerva, an office that came with significant involvement in the congregations of the Index and eventually the Inquisition. He became secretary of the Index in 1711 and advised the Inquisition and other congregations at the same time. In 1721, his order chose him as master general and subsequently Benedict XIII Orsini, himself a Dominican, created him cardinal in 1725. Both De Vio as well as Pipia appear as intermediary figures between the second and third type of cardinal theologian, the third type being that of the expert theologian, appointed because of his expertise. Yet, the difference between De Vio and Pipia also illustrates a major divide within this third group. More often than not, the cardinalate did not come as a result of a theologian's place in his academic field but rather because of the work he had accomplished in the service of the Curia, particularly in the congregations of the Index and the Inquisition. Perhaps no case illustrates this as well as that of Desiderio Scaglia (1567/68–1638), "one of the most experienced inquisitors."¹¹ Scaglia's theological training served his work in the local and Roman Inquisition, and he played a significant role in Roman censorship during the first two decades of the 17th century. Yet Scaglia left no theological work and remains known mostly for his *Prattica per procedere nelle cause del S. Offizio o relatione copiosa di tutte le materie spettanti al tribunale del S. Officio* (1616), which would remain a point of reference for the Inquisitors who followed him.¹² This profile of a practically oriented theological expertise characterizes the career of several further cardinal theologians up until the end of the 18th century.

This typology also means that – particularly considering the number of cardinal theologians who belong to the second and third type – those theologians who became cardinals were also typically significantly older than the rest of

11 See Thomas F. Mayer, *The Roman Inquisition: A Papal Bureaucracy and its Laws in the Age of Galileo* (Philadelphia: 2013), 68–71; Fiorenza Rangoni Gál, *Fra' Desiderio Scaglia, Cardinale di Cremona: Un collezionista inquisitore nella Roma del Seicento* (Gravedona: 2008) and Herman H. Schwedt, *Die römische Inquisition: Kardinäle und Konsultoren 1601 bis 1700* (Freiburg i.Br.: 2017), 543–47.

12 John Tedeschi, "The Roman Inquisition and Witchcraft: An Early Seventeenth-Century 'Instruction' on Correct Trial Procedure," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 200/2 (1983), 163–88.

the Sacred College. The mere number of creations of theologically-proficient cardinals is therefore misleading: because of their higher-than-average rate of mortality, they amounted to even less of the actual College of Cardinals at any given time than the statistic of creations suggests. The duration of their membership of the College could be quite short in fact: while Scaglia enjoyed a much-desired *biretta* for 18 years, and Bellarmine for 21 years, Agostino Oreggi was created at age 53 and died two years later, while Michelangelo Ricci was 81 years old when he received his hat, only to die the following year. Indeed, the more a theologian was associated with the daily work of the Roman bureaucracy, the more receiving the *biretta* seems to have been a sign of his impending death.

3 Cardinals and Theological Expertise

The significant and persistent presence of expert theologians within the Sacred College bears witness to how theology continued to provide a discursive framework for the work of Roman congregations, something which both made theologically-proficient men necessary and also secured theology as valid opinion for social promotion in the environment of the early modern Curia.

Indeed, the cardinals themselves often relied on the theological expertise of others. Amongst the expert theologians who later became cardinals, many had themselves at some point been the theological consultant of another cardinal or even the pope. A surprising connection appears here, because many such figures were often both a theologian and their patron's confessor. The theological intricacies brought about by the combination of local and ecclesiastical government certainly encouraged cardinals to choose theologians as their confessors and to appoint them within their household. Lorenzo Cozza (1654–1729) for instance was at one point the confessor and theologian of Cardinal Urbano Sachetti. Leandro di Porzia (1673–1740), a Benedictine who had first taught theology at the University of Padua, came to Rome to the monastery of San Callisto, serving as consultant to several congregations including the Index and the Holy Office. Cardinal Lorenzo Corsini (the future Clement XII) chose Pietro Maria Pieri (1676–1743) as his librarian and theologian after the latter had appealed to him in his capacity as protector of the order of the Servites – Pieri wanted to avoid being appointed master general of his congregation as Clement XI had ordered.

When looking for theological counsel, cardinals were likely to turn to more expert figures in the field of theology rather than merely to theologians working within the Roman bureaucracy. In some rare instances, this could end with

the promotion of such figures to the cardinalate – this was the case for Agostino Oreggi and Juan de Lugo. Oreggi (1577–1635) had received an extensive education in theology, law, and oriental languages and, as canon theologian of the chapter of Faenza, he taught theology for several years and acted as consultant both for the Roman nobility as well as for various cardinals, particularly Bellarmine. In this capacity, he took a significant part in the handling of the Galileo affair but he also worked alongside Terenzio Alciati in his project responding to Paolo Sarpi.¹³ A client of Maffeo Barberini, Oreggi continued in his office as personal theologian after the latter's election as Urban VIII, before Urban created him a cardinal in 1633. He remained an active and publishing theologian throughout his career. A series of treatises published between 1629 and 1633 (*De Deo uno*, *De individuo sacratissimae Trinitatis mysterio*, *De angelis*, *De opere sex dierum*, *De sacrosancto incarnationis mysterio*) made him a prominent figure on the European theological scene. Several of his works were published during his time as cardinal.

Juan de Lugo's (1583–1660) career was also firmly academic. Lugo's success as a teacher prompted the Jesuit General Muzio Vitelleschi to appoint him to the *Collegio Romano*. While in Rome, he published several important works but also consulted for several cardinals and the pope. Lugo's most famous work, *De iustitia et iure*, was published in 1642, after he had entered Urban VIII's personal service. Urban created him cardinal in 1643.¹⁴

One of the most prominent theologians of the mid-17th century, the Jesuit Théophile Raynaud (1583–1663), though apparently not destined for the College himself, enjoyed the patronage of cardinals and this very network proved decisive in making him the central figure whom his order would try to promote by the end of his life. For a long time – and with good reason – Raynaud was regarded as disobedient and dangerous, someone more likely to bring woe rather than honour to the Society.¹⁵ Yet, at an early stage in his career, he enjoyed the patronage of Cardinal Maurizio of Savoy, acting as his theologian and confessor when that cardinal was sent on a diplomatic mission to France. Despite this protection, and that of the house of Savoy in the early 1640s, Raynaud's career and position in the Society seemed to have come to a dead end. The cardinal's rebellion made the dynasty's protection unhelpful, and Raynaud's association with the family left him perceived as potentially dangerous

13 Silvano Giordano, "Oreggi Agostino," in *DBI*, 79:440–42 and Mayer, *The Roman Inquisition*, 149–50.

14 On Lugo, see the forthcoming essay in *Brill's Companion to Jesuit Cardinals*.

15 Anthony D. Wright, *The Divisions of French Catholicism, 1629–1645: "The Parting of the Ways"* (Farnham: 2011); Jean-Pascal Gay, *Le dernier théologien? Théophile Raynaud (v. 1583–1663): Histoire d'une obsolescence* (Paris: 2018).

to the French political authority. Indeed, Raynaud was eventually imprisoned in Avignon. Yet, it was here that he met vice-legate Federico Sforza and managed to change the latter's opinion on his behalf. Sforza made Raynaud his confessor and theologian and took him to Rome where he managed to obtain his new protégé's appointment as a professor at the Collegio Romano.¹⁶ This completely turned Raynaud's career around: in Rome, where he came to enjoy the protection of the Barberini, he published many treatises and by the time he returned to his province, he had become a theological treasure whom his provincial authorities could no longer fail to acknowledge.

Raynaud's case also helps to better understand what a prince of the church could look for in a theologian. When Sforza returned from Avignon to Rome in 1645, he made the theologian his secretary and confessor, and according to Raynaud's autobiography the "arbitrator of his conscience." This also inserted Raynaud within the Barberini clientele. For the Barberini and Sforza, protecting such a man as Raynaud came with several benefits. The erudite theologian helped them to connect better to several printers and booksellers and also assisted in building up their library. Yet, it was certainly Raynaud's theological expertise that proved most important. In his autobiography, Raynaud relates one of the issues for which Sforza came to him. At the time of Innocent X's election, rumours went around Rome that the election had been tainted by simony. Sforza asked Raynaud not only his opinion about the rumours but also about how he should behave in a context where doubt could be cast on the pope's legitimacy. The theologian answered by arguing that the office of pope was not like any ordinary ecclesiastical office and that it could not be revoked in doubt without very strong proofs. The expertise that cardinals sought of a theologian was therefore not merely bureaucratic and administrative; it also came from within their own commitment to religious doctrine and norms and – as this instance shows – could have potentially strong political implications.

The cardinals' relationship to theological expertise also evolved as the place of theology in the religious system of Roman-style Catholicism changed. Turning to theological experts was not merely a question of handling the theological issues of the day but also of taking part in the power games that these discussions turned into during the 17th century – on account of what recent scholarship has characterized as the politicization of theological controversies. A short example may help understand this better. In 1690, under Alexander VIII, the Inquisition condemned a doctrine that Jansenist polemicists had found in a thesis defended in a French Jesuit college, the so-called "philosophical sin" (sinning against right reason without offending divine law). The

16 Riccardo Garcia Villoslada, *Storia del Collegio Romano* (Rome: 1954), 222–23.

condemnation was both a political and theological battle. The heirs of Innocent XI's Augustinian reformism, striving for theological orthodoxy within the Curia, strongly sought the condemnation, while the Jesuits and their allies fought to avoid it. The French court did not favour condemnation – Emmanuel Théodose de La Tour d'Auvergne, Cardinal de Bouillon, relayed this in his discussions within the Inquisition – and the matter became part of the more general issue of settling the relationship between France and Rome after Innocent XI's contentious pontificate. With both theological oppositions and diplomatic stakes weighing in on the discussion, the tensions within the Inquisition were at their highest and playing out these tensions required a high level of theological proficiency among the cardinals. During the first two meetings, cardinals of the Inquisition managed their theological standpoint on the basis of their national alliances, thus mobilizing theological expertise along political lines, which led to a deadlock. A third congregation finally led to the condemnation after the pope arbitrated the cardinals' disagreements. However, the politicization of religious controversies did not limit the agency of theology and theologians within the Roman court, but rather transformed it without marginalizing theologians – either alongside the cardinals or within the Roman Curia itself – since the bureaucratic work there still partly relied on them.

Indeed, neither the politicization of religious debates nor the growing bureaucratization of the Curia made the figure of the cardinal theologian disappear altogether, but it certainly did change the situation. As we have seen, there was a regular presence of theologians, chosen because of their theological expertise within the Sacred College: such prominent and public figures as Cajetan, Bellarmine, or later de Lugo come to mind for the first half of the early modern era. Their specificity is that their expertise and service in Rome, through counselling, also came with some form of academic acknowledgement in the wider academic context of European theology. This does not mean that more low-key profiles did not exist among the group of cardinal theologians, particularly those whose rise depended on the structure of the Dominican order. Two such examples from the end of the 17th century illustrate the religious, scholarly, and institutional dynamics that affected the place of theology and theologians within the College of Cardinals: Lorenzo Brancati di Lauria (1612–93) and Michelangelo Ricci (1619–82).¹⁷ Brancati, who rose to prominence on the Roman theological scene by being appointed to the chair of Dogmatic Theology at La Sapienza University in 1654, was supported by

¹⁷ Francesco Bustaffa, *Michelangelo Ricci (1619–1692): Biografia di un cardinal innocenziano*, Ph.D. dissertation (Università degli Studi della Repubblica di San Marino: 2011).

Cardinal Fabio Chigi (the later Alexander VII). He played a significant role as theological advisor (for instance for the drafting of Alexander VII's bull on the Immaculate Conception) and as a consultant for several Roman Congregations. In 1670, Clement X made him *custos* of the Vatican Library and he played an ever-growing role within the Holy Office in the ideological environment of Augustinian reformism in the 1670s. Innocent created Brancati cardinal in 1681, who continued to act as a staunch ideological defender of Innocent's legacy during subsequent pontificates.

Michelangelo Ricci started working for the Index in 1656, mobilizing both the scientific and the theological expertise he had acquired earlier in life. Ten years later he became qualificator and consultant of the Holy Office, where he worked with several like-minded experts, such as Brancati and Giovanni Bona, who both played a very important part in the evolution of Roman policies towards Jansenism. Innocent XI's pontificate, again, saw the apex of his career: Ricci was part of the pope's entourage and worked in close connection with his closest advisers. Within five years Ricci had become cardinal. The official tract published to inform the public of the promotions made in consistory mentioned him last, as *sacrae theologiae professor, Romanus*. He was promoted as a theologian, despite his having never published any work in theology. Just like Brancati, he was not promoted merely because he was theologically proficient but also because he took part in the polarization and politicization of theological discussions in Rome. For both Brancati and Ricci, ideological commitment and anti-Jesuitism proved socially profitable. In turn, their cases also show that if the dynamics of politicization and polarization did not change the place of theologians within the Sacred College, it was because theology – alongside law – continued to provide the very language through which the Roman Curia functioned.

4 Conclusion

The cardinals who had a background in theology clearly did not belong to the Roman social elite which dominated the Sacred College. The group of theologically-proficient cardinals remained a small minority throughout the early modern era. Yet, at no point was their presence challenged. Theology appears to have been a viable social option for a few clerics, particularly those from within the religious orders, who benefitted from the Curia's 17th-century expansion. They also bear witness to theology's continued agency as a discipline within the shifting scholarly environment of both Roman and European Catholicism. While theology certainly lost ground in the wider cultural

environment, it preserved its importance in Rome where it remained embedded in the Curia's machinery. The few cardinals who were theologians exemplified to what extent theology remained one the Curia's principal languages which in turn contributed to the preservation, yet also possibly to the cultural obsolescence, of Roman theological institutions. It was not without paradox, after all, that theologians still had a hard time to account for the cardinalate as an essential part of Catholic ecclesiology: the preservation of the *agency* of the theological language did not necessarily mean that theologians could make doctrinal sense of all the dynamics that made confessionalised Catholicism what it actually was.

PART 3

Cardinals and Secular Power



Cardinal Legates and Nuncios

Alexander Koller

1 The Concept of “Legate”

In the Roman Catholic Church, the term “legate” is used in a variety of contexts, but it always refers to the modern diplomatic and juridical concept of “ambassador.” Embassies were in many cases undertaken by high prelates but were only called *legazioni* if the envoy was a cardinal.¹ Apart from the *legatus a latere*, which is the subject of this chapter, there were also the *legatus natus*, the national legate and the *legatus missus*. The institution of the *legatus natus* dates to the Middle Ages when bishops of important archdioceses managed to enlarge their jurisdiction by papal authorization, recognition, or toleration.² When the Great Western Schism damaged papal jurisdiction and ecclesiastical order, various cardinals were appointed to restore the ecclesiastical system and Roman obedience in certain territories – with the consent of the secular ruler, hence becoming so-called “national legates.” The difference between national legates and the *legati de latere* is marginal.³ Furthermore, there was the institute of the *legati missi*. Such legates were also sent by the pope with certain assignments and faculties, but they were not chosen from within the College of Cardinals.⁴ Finally, the *legati inquisitori* and legates of the council were charged to preside over the sessions of a general council on behalf of the Roman pontiff.⁵

¹ Giovanni Battista de Luca, *Il Cardinale della S.R. Chiesa pratico* (Rome: 1680), 172–73.

² Within the German Empire, the archbishops of Salzburg, Mainz, Cologne, and Trier obtained the title *legatus natus*; so did those of Canterbury, Arles, Toledo, and Prague; see Moroni, 37:268–69. See also Olivier Guyotjeannin, “Légat (Moyen Âge),” in *Dictionnaire historique de la papauté* (Paris: 1994), 1011 and Klaus Mörsdorf, “Gesandtschaftswesen, päpstliches,” in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* (Freiburg i.Br.: 1960), 4:768.

³ Mörsdorf, “Gesandtschaftswesen, päpstliches,” 4:768. In France there were, among others, George d’Amboise, Adrien Gouffier de Boisy, and Antoine Duprat functioning as national legates; Bernard Barbiche and Ségolène de Dainville-Barbiche, “Les légats *a latere* à l’époque moderne et le personnel des legations,” in *L’invention de la diplomatie: Moyen Age, temps modernes*, ed. Lucien Bély (Paris: 1998), 285 n. 1.

⁴ Moroni, 37:268.

⁵ Barbiche and Dainville-Barbiche, “Les légats *a latere* à l’époque moderne,” 286 and Pierre Blet, “Légat (époque moderne et contemporaine),” in *Dictionnaire historique de la papauté*

For the early modern cardinal, the most frequently invested role – apart from the position of legate to one of the provinces of the Papal States (see Irene Fosi’s chapter in this volume) – and also the most important type of legation, was that of *legatus a latere*. During the Middle Ages, the practice of the pope being represented on special occasions by one or more cardinals in various parts of the Christian West increasingly became a major feature of curial diplomacy. A legation was – and still is – the highest form of papal representation, and its protagonist is therefore deemed to be a papal *alter ego*.⁶ Even the official term *legatus/legati a* or *de latere* (taken from the side of the pope) expresses the close proximity to the Roman pontiff, as if the pope and his envoy formed a physical unit.⁷ Cardinal legates were therefore subject to special protection. Gratian defined the inviolability of papal emissaries in generic terms in the *Decretum*, basing it on Roman law tradition. In the event of infringements severe ecclesiastical penalties (such as interdict or excommunication) were imposed. These protective measures applied to cardinals as “parts of the pope’s body” (see Barbara Bombi’s chapter in this volume), but, especially if they were officiating as papal legates. An attack on a legate’s integrity was thus considered a crime of *lèse-majesté* against the pope, as Honorius III and Boniface VIII stated in their constitutions.⁸

As a rule, a legation was set up for prominent political and confessional reasons, often as an emergency measure in order to contain grave crises concerning or involving the papacy.⁹ At the beginning of the 13th century, popes

(Paris: 1994), 1013. For the various titles used by the diplomatic service of the Roman Curia see also Wolfgang Untergehr, *Die päpstlichen nuntii und legati im Reich (1447–1484): Zu Personal und Organisation des kurialen Gesandtenwesens*, Ph.D. diss. (Munich: Ludwig Maximilians Universität, 2012), 91–179, <https://edoc.ub.uni-muenchen.de/15862/>.

6 Strictly speaking, other prelates could also be charged with a legation, but usually the dignity of a legate was connected with the cardinalate. For the High Middle Ages see Claudia Zey, “Die Augen des Papstes: Zu Eigenschaften und Vollmachten päpstlicher Legaten,” in *Römisches Zentrum und kirchliche Peripherie: Das universelle Papsttum als Bezugspunkt der Kirchen von den Reformpäpsten bis zu Innozenz III.*, ed. Jochen Johrendt (Berlin: 2008), 77–108; for the late Middle Ages see Werner Maleczek, “Die päpstlichen Legaten im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert,” in *Gesandtschafts- und Botenwesen im spätmittelalterlichen Europa*, eds. Rainer C. Schwinges and Klaus Wriedt (Ostfildern: 2003), 33–86; Birgit Studt, *Papst Martin v. (1417–1431) und die Kirchenreform in Deutschland* (Cologne: 2004); for the transition from the Middle Ages to the early modern period: Bernard Barbiche, *Bulla, Legatus, Nuntius: Études de diplomatique et de diplomatie pontificale (XIIIe–XVIIe siècle)* (Paris: 2007).

7 Moroni, 37:267; Guyotjeannin, “Légat (Moyen Âge),” 1010.

8 Emil Friedberg (ed.), *Corpus Iuris Canonici* (Leipzig: 1879–81), 1:330, D. 94, c. 2; 2:1091; Karl Ruess, *Die rechtliche Stellung der Legaten bis Bonifaz VIII.* (Paderborn: 1912), 185; Robert C. Figueira, “*Legatus apostolicae sedis*: The pope’s *alter ego* according to thirteenth-century canon law,” *Studi medievali* 27 (1986), 527–74; Maleczek, “Die päpstlichen Legaten,” 74.

9 Moroni, 37:267 and 269.

were increasingly induced to dispatch legates; from the 14th century onwards this became even more frequent in the context of the Western Schism and the subsequent reform councils.¹⁰ Ratifications of concordats, conflicts within bishoprics, the application of reform decrees *in partibus*, but also appeals for crusades, the fight against Christian heterodox groups in Europe such as the Hussites, struggles for a succession to the throne, or peace negotiations between worldly sovereigns were occasions which prompted Roman pontiffs to claim and articulate their primacy through their legates in specific territories. In addition, there were mere ceremonial legations to perform dynastic christening and wedding celebrations on behalf of the pope. This form developed in the 16th and 17th centuries. But whatever the legate's precise mission, he occupied an outstanding position compared to other ambassadors due to the juridical framework of legatine missions and the papacy's universal pretensions, in which the cardinals played an eminently visible role.¹¹

2 Instructions

The sphere of a legate's action was precisely laid down and always linked to a certain geographic area, the *provincia*, which could mean one or more territories, archbishoprics, or dioceses.¹² It was possible to modify the scope at a later point of time by limiting or widening the range.¹³ A legate's duties were also described meticulously in the general instruction prepared by specialists within the Roman Curia and normally handed over to the legate before his mission started. Many such documents have survived in archives and libraries from the late 15th century onwards; however, there remain some pontificates for which none or only a few instructions are left.¹⁴ Apart from those important directives, the legates sometimes received supplementary "practical tips" by word of

10 Guyotjeannin, "Légat (Moyen Âge)," 1011–12.

11 Maleczek, "Die päpstlichen Legaten," 34–35.

12 Robert C. Figueira, "The medieval papal legate and his province: Geographical limitations of jurisdiction," *Apollinaris* 61 (1988), 817–60.

13 Ruess, *Die rechtliche Stellung*, 132–36. For example, to the original competence of Marco Barbo, legate to the Empire, Hungary and Poland, were added during Spring 1472 Denmark, Norway and Sweden: Augustin Theiner (ed.), *Vetera monumenta historica Hungarum sacram illustrantia* (Rome: 1860), 2:435–36. See also below example 1 (Marco Barbo).

14 Maleczek, "Die päpstlichen Legaten," 63; see also Minuccio Minucci's documents preserved at the German Historical Institute in Rome: *I Codici Minucciana dell'Istituto Storico Germanico di Roma, inventario*, eds. Alexander Koller, Pierpaolo Piergentili, and Gianni Venditti (Rome: 2009). For the period around 1600 see Klaus Jaitner (ed.), *Die Hauptinstruktionen Clemens' VIII. für die Nuntien und Legaten an den europäischen Fürstenhöfen*

mouth or in writing from “insiders,” which typically contained advice for the journey and information about everyday life in the regions he would be visiting. These tips often included advice to facilitate linguistic communication, logistic support, hints about mentalities, habits, customs and useful contacts.¹⁵ Most importantly, before setting off, a legate would receive credentials with identical wording for key persons at their final destination and important stopovers – these were meant to address senior prelates, secular potentates, and their close relatives and counsellors. Finally, the legate received formal authorization, transferred to him via one or more briefs or bulls of faculties.¹⁶ These bulls were much more extensive than those of nuncios and other papal envoys. It was in these documents that it became particularly obvious that the legate acted as a true representative of the pope. In his discussion of the legation as a diplomatic mission, Barbiche therefore calls a legate a “vice-pope” due to his jurisdictional prerogatives.¹⁷

Among other things, a legate was authorized to grant papal graces and to write apostolic letters, to inspect religious orders, to preside over ecclesiastical trials, and to grant benefices and dispensations (above all marital dispensations) and indulgences.¹⁸ Furthermore, he could bestow papal offices (such as that of the Apostolic Protonotary, especially *soprannumerari* and honorific) and award academic degrees.¹⁹ After 1560, during the great confessional struggle, special faculties were added concerning the absolution of heresy and the possibility of reading prohibited books, etc.²⁰ The far-reaching competences of the legates inevitably interfered with episcopal rights.²¹ This latter aspect is doubtless one of the primary reasons why the number of legations decreased considerably after the Council of Trent, when the privileges of the bishops

1592–1605, 2 vols. (Tübingen: 1984); Silvano Giordano (ed.), *Le istruzioni generali di Paolo v ai diplomatici pontifici 1605–1621*, 3 vols. (Tübingen: 2003).

15 Tobias Daniels, “Über Legatenwesen und Perzeption: Das Reich und die böhmische Kronszukzession in einem Memorandum Lorenzo Rovellas für Marco Barbo (1472),” *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 58 (2016), 15–62.

16 Untergehrer, *Die päpstlichen nuntii und legati im Reich*, 182–223.

17 Barbiche and Dainville-Barbiche, “Les légats *a latere* à l’époque moderne,” 287.

18 Maleczek, “Die päpstlichen Legaten,” 43–46.

19 Idem, 43 and Bernard Barbiche and Ségolène de Dainville-Barbiche, “Les légats *a latere* en France et leurs facultés aux xvii^e et xviii^e siècles,” *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 23 (1985), 112.

20 For the faculties given to the legates dispatched to France at the beginning of the early modern period see Barbiche and Dainville-Barbiche, “Les légats *a latere* en France,” 93–165; Barbiche, “Les registres du cardinal Flavio Orsini, légat *a latere* en France en 1572–1573,” *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 31 (1993), 265–73.

21 See Untergehrer, *Die päpstlichen nuntii und legati im Reich*, 309–10.

were reconfirmed and expanded.²² In the exertion of all his jurisdictional duties, the legate was assisted by the chancery of the legation, which was a papal chancery *en miniature*, and which produced all the necessary official documents (charters, letters of indulgence, etc.) to confirm legatine decisions.²³

3 Ceremonial

The single stages of a cardinal's legation were formalized and ritualized to a high degree, above all the ceremonies of the appointment, farewell, and the reception at his return. The clothing the legate had to wear and where he had to sit, stand or go in any ceremonial context, all were painstakingly regulated.²⁴ But these detailed prescriptions did not rule out mishaps or uncertainties. A maximum of splendour and solemnity had to be observed at all times during a legation, because of the rank and dignity of this ecclesiastical diplomat who impersonated the pope.²⁵ There was little room for individual creativity in this field. Legates were often equipped with ceremonial instructions.²⁶ In certain cases, popes even dispatched their own master of ceremonies alongside them. For example, the famous papal master of ceremonies Paolo Alaleone (1582–1638) accompanied four legates (Enrico Caetani, Georg Radziwill, Alessandro de' Medici, and Pietro Aldobrandini).²⁷

A legate's appointment took place across two successive consistories. The announcement of his name occurred in the first, while the handover of the ceremonial cross, followed by his embrace by the pope and his participation in the ritual of the *osculum pedis manus et oris* (which expressed his

22 Barbiche and Dainville-Barbiche, "Les légats *a latere* à l'époque moderne," 287.

23 Moroni, 37:273; Barbiche and Dainville-Barbiche, "Les légats *a latere* à l'époque moderne," 289–90 and Maleczek, "Die päpstlichen Legaten," 56–60.

24 Franz Wasner, "Fifteenth-Century Texts on the Ceremonial of the Papal 'Legatus a latere,'" in *Traditio: Studies in Ancient and Medieval History, Thought and Religion* 14 (1958), 295–358.

25 Tapio Salminen, "In the Pope's Clothes: Legatine Representation and Apostolical Insignia in High Medieval Europe," in *Roma, magistra mundi: Itineraria culturae medievalis. Mélanges offerts au Père L. E. Boyle à l'occasion de son 75e anniversaire*, ed. Jacqueline Hamesse (Louvain-la-Neuve: 1998), 3:339–54.

26 For example, the two instructions prepared for the mission of Franz von Dietrichstein in 1611 (see the discussion below).

27 Günther Wassilowsky and Hubert Wolf (eds.), *Päpstliches Zeremoniell in der frühen Neuzeit: Das Diarium des Zeremonienmeisters Paolo Alaleone de Branca während des Pontifikats Gregors xv. (1621–1623)* (Münster: 2007), 28–29.

obedience to the pope) took place during the second. Thereafter, the legate was solemnly escorted to the nearest gate of the city, in most cases the Porta Angelica or the Porta del Popolo.²⁸ Only at a distance of 40 miles from Rome did his faculties actually come into force – i.e. only from that moment on was the legate authorised to raise the cross and bestow his blessing.²⁹ All his revenues as a cardinal expired on the very day of his nomination. In the course of his mission the cost of his maintenance and that of his entourage (travel expenses, board and lodging etc.) were guaranteed by means of the *Procurationes*. This institution obliged the local ecclesiastical authorities to supply the travelling party with money and food.³⁰ Not surprisingly, conflicts regularly occurred in this field.³¹

4 Travelling

Apart from its chancellery personnel, the legate's suite contained numerous other persons of the household (*famiglia*) starting with the personal secretaries, chaplains, and the steward, and continuing down to menial servants and stablemen. This entire party and its luggage was transported by means of a considerable number of carts, carriages (from the 16th century onwards) and horses.³² During the third and fourth Lateran Councils (1179//1215), the number of horses had been limited to 25, a requirement that was soon overruled by the popes from the later 13th century onwards.³³ The number of horses could reach a substantial three-digit figure during the 15th century.³⁴ Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini's legation in 1600 was accompanied by about 1,000 persons, but that undoubtedly constituted an exception to the rule.³⁵ The size of the household

28 For details see the book of ceremonies by Agostino Patrizi Piccolomini: Marc Dykmans, *L'oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini ou le cérémoniel papal de la première Renaissance* (Vatican City: 1980), 1:157–58, nn. 419–24.

29 Moroni, 37:282.

30 Wasner, "Fifteenth-Century Texts on the Ceremonial," 303, n. 42.

31 Maleczek, "Die päpstlichen Legaten," 46–54.

32 Barbiche and Dainville-Barbiche, "Les légats *a latere* à l'époque moderne," 288–93.

33 For the maximum number of horses, as determined by the Lateran Councils, see *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo (Bologna: 1973), 213, 250; see also Ruess, *Die rechtliche Stellung*, 192.

34 Moroni, 37:55. For examples of the second half of the 16th century see Barbiche and Dainville-Barbiche, "Les légats *a latere* à l'époque moderne," 288–91.

35 Marc H. Smith, "Ordre et désordre dans quelques entrées de légats, à la fin du XVI^e siècle," in *Les entrées: Gloire et déclin d'un cérémoniel: Colloque des 10 et 11 mai 1996, Château de Pau*, eds. Christian Desplats and Paul Mironneau (Biarritz: 1997), 77.

and the suite was certainly subject to the self-image and the prestige of the cardinal in charge, but was also limited by practical considerations due to logistical problems or for reasons of opportunity, in order not to attract too much attention in a particular context.³⁶

The legate's journey itself was carried out either on land or on sea by various types of transport.³⁷ The travelling group could be easily recognized by the ceremonial cross carried at the head of the cavalcade. During the legate's journey, solemn entries were held in larger towns using the canopy, symbol of sovereignty, and the red cape. The legate would celebrate various religious services during such events.³⁸ The reception (*Adventus*) was particularly significant, above all at the legate's final destination. The secular authorities and the local clergy welcomed him with holy water, incense, and local relics outside the town walls.³⁹ They would venerate the legation cross, after which they delivered speeches, some of which have been preserved.⁴⁰ Then, a procession was formed to accompany the legate to the cathedral or main church. As this was an official occasion, the legate wore his red cape and red hat riding under a canopy (Fig. 11.1).

In church, the cardinal legate recited prayers, imparted his blessing, and promulgated an indulgence. Finally, he was escorted to his accommodation – normally a monastery, episcopal residence, or the house of a nobleman or patrician.⁴¹ Sometimes he also received precious gifts on these occasions, but these were normally rejected since it was forbidden for legates to accept presents except natural produce.⁴² At every liturgical occasion the legate executed all functions which the pope could perform (the blessing of the deacon, of incense and water, the final pontifical blessing etc.).⁴³ Special emphasis was

36 Cf., for example, the relatively unassuming appearance of the legate Giovanni Ludovico Madruzzo at the Diet of Augsburg, which was influenced by religious conflicts in 1582, see below example 2.

37 Maleczek, "Die päpstlichen Legaten," 73–75.

38 Smith, "Ordre et désordre," passim.

39 Tobias Daniels, "Ingredere, benedicte domini": Persuasionsstrategien in zwei universitären Begrüßungsreden an apostolische Legaten (Wien, 1387 und Köln, 1449)," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 123 (2012), 7; Untergeher, *Die päpstlichen nuntii und legati im Reich*, 328; Ludovico Antonio Muratori, *Raccolta delle opere minori* (Naples: 1761), 15:252 (*Adventus* of legate Jacopo Boncompagni in Modena, January 1699).

40 Daniels, "Ingredere, benedicte Domini," 4–38.

41 Examples can be found in Maleczek, "Die päpstlichen Legaten," 77 n. 166.

42 Wasner, "Fifteenth-Century Texts on the Ceremonial," 329; Maleczek, "Die päpstlichen Legaten," 81–82.

43 Wasner, "Fifteenth-Century Texts on the Ceremonial," 314.



FIGURE 11.1 Taddeo Zuccari, *Alessandro Farnese as legate with Charles V and Ferdinand I*, fresco ca. 1562–63, Palazzo Farnese, Caprarola.

PHOTO: © A. DE GREGORIO / DE AGOSTINI PICTURE LIBRARY / BRIDGEMAN IMAGES

attached on precedence. As a matter of fact, the legate could always claim the first rank unless the emperor was present.⁴⁴

In general, legates could converse smoothly with representatives of the local clergy in Latin, even if they did not understand the language of the place. Talks with the prince and his advisors were also held in Latin, which remained the *lingua franca* in the fields of politics, law, and science at least until the 17th century. Only in a few German territories and in Poland did legates occasionally have recourse to the assistance of interpreters during talks and negotiations.⁴⁵

44 Mörsdorf, “Gesandtschaftswesen, päpstliches,” 4:773; Maleczek, “Die päpstlichen Legaten,” 69.

45 Maleczek, “Die päpstlichen Legaten,” 82–84. For questions about precedence in general see Barbara Stollberg-Riling, “Symbolische Kommunikation in der Vormoderne: Begriffe, Thesen, Forschungsperspektiven,” *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 31 (2004), 489–527; Nikolaus Staubach, “*Factus est maximus tumultus cum scandalo*: Rangkonflikte im kurialen Zeremoniell der Renaissance,” in *Die Kunst des Streitens: Inszenierung, Formen*

Legates were obliged to report back to the pope and the Curia at regular intervals during the course of their mission. However, few dispatches from the Middle Ages survive in the Vatican archives or elsewhere. The same applies for the final reports that each returning cardinal delivered in the consistory.⁴⁶

The rites of the cardinal legate's return to the papal court when his mission had been accomplished corresponded inversely to the ceremonies of the departure: 40 miles before reaching the city all faculties of the legation expired and the use of the typical insignia such as the cross ceased.⁴⁷ The arriving legate was received usually at the Porta del Popolo by a group of cardinals, who accompanied him to the papal residence. The pope summoned the College of Cardinals to a consistory during which the legate handed back his cross to the pope, who expressed his satisfaction after the legate had delivered his report.

5 From Legations to Nunciatures

In the course of their history legations were subject to profound changes. In a certain way, as might be expected, the development of this institution reflects the papacy's own turns and crises from the Middle Ages onwards. A first peak in the number of legations can be observed during the first decades of the 13th century in connection with the fight against heresy and the Crusades; another peak occurred in the 14th and 15th centuries, when the popes dispatched legates in order to strengthen their authority *in partibus* after the Avignon period. These legations served to redefine, by means of concordats, the relations between the Apostolic See, after its return to Rome, and a specific territory.⁴⁸

Before 1500, it was mainly cardinals who were charged by the popes with diplomatic missions in case of need. However, at the beginning of the 16th century a competitive institution emerged, the permanent nunciature.⁴⁹ Already,

und Funktionen öffentlichen Streits in historischer Perspektive, eds. Marc Laureys and Roswitha Simons (Göttingen: 2010), 353–75.

46 Maleczek, "Die päpstlichen Legaten," 63–64. The final report of cardinal Carlo Madruzzo drafted after his legation at the Diet of Ratisbon 1613 is published in: Giordano, *Le istruzioni generali di Paolo v*, 925–36.

47 Wasner, "Fifteenth-Century Texts on the Ceremonial," 310.

48 Guyotjeannin, "Légat (Moyen Âge)," 1011–12.

49 Alexander Koller (ed.), *Kurie und Politik: Stand und Perspektiven der Nuntiaturliteraturforschung* (Tübingen: 1998) and Koller, "The definition of a new ecclesiastical policy by the papal curia after the Council of Trent and its reception in partibus," in *Il papato e le*

seven papal representations in the form of nunciatures existed at the start of the early modern period: at the imperial court, in France, Spain, Portugal, Venice, Naples, and Poland. Pius IV and Gregory XIII each added two further locations to this system: Florence, Turin, Graz, and Cologne. At the end of the 16th century, the number of ordinary nunciatures totalled up to thirteen because Sixtus V and Clement VIII had established further nunciatures in the Swiss cantons and in Flanders.

In any case, after 1500, legates and nuncios were engaged side by side within the system of pontifical diplomacy, since the figure of the legate did not disappear altogether from the diplomatic stage.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, diplomatic tasks which had been previously administered by legates were now more and more assigned to ordinary or extraordinary nuncios. In other words: from 1500 onwards the Roman Curia tended to give diplomatic missions to certain political and confessional hotspots a more durable and stable form. To put it concisely, this change of system can be described as follows: the *ad hoc*-legations executed by cardinals were replaced by permanent diplomatic institutions, for which the papacy recruited members of the higher clergy who might see this position as a stepping stone towards the cardinalate. The practice of organizing extraordinary missions, if these were needed, was not given up however. But on such occasions, popes now dispatched senior prelates with the title of extraordinary nuncios, not necessarily cardinal legates.⁵¹

At the same time, papal foreign affairs were deeply influenced by the Protestant Reformation, above all, after the Peace of Augsburg 1555 and the Council of Trent. During the 16th and 17th centuries, papal foreign policy had three main objectives: 1. protection of the Catholic faith and struggle against heterodox denominations, especially the Protestant heresy; 2. maintenance or restoration of peace between Catholic princes and territories, stressing the neutral position of the pope based on the concept of the Roman pontiff as *padre comune* (common father); 3. exhortation of the Catholic powers to form an alliance against the Turks.

Political legations undertaken during this period by cardinals culminated in the peace negotiations of Vervins and Lyon. These were conducted by Alessandro de' Medici and Pietro Aldobrandini in 1598 and 1601. The mission of the archbishop of Florence, Alessandro de' Medici, was one of the longest and

chiese locali: Studi / The Papacy and the Local Churches: Studies, eds. Péter Tusor and Matteo Sanfilippo (Viterbo: 2015), 33–54.

50 Blet, "Légat," 1013.

51 Barbiche and Dainville-Barbiche, "Les légats a *latere* à l'époque moderne," 288.



FIGURE 11.2 Giovanni Antonio Galli (lo Spadarino), *Mediation of the Peace of Vervins by Cardinal-Legate Alessandro de' Medici*, 1638–41. Fresco, Palazzo Madama, Salone Garibaldi, Rome

PHOTO: SENATO DELLA REPUBBLICA

most successful legations ever conducted in France.⁵² It lasted two and a half years and was characterized by three main issues. First, Alessandro was charged with annulling the excommunication of Henry IV inflicted by Sixtus V, but only after the king had confirmed his conversion by signing an official act in the presence of the papal legate in September 1596 in the Tuileries. Second, the Medici cardinal had received the assignment to reorganise the French Church after decades of violent confessional struggles. Finally, he had the task of restoring peace between Henry IV and Philip II of Spain. The negotiations were a sweeping success, ending in May 1598 when the peace treaty of Vervins was signed (Fig. 11.2).

After the mediations of 1598 and 1601, cardinal legates were gradually replaced by the nuncios on similar occasions, above all after the failures of peace legation during the Valtelline Crisis by Francesco I Barberini in 1625; the Treaty of Monzón was signed without papal mediation in 1626 and highlighted the loss of power and influence of the Apostolic See.⁵³ The further course of the

52 Cf. Bernard Barbiche, "Un légat en voyage: Le cardinal de Florence (1596–1598)," *Milieux naturels, espaces sociaux: Etudes offertes à Robert Delort*, eds. Élisabeth Mornet and Franco Morenzoni (Paris: 1997), 605–20; idem, "Le grand artisan du traité de Vervins: Alexandre de Médicis, cardinal de Florence, légat *a latere*," in *La paix de Vervins, 1598*, eds. Claudine Vidal and Frédérique Pilleboue (Laon: 1998), 65–72. His instruction is published in Jaitner, *Die Hauptinstruktionen Clemens' VIII.*, 450–69.

53 Cf. Bernard Barbiche and Ségolène de Dainville-Barbiche, "La diplomatie pontificale de la paix de Vervins aux traités de Westphalie (1598–1648): Permanences et ruptures," in *L'Europe des traités de Westphalie: Esprit de la diplomatie et diplomatie de l'esprit*, eds. Lucien Bély and Isabelle Richefort (Paris: 2000), 558; idem, "Les instructions de deux papes

Thirty Years' War – and especially the failure of Cardinal Marzio Ginetti's attempt, as legate, to start peace negotiations under the aegis of the papacy – showed that the time of the political legation had come to an end.⁵⁴

Apart from poor efficiency, there were two other reasons for the decline of papal peace legations executed by cardinals: on the one hand, the great expenses of those missions, and on the other, the ample faculties of the legates. Needless to say, they resulted in continuous struggles and interferences with episcopal jurisdiction, which had been strengthened by the Council of Trent.⁵⁵ As a matter of fact, the household and the suite of the nuncios had always been smaller in size and their competences were tailored so as to avoid frictions with the bishops. What is more, the nuncios, due to their lower rank, had the reputation of servants who “had better” receive and execute orders. With regard to their future career and the desired entry in the Holy College the nuncios were especially interested in being perceived as exemplary, conscientious, and reliable diplomats by their Roman superiors.⁵⁶ Moreover, the confessional factor should not be underestimated in this development. In the 16th century, emperors were confronted by the question of how the papal court should be represented at the imperial diet, where Protestant princes were present. They preferred a nunciature to a legation, because a legate was too closely identified with the pope.⁵⁷

Urban VIII's pontificate can be seen as a turning point in this development. Urban's ambiguous approach in international politics did great damage to the papacy's reputation; therefore he could not assume the position of an independent authority, standing above the parties (*padre comune*), which he

florentins aux légats et aux nonces: des témoignages privilégiés sur l'évolution de la diplomatie pontificale du traité de Vervins à la paix de Westphalie,” in *L'art de la paix: Kongresswesen und Friedensstiftung im Zeitalter des Westfälischen Friedens*, eds. Christoph Kampmann, Maximilian Lanzinner, Guido Braun, and Michael Rohrschneider (Münster: 2011), 517–28.

54 Alexander Koller, *Imperator und Pontifex. Forschungen zum Verhältnis von Kaiserhof und römischer Kurie im Zeitalter der Konfessionalisierung (1555–1648)*, Geschichte in der Epoche Karls v. 13 (Münster: 2012), 195–210, 202–03.

55 Samuel Steinherz, “Die Fakultäten eines päpstlichen Nuntius im 16. Jahrhundert,” *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 19 (1898), 327–42.

56 Alexander Koller, “Einige Bemerkungen zum Karriereverlauf der päpstlichen Nuntien am Kaiserhof (1559–1655),” in *Offices et papauté (XIV^e–XVII^e siècle): Charges, hommes, destins*, eds. Armand Jamme and Olivier Poncet (Rome: 2005), 841–58.

57 In 1578 no legate could be appointed to attend the peace conference of Cologne on the de-escalation of the crisis in the Netherlands, because Emperor Rudolf II disapproved of the presence of a cardinal out of consideration for the imperial princes. Pope Gregory XIII therefore dispatched Archbishop Giambattista Castagna as an extraordinary nuncio: Alexander Koller (ed.), *Nuntiaturen des Orazio Malaspina und des Ottavio Santacroce: Interim des Cesare dell'Arena (1578–1581)* (Berlin: 2012), LIX–LX.

sought to obtain during the Thirty Years' War.⁵⁸ Furthermore, Urban tended to entrust nuncios with assignments previously executed by legates. This became particularly noticeable in the aftermath of the Borja crisis when Urban clashed with Spanish cardinals over Spain's role in the Thirty Years' War: Urban sent three extraordinary nuncios to Vienna, Paris and Madrid (Girolamo Grimaldi, Francesco Adriano Ceva, Lorenzo Campeggi). In former times, cardinal legates would have been dispatched for this kind of important and sensitive diplomatic mission.

6 Career Impact

Leading or taking part in a prestigious mission such as a legation could facilitate a cleric's ascent up the career ladder, since it greatly expanded his diplomatic network and political experiences. Some cardinal legates, for instance, were successful in later conclaves and became elected popes: Rodrigo Borja (legate in Spain, the future pope Alexander VI)⁵⁹; Francesco Todeschini-Piccolomini (legate to the Holy Roman Empire in 1471, became Pius III in 1503)⁶⁰; Marcello Cervini (sent to the Holy Roman Emperor and to Flanders 1540, became Pope Marcellus II in 1555)⁶¹; Ippolito Aldobrandini (legate in Poland 1588, with the task of restoring peace after Sigismund Báthory had been elected king, was Pope Clement VIII from 1592 to 1605)⁶²; Alessandro de' Medici (legate in France from 1596 to 1598, became Leo XI in 1605); and Vincenzo Maria Orsini (legate at the court of emperor Charles VI in 1716, was Benedict XIII from 1724 to 1730).⁶³

Moreover, clergymen who accompanied cardinals on their legations also often later obtained higher diplomatic functions: Minuccio Minucci, for instance, in the service of the legate Cardinal Ludovico Madruzzo at the Diet of Augsburg in 1582 and in the same year extraordinary nuncio in Cologne.⁶⁴

58 Georg Lutz, "Roma e il mondo germanico nel periodo della guerra dei Trent'anni," in *La Corte di Roma tra Cinque e Seicento: "Teatro" della politica europea*, eds. Gianvittorio Signorotto and Maria Antonietta Visceglia (Rome: 1998), 425–60; Alexander Koller, "Quam bene pavit apes, tam male pavit oves: Urbain VIII et la critique de son pontificat," in *Rome, l'unique objet de mon ressentiment*, ed. Philippe Levillain (Rome: 2011), 103–14.

59 Moroni, 37:281.

60 Unterglehrer, *Die päpstlichen nuntii und legati im Reich*, 377.

61 Giampiero Brunelli, "Marcello II," *Enciclopedia dei papi* (Rome: 2000), 3:121–28.

62 Barbiche, "La diplomatie pontificale," 556, n. 2.

63 For De' Medici, see Matteo Sanfilippo, "Leone XI" in *Enciclopedia dei Papi*, ed. Massimo Bray (Rome: 2000), 3:269–76; for Orsini, see Moroni, 37:283.

64 Rotraud Becker, "Madruzzo, Cristoforo" in *DBI*, 74:710–14.

Likewise, Attilio Amalteo, secretary of Cardinal Alessandro de' Medici during his legation in France,⁶⁵ who became ordinary nuncio in Cologne from 1606 to 1610.⁶⁶ There are quite a few examples of nuncios who were created cardinals; and many of them again undertook diplomatic tasks for the Roman Curia as legates: for example Girolamo Aleander,⁶⁷ Giovanni Morone (both nuncios in the Holy Roman Empire in 1521 and 1536),⁶⁸ and Bernardino Spada (nuncio in France from 1623 to 1626).⁶⁹ Some of these nuncios even managed to ascend the Chair of Saint Peter: Nicholas V (Tommaso Parentucelli) and Pius II (Enea Silvio Piccolomini) had accompanied Cardinal Niccolò Albergati to the peace conference in Arras in 1435 before their pontificates.⁷⁰ Giovanni Battista Pamphilj, who became Pope Innocent X in 1644, served Francesco I Barberini during his legation in France in 1625.⁷¹

7 Typology of Legations

Many forms and types of papal legations evolved from the 14th to the 17th centuries outside and inside the Papal States (for the cardinal legates acting as governors within the Papal States, see Irene Fosi's contribution in this volume). There were four different types of legations outside the papal territories, though only missions headed by a *legatus a latere* are relevant here. As for the character of these legations, we can distinguish two major groups: political and ceremonial legations. A political legation was one established in times of crisis to restore public and ecclesiastical order. Among this group we should count legations which aimed at the suppression of heresy. Legates often acted as mediators in this context. Therefore in the Middle Ages a legate could have been called an *angelus pacis*.⁷²

The second group, the ceremonial legations, can be found only after the second half of the 16th century – for instance, when cardinal legates were

65 Moroni, 37:274.

66 Stefan Samerski, "Nuntiatuur und Persönlichkeit Attilio Amalteos: Ein Forschungsbericht," in Koller, *Kurie und Politik*, 330–42.

67 Alexander Koller, "Rappresentanti del papa e Lutero: Nascita e prima sfida della nunziatura di Germania," in *Incorrupta monumenta Ecclesiam defendunt: Studi offerti a mons. Sergio Pagano, prefetto dell'Archivio Segreto Vaticano*, eds. Andreas Gottsmann, Pierantonio Piatti, and Andreas Rehberg (Vatican City: 2018), 3:325–40.

68 Massimo Firpo, "Morone, Giovanni," in *DBI*, 77:66–74.

69 Pierre Blet, *Histoire de la représentation diplomatique du Saint Siège des origines à l'aube du XIX^e siècle* (Vatican City: 1982), 336–46.

70 Maleczek, "Die päpstlichen Legaten," 55–56.

71 Barbiche and Dainville-Barbiche, "Les légats *a latere* à l'époque moderne," 292.

72 Guyotjeannin, "Légar (Moyen Âge)," 1012.

nominated to welcome members of the most important European families travelling through Italy. This was the case when Cardinal Franz von Dietrichstein received Archduke Albert and Infanta Isabella in Milan in 1599.⁷³ Again, 25 years earlier, Filippo Boncompagni, had been present at Henry III's solemn entry into Venice during his journey back from Poland to France in 1574 on behalf of Gregory XIII.⁷⁴ This kind of ceremonial legation also took place within the Papal States – e.g. in Jubilee years, when cardinals were (and still are) nominated to open and close the holy doors of Rome's main basilicas, and on the occasion of welcoming princes (the emperor, kings, etc.) upon their arrival in Rome. In 1655, for instance, Queen Christina of Sweden was given the papal welcome by two cardinal legates: Frederick of Hesse-Darmstadt and Giovan Carlo de' Medici.⁷⁵ Legates might also participate in wedding ceremonies (for example, when Franz von Dietrichstein celebrated the marriage of the future emperor Matthias to Anna of Tirol by order of Paul V in 1611) or baptisms (in 1606 François de Joyeuse was appointed legate to represent Paul V, as godfather, during the Dauphin Louis's baptism in the palace chapel of Fontainebleau).⁷⁶

8 Three Examples

In conclusion I shall discuss three legations in more in detail. The examples are taken from the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries, and show legations with different political and confessional agenda as well as taking place in different diplomatic arenas.

Example 1: Marco Barbo, legate to the Empire, Poland, and Hungary in 1471

Marco Barbo had Venetian roots. He enjoyed a remarkably successful career at the Roman Curia benefiting from the protection of his relative Pietro Barbo, Pope Paul II (1464–71): in 1467, Marco obtained the purple and in 1470 he was elected Patriarch of Aquileia.⁷⁷ During Sixtus IV's pontificate he was charged

73 Jaitner, *Die Hauptinstruktionen Clemens' VIII.*, 568 n. 7; Silvano Giordano, "La legazione del Cardinale Franz von Dietrichstein per le nozze di Matta, re d'Ungheria e di Boemia (1611)," in *Kaiserhof, Papsthof 16.–18. Jahrhundert*, eds. Richard Bösel, Grete Klingenstein, and Alexander Koller (Vienna: 2006), 50.

74 Evelyn Korsch, *Bilder der Macht: Venezianische Repräsentationsstrategien beim Staatsbesuch Heinrichs III. (1574)* (Berlin: 2013), 36, n. 36, 45, 65–68, 73–74, 100, 142, 175, 212.

75 Legations inside the State of the Church are not treated in this paper; see Moroni, 37:270–71.

76 Barbiche and Dainville-Barbiche, "Les légats *a latere* à l'époque moderne," 286.

77 See Untergreher, *Die päpstlichen nuntii und legati im Reich*, 378–80; Stella R. Fletcher, *Venetian Cardinals at the Papal Court During the Pontificates of Sixtus IV and Innocent VIII*,

with a legation aimed at forming a league against the Turks. He was nominated legate along with four other cardinals, which exemplifies that popes could dispatch more than one legate with specific assignments on certain occasions when they concerned multiple parts of Europe: in this case, Rodrigo Borgia, later pope Alexander VI, was sent to Henry IV of Aragon, Bessarion went to Burgundy, Angelo Capranica to Northern Italy, and Oliviero Carafa to Naples.⁷⁸ The area of operation conferred on Barbo originally included the Empire, Poland, and Hungary, but this geographical area was later enlarged. Already prior to his legation, Barbo maintained many contacts with the German community in Rome, which he extended steadily. In addition, he was elected cardinal protector of Santa Maria dell'Anima, the German national confraternity, of which he had become a member in 1469.⁷⁹

This German affiliation probably motivated Pope Sixtus to appoint Barbo as cardinal legate in 1472. His task proved to be more difficult than that of his four colleagues, because the kings of Hungary and Poland (Matthias Corvinus and Casimir IV) were competing for the territory of the late king of Bohemia.⁸⁰ Whether Barbo would be able to finish his mission successfully or not therefore depended first and foremost on the possibility of forging an agreement between Hungary and Poland – and then of winning the emperor's support for it. This legation was thus characterized by a double task: mediation between two monarchs and an appeal for a crusade. The mission lasted nearly three years, from February 1472 to October 1474.⁸¹ The three central documents of this legation were published in the 19th century: the bull of faculties (with Denmark, Norway, and Sweden added to the original area of validity), a short instruction (concerning the mediation) and the main instruction.⁸² The latter defined the chronological sequence of the different steps of the mission: (1) at the Imperial Court: call for a war against the Ottomans with reference to Naples and Venice, mediation between Hungary and Poland, negotiations over the succession in Bohemia; (2) in Hungary: peace agreement or, at least, settlement

1471–1492, Ph.D. dissertation (University of Warwick: 1991); for other references see Daniels, “Über Legatenwesen und Perzeption,” 23, n. 32.

78 Moroni, 37:281 and Pastor, 4:219–24. Other multiple legations were dispatched under Paul II, Leo X, Paul III, Julius III, and Paul IV.

79 Ulrich Schwarz, “Kardinalsfamiliaren im Wettbewerb: eine Serie von Expektativenrotuli zum 1. Januar 1472,” in *Kurie und Region: Festschrift für B. Schwarz zum 65. Geburtstag*, eds. Brigitte Flug, Michael Matheus, and Andreas Rehberg (Stuttgart: 2005), 129–49, and Daniels, “Über Legatenwesen und Perzeption,” 24–25.

80 Pastor, 4: 223–24, speaks of “the most difficult, but also [most] challenging task” amongst the five cardinal legates.

81 Daniels, “Über Legatenwesen und Perzeption,” 23–24.

82 Augustin Theiner (ed.), *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam sacram illustrantia*, vol. 2: *Ab Innocentio pp. VI usque ad Clementem pp. VII, 1352–1526* (Rome: 1860), 435–39; for the date of the main instruction see Daniels, “Über Legatenwesen und Perzeption,” 29–32.

of an armistice with Poland; (3) in Poland: mediation, negotiations for a dynastic marriage between Poland and Hungary as a solution to the Bohemian crisis. In the end, Cardinal Barbo managed at least to achieve a compromise between the disputing parties in Poland and Hungary, but he failed in his main goal: support for the crusade.⁸³

*Example 2: Giovanni Ludovico Madruzzo's mission at the Diet of Augsburg 1582*⁸⁴

The cardinal who represented the Roman Curia on this occasion, Giovanni Ludovico Madruzzo, can be considered without doubt one of the most appropriate candidates for this assignment.⁸⁵ Because of his background, functions and activities, Madruzzo was closely linked to both the Empire and the papacy; he also spoke Italian and German, had temporarily represented the interests of the emperor and the Empire at the Roman court as an official envoy or cardinal protector, and, as bishop of Trent, had voting rights within the college of princes at the imperial diet.⁸⁶

Papal envoys rarely were allowed to attend the deliberations of the imperial assembly. Although Madruzzo was able to join the curia of the princes, he did not use this option but chose rather to be represented there by one of his counsellors. This was probably because of his position: as bishop of Trent he ranked rather low among the ecclesiastical princes, after the archbishops and other bishops, whereas as a papal legate, he held one of the highest positions.⁸⁷ Madruzzo tried to intervene indirectly through the emperor and the Catholic princes but soon realized that there was no possibility of creating a homogeneous and efficient Catholic faction at the diet, because the emperor and the ecclesiastical electors, for different reasons, were ready to make compromises

83 Karl Nehring, *Matthias Corvinus, Kaiser Friedrich III. und das Reich: Zum hunyadisch-habsburgischen Gegensatz im Donauraum* (Munich: 1975), 66; Václav Filip and Karl Borchardt, *Schlesien, Georg von Podiebrad und die römische Kurie* (Würzburg: 2005), 187.

84 For more details see Alexander Koller, "La dieta di Augusta del 1582 come spazio di esperienza diplomatica: L'esempio dei rappresentanti della curia romana," in *Diplomatische Wissenskulturen der frühen Neuzeit: Erfahrungsräume und Orte der Wissensproduktion*, ed. Guido Braun (Berlin: 2018), 113–34.

85 See Bernhard Steinhilber, *Giovanni Ludovico Madruzzo (1532–1600): Katholische Reformation zwischen Kaiser und Papst. Das Konzept zur praktischen Gestaltung der Kirche der Neuzeit im Anschluß an das Konzil von Trient* (Münster: 1993); Rotraud Becker, "Madruzzo, Giovanni Ludovico," in *DBI*, 67:181–86.

86 For Madruzzo's protectorship, see Josef Wodka, *Zur Geschichte der nationalen Protektorate der Kardinäle an der römischen Kurie* (Innsbruck: 1938), 51.

87 Guido Braun, *Imagines imperii: Die Wahrnehmung des Reiches und der Deutschen durch die römische Kurie im Reformationsjahrhundert (1523–1585)* (Münster: 2014), 392.

with the Protestant states.⁸⁸ This showed that there was a wide gulf between papal expectations and the Empire's political reality, something which also manifested itself in Madruzzo's unsuccessful efforts to persuade Rudolf II to let the pope crown him emperor, even though the conflict over the imperial obedience in 1577 had already plainly shown that he had not the smallest chance of success.⁸⁹

In order to judge the mission of the papal envoys at the Diet of 1582, the ceremonial aspect of their mission must be taken into account. The imperial diet was a particular *theatrum ceremoniae* in which the feudal system of the Empire was staged. Each estate exerted itself to take part visibly in this social order and to protect its own claims to rank as an indispensable element of its political identity.⁹⁰ The representatives of foreign states, with their own claims, had also to be integrated into this hierarchic ceremonial system. The most important ceremonial acts, except for the equally formalised sessions of the diet, were solemn entries, banquets, and special religious ceremonies.

First of all, the papal delegation attracted attention because of the relatively high number of official representatives, that is five. The households of the each papal envoy, with their numerous members, equally attracted attention. However, the English diplomat William Ashby characterised the entry of Cardinal Madruzzo accompanied by 60 persons as quite modest.⁹¹ On two other important occasions, the solemn inaugural and closing ceremony – the most formalised sessions of the diet with high symbolic input – the papal envoys chose to remain absent.⁹² Unlike former papal legates in similar contexts, Madruzzo neither participated in the entry of the emperor and the subsequent celebration in the cathedral on 27 June, nor in the Holy Mass at the beginning of the

88 Thomas Fröschl, *In Frieden, Ainigkait und Ruhe beieinander sitzen: Integration und Polarisierung in den ersten Jahren der Regierungszeit Kaiser Rudolfs II., 1576–1582*, Habilitation thesis (University of Vienna: 1997), 266.

89 Joseph Hansen (ed.), *Der Reichstag zu Regensburg 1576: Der Pacificationstag zu Köln 1579. Der Reichstag zu Augsburg 1582* (Berlin: 1896), 482, 488, 513, 525, 544, and 547; Severino Vareschi, *La legazione del cardinale Ludovico Madruzzo alla dieta imperiale di Augusta 1582: Chiesa, papato e impero nella seconda metà del secolo XVI* (Trent: 1990), 232–33. For the issue of obedience in 1578, see Alexander Koller, "Der Konflikt um die Obödienz Rudolfs II. gegenüber dem Hl. Stuhl," in Koller, *Kurie und Politik*, 148–64.

90 Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger, "Zeremoniell als politisches Verfahren: Rangordnung und Rangstreit als Strukturmerkmale des frühneuzeitlichen Reichstags," in *Neue Studien zur frühneuzeitlichen Reichsgeschichte*, ed. Johannes Kunisch (Berlin: 1997), 94.

91 Josef Leeb (ed.), *Der Reichstag zu Augsburg 1582* (Munich: 2007), 1:197–98.

92 For the symbolic aspects of the imperial diet, see Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger, "Die Symbolik der Reichstage: Überlegungen zu einer Perspektivenumkehr," in *Der Reichstag 1486–1613: Kommunikation, Wahrnehmung, Öffentlichkeit*, eds. Maximilian Lanzinner and Arno Strohmeyer (Göttingen: 2006), 87.

diet.⁹³ These cases show, on the one hand, that the papal representatives at the Diet of Augsburg conducted themselves in public as outsiders, and, on the other, that there were uncertainties as to how to proceed because of the lack of special guidelines at the Roman Curia and in Augsburg.⁹⁴

The solemn banquets formed the secular counterpart to the religious ceremonies at the diets. With their precise seating order, these occasions reflected the hierarchy of the Empire.⁹⁵ In his contemporary report of the Diet of Augsburg of 1582, Peter Fleischmann listed 13 great banquets. The sketches that Fleischmann attached to illustrate those banquets show that Madruzzo only participated in three of them. He was present and seated at the head of the table at the banquet hosted by the bishop of Strasbourg, in other words, at the highest position, and at the second banquet organized by the elector of Mainz (Fig. 11.3) on 13 August.

However, he did not attend the first banquet offered by the archbishop of Mainz because his participation would have been incompatible with the presence of Protestant princes. For the same reason, he did not take part in the imperial banquet on 30 July.⁹⁶ Nuncio Bonomi attended only one banquet: that of 12 August, organised by the elector of Trier.⁹⁷ It is not surprising to find the nuncio at the same table with the legate: he assisted Madruzzo (who presided at the head of the table) during the episcopal consecration of Johann von Schönenberg, elector of Trier, on that day in the cathedral of Augsburg. That was an exceptional occasion: such a ceremony took place only accidentally during the diet.⁹⁸

The difference between the situation before and after the Peace of Augsburg (1555) is striking because, before this religious division of the German territories, papal envoys could accept invitations when Protestants were present.⁹⁹

93 Vareschi, *Legazione*, 100–01 and 104.

94 Neither had Madruzzo informed Gallio about his absence during the Diet's solemn inauguration on July 3; see the legate's report from the day after the ceremony (Hansen, *Reichstag*, 449–53 n. 228) in Vareschi, *Legazione*, 104.

95 Rosmarie Aulinger, *Das Bild des Reichstages im 16. Jahrhundert: Beiträge zu einer typologischen Analyse schriftlicher und bildlicher Quellen* (Göttingen: 1980), 282–87.

96 Peter Fleischmann, *Etwas geenderte und verbesserte Description: Des aller Durchleuchtigen ... Fürsten und Herrn Herrn Rudolphen des andern Erwölten Römischen Kaisers ... Erstgehaltenen Reichstag zu Augspurg...* (Augsburg: 1582), 157, 117, 116, and 33 respectively.

97 Fleischmann, *Etwas geenderte und verbesserte Description*, 121.

98 See Bonomi's report to Gallio, Augsburg, 15 September 1582, ASV, Segr. Stato, Germania 104, fol. 207r-08v. Bonomi took part in the banquet of the Elector of Trier, but only after his doubts concerning some ceremonial aspects had been resolved; Bonomi in fact gained precedence over the Elector of Mainz.

99 For the legates Aleander and Caracciolo at the banquet of the elector of Brandenburg, see Aulinger, *Bild des Reichstages*, 282 n. 1.

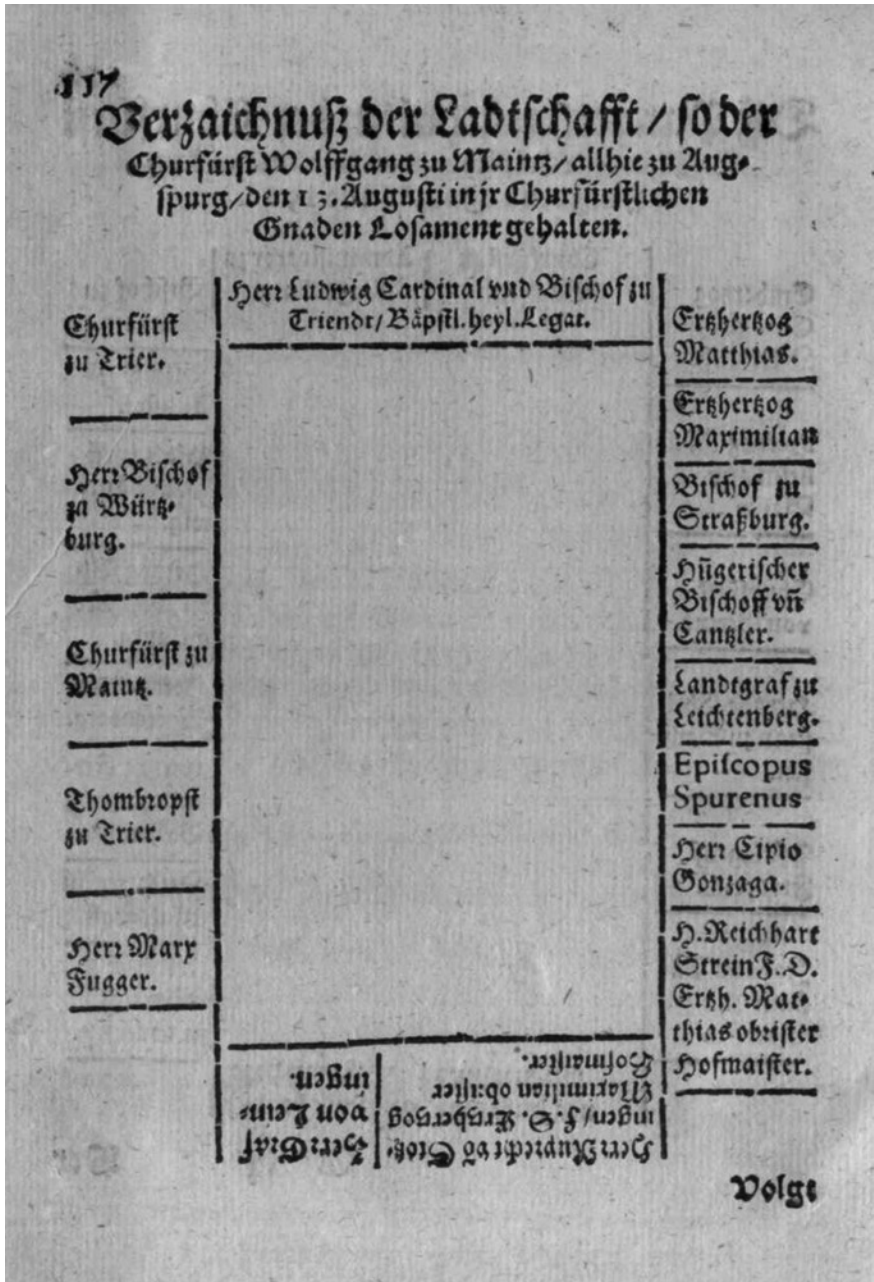


FIGURE 11.3 Layout of the banquet held by the Elector of Mainz on the 13th of August 1582, from: Peter Fleischmann, *Des aller Durchleüchtigisten ... Fürsten und Herrn Herrn Rudolfen des andern Erwölten Römischen Kaisers ... Erstgehaltenen Reichstag zu Augspurg ...* (Augsburg: 1582), fol. 117
 PHOTO: BAYERISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK MÜNCHEN

After this pacification, papal diplomats became more and more isolated in these contexts. Nevertheless, we might reach a different conclusion for the visibility of the papal representatives at the official banquets if we take into account that no other foreign diplomat had even been invited to these solemn meals.

In another ceremonial context, that of the imperial chapel, Cardinal Madruzzo was seated in a prominent place, opposite the emperor, as can be seen on a sketch which was enclosed by the Venetian ambassador in his missive on the occasion of a dispute about precedence.¹⁰⁰ Not only can the various elements of the architecture be distinguished in the drawing, but so too can objects such as the canopies erected for the emperor and the papal legate, and the benches of the princes and diplomats. However, we must be aware that this was not the official chapel of the Diet, but a court chapel, that of the Empire's highest Catholic prince.

Example 3: Franz von Dietrichstein's legation in 1611

Franz von Dietrichstein, cardinal bishop of Olomouc in Moravia, our third and last example, was charged with three ceremonial legations: in 1599 in order to receive Archduke Albert and Infanta Isabella in Milan; in 1611 for the wedding celebrations of Matthias, king of Hungary, and Anna of Tyrol in Vienna; and in 1631 for the wedding celebrations of Emperor Ferdinand II, king of Hungary and Bohemia, and the Infanta Maria Anna in Vienna.¹⁰¹ When Paul V appointed him legate in order to celebrate the wedding of Matthias, King of Hungary and Bohemia (later Emperor) with Anna of Tyrol in 1611, von Dietrichstein's ceremonial mission was closely connected to a political crisis within the Habsburg dynasty surrounding the succession to Rudolf II, who had no legitimate offspring. To settle that controversy, Paul V had already dispatched Giovanni Garzia Mellini as his legate to the imperial court in Prague in 1608.¹⁰²

For the legation of 1611, a cardinal was chosen not from the Roman Curia, but from the hereditary Habsburg lands. Von Dietrichstein was nevertheless linked to the Roman scene as an alumnus of the German College. The designation took place during a consistory in the Quirinal palace on October 10, 1611.

100 Attachment to the report of Girolamo Lippomano to Nicolò da Ponte, Augsburg, 1582 VII 20, ASVE, Senato, Dispacci degli ambasciatori, Germania 9, fols. 124r–26r and 127r.

101 Giordano, *Le istruzioni generali di Paolo V*, 178–79; Winfried Eberhard, "Dietrichstein, Franz Seraph von," in *Die Bischöfe des Heiligen Römischen Reiches 1448 bis 1648: Ein biographisches Lexikon*, ed. Erwin Gatz (Berlin: 1996), 129–33.

102 Giordano, *Le istruzioni generali di Paolo V*, 206–09, 538–48.

Von Dietrichstein's jurisdictional prerogatives, set to end ten days after the wedding celebrations, encompassed a broad range, with some restrictions concerning beneficial and inquisitorial matters. Two instructions drafted by the papal master of ceremonies, Alaleone, described how the public and religious acts had to be shaped.¹⁰³ Three prescriptions in this document could not be realised, however: the use of the canopy (the imperial counsellors rejected this demand supposedly because the canopy was never used by the territorial princes of the Empire), the reception of the legate by the local clergy at the city gate of Vienna (for jurisdictional reasons), and his entry on horseback. Von Dietrichstein did not insist on these points, and entered Vienna in a coach – which nevertheless turned out to be a magnificent sight, because his coach was accompanied by about 30 six-horse carriages. The rites to be followed at the two liturgical appointments, the wedding ceremony after the vespers on Sunday 4 December and the benedictions of the wedding rings during a mass on the following day, were accurately specified, as were the details of the banquet.¹⁰⁴ Conflicts of precedence occurred, of course, but they did not specifically concern the cardinal legate.

Obviously, this ceremonial legation carried political overtones. On the one hand, by this legation the Roman Curia turned its back on Rudolf and sided with the archduke and King Matthias, signalling the pope's solidarity and support for his efforts to gain the imperial dignity. On the other hand, Rome reckoned that Matthias would take measures to protect Catholicism in his territories. The cardinal chosen to carry out this legation was a good fit for this purpose: von Dietrichstein had already launched an energetic Catholic reform in Moravia, and had privileged contacts with Matthias, to whom he had handed over the royal insignia of Hungary in 1608 and whom he crowned king of Bohemia three years later.¹⁰⁵

9 Conclusion

In the 15th and 16th centuries, cardinals were important protagonists of papal diplomacy, indeed, they represented the highest form of political representation. From the 17th century onwards, the function of cardinal legates acting

103 Instruction, dated Rome 15 October, published in Giordano, *Le istruzioni generali di Paolo v*, 778–80; for another instruction without date, but probably issued in October 1611, see: Giordano, "La legazione del Cardinale Franz von Dietrichstein," 56–57.

104 Giordano, "La legazione del Cardinale Franz von Dietrichstein," 55.

105 *Ibid.*, 50.

outside the Papal States gradually became limited to ceremonial acts – even if these more often than not served political goals as well. From that moment on, we can find strictly political items more and more on nuncios' agendas – that applied even to peace mediations, which had more or less been the exclusive domain of cardinal legates in previous centuries. This certainly does not mean that the nuncios acted with more success in this field than the cardinal legates before them. The decline of the papacy, starting more or less during the third decade of the 17th century, and its repercussions for the reputation and the foreign affairs of the Apostolic See, affected the missions of nuncios as well. The political papal legations after the Peace of Westphalia are still largely unexplored (including those of Cardinals Flavio I Chigi, Carlo Barberini, Giuseppe Renato Imperiali and Vincenzo Maria Orsini). Future research should therefore turn to this largely untapped topic in order to determine the further development of the institute of legation in the course of the *ancien régime*.

Cardinal Protectors and National Interests

Bertrand Marceau

1 Origins

The concept of the protectorship – the defence of the interests of an institution by a *patronus* – already existed in ancient Greece and Rome where, according to Cicero and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the protector was recruited from amongst Roman senators.¹ With the collapse of the Roman Empire in the West, the term acquired two meanings. At a political level it related to the diplomatic negotiations defending the *jus patronatus* of medieval rulers. In the Christian context the concept referred either to the intercession of saints or to intercession with the pope and the emperor as defenders of the Church.² It took its institutional form within the Curia when Francis of Assisi appointed the first cardinal protector of his order (see Arnold Witte's contribution in this volume).³ The appointment of a cardinal protector to defend the interests of nation states soon followed.

The cardinal protector of a nation was a specific incarnation of the triple mission of diplomacy, that is: to inform, negotiate, and represent – he represented the papal Curia to the crown, but he also represented in the opposite direction as well. The protection typically ceased either with the protector's death or with his resignation. Instead of the latter, a cardinal could be assisted during his temporary absence from the curia by a co-protector; as Olivier Poncet has written, "the co-protector was a sort of *twin* protector whose role did

1 On the concept and function of the *patronus* in Roman antiquity, see Walter Neuhauser, *Patronus und Orator: Eine Geschichte der Begriffe von ihren Anfängen bis in die augusteische Zeit* (Innsbruck: 1958), and Jean-Michel David, *Le patronat judiciaire au dernier siècle de la République romaine* (Rome: 1992).

2 Martin Faber, "Gubernator, Protector et Corrector: Zum Zusammenhang der Entstehung von Orden und Kardinalprotektoraten von Orden in der lateinischen Kirche," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 115 (2004), 19–44.

3 Cristina Andenna, "Il cardinale protettore: Centro subalterno del potere papale e intermediario della comunicazione con gli ordini religiosi," in *Die Ordnung der Kommunikation und die Kommunikation der Ordnungen*, eds. Cristina Andenna, Gordon Blennemann, Klaus Herbers, and Gert Melville (Stuttgart: 2013), 2:229–60.

not *cease* with the protector's return to the curia" – in contrast to a vice-protector, who was "only substitute-protector during the absences of the protector."⁴

The concept of "protection" gradually evolved into a political and institutional means for the Church to control religious orders and hospitals, but also intersected with processes of state formation in the later Middle Ages, with the twin goals of making war and making law in the new states.⁵ In the 15th century, the rise of the cardinal protector of states and of nations coincided with the papacy's return to Rome and the development of the papal administration there. The first formal mention of a cardinal protector of a nation can be found in a reform proposal of Martin V from 1425: the proposal refers to the "protectio alicuius regis, principis aut communitatis tyranni, aut alterius saecularis personae." The wording of this document makes clear that its basis was not the geographical entity, but its sovereign whom the papacy "protected" through a cardinal's intervention.⁶ Only in 1464 was the position described as "protector nationes," which suggests a geographical entity.

Despite ineffective papal proscriptions, the function of national protectors was never abolished. In fact, it was even fully recognized in a memorandum written between 1522 and 1523 for Pope Adrian VI, which proposed this system of national protectorships as a means of ecclesiastical reform and a legitimate source of income for cardinals.⁷ But even more importantly, the national protectorship became an inescapable institution for managing relations between the Papal States and other states, particularly England, France, and Castile. Even beyond this, it also served to develop royal justice, and to strengthen the authority of these crowns.⁸ For this aspect, we should remember that the national protectorship functioned in two directions: not only did the cardinal represent the crown or nation at the Curia, the protectorship also signified protection of the respective sovereignty by the Catholic Church.

Relations between church and state in the Middle Ages had been maintained by the ubiquitous presence of abbeys, and therefore of their monks,

4 Olivier Poncet, "The Cardinal Protectors of the Crown in the Roman Curia during the First Half of the Seventeenth Century: The Case of France," in *Court and Politics in Papal Rome, 1492–1700*, eds. Gianvittorio Signorotto and Maria Antonietta Visceglia (Cambridge, Eng.: 2002), 164.

5 Richard W. Kaeuper, *War, Justice and Public Order: England and France in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford: 1988).

6 Josef Wodka, *Zur Geschichte der nationalen Protektorate der Kardinäle an der römischen Kurie* (Innsbruck: 1938), 5.

7 Wodka, *Zur Geschichte*, 8–9 and 37–38.

8 The protectorship strengthened the ties between the papacy and the Tudors; William E. Wilkie, *The Cardinal Protectors of England: Rome and the Tudors before the Reformation* (New York: 1974).

whose role had included the co-management of the state (for example during the regency of the kingdom of France by Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis).⁹ In almost the same way, the early modern period was characterized by an increasing role for ecclesiastics as political or diplomatic intermediaries, including as cardinal protectors of Catholic states. The question of the so-called nations of the nascent states turned out to be one of the key-points in the context of the connections between cardinals and secular powers. Gregory Martin, who visited Rome in 1576–78, remarked:

Here are the cardinals themselves of sundrie nations, and they that have not a cardinal of their owne, have some other of the Colledge their protector. In this high and honorable Colledge of cardinals, there are for the state and affaires of France, of Spaine, of Germanie, of Italie, to preferre the causes of their cuntrye and common wealth: there is of al[l] other Nations, States, Religions, Colleges, Seminaries, Companies or Societies and professions, a cardinal their protector.¹⁰

The cardinal protector of each nation was appointed by the relevant crown, except for when it had broken with the Holy See, in which case the nomination came from the papal administration (when its function came to be related with that of the Propaganda Fide). Beyond being of religious and political interest for the respective cardinal and the Curia, a protector derived income from it, firstly from the sovereign who gave him an annual income or pension, and, secondly, when the national protector presented a candidate for an available benefice in consistory, earning a so-called *propina* for each accepted candidate (see Lucinda Byatt's contribution in this volume). Indeed, the cardinal protector's second main function was to secure royal nominations of bishops and abbots.

To understand the functions of these cardinal protectors or *cardinale della corona* (crown cardinals), who stood at the junction between church and state and who were sometimes leaders of national parties in conclaves, this chapter focuses on various historiographies (political, diplomatic, and cultural history) and on various sources that illuminate the importance of this function for early modern cardinals.

9 Lindy Grant, *Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis: Church and State in Early Twelfth-Century France* (London: 1998).

10 Gregory Martin, *Roma sancta* (1581), ed. George Bruner Parks (Rome: 1969), 243–44.

2 Sources

In the light of the early modern papacy's role as mediator, the papal court was one of the main centres of power in that part of Europe which remained Catholic – and beyond.¹¹ Rome was home to the cardinal protectors of nations.¹² In addition to the theoretical treatises of Girolamo Piatti (*De cardinalis dignitate et officio*, Rome, 1602) and of Giovanni Battista De Luca (*Il cardinale della S.R. Chiesa pratico*, Rome, 1680), and in order to cast a wide outlook over European diplomacy, the research into the phenomenon of national protectorship needs to be based also on archival material kept in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano (ASV) or Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (BAV), consisting mainly in nomination letters or correspondences between rulers and pope. Here, the most informative sources on cardinals as national protectors are in the archives of the Consistorial Congregation following the 1585 reforms of the cardinalate by Sixtus v, where the minutes are kept of the consistorial meetings during which cardinal protectors proposed vacant benefices in their respective country. However, many other archives, both of private families and states, are just as relevant for the research on national protectorships. For instance, part of the correspondence of three cardinal protectors of France, Ippolito d'Este (1560–72), Luigi d'Este (1572–86), and Rinaldo d'Este (1645–72), is kept in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France and in the Archivio di Stato in Modena.¹³

The aim of studying any national protector is therefore to gather archival *fondi* recording both the cardinal's personal and bureaucratic government. However, those sources are typically scattered so widely that one has to start from the list of protectors of nations in the 16th and 17th centuries published by Josef Wodka in 1938.¹⁴ Later publications dealing very specifically with the protectorship can offer further valuable starting points for future research. Most often, these focus on the protectorships of single nations, such as Wodka's

11 Olivier Poncet, *La France et le pouvoir pontifical (1595–1661): L'esprit des institutions* (Rome: 2011), esp. 171–80.

12 Andrea Boni, "Cardinale protettore," in *Dizionario degli istituti di perfezione*, eds. Guerrino Pelliccia and Giancarlo Rocca (Rome: 1975), 2:276–80; Claudio De Dominicis, "Cardinal protecteur," in *Dictionnaire historique de la papauté*, ed. Philippe Levillain (Paris: 1994), 284–86.

13 From the same family of Este, a fourth cardinal protector was Rinaldo d'Este the young cardinal protector of England ("Estensis protector Angliæ") up to 1695, when he left the ecclesiastical career to become duke of Modena. Josef Wodka, *Zur Geschichte der nationalen Protektorate der Kardinäle an der römischen Kurie* (Innsbruck: 1938), 199.

14 Wodka, *Zur Geschichte*, 46–130; see also Josef Wodka, "Das Kardinalsprotektorat deutscher Nation und die Protektorate der deutschen nationalen Stiftungen in Rom," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonistische Abteilung* 33 (1944), 301–22.

publication on the protectors of German nation and the German national brotherhoods in Rome. Such works mostly pay attention to the earliest cardinals investing this function. More recently, Claudio De Dominicis has published a list of all cardinals and their protectorships from the early 18th century onwards, which also includes those of nations.¹⁵ A complete prosopography describing the creation, character, and role of every protector since the beginning of the 15th century should surely be based on Joseph Bergin's model for the study of French bishops.¹⁶

3 Multiplicity of Functions

Legally, the cardinal protector had the role of defending causes of an institution within the Roman Curia. "Any institution, religious or secular, large (as a state) or small (like a church), might have had an interest in having a protective cardinal represent it to the pope."¹⁷ However, the multiple nature of the cardinal's functions makes clear that his role was much more substantial. Researching cardinal protectors of nations also requires dealing with the complex issue of political and diplomatic history of Europe's colonial expansion. At the very least, each cardinal protector stood at the triple junction of his state of origin (i.e. his nation, mostly a state from the Italian peninsula), the Papal States, to which he was attached by his affiliation to the Sacred College, and the state of which he was in charge in the Curia as a protector (which may or may not have been the same as his state of origin). Each cardinal protector at the same time had (or had previously had) other functions, political (as counsellor, minister, or secretary of state), diplomatic (as apostolic nuncio of the Holy See or a secular ambassador), or ecclesiastical (as bishop, archbishop, or inquisitor). The combination of these different functions, accumulated in a single person, forces the historian to consider his or her interventions with caution.

A cardinal rarely intervened solely because of, or in the name of, his mere function as national protector. Cardinal Pedro de Deza (1520–1600) is an archetypal example of an ecclesiastic with an illustrious career, in which his protectorship of Spain was merely one element amongst others. It was not even the

15 Claudio De Dominicis, *Repertorio delle protettorie cardinalizie dal 1716 al 1964* (Rome: 2009).

16 Joseph Bergin, *The Making of the French Episcopate, 1589–1661* (New Haven: 1996), 561–720.

17 De Dominicis, "Cardinal protecteur," 284: "Toute institution, religieuse ou laïque, grande (comme un état) ou petite (comme une église), pouvait avoir intérêt à ce qu'un cardinal protecteur la représente auprès du pape."

most important one and Deza was nominated to it only late in life.¹⁸ Deza was related to the royal family of Portugal and nephew of the archbishop of Seville Diego de Deza.¹⁹ He had studied law, been a professor at Salamanca, and been a judge at the Chancery of Valladolid. As Archdeacon of Calatrava, Deza was also a member of a military-religious order; he had also been vicar general of the archbishop of Santiago de Compostela, first auditor of the Council of the Inquisition, inquisitor general of the Holy Office, and president of the Royal Chancery of Granada. Under the patronage of Diego de Espinoza, he trained in the legislating culture of the Spanish monarchy and participated in the Junta of Madrid (1565) in the context of measures against the Moriscos.²⁰ Deza was then at the heart of the struggle between civil and military authorities in the resolution of a strong religious issue with political, social, and economic implications.

When Deza was created cardinal in February 1578, after repeated requests by Philip II, and came to live in Rome from 1580 on, he already had a precise knowledge of the needs of his sovereign as well of the running of the Church. At the initiative of Philip II and in collaboration with Enrique de Guzmán, the Spanish ambassador in Rome, Deza established the new statutes of the Castilian church of San Giacomo e Ildefonso degli Spagnoli, for which he procured papal support (given by Gregory XIII in a brief from January 1585), following which the church was governed by forty people “Españoles naturales.”²¹ Besides, Deza’s presence attracted other people to his entourage, like his relative, the young nobleman Gil González Dávila, who after his service to the Spanish party in Rome returned to Salamanca in 1592 for the prebend the cardinal had obtained for him.²²

Thanks to Deza’s multiple relations with the Spanish community in Rome, and his long ecclesiastical career in Spain itself, he was appointed national protector as an additional function serving the Spanish king. During his protectorship of the Spanish monarchy, the Iberian Union and Spanish tutelage over the

18 Vital Guitarte Izquierdo, *Episcopologio español (1500–1699): Españoles obispos en España, América, Filipinas y otros países* (Rome: 1994), 114.

19 His family was also linked to the Fuente del Saúco, to which he devoted much of his accumulated wealth. Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, 25 [Tabla genealógica de la casa de Deza], fol. 76v.

20 Javier Irigoyen-García, “Moors dressed as Moors”: *Clothing, Social Distinction and Ethnicity in Early Modern Iberia* (Toronto: 2017), 109, 113, and passim.

21 *Estatutos de la Iglesia y Hospital de Santiago y S. Ildefonso de la nación española de Roma* (Rome: 1605).

22 Annie Molinié, Alexandra Merle, and Araceli Guillaume-Alonso (eds.), *Les Jésuites en Espagne et en Amérique: Jeux et enjeux du pouvoir (XVI^e–XVIII^e siècles)* (Paris: 2007), 522.

kingdom of Portugal gave the Spaniards an enlarged and unprecedented political footprint at the very moment when the Spanish monarchy firmly promoted Catholic orthodoxy, challenging papal supremacy once again, providing his position as protector of the Spanish Crown with an unprecedented power.²³ If Deza is a representative case, it is because his qualities and his actions as a cardinal were not related to his person but to his function as protector – and indeed, in the 17th century, this intersection of family network and political relations (and the clientelism that came with it) can also be noted in the case of Antonio Zapata de Cisneros y Mendoza, who was cardinal protector of Castile and the Spanish colonies in America but also part of the wider network of Francisco Gomez de Sandoval y Rojas, Duke of Lerma.²⁴ In any case, the function of the cardinal protector was all the more effective since the Spanish monarchy was powerful and surrounding the pope's territories on all sides.

4 Representing Foreign Rulers in Rome

One of a cardinal protector's main duties was to represent the interests of foreign rulers in consistories, but many protectors had more than one state to represent; this allowed such cardinals to build lucrative careers. In that context, we might take the example of Virginio Orsini (1615–76), whom Irene Fosi has discussed on the basis of the Orsini archives.²⁵ Cardinal Orsini was first established in 1650 as protector of Poland, as the Polish monarch John Casimir wrote to Innocent X in July 1650 – according to John Casimir every kingdom and nation needed protection in order to better understand the desires and needs of the peoples and to benefit from the pope's paternal affection.²⁶ In 1652 Orsini also became protector of Portugal, a position he held until his death in 1676. Gradually, Orsini became a decisive intermediary for receiving and transmitting news or objects between Rome and his foreign contacts. Linked to the Portuguese community in Rome, notably that around the national church of

23 Paolo Broggio, *La teologia e la politica: Controversie dottrinali, Curia romana e Monarchia spagnola tra Cinque e Seicento* (Florence: 2009).

24 Hillard von Thiessen, "Familienbande und Kreaturenlohn: Der (Kardinal) Herzog von Lerma und die Kronkardinäle von Philipps III. von Spanien" in *Jagd nach dem Roten Hut: Kardinalskarrieren im barocken Rom*, ed. Arne Karsten (Göttingen: 2004), 111–13.

25 Irene Fosi, "Una famiglia romana e il Portogallo nel Seicento: Note e documenti dall'Archivio Orsini," in *Scrigni della memoria: Arquivos e fundos documentais para o estudo das relações Luso-Italianas*, eds. Nunziatella Alessandrini, Susana Bastos Mateus, Mariagrazia Russo, and Gaetano Sabatini (Lisbon: 2016), 73–92.

26 ASV, Segr. Stato, Principi 62, fol. 6r.

Sant'Antonio dei Portoghesi and the Portuguese ambassadors or agents, his role went far beyond a diplomatic duty. For example, Orsini had to explain the mechanisms of the Roman court to Portuguese coming from Portugal, from the Italian peninsula, and from Portugal's extra-European possessions. Directly or indirectly, he was therefore the pivot of Roman-Portuguese relations, for example regarding ecclesiastical benefices. Finally, Orsini also gained the vice-protection of the kingdom of France (which he held until 1666) which was turned into the co-protection of the same kingdom (from 1666 to 1672). His three protectorships led Orsini to secure the nomination of royal candidates to many bishoprics and abbeys in the Curia, which meant income for him, and influence for the respective monarchs.

Representing a foreign ruler gave a cardinal a political and religious role and conferred on him the duty of arranging the procedures of appointment and confirmation of bishops and richer benefices of a country. For instance, Cardinal Maurizio of Savoy was protector of France (1621–36), then of the Holy Roman Empire (1636–42) and subsequently of Hungary (1638–42).²⁷ In the case of France, his work was not limited to negotiating in the great cases: prior to his protectorship, he arranged the wedding of his brother Vittorio Amadeo with Christine of France (1618), and during his protectorship, he procured Charles I of England's wedding to Henrietta Maria of France (1625) in order to prepare the recatholicization of England.²⁸ Savoy was, on a more daily basis, a member of the consistorial congregation. He had to propose candidates for small bishoprics, like the one of Chalon-sur-Saône (1624), and for abbeys such as Clairvaux (1626) and even the very small foundation of Saint-Pierre of Chalon (1625).²⁹

5 Restrictions and Obstacles

A cardinal protector exerted his power within two limitations, namely that of the interests of the papacy, and that of his king's interests. The extent of his power would lead him to intervene from time to time in papal policy, but in a way that was a consequence of its more global political and diplomatic roles.

²⁷ Wodka, *Zur Geschichte*, 55–57, 67, and 104–07.

²⁸ With a procuration from his father the Duke of Savoy Carlo Emmanuele in October 1618. Paris, Institut de France, Godefroy 304, fol.76. Henry Méchoulan (ed.), *L'État baroque, 1610–1652: Regards sur la pensée politique de la France du premier XVII^e siècle* (Paris: 1985), 233.

²⁹ ASV, Arch. concist., Acta miscellanea 97, fol. 541r-v.; ASV, Arch. concist., Acta miscellanea 98, fol.118r-v. and ASV, Arch. concist., Processus consist. 22, fol. 205r–211v.

The various papal attempts during the early modern period to restrict the powers of national protectors and limit their loyalty to their kings had little to no effect. The protection of crowns in the Curia, crowns that were all Catholic but at times in open conflict, can be interpreted through the prism of early modern state-building and nation-building. In the case of France, the cardinal protector of French affairs in Rome underwent a notable development in the course of the 16th century, partially as a result of the Italian wars (1494–1559).

From Jean Balue (ca. 1421–91) to Luigi d'Este (1538–86) via Agostino Trivulzio (ca. 1485–1548), this official was an important part of the French party within the College of Cardinals (even if this was not a true faction in the proper sense). The protector of France was not always the prime figure in this grouping but was often indispensable to it. For example, he was the one who took charge of the majority of the episcopal appointments, for which candidates were proposed by the royal court in Paris, during the reigns of Francis I, Henry II, and Charles IX. One of the protector of France's main duties was to treat the latter at the curia, which constituted an important stake in the context of Gallicanism, which brought together national tradition, desire for independence from Rome, the parliamentarians attached to the rights of the crown, and bishops who favoured a specific French reform. Gallicanism was particularly reinforced after the Concordat of Bologna between Leo X and Francis I in 1516, which gave the king the right of nomination of ecclesiastical positions in France and left to the pope only their confirmation.

Although the English went into schism after 1534, a comparison should be made here with the English case as analysed by William Wilkie: Henry VII appointed Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini (1492–1503), Pius II's nephew, as the first protector of England in 1492. Contemporary complaints were made by the English parliament about Roman interventions, as the confirmation of bishops was not a formality in the case of Coventry and Lichfield: "The Roman Curia, shielded both by distance and the deference due it, possessed in its labyrinthine procedures, an ingenious capacity for delay, counter-pressure, and compromise."³⁰

6 The Family Network of a Cardinal Protector

Via the cardinal protector, who was in charge of both religious and political matters, Rome maintained, at least partially, control over vast networks that

³⁰ William E. Wilkie, *The Beginnings of the Cardinal Protectorship of England: Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini, 1492–1503* (Fribourg: 1966), 16.

included bishoprics. The protection of a crown was therefore a matter of diplomacy at the European level, in which the family network played an important role. Historiography has established the importance of a cardinal's family for instance in the connections to the reigning pope's family, such as in the case of Antonio II Barberini, protector of France (1636–44), titular cardinal of the Santissima Trinità dei Monti belonging to the order of the Minims that similarly stood under the protection of the French Crown (1653–55), grand almoner of France (1651), “an exceptional case in the 17th century of an Italian cardinal being a decided Francophile even in his private affairs.”³¹

But the importance of the family network is crucial also for protectors less directly linked to the pope. The example of Agostino Trivulzio (1524–48), protector of France, shows how such a cardinal was intimately connected to other fields (political, diplomatic, religious, and even military) – not because of his function as protector, but because of his family network. Trivulzio came from a family entangled in the policies of the French kings in Italy: when Louis XII entered in Milan with his troops from Switzerland in October 1499 he appointed a Milanese Trivulzio as lieutenant general. Trivulzio's uncle Teodoro and one of his father's cousins, Giangiacomo, also served the French Crown as marshals of France and governors of Milan. Teodoro and Giangiacomo played further active roles as military governors of Lyon, a town and place which became the economic and military basis of the French armies during the Italian Wars: the condottiere Giangiacomo Trivulzio was the first governor of Lyon (1507–18); his nephew, also called Teodoro Trivulzio, followed him (1526–32) in this function and later in his career was also governor of Milan and Pavia; finally Pomponio, Teodoro's youngest nephew, was governor of the province of Lyon immediately after his uncle (1532–36), and had to strike down a 1529 revolt, the “grande rebeyne.”³²

Until the defeat of Novara in June 1513, the Trivulzio family was thus, along with the La Trémoille family, a key actor in French politics in Lombardy, a place of major strategic importance. Therefore, when Julius II reversed his policy and opposed the French king, Agostino Trivulzio left Rome for Milan and came back only after Leo X was elected pope in March 1513. And when Agostino was created cardinal in July 1517, he was linked simultaneously to the patrician

31 Olivier Poncet, “Antonio Barberini (1608–1671) et la papauté: Réflexions sur un destin individuel en cour de Rome au XVII^e siècle,” *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome* 108 (1996), 439–40: “un cas exceptionnel au XVII^e siècle de cardinal italien résolument franco-philie jusque dans ses intérêts privés.”

32 Bernard Demotz, Henri Jeanblanc, Claude Sommervogel, and Jean-Pierre Chevrier, *Les gouverneurs de Lyon, 1310–2010* (Lyon: 2011), 53–56 (Giangiacomo Trivulzio), 58–60 (Teodoro Trivulzio) and 60–61 (Pomponio Trivulzio).

families of Milan (via his father Giovanni Trivulzio, ducal counsellor, and his mother Anna Martinengo), the ecclesiastical hierarchy through his uncle, Cardinal Antonio I Trivulzio, the military command through Giangiacomo and Teodoro Trivulzio, both of whom were marshals of France. His career is a classic example: he was first apostolic protonotary, then commendatory abbot of the Cistercians of Acquafredda and Froidmont, chamberlain of Julius II, auditor of the Rota, and finally titular cardinal of Sant'Adriano. He also accumulated bishoprics: Reggio Calabria (1520), Alessano (1521–26), and Bobbio (1522–24) in Italy, but also Toulon (1524–35), Le Puy (1525), and Avranches (1526) in the French kingdom.³³ His position was the result of the long-standing family ties with the crown and court of France.

Following his legation *a latere* with the pontifical armies in 1526, Trivulzio's protection of French affairs came about because of the political context and the Sack of Rome in 1527 (during which he was temporarily imprisoned in Castel Sant'Angelo alongside the pope). Trivulzio's pro-French commitment went far beyond the mere financial system: he was administrator of the episcopate of Asti, then under French rule (1528–29 and 1536–48), commendatory abbot of the rich Savoyard abbey of Aulps (1530–34), administrator of the episcopate of Bayeux (1531–48), and legate for peace to the French King (1536). At the coronation of Eleanor of Austria, Trivulzio obtained the title of regent of France, thus prefiguring the role which the cardinals of Tournon and Lorraine held under the sons of Francis I. With one foot in France (commendatory abbot of Nanteuil-en-Vallée in 1540, of Fontfroide in 1540, administrator of the episcopate of Périgueux in 1541) and with another foot in Italy (administrator of the see of Brugnato in 1539 and friend of Cardinals Pietro Bembo and Jacopo Sadoleto), Trivulzio was a major actor in European politics. Only his death in the palace of Cardinal Fieschi in Rome in March 1548 interrupted his ascent.

In Rome, other members of the Trivulzio family served French interests, including in the new spatial policies that consisted in populating and developing a quarter (in this case the Campo Marzio) around San Luigi dei Francesi, as a material grounding of French interests in Rome. In February 1527, Cardinal Scaramuccia Trivulzio intervened in the affairs of San Luigi by forbidding Gérard L'Homme from taking up the role of rector of the French congregation of San Luigi.³⁴ As an example of Agostino Trivulzio's direct role, even more important than the ambassador of France, one may cite a letter of Francis I to

33 Konrad Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica medi et recentioris ævi* (Regensburg: 1923), 3:19, 82, 91, 103, and passim.

34 Rome, Archives des Pieux Établissements de la France à Rome, Fonds Ancien, folder 8, no. 5.

him in August 1532.³⁵ The king's letter informed the cardinal about a whole range of affairs ranging from ecclesiastical to military and political issues: the difficulties the pope had created with respect to the nomination of candidates to certain benefices, his military recruitments in Switzerland, his diplomatic discussions with the Turks, and his issues with the Lutherans, and also the union of the duchy of Brittany with the French crown. There probably was no French matter, even a minor one, in which Trivulzio did not play a part.

Devoted to the interests of France, Trivulzio came with Clement VII to Bologna for Charles V's imperial coronation in March 1530, but he escaped to the French court just in time to see the return of Francis I's two sons. In June 1536, when Paul III decided to continue promoting peace between the Valois and the Habsburgs, he sent Agostino to the imperial court.³⁶ And like some other protectors of France, Agostino was also the protector of the abbey of Cîteaux. For this monastic protection (to which he had been nominated by the pope), in April 1525 Trivulzio used the same Latin terms for the protection of the state, *pro continua nostrae protectionis vigilia*.³⁷ The Cistercian monastic network of relations was here used on a triple level, as a source of temporal revenue, as an element of anti-Protestant struggle, and as an international network under French jurisdiction.

This personal (as a member of a family) and professional (as a member of the church) investment in French affairs did not mean that Trivulzio in any sense forgot his duties as member of the Sacred College. When in 1550, two years after Agostino's death, Henry II forbade French clerks, canons, bishops, or cardinals to go to the Council of Trent, and promoted his own Gallican Council project, Agostino's nephew, Antonio II Trivulzio, who was nuncio to France, followed papal instructions to convince Henry II to withdraw his project for a national council and to support the general Council of Trent by allowing French bishops to participate.³⁸ The king wanted to act against the Emperor Charles V, but Trivulzio, like his uncle, remained conscious that devotion to the affairs of a nation had to be balanced against the higher interests of Catholicism – at that time the defense of the Church against its Protestant critics. Thus, “[s]upport for *France* and association with her vicissitudes in Italy was the barometer of *Agostino's* own fortunes.”³⁹

35 Institut de France, Godefroy 255, fol. 21r–22r.

36 Kenneth M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204–1571)* (Philadelphia: 1984), 3:413.

37 ANP, L 747, no. 61, fol. 1r.

38 Marc Venard, “Une Réforme gallicane? Le projet de concile national de 1551,” *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France* 67 (1981), 203.

39 Peter G. Bietenholz and Thomas B. Deutscher (eds.), *Contemporaries of Erasmus* (Toronto: 1985), 1:345.

7 Conclusion

The main role of cardinal protectors was to act with inter-connected functions – something that was clearly noted by Gregory Martin in the 1570s. After his discussion of the diverse institutions surveyed by cardinals by means of this function, he wrote:

[n]ow to consider what these cardinals are, how qualified, with what choise piked and selected into this College, to execute al[l] these foresaid functions and to assist his Holines in supporting the charge of the whole Church, that wil[l] easily shew that there is not in the world such a consistorie or council as this is.⁴⁰

A cardinal was protector of a state as a result of an accumulation of various ecclesiastical, political, and diplomatic functions, as legate *a latere*, general inquisitor, or protector of monastic orders. This plurality conferred considerable power on him within and beyond the Holy See – and within and beyond the Sacred College. The protector was a mediator between the pope's dual power, temporal and spiritual, and the political and religious aspirations of Catholic crowns (in particular, those of the *rex catholicissimus* and the *rex christianissimus* or the *rex fidelissimus*). As a result of this, the cardinal protector was what we might now call a protean figure who needs to be studied in a new prosopographical light. This position could even be prejudicial, as in the case of Trivulzio, who was arguably held prisoner by his own pro-French sympathies. At the junction of discussions between papacy and secular powers, the protector had to chart a subtle course between the kings and their advisers, whose interests he represented officially, and the papacy and different religious institutions of which he was a part.

The success of the cardinal protector's role started with the development of state-representation in Curia. From the mid-15th century to the 18th century, national cardinal protectors extended their action and represented the states they "protected" with true dynamism, especially with the development of national involvement in some cases. That evolution was partly due to the porous nature of boundaries between the secular and religious in the Renaissance and lasted for a long time despite the Holy See's various attempts to limit the role of protection.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Martin, *Roma sancta*, 244.

⁴¹ De Dominicis, *Repertorio*. In April 1964, the protectorships of the cardinals were suspended and their name erased from the *Annuario pontificio*.

Cardinals as National Politicians

Joseph Bergin

The period that stretches roughly from the early 15th to the early 18th century witnessed significant changes in the conditions that defined what being a cardinal entailed, not least concerning their political activity. Two such changes stand out particularly because of how much they did to determine cardinals' careers, in Rome and elsewhere in Europe. The first was the emergence of the "papal monarchy," in which the Roman Curia and its elaborate bureaucratic structures gradually corralled Rome-based cardinals into mainly administrative roles that partially deflated their historical status-claims. As a result, post-Tridentine and Rome-based cardinals gradually lost much of their political autonomy, collective and individual, as the church's *senatus divinus*.

The second change was a parallel evolution in Europe's monarchies as they, too, moved from rather loose types of princely-aristocratic rule to more structured court- and council-based forms of decision-making and administration. The growing similarity between the papacy and Europe's states offered greater scope for cardinals to accede to high office in both Church and state. There was, however, one major difference between Rome and Europe's states: in Rome, cardinals' rivals were other cardinals, but to reach the very top, they had, with just a few exceptions before the 1690s, to be a papal nephew, and that was beyond the reach of any foreign cardinal since the last non-Italian pope, Adrian VI, had died in 1523. Elsewhere in Europe, cardinals were competing for high office with lay rivals, mostly of aristocratic origin. This evolution was particularly well captured in Cardinal Richelieu's famous *Galerie des hommes illustres*. Of the twenty-five portraits of non-royal servants of the French monarchy from the early 12th century to the 1630s that constituted the *galerie*, only four (Richelieu himself included) were ecclesiastics, and of the four, all but one, Abbot Suger (1091–1151), were cardinals. The first cardinal minister was a relative latecomer – Georges d'Amboise (1460–1510), who did not materialize until 1498. The remaining two, the cardinal of Lorraine (1524–74) and Richelieu (1585–1642), were separated by half a century. The more continuous lay majority of "illustrious men," who included Joan of Arc, depicted in the *galerie* were overwhelmingly military commanders rather than political figures, however

artificial that distinction may seem in many cases.¹ Richelieu himself was not averse to striking military poses, identifying himself with Georges d'Amboise who led the French attempts to conquer northern Italy in the early 1500s.

Any attempt to understand the possibility of cardinals playing major political roles outside of Rome also needs to grasp that some parts of Europe were more equal than others.² The odds were stacked against cardinals playing a role in politics in all but a few states, and the Protestant Reformations reduced their number even further. The "Italianization" of the College of Cardinals, which resumed after the Council of Basel (1431–39), gained huge ground in the 16th century, when Italian cardinals represented about 70 per cent of its membership; it peaked at around 82 per cent during the first half of the next century, where it remained down to the French Revolution and beyond (on the College's social make-up, see the chapter by Maria Antonietta Visceglia in this volume). Successive popes declared their willingness to broaden the College's foreign membership, welcoming the prospect of choosing non-Italian candidates. But in doing so they faced a major problem – the increasing determination of Europe's rulers to monopolize the right to nominate these non-Italian candidates. As a result, Europe's "nations" were competing for an ever-smaller percentage of red hats, and the quasi-monopoly of nomination rights by rulers was always likely to favour candidates, some already principal ministers, with political rather than religious *curricula vitae*.

Ever since its domination of the Avignon papacy (1309–76), France led the way as the leading non-Italian "outsider," although its proportion of overall promotions dropped spectacularly, falling from 82 per cent during the Avignon period to approximately 18 per cent by the late 16th century, and to about 7 per cent thereafter. France's major rival was Spain, which benefited from the former's loss of favor in Rome during the wars of religion, but which never quite managed to obtain as many cardinals as France thereafter. The Holy Roman Empire came a distant third, with other countries (Portugal, Poland, England) only occasionally obtaining a red hat.³ It should be added that monarchies like France and Spain could – and did – persuade allied states to put forward to Rome French or Spanish candidates as *their* nominees for the red hat. France

1 Sylvain Laveissière, "The *Galerie des hommes illustres* in the Palais Cardinal, a self-portrait of Richelieu," in *Richelieu: Art and Power*, ed. Hilliard Todd Goldfarb (Montreal: 2002), 64–71.

2 This analysis is based on data in John F. Broderick, "The Sacred College of Cardinals: Size and Geographical Composition, 1099–1986," *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 25 (1987), 7–71.

3 For statistics about national presences within the College, see Jennifer Mara DeSilva, "Red Hat Strategies: Elevating Cardinals, 1471–1549," in *Early Modern Rome, 1341–1667* (Ferrara: 2011), ed. Portia Prebys, 732 for the early 16th century and Broderick, "The Sacred College of Cardinals," 46–54 for the period after 1565.

seems to have been particularly adept in playing this card, which helped to sustain its cohort of cardinals. Thus, Cardinal d'Estrées was nominated by Portugal in 1669, Cardinal Forbin-Janson and Cardinal Bonzi by Poland in 1671 and 1673 respectively, while Cardinal Dubois, first minister to Louis xv, was nominated by the Stuart Pretender, James III, in 1719. Contemporaries understood the games being played here: all of the three crowns involved had dynastic and political ties with France. Major rulers also tried to obtain the red hat for outgoing papal nuncios returning to Rome in order to expand their influence there.

The making of this minority of Europe's cardinals underlines the different tactics adopted by popes and rulers alike, and how complex and unpredictable the creation of *porporati* across Europe could be. For example: the more secular princes acquired a near-monopoly on nominations for the red hat, the more likely that some of their candidates would belong to families whose lay members held key political and military offices that enabled them to promote the Church careers of their younger sons, siblings, or relatives. The most complete example of this in early modern France was the Lorraine-Guise family, which boasted five cardinals between 1528 and 1612, all of whom were too young at the time of their elevation to have played any role in either Church or state. Of the five, only Charles (1524–74), the cardinal of Lorraine, became a major ecclesiastical and political figure, but he was at his most effective when operating alongside his brother or nephew, the successive dukes of Guise. The effect of this double-act survived him, because when Henry III decided to have the third Duke of Guise assassinated in 1588 he ensured that *his* cardinal brother, a mediocre figure, was killed too.⁴ This must rate as one of the most peculiar instances of family solidarity where cardinals were concerned, and a stark warning to future cardinals that their “sacred” status might not ensure that their lives would be spared if political crises descended into physical violence.

Finally, it must be remembered that, faced with a bureaucratic and nepotistic papacy, foreign cardinals did *not* usually see Rome as their preferred theatre of political action. Established cardinal politicians, especially if ministers, feared losing power at home if they even travelled to Rome. The 16th and 17th centuries across Europe witnessed the phenomenon of the favourite and chief minister, a role which cardinals were well positioned to fulfil. Of course, becoming a cardinal was itself a political achievement, in which candidates for the red hat, regardless of their political skills, always needed sustained support from rulers, favourites, ministers and political networks. But, equally, many cardinals, from Wolsey onwards, were already ministers *before* receiving the

4 Nicolas Le Roux, *Un régicide au nom de Dieu: L'assassinat d'Henri III* (Paris: 2006), 155–59.

red hat. In most of later medieval Europe's monarchies, bishops and archbishops had routinely played important roles as diplomats, papal legates, troubleshooters, and even as governors of provinces or counties. With the conflicts of the Reformation, especially in France and the Netherlands, lay military commanders increasingly took over such positions, while the parallel growth of government by law courts and magistrates gradually produced a new stratum of lay office-holders. Ambitious clergy were increasingly channelled towards other expanding spheres of princely courts, notably their chapels and councils, but these developments did not always constrain either princes or individual churchmen when it came to making political careers.

These are only some of the factors that made the careers of national cardinals so different across time and place. No single explanatory model, Weberian or otherwise, can quite capture either the range of their careers or the variations they involved. National cardinals belong overwhelmingly to national historiographies, with a resulting loss of comparative perspectives. Precisely because they vary both chronologically and geographically, the case-studies that follow are intended to locate both cardinals and politics in their proper historical contexts.⁵

1 Cardinal Ministers before the Reformation: d'Amboise and Wolsey

Georges d'Amboise (1450–1510) and Thomas Wolsey (ca. 1470–1530) were in every sense “political” cardinals, but with major differences in their backgrounds and trajectories. Their careers only overlapped minimally, as Amboise died just two years after Wolsey had entered Henry VII's chapel in 1508. The two cardinals could not have been more different socially: Amboise's family was of “sword” noble status and, despite not being especially wealthy, was already heavily involved in the court politics and royal service of France's Loire-valley monarchy. Amboise himself was one of seventeen siblings, itself a serious additional incentive to seek royal favour and position, but which, equally, made it easier to avoid reliance on a single patron for promotion. The Church was a major focus of their efforts: five of his generation became bishops and three nuns. By contrast, Wolsey was perhaps the only son of a butcher from Ipswich and owed his early career lift-off to a precocious Oxbridge connection, which brought both law and theology graduates into English royal service. Wolsey's

5 See Peter Rietbergen, “Cardinal-Prime Ministers, ca. 1450–ca. 1750: Careers between Personal Choices and Cultural Life Scripts,” *Historical Social Research/ Historische Sozialforschung* 39 (2014), 48–75, which focuses primarily on fifteen cardinal prime ministers.

energetic use of his royal almonership to gain the new, inexperienced king Henry VIII's confidence was highly effective, and his management of the royal council soon made him an indispensable "go-between" minister, especially for a king who disliked the daily grind of governing. For nearly two decades, scarcely any sphere of government – from law-courts and judicial reform, parliament and royal finances to diplomacy and war – escaped Wolsey's detailed attention. When the tide turned against him in the late 1520s, that same concentration of powers was used as evidence that he had monopolized royal authority.⁶

From the outset, numerous rewards were heaped upon Wolsey, whose appetite for well-endowed benefices and offices was insatiable, largely because his expenditure, especially on new buildings in London and Oxford, always outstripped his revenues. The culmination of his *cursus honorum* came in 1514–15 with the archbishopric of York, the cardinal's hat, and the lord chancellorship in quick succession. Understandably, he showed no inclination to imitate his "predecessor" as England's cardinal, Christopher Bainbridge, who had stayed on as ambassador in Rome after being made a cardinal there in 1511. Such reluctance did not make Wolsey any less keen to obtain the powers of a papal legate to bolster his – and the crown's – authority over the English Church (see Alexander Koller's chapter in this volume). He was archbishop of York, but not of Canterbury, a blemish that legatine powers could partly offset. But a suspicious Leo X (1513–21) would only grant him year-long powers from 1518 onwards, until Clement VII obliged him with a life-long legation in 1524. It proved vital to Wolsey's efforts to coordinate Church legislation and reform the English clergy, especially its religious orders, in order to counteract the emerging religious dissent that he strongly opposed. In some respects, the unifying effects of his legatine actions facilitated Henry VIII's break with Rome. But Wolsey's subsequent failure to resolve the king's "great matter" – his divorce from Catherine of Aragon – either by negotiation with Rome or by using his legatine court's powers precipitated his loss of favour in 1529. At the very end, he was charged with high treason precisely because he exercised a foreign jurisdiction in acting as legate, but his death in late 1530 spared him such a disgrace.

6 Studies of Wolsey vary in quality and interpretation. See John Guy, *The Cardinal's Court: The Impact of Thomas Wolsey in Star Chamber* (Hassocks: 1977), esp. 23–50, 119–39; Guy, *Tudor England* (Oxford: 1988), 80–115, "Wolsey's Ascendancy"; Peter Gwyn, *The King's Cardinal: The Rise and fall of Thomas Wolsey* (London: 1990); Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford: 1993), 82–98. For a comparative study of French and English political clergy after 1515, see Cédric Michon, *La Crosse et le Sceptre: Les prélats d'Etat sous François I^{er} et Henri VIII* (Paris: 2008).

“Georges d’Amboise was, in a very real sense, Louis XII’s Wolsey.”⁷ While Amboise’s family background made his rise to office more “natural” than Wolsey’s, French court politics under Louis XI (1416–83) and Charles VIII (1483–98) were particularly treacherous, with rebellion and conspiracy rife.⁸ The Amboise family’s ties were mainly, but not exclusively, to the Orléans branch of the royal family, who were frequently troublesome in this period. The cardinal’s father died in disgrace for rebellion against Louis XI in the 1460s, while Georges himself, who had started court life as a royal almoner like Wolsey, was first imprisoned and then banished to Montauban, of which he was bishop after 1484, for supporting the Orléans during Charles VIII’s minority in the mid-1480s. By 1490–91, he was back at court, where he gained favour under the adult Charles VIII, exchanging the distant archiepiscopal see of Narbonne for that of Rouen. He simultaneously became the principal counsellor of his patron Louis of Orléans, who was also governor of Normandy; in 1494, Orléans had Amboise appointed lieutenant-general of the province, with the power to govern it in his absence.

When Orleans became Louis XII (1498–1515), the Amboises’ star, especially that of Georges, immediately rose much higher. He may have owed his early career to his elder brothers, but now he became the undisputed head of the extended Amboise clan. He was immediately made cardinal in 1498, and became, like Wolsey in England, the dominant political figure of the new reign down to his death in 1510. He added three more cardinals to the Amboise tally by 1506. His years as minister began with the one success that evaded Wolsey at the height of his power – the new king’s “great matter.” In 1498, he persuaded the pope to annul Louis XII’s marriage to Jeanne de France so that he could marry Charles VIII’s widow, Anne, duchess of Brittany, whose patrimonial lands were a major target of the French monarchy. Mutual interest paved the way for the annulment of the first marriage, since at this point in the Italian wars launched by Charles VIII in 1494, Alexander VI Borgia badly needed French support – so much so, indeed, that Amboise’s red hat was itself a papal “sweetener” offered to secure a French alliance. In fact, Amboise spent much of his time in Italy after 1498, as France’s attempts to retain control of northern Italy were constantly undermined by shifting alliances involving most of the European powers. The challenge to Amboise the diplomat and negotiator could hardly have been tougher.

⁷ Guy, *Tudor England*, 114.

⁸ For Amboise in his curial-ecclesiastical context, see Benoist Pierre, *La Monarchie ecclésiastique: Le clergé de cour en France à l’époque moderne* (Seyssel: 2013), 116–18 and 145–147.

By the mid-1500s, France was hard pressed to retain the key duchy of Milan, where Amboise and his nephew were Louis XII's principal agents. The papacy itself was a key player in these conflicts, so much so that Amboise set about becoming pope himself in 1503. Despite – or perhaps because of – the presence of a French army intentionally camped near Rome, this attempt failed, but in return for facilitating Julius II's election, Amboise was granted a lifetime papal legation in France, followed in 1506 by red hats for his brother, Louis, and a nephew, René de Prie. This kind of diplomacy was not unusual for “national” cardinals, but in Amboise's case, it was accompanied by major efforts to reorganize the governing structures of French Milan and, more usually, to coordinate the flow of military and financial resources between France and Italy. By the time of his death in Lyon, the kingdom's main financial hub, France had lost nearly all its territorial gains and alliances, including that of the papacy, in Italy.

When Amboise told Machiavelli that the Italians did not understand war, the Florentine replied that the French did not understand *lo stato*.⁹ This quip should not stand as the final verdict on Amboise's career. In 1506, the French Estates-General granted Louis XII the title of “father of the people.” Flattery aside, this gesture was a recognition of the kingdom's prosperity, and especially of its effective government. Being the king's principal minister did not make Amboise the *fons et origo* of all government policies, but his earlier experience of governing Normandy, France's richest province, had familiarized him with the exercise of authority beyond court circles. Major reforms of legal procedures and institutions, especially in the financial sphere, were connected to war efforts, and France's chancellor was probably the minister most directly responsible for them. On the other hand, Amboise is known to have bitterly opposed plans for a “national” army favoured by other royal counsellors, while clearly supporting the herculean task (begun in the 1450s) of clarifying and codifying France's vast patchwork of customary laws. The scope of the reform ordinances of these years strongly suggests that Amboise's political patronage of them was important, possibly decisive, in maintaining their momentum, and that his frequent absences in Italy did not insulate him from internal affairs. Louis XII's testament of 1505, drafted when he was dangerously ill, included Amboise in the seven-member regency council should the next king be a minor; it also granted the cardinal the “full administration” of the future Francis I until he reached his majority. Although neither eventuality came to pass, the royal confidence in Amboise was indisputable.

9 For the background to this exchange, see Erica Benner, *Machiavelli's Prince* (Oxford: 2013), 49–51.

Like Wolsey, Amboise obtained legatine powers (1501), but from the outset his powers were lifelong. The grant of such authority to the cardinal made him a *de facto* head of the French church, with wider powers than any other ecclesiastical figure there. Using such powers only caused Wolsey serious problems at the end of his career, but in Amboise's case, *political* opposition to them appeared from the outset. Gallicans, especially in the University of Paris and amongst the magistrates of the city's parliament, instinctively disliked the use of papal jurisdiction in France, and only accepted the legation on explicit royal orders. That opposition may have been enough to restrict Amboise's use of his powers. Instead of a grand program of general Church reform, he promoted individual reforms, especially of the religious orders and the hospices of France. His own brothers, one of whom was abbot-general of Cluny, had already led the way in individual cases for many years, while obtaining numerous benefices for themselves.¹⁰

Both Amboise and Wolsey were acutely conscious of their status, and both made a point of living in grand residences and being accompanied, especially in public, by magnificent retinues. Both were determined to leave legacies capable of sustaining their reputation. These could take many forms, depending on personal circumstances and "national" traditions, but they were a challenge that some cardinals either ignored or failed to meet. Wolsey spent substantial sums on founding colleges in Oxford and Cambridge, and even more on embellishing his episcopal and London residences. Amboise was an early patron of Renaissance art in France, which his incessant voyages to Italy enabled him to develop. He employed many Italian artists on his greatest project, whose completion he did not live to see, namely the transformation of the archbishop of Rouen's great fortress-castle of Gaillon into a grand Renaissance residence. Gaillon became a model of the new architecture and decorative art which both inspired and fascinated subsequent generations.

2 Cardinal Ministers during the Reformation: Hosius and Khlesl

The scope for cardinals to become politically active across Catholic Europe expanded during and after the religious reformations. But the changed Church-state relations that were an outcome of such reformations could also put ecclesiastical politicians in complicated, even uncomfortable positions where religious convictions and political ambitions were concerned. Central European

10 Jean-Marie Le Gall, *Les Moines au temps des réformes: France (1480–1560)* (Seysssel: 2001), 93–99 and 523–24.

cardinals offer some unusual perspectives on such questions.¹¹ The Polish cardinal Stanislas Hosius (1504–79) began as a royal secretary and diplomat in the 1530s, and only developed his religious and intellectual activities on becoming a bishop. His bourgeois origins denied him the mitre in all but “royal” Prussia, which meant that he could not aspire to become primate of Poland. The relative tolerance of a monarchy that was quite suspicious of the papacy enabled Lutheran and other dissident religious movements to flourish in Poland from the 1520s onwards. Hosius, who became a bishop in 1551, responded by preaching extensively and publishing combative works of “controversy” that were widely read across Europe. Resident in Rome from 1558, he was made a cardinal in 1561, just before the final session of the Council of Trent, where he proved to be an effective papal legate. These encounters consolidated his belief that only a restoration of both papal and episcopal authority could rescue Polish Catholicism from the combination of Erasmian evangelism – in which he had himself grown up – and the Protestantism that proved so attractive to its noble and urban elites. On returning from Rome, he persuaded the Polish *Sejm* to “receive” Trent’s decrees in 1564. But despite being made legate *a latere* in 1566, he gradually lost patience with the obstacles that stymied the council’s implementation. In 1569, he finally withdrew to Rome, serving as the Curia’s major penitentiary from 1574 onwards. From Rome, he corresponded widely across Europe, urging his contacts, especially those in governing positions, to promote the cause of Catholic reform in their countries.¹²

A largely forgotten cardinal politician from East-Central Europe during the two generations following Hosius was Melchior Khlesl (1552–1630), who operated within the immensely complex and fragile “federation” of Habsburg hereditary lands before the Thirty Years’ War.¹³ Khlesl had been very active for

11 For an initial comparative *aperçu*, see Rona Johnston, Howard Louthan, and Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin, “Catholic Reformers: Stanislaus Hosius, Melchior Khlesl, Peter Pázmány,” in *A Companion to the Reformation in Central Europe*, eds. Howard Louthan and Graeme Murdock (Leiden: 2015), 195–222.

12 See Johnston, Louthan, and Ó hAnnracháin, “Catholic Reformers,” and Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin, *Catholic Europe 1592–1648* (Oxford: 2015), 77–79; Ambroise Jobert, *De Luther à Mohila: La Pologne dans la crise de la chrétienté 1517–1648* (Paris: 1974), 43–94, 155–74.

13 No comprehensive study of Khlesl exists – and may not be possible. What follows is based on Rona Johnston’s contribution to the essay on “Catholic Reformers” in Johnston, Louthan, and Ó hAnnracháin (eds.), *A Companion to the Reformation in Central Europe*, 204–10; eadem, “The Implementation of Tridentine Reform: The Passau Official and the Parish Clergy in Lower Austria, 1563–1637,” in *The Reformation of the Parishes: The Ministry and the Reformation in Town and Country*, ed. Andrew Pettegree (Manchester: 1993), 215–37; eadem, “Melchior Khlesl und der konfessionelle Hintergrund der kaiserlichen Politik im Reich nach 1610,” in *Dimensionen der europäischen Aussenpolitik zur Zeit der Wende vom 16.*

almost forty years before becoming a cardinal in 1615, but his years as a cardinal minister were short, ending only three years after his elevation in 1618. The end itself was highly dramatic, one likely to worry cardinals elsewhere, even though it did not involve bloodshed as in France in 1588. The son of a Viennese baker, Khlesl was converted from Lutheranism by a Jesuit around 1570 and opted for a career in the Church. Graduating in theology at Ingolstadt university in 1577, he quickly showed his talents as a forceful preacher and a tough disputant with Protestants and, in his view, “lukewarm” Catholics. His handbook, *Rules for the Clergy*, published in 1582, was one of his many efforts to implement the Council of Trent’s decrees. His boundless energy and self-confidence were quickly noted in high places, and during the 1580s and 1590s they produced an astounding litany of ecclesiastical appointments, from vicar-general of the Lower Austrian lands of the huge diocese of Passau, provost of St. Stephen’s church in Vienna, and chancellor of the University of Vienna – to mention but a few. The Passau vicar-generalate was itself no sinecure and prepared him for an episcopal but also an administrative-political career.

However, the posts of Reformer General of the imperial domains within the hereditary Habsburg lands (1590) and the bishopric of Vienna (1598) stand out in this remarkable *cursus honorum*. The Habsburg emperors were as suspicious of autonomous Church jurisdiction, whether papal or episcopal, as other rulers across Europe. A reforming churchman and vicar-general of Passau diocese, Khlesl was already familiar with this problem. His promotion to reformer-general was one way of circumventing such “regalism” and facilitating his life-long concern to improve the clergy, restore Church patronage rights to Catholic institutions and nobles, and resolve innumerable other conflicts. As reformer general, Khlesl was, *inter alia*, able to attack Protestant strongholds, especially in towns, and install Catholics in important local offices, but progress was extremely slow, even for as determined a figure as him.

Not surprisingly, Khlesl’s “hybrid” role as reformer-general drew him into politics, and he seems to have resided mainly at Emperor Rudolf II’s court in Prague during the 1590s. He also frequented Rudolf’s troublesome brother and potential successor, Archduke Mathias, whose principal advisor he became sometime after 1600. When Mathias finally became emperor in 1612, Khlesl was

zum 17. Jahrhundert, eds. Friedrich Beiderbeck et al. (Berlin: 2003), 199–222; Johann Rainer, “Kardinal Melchior Khlesl (1552–1630): Vom ‘Generalreformer’ zum ‘Ausgleichspolitiker,’” *Römische Quartalschrift* 58 (1963), 14–35; Heinz Angermeier, “Politik, Religion und Reich bei Melchior Khlesl,” *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Germanische Abteilung* 110 (1993), 249–330.

duly appointed director of the imperial privy council, the highest political position of the Habsburg monarchy. However, before that career milestone was reached, the notorious “brothers dispute” (*Bruderzwist*) had seriously poisoned relations amongst the Austrian Habsburgs, especially when, in 1608–09, Mathias made significant religious and political concessions to the Bohemian and Hungarian Protestants in order to gain their support for his efforts to neutralize and then succeed Rudolf II. Khlesl initially deplored such concessions, but came to see their necessity soon afterwards. But powerful mutual hatreds were kindled in this process, and the Catholic “party” amongst the Habsburgs accused Khlesl of abandoning his tough, anti-Protestant principles in order to secure his (and Mathias’s) political future. These antagonisms did not end when Mathias became emperor in 1612: like Rudolf II, he, too, was childless and his most likely successor, Ferdinand of Styria, leader of the hardline Catholic party, detested Khlesl and his political agenda of compromise with the Protestant states. But so long as he enjoyed Mathias’s confidence, Khlesl’s immense self-confidence enabled him to pursue his policy of “composition” as the best way to resolve the Empire’s political divisions, protect Catholic states against Protestant “takeovers,” and enable the Habsburgs to resist the Ottoman threat.

Khlesl’s elevation to the rank of cardinal in 1615, made public only in 1616, was the pinnacle of an already long career and designed to show that, despite widespread dislike of his policies, he enjoyed the highest political favour. It also stands alone, as no “Austrian” – apart from two Habsburg family members – had been made a cardinal in the previous half-century. It would surely have come much earlier had he been principal minister to a French or Spanish ruler. But in itself, Khlesl’s promotion was no political turning-point. By 1618, events in Bohemia, which led to revolt and the defenestration of Prague, would produce a far greater upheaval than the political crisis of Rudolf II’s last years. This time, however, Khlesl’s soft line towards the rebels was a concession too far and made him incapable of managing the looming Habsburg dynastic crisis. Rome had hoped the red hat would make him more diligent in securing a strong Catholic successor to Mathias, but he did little to meet those expectations. His political abilities were not underestimated by his enemies, beginning with the future Ferdinand II, whose succession as emperor Khlesl opposed and delayed by every means. Khlesl’s dramatic arrest and imprisonment, organized by Ferdinand and Archduke Maximilian, was conducted under the nose of the ailing Emperor Mathias in late July 1618, when the cardinal was sequestered in, and then spirited out of Vienna under heavily armed guard. Rome did not protest overtly against this mistreatment of a cardinal, confining itself to formal gestures in Khlesl’s defence. The influential Cardinal Bellarmine ominously agreed

that a cardinal might indeed be arrested to prevent a greater danger to the state.¹⁴ While imprisoned in Tyrol, Khlesl faced trial for mainly political offences, beginning with the Bohemian “letter of majesty” of 1609. The trial was conducted by a special papal nuncio who was dispatched to Innsbruck, after which Khlesl was formally handed over to papal custody, while remaining on Habsburg soil. The trial’s verdict, delivered by the Roman Congregation of Cardinals, was one of indefinite imprisonment.¹⁵

Yet Khlesl’s catastrophic fall from power and the ensuing trial did not crush him. Gregory xv responded by having him brought to Rome in 1622, albeit on condition that he be confined to the Castel Sant’Angelo. Once in Rome, Khlesl succeeded in having the trial verdict against him quashed, and then persuaded Ferdinand II to allow him to live freely within Rome, joining the papal Curia as a normal, resident cardinal. Such a recovery from disgrace apparently persuaded Ferdinand II to let him return to Vienna in 1627 where, under close surveillance, he might prove less worrisome. Although political activity was explicitly forbidden him, Khlesl remained energetic to the end, resuming his role as Vienna’s bishop. In 1631, only a year after his death, Vienna was raised to the status of a prince-bishopric, a rank that would surely have “crowned” the career of a cardinal who was both “a microcosm of the Austrian Counter-Reformation” and “one of Central European history’s most intriguing figures.”¹⁶

One of Khlesl’s most discerning moves while in power was the appointment as primate of Hungary in 1616 of the future cardinal, Peter Pázmány (1570–1637). Like Khlesl, he was both a convert from Protestantism (in his case Calvinism) and an early protégé of the Jesuits. His formidable intellectual gifts and writings are reminiscent of Hosius, while his political trajectory led him to become a frequent advisor to Khlesl’s nemesis, Ferdinand II, despite Ferdinand playing no role in his initial promotion. In the process, Pázmány, who became a cardinal in 1629, evolved from a Counter-Reformation “activist” like Khlesl to a political moderate who came to realize that confrontational confessional policies in one part of the Empire could have highly detrimental effects elsewhere, especially in Hungary which remained vulnerable to the Ottoman threat. This was the kind of cardinal’s politics that Khlesl would have understood.¹⁷

14 Rainer, “Kardinal Melchior Khlesl,” 32.

15 Johann Rainer, “Der Prozess gegen Kardinal Khlesl,” *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 5 (1963), 35–163.

16 Thomas Brady, *German Histories in the age of Reformations 1400–1650* (Cambridge, Eng.: 2009), 301; R.J.W. Evans, *The Making of the Habsburg monarchy* (Oxford: 1979), 62.

17 Ó hAnnracháin, *Catholic Europe 1592–1648*, 126–31 (especially 127).

3 The 17th Century: Richelieu and Mazarin

With the end of France's religious wars in the 1590s, the papacy responded positively to pressure from Henry IV to create new French cardinals, some of whom had opposed his accession to the throne. But Henry IV was far less anxious to grant the new *purpurati* a political role as counsellors or ministers, despite the fact that by now only a cardinal was deemed fit to become Grand Almoner of France and, thus, head of the royal chapel. A reaction to such exclusion set in after Henry's assassination in 1610, with the French clergy, in its own assemblies and especially at the 1614 Estates-General, pressing hard for individual clerics, who by then included five cardinals, to enter the royal council. On the clergy's instructions and behalf, the future Cardinal Richelieu famously defended this position in 1614. But it took repeated aristocratic revolts and the careers of two royal favourites (Concini and Luynes) during the 1610s for the clergy's voice to be heard.

From 1618 to 1622, the first Cardinal de Retz was president of the royal council, when Louis XIII's favourite, Luynes (1578–1621), was the key political figure. Retz was immediately followed as president by another cardinal, La Rochefoucauld. Neither of them, and especially La Rochefoucauld, was a major politician, as the addition, in 1624, of a more recently minted and politically savvy cardinal – Richelieu – to the council would reveal. Richelieu had briefly served as a secretary of state for foreign affairs and war in 1616–17, when Louis XIII dismissed him after Concini's assassination. Richelieu's ecclesiastical status softened the effect of what was usually a career-ending disgrace, while a key element of his subsequent return to high politics under the patronage of the queen mother, Marie de' Medici, was his elevation to the rank of cardinal. But he had to wait until 1622 before a reluctant Louis XIII finally pressed Rome hard enough to obtain the red hat.¹⁸ The fact that the government was floundering on the domestic and foreign fronts during these years made it easier to press for the *next* elevation – to membership of the royal council – but that too was resisted and delayed (until 1624).¹⁹

Contemporaries understood that Richelieu would not be satisfied by a nominal council presidency, like Retz and La Rochefoucauld before him, but the clergy's persistence in seeking precedence in the council for cardinals over princes of the blood and other lay dignitaries, was not mere window-dressing. Formal precedence over other counsellors could be just one step from actual

18 Richard Bonney, *Political Change in France under Richelieu and Mazarin, 1624–1661* (Oxford: 1978), 3–8.

19 See Joseph Bergin, *The Rise of Richelieu* (New Haven: 1991), 214–59.

domination of the council. The earliest official mention of Richelieu as “principal minister” dates from early 1627, but his actual grip on ministerial office was only confirmed by his survival of the protracted political crisis of 1629–30. Even then, however, conspiracies to remove him, by assassination in some cases, continued down to the year of his death in 1642. The fate of Melchior Khlesl, especially his being carted off to Rome, was a perennial prospect during Richelieu’s ministry. Having lost Marie de’ Medici’s favour in 1630, he never quite gained that of Louis XIII, who resented his controlling behaviour and, perhaps, his political ability. Although he insisted that he was the king’s ultimate counsel of conscience, Richelieu did not take over the role of royal confessor, which remained the preserve of the Jesuits. Despite frequent illness, Richelieu’s energy and breadth of vision were impressive by any standards. It is no accident that his model cardinal was Georges d’Amboise, whose wide range of activity – political, diplomatic and cultural – he sought to emulate.²⁰

Having effectively used his status as cardinal to return to politics, Richelieu – and indeed Mazarin after him – paid close attention to subsequent candidacies lest they create unwanted political rivals. Both Richelieu and Mazarin obtained the red hat for a brother, neither of whom was politically active or useful. And there was no new French cardinal between Alphonse de Richelieu (1629) and Mazarin (1641), a consequence of the deterioration in Franco-papal relations during Richelieu’s dominant years. But the worst instance of cardinal-making was experienced by Mazarin during the Fronde (1648–53), when one of his principal enemies, coadjutor-archbishop Gondi of Paris, successfully obtained a red hat and, as the second Cardinal de Retz, made no secret of his ambition to take Mazarin’s place. Like Khlesl in 1618, Retz was arrested and imprisoned, but unlike Khlesl he managed to escape and fled voluntarily to Rome where he enjoyed papal protection against Mazarin.

On his political return in 1624, Richelieu inherited an entangled set of domestic and foreign agendas, in which reason-of-state politics would soon clash with religious priorities. The main domestic agenda was the reformation of the realm, which had been extensively debated upon by successive political assemblies. A new effort followed in 1626, and a major reform ordinance, which mainly concerned governance, was published in 1629. But its timing was unfortunate, since Louis XIII and Richelieu were increasingly preoccupied by Protestant rebellion and foreign questions. Reform would have to wait the return of peace, as Richelieu conceded in his *Political Testament*; in the meantime, the exigencies of war, foreign or internal, rather than reform agendas, would shape the state.

20 Pierre, *Monarchie ecclésiastique*, 358–60.

One major difficulty for Richelieu lay astride internal and external politics: how to deal with France's Protestants after 1629, when their last military revolt was suppressed. As a cardinal with close-hand experience of French Protestants in his diocese of Luçon and close connections to France's leading *dévots*, Richelieu was expected to share their priority – the defence of Catholicism at home and in Europe. But by 1629–30 *realpolitik* concerns came to trump such commitments, and Richelieu – like Khlesl and Pázmány – successfully pressed to continue tolerating Protestants on French soil. This decision lost him the support of many *dévots*, and made his relations with his patron, Marie de' Medici, even unsustainable. He was fortunate that the *dévots'* own divisions on numerous issues often weakened them as a political force.²¹

Richelieu's prime concern as principal minister was, indeed, foreign affairs and, increasingly, the wars they entailed. He kept France out of the European-wide Thirty Years War for as long as he could and until (in 1635) he could no longer count on foreign allies, both Protestant and Catholic, to oppose the Habsburgs whose massive military and territorial gains threatened France with encirclement. But Richelieu was no mere last-ditch defender of French interests: he believed that France's monarchy was the most perfect and should be Europe's greatest power. He scorned Spanish rhetoric about religion being at stake in the Thirty Years' War as a smokescreen for their expansionist motives. In making this case, Richelieu faced criticism from former *dévo*t allies, some of whom now denounced him as a practitioner of Machiavellian reason of state. He clearly understood the need to win this particular kind of ideas-war, and since the mid-1620s enlisted a wide range of writers and publicists to make France's anti-Habsburg case. A graduate and warden of the Sorbonne with intellectual and cultural interests, he founded the Académie Française in 1635, partly to assist him in these and related campaigns.

Richelieu's successor and protégé, Cardinal Mazarin, began his career in the Roman Curia but when it stalled there, he turned to France, and to Richelieu in particular, for a new start. He certainly owed his red hat to Richelieu's genuine tenacity in dealing with Rome over it.²² After the nearly simultaneous deaths of Louis XIII and Richelieu, Mazarin's position as chief minister was imperilled by the prospect of a long royal minority from 1643 to 1651. An Italian cardinal and a Spanish regent were bound to become the targets of long-standing

21 Anthony D. Wright, *The Divisions of French Catholicism 1629–1645* (Aldershot: 2011).

22 Pierre Blet, "Richelieu et les débuts de Mazarin," *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine* 5 (1959), 241–68; Blet, *Richelieu et l'Eglise* (Versailles: 2007), 275–80 and 304.

political xenophobia, especially towards Italians, within France.²³ But Mazarin, who was both godfather and mentor to Louis XIV, had a much firmer relationship with Anne of Austria than Richelieu had with Louis XIII, so that removing him from power via conspiracy at court was unlikely. Nevertheless, regencies were traditionally dangerous, and the continuation of the Franco-Spanish war after 1648 made Mazarin increasingly vulnerable to attack. The biggest revolt of the century, the Fronde, expressed widespread resistance to wartime government. By 1651, it also witnessed an open revival of opposition to cardinals (and foreigners) as members and presidents of the royal council. The *frondeur* parliament of Paris tried to dispossess Mazarin of his red hat (he was not in holy orders) and, later, to try him for treason.²⁴ However, the *frondeurs* were not united in their grievances or demands, and the Mazarin government survived by divide-and-rule tactics. Temperament and circumstances ensured that Mazarin's political style was unlike Richelieu's confrontational approach: the second of his two exiles during the Fronde was a high-risk tactic calculated to aggravate the disunity of the opposition to his ministry. Mazarin outdid Richelieu by recovering *twice* from losing ministerial power. In the longer term, however, he paid a heavy price from which his reputation has never quite recovered, for not continuing Richelieu's patronage of writers and pamphleteers, many of whom lambasted him in the thousands of *Mazarinades* published during the Fronde.

4 Conclusion

The incubation of absolutist ideas of government in the 17th century occurred in an environment in which princes were still expected to rule rather than merely reign. This was the primary reason for the dislike of chief ministers, especially when their opulence and display seemed to eclipse their princely sovereigns. Such widespread animosity was directed even more to cardinal ministers than to their lay counterparts. It was not until the age of Louis XIV that Europe's rulers accepted in practice that since chief ministers were a source of political instability, princes should govern again rather than delegate their authority. Louis XIV led the way, famously declaring on Mazarin's death that henceforth he would rule in his own name. Not only would he not have chief ministers, lay or clerical, but he would not have clerics, especially those

23 Jean-François Dubost, *La France italienne XVI^e–XVII^e siècle* (Paris: 1997) is the best analysis of anti-Italian sentiments since ca. 1500.

24 Madeleine Laurain-Portemer, *Études mazarines* (Paris: 1981), 1:113–20.

wearing red hats, in his governing council. This did not make him any less anxious to have more French cardinals, as we have seen, but he was adamant in confining them to the realms of diplomacy, especially in Rome, or political activity in provinces like Languedoc or Provence, where trustworthy cardinals could serve the monarchy well. But the next century showed that the political wheel could turn yet again, and that a cardinal minister remained as realistic a political option as a lay chief minister – examples of which can be found in the cases of Giulio Alberoni (1664–1752), who as a grandee of Spain was very influential there, as well as in the government of the Americas, during the 1710s; André Hercule de Fleury (1653–1743), who served as prime minister to Louis xv for seventeen years; and François-Joachim de Pierre de Bernis (1715–94), who as a prelate and cardinal from 1758 played a crucial role in the French internal and international politics.²⁵

25 See Allan J. Kuethe, “Cardinal Alberoni and Reform in the American Empire” in *Early Bourbon Spanish America. Politics and Society in a Forgotten Era (1700–1759)*, eds. Francisco A. Eissa-Barroso and Ainara Vázquez Varela (Leiden: 2013), 23–38; Guy Chaussinand-Nogaret, *Le Cardinal de Fleury: Le Richelieu de Louis xv* (Paris: 2002) and Jean-Marie Rouart, *Bernis: Le cardinal des plaisirs* (Paris: 1998).

Cardinals as Prince-Bishops

Bettina Braun

Prince-bishops belonged exclusively to the Imperial Church and 30 of them were made cardinals during the early modern period.¹ As (arch-)bishops they presided over an (arch-)diocese, exercising supreme ecclesiastical jurisdiction within it; as princes they were rulers of a secular state. Three of them – namely, the archbishops of Mainz, Cologne and Trier – were also electoral princes and hence members of the exclusive circle of between seven and nine electors of new Holy Roman Emperors. All prince-bishops had a seat in the Imperial Diets. This dual function, spiritual and secular, distinguished the prince-bishops from all other bishops in the Roman Catholic Church with exception of the pope. This was also true of those cardinals who owed their red hats to imperial favour: they were all far more closely integrated into the structures of the Imperial Church than their French counterparts and cannot be compared to politicians like Richelieu or Mazarin.

Not all bishops ruling dioceses within the Empire ruled as prince-bishops: this distinction applies above all to the Habsburg patrimonial dominions, whose bishops who resided in the patrimonial lands were subject to their Habsburg overlords.² This was also the case in the so-called Salzburg proprietary dioceses of Chiemsee, Gurk, Lavant, and Seckau, which did not have territories of their own to rule.

While the bishops in the west of the Empire were exclusively prince-bishops, the Imperial Church still suffered appreciable losses in this region during the early modern period. The Lorraine dioceses of Metz, Toul, and Verdun

1 With around one thousand cardinals during the early modern period, this corresponds to less than 3 per cent. On the total number of cardinals see John F. Broderick, “The Sacred College of Cardinals: Size and Geographical Composition (1099–1986),” *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 25 (1987), 13.

2 Above all the dioceses of Vienna, Wiener Neustadt, Olmütz [Olomouc], Breslau [Wrocław], and Prague must be mentioned here. This difference often leads to misunderstandings, for example with Friedrich of Hesse-Darmstadt who became Bishop of Breslau in 1652 and who is often erroneously considered to be a prince-bishop in the strict sense of the term; see Ulrich Köchli, “Trophäe im Glaubenskampf? Der Konvertit und Kardinal Friedrich Landgraf von Hessen-Darmstadt (1616–1682),” in *Die Jagd nach dem roten Hut: Kardinalskarrieren im barocken Rom*, ed. Arne Karsten (Göttingen: 2004), 186–204.

separated from the Imperial Church *de facto* in 1552.³ Strasbourg followed suit in 1681. From then on, these bishoprics were appointed under French influence and the personal connections of their bishops to the Empire diminished.⁴

1 The Prince-Bishops in the Holy Roman Empire

The imperial prince-bishoprics were small-to-medium-sized territories, ranging from the tiny 300 square metres of Regensburg to the 10,000 square metres of Münster and the 13,000 square metres of Salzburg.⁵ Even those that were constitutionally the most important – the territories of the electoral princes, Mainz, Cologne, and Trier – were only medium-sized at best. In terms of territory, none could compete with the great territories of Prussia, Austria, Bavaria, or Saxony. It is important to emphasize this, since it is precisely the comparison to the vast territorial states, or even the tendency to take the development of Prussia as a model, that has led to the ecclesiastical states being viewed as backward.⁶

In principle the prince-bishops reigned over these territories in exactly the same way as secular princes and faced the same duties as other territorial rulers: to protect the territorial integrity of their state from outside attack, to guarantee internal peace and security and generally to ensure the prosperity of their land and its inhabitants. However, it is important to recognize some factors specific to the rule of the prince-bishops. First, they were not affected by the uncertainties of dynastic succession with its divisions and amalgamations.

3 In the Roman Curia, assignment to the protectorship of the Empire or of France took account of this. Thus, a register from the second half of the 16th century which lists the dioceses and monasteries belonging to the German protectorship points to the fact that while the dioceses of Metz, Toul, and Verdun were imperial principalities, they no longer belonged to the German protectorship. Josef Wodka, *Zur Geschichte der nationalen Protektorate der Kardinäle an der römischen Kurie* (Innsbruck: 1938), 47.

4 Hence this contribution only deals with bishops in these dioceses up to 1552 or 1681. Cardinal Robert de Lénoncourt is also excluded from this study, although he had already become Bishop of Metz in 1561, a year before the Treaty of Chambord. However, he owed his entire ecclesiastical career and his appointment as cardinal to the French Crown.

5 Egon Johannes Greipl, "Zur weltlichen Herrschaft der Fürstbischöfe in der Zeit vom Westfälischen Frieden bis zur Säkularisation," *Römische Quartalschrift* 83 (1988), 254. See also the maps in Erwin Gatz (ed.), *Die Bistümer des Heiligen Römischen Reiches: Von ihren Anfängen bis zur Säkularisation. Ein historisches Lexikon mit 62 vierfarbigen Bistumskarten* (Freiburg i. Br.: 2003).

6 Bettina Braun, *Princeps et episcopus: Studien zur Funktion und zum Selbstverständnis der nordwestdeutschen Fürstbischöfe nach dem Westfälischen Frieden* (Göttingen: 2013), 12–47.

Second, the ecclesiastical princes did not owe their office to the laws of inheritance but to election by a cathedral chapter: this chapter obliged the future bishop to carry out a certain “government programme.”⁷ Hence the cathedral chapters in the ecclesiastical states frequently occupied a more powerful position than the Estates did in the secular territories.

While the prince-bishops did not form an “exotic” group amongst the imperial princes, it was precisely their function as “normal” princes that made them stand out in the College of Cardinals, where none of their colleagues were territorial rulers with their own secular jurisdiction, army, fiscal administration, and so forth. This privileged position was reflected in the position of the bishops when representing their lands in the Estates. In the Curia of Electoral Princes or Princes at the Imperial Diet, ecclesiastical electoral princes and princes were seated next to their secular colleagues; therefore they did not constitute an independent clerical curia of the sort normally found in most assemblies of representatives of the Estates.

If prince-bishops were clearly distinguished from other Imperial princes, this was only due to the fact that they also occupied a second office, namely that of bishop. In the course of the early modern period it became increasingly normal for them to be ordained first as a priest and then as a bishop, a very different state of affairs from the 15th and even 16th centuries.⁸ In this regard the Tridentine reforms had a rapid and lasting effect. What was valid for the prince-bishops in general was also valid for the cardinals amongst them. Only four were never ordained as bishops; three of these came from princely dynasties.⁹ The cardinals who were not ordained bishops all lived in the 16th century; the last of them was Philipp Wilhelm of Bavaria, who died in 1598 at the age of 22, that is, before he had reached the minimum age necessary for episcopal consecration.

Consecration as bishop bestowed on each prince-bishop all the prerequisites for the exercise of his episcopal office, though not all bishops always performed the episcopal acts of consecration themselves: the bestowal of the

7 On the electoral capitulations of the bishops in the Imperial Church, see Bettina Braun, “Die bischöflichen Wahlkapitulationen in der Reichskirche,” in *Wahlkapitulationen in Europa*, ed. Heinz Duchhardt (Göttingen: 2015), 141–65.

8 In the 18th century only two prince-bishops were never ordained bishops, namely Karl Joseph of Lorraine, Archbishop of Trier and Bishop of Osnabrück; and Franz Ludwig von Pfalz-Neuburg, Archbishop first of Trier and then of Mainz, and Bishop of Worms and Breslau.

9 Mark Sittich von Hohenems, Andreas of Austria, Philipp Wilhelm of Bavaria; probably Johannes of Lorraine as well.

various orders from the minor orders to ordination in the higher orders of priest and bishop; the administration of the sacrament of confirmation; and the consecration of churches, altars, sacral objects and the holy oil. At present the only detailed studies on consecrations and ordinations performed by prince-bishops examine the north-west German prince-bishops after the Peace of Westphalia.¹⁰

These studies reveal that the Archbishops of Cologne usually left consecration and ordination to their auxiliary bishops, but that other bishops, above all those from the smaller dioceses of Paderborn and Hildesheim, mostly performed acts of consecration and ordination themselves and frequently managed without an auxiliary. Usually they applied for an auxiliary bishop only if they acquired a second diocese and were thus no longer in a position to perform all their consecrational duties themselves. However, of all these north-west German prince-bishops only one, Franz Wilhelm von Wartenberg, was a cardinal. For the other cardinals in the Imperial Church only general statements can be found about their potential activity with regard to consecration and ordination.¹¹

Of course, the spiritual office of bishop amounted to more than the execution of acts of consecration; the Council of Trent also counted preaching, the holding of synods and visitations amongst episcopal duties.¹² Prince-bishops were least assiduous in fulfilling the injunction to preach: some may have lacked the necessary theological education but most did not consider preaching to be amongst their primary duties.

The prince-bishops certainly held synods, though not annually, as the Council of Trent required. Most synods held were in response to crisis situations, to take stock or to signal a new departure. Cardinal Matthäus Lang held a synod

10 Braun, *Princeps et episcopus*, 256–314.

11 Thus, it is said of Otto Truchsess von Waldburg: “In der Tat wird der Augsburger als einer der wenigen deutschen Bischöfe jener Zeit gerühmt, die auch selbst predigten und die Sakramente spendeten, persönlich den Weiheprüfungen der Priesterkandidaten beiwohnten, Visitationen abhielten und sich um die Rückkehr der Häretiker zur alten Kirche bemühten” (Indeed, the man from Augsburg became famous as one of the few German bishops of the age who also preached sermons and administered the sacraments themselves, who personally attended the ordination examinations of candidates to the priesthood, conducted visitations and strove to persuade heretics to return to the old Church). See Ferdinand Siebert, *Zwischen Kaiser und Papst. Kardinal Truchseß von Waldburg und die Anfänge der Gegenreformation in Deutschland* (Berlin: 1943), 321–22, no source is given. It is not clear from the context which sacraments are meant.

12 Council of Trent, Sess. XXIV, de ref. Can. 2–4.

at Salzburg in 1525 to discuss measures to combat the Lutheran movement.¹³ Cardinal Otto Truchsess von Waldburg convened a synod in Augsburg in 1567 in order to discuss the adoption of statutes to reform his diocese in the spirit of the Council of Trent, as Mark Sittich von Hohenems (also known under the italianized name of Altemps) had done in Constance that same year.¹⁴ After the Thirty Years' War, synods frequently offered bishops the opportunity to acquaint themselves with the state of their dioceses and to put the clergy in the right mood for reconstruction and reform. Thus, in December 1650 Franz Wilhelm von Wartenberg began the second phase of his administration in Osnabrück with a synod at which he assembled those few Catholic clerics who had survived the long occupation of the diocese by Protestant forces.¹⁵

Visitations enabled bishops to display their authority outside their episcopal seat so that they were perceived as a ruler over all their entire territory.¹⁶ However, they were expensive and time-consuming, and involved strenuous journeys if a sizeable geographical area was to be covered. For this reason, most bishops embarked on visitations rather selectively and normally assigned this task to their vicars-general, auxiliary bishops, or other clergy.¹⁷

Evidently, these duties all required the presence of the prince-bishop in his diocese. The conscientious exercise of his spiritual office could not be reconciled with intensive participation as a curial cardinal in the government of the Church. It might have been possible for a bishop with a diocese not far from Rome, but for a bishop from Germany it was not an option. The primary duty of a cardinal prince-bishop was clear: his presence was required in his diocese. Cardinal Otto Truchsess von Waldburg attracted much criticism from Peter Canisius for his lengthy stay in Rome during which Pius v encouraged him to return to his diocese of Augsburg.¹⁸ So, from the perspectives of both Rome and the German territories, for the cardinal prince-bishops their duties as bishop outweighed their duties as cardinal.

13 Johann Sallaberger, *Kardinal Matthäus Lang von Wellenburg (1468–1540): Staatsmann und Kirchenfürst im Zeitalter von Renaissance, Reformation und Bauernkriegen* (Salzburg: 1997), 322–30.

14 Siebert, *Zwischen Kaiser und Papst*, 314–19 on Truchsess' reforms and Simonetta Scherling, *Markus Sittikus III. (1533–1595): Vom deutschen Landsknecht zum römischen Kardinal* (Constance: 2000), 117–19 on Hohenems.

15 Braun, *Princeps et episcopus*, 240.

16 Mareike Menne, *Herrschaftsstil und Glaubenspraxis: Bischöfliche Visitation und die Inszenierung von Herrschaft im Fürstbistum Paderborn 1654–1691* (Paderborn: 2007).

17 For the north-west German prince-bishoprics after 1648 see Braun, *Princeps et episcopus*, 244–56.

18 Siebert, *Zwischen Kaiser und Papst*, 186 and 328.

2 The Cardinal Prince-Bishops and the Consequences of the Reformation

Another important factor may have been that, in the 16th century at least, the presence of the prince-bishops was necessary to secure the survival of the Catholic Church in Germany – indeed the real threat posed by the Protestants constituted the background to Canisius's severe reprimand to Waldburg, whom he counted amongst the few bishops who could be entrusted with this difficult task. The continuing conflict with Protestantism characterized the existence and work of the imperial prince-bishops, and hence also of the cardinals amongst them, to a quite extraordinary degree. This distinguished them from their colleagues in Italy and Spain, where this conflict was far less significant, but also from those in France, whose struggle against the Huguenots took place within markedly different legal and political parameters.

The prince-bishops did not conduct the dispute with the Reformation on a theological level since their frequently rather modest knowledge of theology meant they were in no position to do so. Rather, they concentrated on the conflict's legal and political aspects, which challenged both their secular power and religious authority – indeed it became evident early on that the ruler of a given area would be decisive in determining the faith it adopted. The prince-bishops had the additional duty of justifying the numerous shortcomings of their own Church – for example, the quality of the clergy – despite they could not openly agree with the Protestants that these needed reform. Prince-bishops reacted in different ways to the challenge posed by the Reformation: some sought a solution on the level of imperial politics; others backed the military option; for others the reform of their own Church was of paramount importance.¹⁹

In general, it can be said that while the majority of prince-bishops stayed loyal to Rome, they did not exactly distinguish themselves in the fight against Protestantism: even contemporaries called them “faint-hearted” (*kleinmütig*) and “dozy” (*verschlafen*).²⁰ In this context Cardinal Albrecht von Brandenburg has always attracted particular attention as the addressee of Luther's Ninety-Five Theses. He has been accused of having virtually caused the Reformation, since the reason for Luther's criticism of the nature of indulgences was Albrecht's model for financing the procurement of the funds necessary to

19 A survey of the bishops' reaction to the Reformation can be found in Eike Wolgast, *Hochstift und Reformation: Studien zur Geschichte der Reichskirche zwischen 1517 und 1648* (Stuttgart: 1995).

20 *Ibid.*, 189 and 260.

confirm his elections. This model envisaged ceding to Albrecht half the money raised by the indulgence for Saint Peter's. Of course, this oversimplifies matters, but Albrecht's conduct still provokes controversy.²¹ What is indisputable is that though the cardinal remained a Catholic throughout his life, it is clear that he was not one of those hardliners who rejected any form of compromise.

Albrecht's flexibility distinguished him from, for example, Cardinal Otto Truchsess von Waldburg who rejected the Peace of Augsburg (1555) and considered military conflict an appropriate weapon in the struggle against Protestantism. However, Waldburg also advocated reform, campaigning vigorously for the foundation of seminaries and, leading by example, he established his own school in Dillingen. As a prelude to the reforms, he also held a synod in 1567 in order to promote implementation of the Tridentine reforms in his diocese. Even Mark Sittich von Hohenems, a more worldly figure, took care to introduce quite similar measures in his diocese of Constance, recognizing that inactivity might jeopardize the existence of the dioceses and their inherent potential to provide the nobility with lucrative positions. Just as Waldburg rejected the Peace of Augsburg so too Franz Wilhelm von Wartenberg attempted to prevent religious compromise barely a century later during the peace negotiations in Münster and Osnabrück – he was, of course, equally unsuccessful. Thenceforth – after the political battle had been lost – Wartenberg, too, was forced to focus on the internal reform of his dioceses.

Wartenberg was not alone in adopting an uncompromising stance. With the expulsion of the Dürnberg miners and Deferegggen Protestants in the 1680s, Cardinal Max Gundolf von Kuenburg initiated the great wave of expulsions from Salzburg which culminated in Prince-Archbishop Leopold Anton von Firmian's expulsion of all Protestants in 1731, though by the 18th century such radical measures were the exception even in the ecclesiastical principalities. The prince-bishops increasingly had to face demands for tolerance of those who professed different religious faiths. This issue naturally touched upon the fundamental self-image of these princes and challenged the very basis for the existence of the "ecclesiastical principality" as a system of government. Nevertheless, in the second half of the 18th century we find the first signs of confessional tolerance in these states as well: in 1777, for example, Cardinal Leopold Ernst von Firmian, Prince-bishop of Passau permitted the burial of Protestants in Catholic cemeteries. Such examples illustrate how relations with the

21 Ibid., 110–18; Rolf Decot, "Theologie – Frömmigkeit – Kirche: Albrecht von Brandenburg vor der Herausforderung der Reformation," in *Der Kardinal Albrecht von Brandenburg: Renaissancefürst und Mäzen*, ed. Andreas Tacke (Regensburg: 2006), 2:61–79.

Protestant reformers affected the prince-bishops throughout the early modern period.

3 The Cardinals in the Imperial Church

The low number of cardinals in the Imperial Church is evidence that the cardinalate was a marginal phenomenon in the Empire – and, by the same token, the Imperial bishops were poorly represented in the College of Cardinals. There are several reasons for this, not least the dominance of Italians in the College. Significantly, a red hat bestowed little additional prestige on a prince-bishop. For this reason, Damian Hugo von Schönborn, who worked very hard to obtain this dignity, was a rare exception.²² For Johann Theodor of Bavaria, for example, the hat was more of a consolation prize for failing to be elected to a prestigious diocese; besides which, his appointment was directed more as a favour to the House of Bavaria itself.²³ Moreover, in principle, the prince-bishops were aware of the special status they enjoyed as princes and bishops and which gave them greater independence from both emperor and pope than their colleagues. A cardinal's hat might be an attractive additional adornment which could be shown off to great effect on a coat-of-arms, but it was not much more than that.²⁴ In the Imperial Church the dignity of cardinal was unimportant for its holders in day-to-day politics and created no additional scope or opportunity for action. The cardinals became objects of interest, above all for the imperial court, merely in connection with the election of a new pope.

This scant regard for the title of cardinal was also reflected in ceremonial acts and forms of address. After Urban VIII had granted cardinals the title of "Eminence" they enjoyed the same status as electoral princes. Indeed, Rome even insisted on cardinals taking precedence over all princes, an idea that was firmly rejected at the courts of the electoral princes.²⁵ Thus when Johann Theodor of Bavaria was made a cardinal, this led to conflict between the young

22 Stephan Mauelshagen, *Ordensritter – Landesherr – Kirchenfürst: Damian Hugo von Schönborn (1676–1743). Ein Leben im Alten Reich* (Ubstadt-Weiher: 2001), 119.

23 Manfred Weitlauff, *Kardinal Johann Theodor von Bayern (1703–1763), Fürstbischof von Regensburg, Freising und Lüttich: Ein Bischofsleben im Schatten der kurbayerischen Reichskirchenpolitik* (Regensburg: 1970), 347f., 417.

24 On the prominent placement of the cardinal's hat on Albrecht von Brandenburg's coat-of-arms see Albrecht Drös, "Alles unter einem Hut: Die Wappen Albrechts von Brandenburg," in *Der Kardinal Albrecht von Brandenburg: Renaissancefürst und Mäzen*, ed. Andreas Tacke (Regensburg: 2006), 2:29–49.

25 Weitlauff, *Johann Theodor*, 419.

duke and his brother Clemens August, Electoral Prince of Cologne, as well as his nephew Max Joseph, Electoral Prince of Bavaria. Neither was prepared to accept the equal status, let alone precedence, of Johann Theodor, who was only a prince-bishop.²⁶

On the other hand, however, one canonical stipulation was demonstrably effective: on the death of a bishop who was also a cardinal, the right to appoint his successor lay with the pope. For this reason, the cathedral chapters feared for their right to a free vote should their bishop secure a cardinal's hat. In the Imperial Church a cardinal had a correspondingly lower chance of being elected bishop; or at the very least he had to overcome these concerns. The electoral capitulations frequently contain clauses obliging the newly elected bishop to ensure papal confirmation of the cathedral chapter's free right to vote should he, the bishop, be elevated to the rank of cardinal.²⁷ When Albrecht von Brandenburg was made a cardinal in 1518 the cathedral chapter in Mainz called on him not to accept this dignity – Albrecht did not acquiesce. The address given by his envoy to the cathedral chapter makes it clear that in this case, too, the main issue was the chapter's concern that the cardinalate would result in their forfeiting the right to a free vote. The envoy explained that Albrecht had already secured the relevant assurances from the pope.²⁸ Despite such precautions, as long as the Imperial Church existed these misgivings could never entirely be swept to one side and played their part in the rather dubious reputation enjoyed by the dignity of cardinal in the Empire.

Moreover, while 30 prince-bishops were appointed to the rank of cardinal during the early modern period, these appointments were irregularly distributed across both time and territory. They reached their peak in temporal terms between 1561 and 1573, when five prince-bishops acquired red hats, whereas for

26 Ibid., 419f.

27 Examples can be found in Hans Erich Feine, *Die Besetzung der Reichsbistümer vom Westfälischen Frieden bis zur Säkularisation 1648–1803* (Stuttgart: 1921), 292–94. The electoral capitulations from Constance regularly include the corresponding stipulation in the first or second article; Konstantin Maier, *Das Domkapitel von Konstanz und seine Wahlkapitulationen: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte von Hochstift und Diözese in der Neuzeit* (Stuttgart: 1990), 310 (1589), 329 (1600–02), 354 (1704). The Freising cathedral chapter was not pleased when it learnt of the elevation of its bishop, Johann Theodor of Bavaria, to the rank of cardinal and only calmed down when the colleagues in Regensburg assured them that the pope had explicitly confirmed the right of free election for Johann Theodor's dioceses; Weitlauff, *Johann Theodor*, 421.

28 *Die Protokolle des Mainzer Domkapitels* vol. 3: *Die Protokolle aus der Zeit des Erzbischofs Albrechts von Brandenburg 1514–1545*, ed. Fritz Herrmann (Paderborn: 1932), 151 (15 June 1518) and 156 (6 October 1518).

the three decades between 1669 and 1700 there were none in the College.²⁹ Over half of the 30 cardinal prince-bishops held office in the 16th century, clearly illustrating that the red hat lost its importance over time. This does not mean that there was any reduction in the pressure exerted by the emperors to have red hats for “their” candidates: indeed, increasingly, imperial nominations came from dioceses in the Habsburg patrimonial lands. In 1599 Franz Seraph von Dietrichstein, Bishop of Olmütz, was the first bishop from the patrimonial dominions to be given a red hat; in the 18th century nine of them acquired cardinals’ hats.³⁰ On the whole, the imperial candidates for the cardinalate confirm the declining importance of the Empire – something that can be detected in other areas as well – and the enhanced role played by the interests of the Habsburg patrimonial dominions in the politics of the imperial court in Vienna.

Not all prince-bishoprics supplied a cardinal in the early modern period. For example, no archbishop of Cologne or Trier acquired a red hat; Mainz supplied only one, Albrecht von Brandenburg. The automatic procedure we see today – namely, that succession to a particular diocese will inevitably, sooner or later, lead to the bishop’s promotion to the rank of cardinal – cannot be observed in the early modern era.³¹ Thus while an important archdiocese such as Cologne came away empty-handed, the small dioceses of Speyer and Regensburg supplied two cardinals each, as did Osnabrück, whose very existence was threatened.³² It was, namely, not the significance of an (arch-)diocese which predestined its incumbent to the dignity of cardinal: rather, quite different patterns may be observed here. Most cardinals, that is, five from each, were supplied by the dioceses of Constance and Trent, followed by Brixen and Passau with four each, as well as Salzburg, Lüttich, and Metz with three each.³³ What these dioceses have in common is their proximity to Habsburg patrimonial

29 Cristoforo Madruzzo, Otto Truchsess von Waldburg, Charles de Lorraine-Guise, Mark Sittich von Hohenems, Giovanni Ludovico Madruzzo.

30 Apart from Raimund Peraudi, Bishop of Gurk, who had been given the cardinal’s hat in 1493.

31 In the patrimonial dominions there are, though, signs of such a tendency for Vienna. The three bishops, or from 1722 onwards archbishops, of Vienna who held office between 1716 and 1830 were all appointed cardinal.

32 From Speyer: Damian Hugo von Schönborn, Franz Christoph von Hutten; from Regensburg: Johann Theodor of Bavaria, Franz Wilhelm von Wartenberg; from Osnabrück: Eitel Friedrich von Hohenzollern, Franz Wilhelm von Wartenberg.

33 While in the early modern period both Toul and Verdun provided further cardinals, after 1562 these dioceses no longer formed part of the Imperial Church. The same is true of Strasbourg after 1681: both Wilhelm Egon von Fürstenberg and, above all, the four bishops from the House of Rohan who successively ruled the Diocese of Strasbourg and achieved

lands; the nobility which stood a chance of appointment were frequently bound by patron-client relationships to the Habsburgs. This also explains why individual families were represented more than once, above all the Madruzzo, who supplied three cardinals. The Lamberg family managed to produce two cardinals; in addition, they were related to the Harrach, who could also boast a cardinal prince-bishop. Quite obviously, it was birth into a noble family closely tied to the imperial family that was decisive. Such lineages not only smoothed the path to the bishop's chair in one of the dioceses in the Habsburg sphere of influence but could also even lead to a cardinalate.

4 Cardinal Prince-Bishops and the Curia

Relations between cardinal prince-bishops and Rome assumed very different forms. This is hardly surprising since most of them certainly did not owe their promotion to the cardinalate to their contacts in Rome but rather to imperial patronage. Some never went to Rome; others lived there for several years.³⁴ Nevertheless, the Imperial Church produced no curial cardinals since the obligation to reside in the bishopric precluded that.³⁵ In the 17th and 18th centuries some future cardinal prince-bishops completed part of their education in Rome, mostly at the Collegium Germanicum, founded in 1552 as a theological seminary for the elite of the Imperial Church – however, once they had ascended a bishop's throne, virtually none returned to Rome again.³⁶ Thus they were unable to fulfil their obligation to make regular visits to the Apostles'

the dignity of cardinal are to be located within the framework of French Church politics and not in the Imperial Church.

34 Amongst those never going to Rome was, for example, Albrecht von Brandenburg.

35 Giovanni Ludovico Madruzzo or Mark Sittich von Hohenems would have the greatest claim to this designation. In 1568 Madruzzo retreated to Rome as a result of continuous disputes with Archduke Ferdinand of Tirol and there worked in the Curia as a member of several Congregations; Bernhard Steinhilber, *Giovanni Ludovico Madruzzo (1532–1600). Katholische Reformation zwischen Kaiser und Papst: Das Konzept zur praktischen Gestaltung der Kirche der Neuzeit im Anschluß an das Konzil von Trient* (Münster: 1993). Hohenems, who had been granted the dignity of cardinal as the nephew of Pope Pius IV, may have resided permanently in Rome, but performed barely any Church duties there; Scherling, *Markus Sittikus*, passim.

36 Franz Wilhelm von Wartenberg, Guidobald von Thun, Damian Hugo von Schönborn, Leopold Ernst von Firmian. The following had also studied in Rome, albeit not at the Collegium Germanicum: Maximilian Gandolf von Kuenburg, Joseph Domenikus von Lamberg, Franz Christoph von Hutten, Franz Konrad von Rodt. On the Collegium Germanicum see Peter Schmidt, *Das Collegium Germanicum in Rom und die Germaniker: Zur Funktion eines römischen Ausländerseminars (1552–1914)* (Tübingen: 1984).

tombs, the *visitatio liminum*, nor to present the pope with a report on the condition of their dioceses in person. Early modern bishops were not “Ultramontane” in the 19th-century sense – quite the opposite, in fact. Although they submitted in principle to the pope’s authority, they reacted with extreme sensitivity to anything that interfered with their traditional autonomy, fostered by their status as princes. It was, then, not the 18th-century Episcopalians who were first characterized by such a self-confident attitude, one which can already be observed long before in the 16th and 17th centuries. This is fundamentally true of the cardinals amongst them as well, although their solidarity with Rome must be assessed as somewhat greater, since in their capacity as holders of this particular office they belonged to the innermost circle of the Church and several did travel to Rome for the conclaves, at least. However, on the whole the cardinal prince-bishops must have been poorly networked with and within the Curia and their influence was correspondingly slight.

The most important task which a cardinal in Rome could perform was, self-evidently, participation in the election of a new pope. Many cardinals never had the opportunity to take part in a conclave since the Throne of St. Peter did not fall vacant during their cardinalate; others experienced six or seven such vacancies. Giovanni Ludovico Madruzzo participated in all seven conclaves during his cardinalate of almost forty years. In this he was an exception, in respect to both the number of conclaves and the frequency of his participation. Even so, Ernst Adalbert von Harrach zu Rohrau also took part in all three conclaves which were held during his term as cardinal. Others, by contrast, did not attend a single conclave.³⁷ In the case of other cardinals, participation and non-participation alternate. Thus, Otto Truchsess von Waldburg took part in the conclave of 1549 to 1550; for the next conclave, however, in May 1555, he arrived in Rome too late – a not-infrequent mishap in the early modern period. However, when Marcellus II died after only twenty days, Waldburg was still in Rome and could thus participate in the conclave. In 1559, too, he was present at the election of the new pope, whereas in 1565 he once again arrived in Rome too late.³⁸

Participation in conclaves was bound up with various political expectations. In particular, the imperial court strove to make its own interests felt during a papal election. The practice of the *secretum* constituted the most significant exertion of influence. In this case a list of candidates who were more or less acceptable to the emperor was pressed into the hand of a cardinal. As an

37 Albrecht von Brandenburg, Erhard von der Mark, Johann Theodor of Bavaria, Franz Christoph von Hutten.

38 Siebert, *Zwischen Kaiser und Papst*, 282.

alternative to producing a *secretum*, the emperor let it be explicitly known whom he did not wish to see as a future pope. Of course, the emperors made use of this so-called *ius exclusivae*, or power of veto, relatively rarely. In any case, they expected “their” cardinal to attempt to influence the election in the emperor’s interests.

Obviously, little is known about the activities of cardinal prince-bishops in the electoral assemblies, which most readily went on record if the cardinals did not fulfil the emperor’s expectations. This happened time and again since cardinals were, *de jure*, absolutely free to vote for whomever they pleased and did not exercise any imperative mandate. Thus in 1555 Otto Truchsess von Waldburg voted for Paul IV and in so doing acted against the express will of Charles V, who subsequently called him to account over the proceedings.³⁹

Now and then a cardinal did not actually travel to Rome, even if the emperor wished it. Damian Hugo von Schönborn, for example, had participated in the conclave of 1721, but in 1724 refused to undertake the journey to Rome again – despite requests from the emperor – apparently because he had to attend to the marriage of a princess of Baden-Baden. In 1730 Schönborn actually did go to Rome but, when the conclave dragged on, he departed after two months for health reasons; in 1740 he again stayed away from the conclave, once more invoking his frail health as an excuse.⁴⁰

Obviously, the imperial court could not impose direct sanctions on a cardinal if it was dissatisfied with his actions. At most the emperor could refrain from entrusting him with the representation of imperial interests when the next vacancy occurred. The Bishop of Constance Franz Konrad von Rodt experienced this. In 1758 he had been entrusted with the imperial *secretum* as Vienna did not trust the other crown cardinal, Giovanni Francesco Albani. While the imperial court had not actively excluded Clement XIII, who was ultimately elected, neither was he amongst the candidates favoured by Vienna and his later policies confirmed the scepticism shown towards him.

In 1765 an order from the emperor meant Rodt had to send the records of the conclave to Vienna.⁴¹ From this Rodt deduced that there was no intention of entrusting him with the imperial *secretum* at the next conclave, a conjecture which was confirmed in 1769. However, without a brief from the emperor – which simply also meant without the resultant pre-eminence in the conclave and without a financial contribution to travel expenses – Rodt did not wish to

39 Ibid., 152.

40 Maelshagen, *Ordensritter – Landesherr – Kirchenfürst*, 119–23.

41 Details in Rudolf Reinhardt, *Die Beziehungen von Hochstift und Diözese Konstanz zu Habsburg-Österreich in der Neuzeit: Zugleich ein Beitrag zur archivalischen Erforschung des Problems “Kirche und Staat”* (Wiesbaden: 1966), 170–75.

travel to Rome and therefore stayed away from the conclave in 1769 and 1774 as well.⁴²

None of the cardinal prince-bishops was elected pope; most of them were not even considered potential candidates. This was due to Italian dominance in the College of Cardinals, and also to the fact that the cardinals, inasmuch as they wielded the imperial *secretum* in the conclave, were viewed as the representatives of a certain party. The only one who could chalk up a noteworthy number of votes for himself was Otto Truchsess von Waldburg, who in a ballot in 1559 at least received thirteen out of the forty votes.⁴³ It counted in his favour that he had demonstrated a certain independence in previous conclaves and had resided in Rome; he hence had a better network of connections in the city than other cardinal prince-bishops. In the conclaves between 1590 and 1591 Giovanni Ludovico Madruzzo was also considered *papabile*.⁴⁴

The marginal role played by the cardinal prince-bishops in the papal elections reflects their altogether limited significance in the Curia. Relations between the Curia and Germania Sacra were, if anything, distant and characterized by considerable mutual distrust. Thus, the Curia was not at all distressed by the demise of the Imperial Church in the Final Recess (*Reichsdeputationshauptschluss*) of 1803, which put an end to the existence of the self-assured prince-bishops.

The cardinals of the Imperial Church were to all intents and purposes nonexistent as a group, whether in the Empire or, indeed, in the Curia. On the one hand, there were too few of them, mostly only one or two cardinal prince-bishops. On the other hand, however, their own diocese, their rank as prince-bishop and their membership of a noble family played a far greater role in their self-image than did the dignity of cardinal. The fact that no research has been conducted into the cardinals of the Imperial Church as a group is in tune with these findings. However, above all the activity at conclaves of cardinals from the Empire, and the politics of the imperial court in relation to such activity, certainly merits more research.

Translated from German by Anne Simon

42 Reinhardt, *Beziehungen*, 175–77.

43 An overview of “The Scrutinies in the Conclave of Pius IV” can be found in Pastor, 15:381–89 and in Peter Rummel, “Truchseß von Waldburg, Otto,” in *Die Bischöfe des Heiligen Römischen Reiches 1448 bis 1648*, ed. Erwin Gatz (Berlin: 1996), 709.

44 Severino Vareschi, “Madruzzo, Giovanni Ludovico Freiherr von,” in *Die Bischöfe des Heiligen Römischen Reiches 1448 bis 1648*, ed. Erwin Gatz (Berlin: 1996), 450; Steinhilber, *Giovanni Ludovico Madruzzo*, 146.

PART 4

Property and Wealth



The Social Background and Education of Cardinals

Maria Antonietta Visceglia

Early modern cardinals did not belong to a single social group. On the contrary, their backgrounds were highly diverse and were the product of several variables: geographical origins, their family's social status, whether or not they had a relative with links to the Curia, their wealth, and their level of education. None of these factors in isolation explains how an individual, whether set on the path towards the cardinalate as a young man by his family or later in life by his own choice, achieved the prestige of a red hat. The early modern era saw major political and social changes and it is important to consider their impact on the pattern of recruitment. Above all, it is essential to take account of the impact of the significant developments that took place within the Roman Catholic Church, notably the Counter-Reformation and the institutional reforms undertaken by Sixtus V (1585–90), which resulted in an increasingly bureaucratic role for the members of the College (see Miles Pattenden's essay in this volume).

1 Geographical Origins

The decree of the Council of Basel, *De numero et qualitate cardinalium* (26 March 1436; see also Bernward Schmidt's essay in this volume) fixed the size of the College at 24 and specified that they were to be chosen from all Christian nations to reflect the Church's universality. Relatives of the pope could not, in theory, be created cardinals. None of the nations was to have more than a third of the total but this fundamental criterion for recruitment was largely ignored. Of the 336 cardinals created between 1485 and 1559, 207 were Italians (62 per cent); during the years 1560–1605 this figure rose to 74 per cent (193/143), to 83 per cent (183/151) in the first half of the 17th century, and it decreased slightly to 79 per cent (259/205) over the years 1665–1730. These figures, which confirm the pattern proposed by John Broderick, show how the Italian component of the College was much larger than prescribed in the Council of Basel's stipulations.¹ The Council of Trent hesitated over the issue, reiterating the

¹ John F. Broderick, "The Sacred College of Cardinals: Size and Geographical Composition (1099–1986)," *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 25 (1987), 7–71.

principle of international recruitment at one moment (Session 24, 16 November 1563), but later ensuring Italian dominance in the College, which lasted into the modern era, and only began to wane at the time of Pius IX (1846–78). Indubitably linked to the papacy's central role in peninsular politics, Italian dominance was also connected to the extraordinary increase in venal posts which transformed the Curia during the 15th and 16th centuries, providing the Italian elite with the opportunity to acquire wealth and social status in Rome at a time when urban governments were closing their ranks.²

At a more analytical level the data on cardinals' geographical origins provides evidence that they came increasingly from families within Rome itself and the Papal States: 17.25 per cent for the years 1485–1559; 29.97 per cent for 1560–1604; 43.15 per cent for 1605–54; 38 per cent for 1655–1730; and this figure continued to grow into the 18th century.³ The number of cardinals from other Italian states varied and was influenced by the reigning pope's own geographical origins, especially in the first half of the early modern era. For example, 22 per cent of the cardinals Julius II (1503–13) created came from Liguria (many of them notably from his own family, the Della Rovere); 21.4 per cent of Leo X's (1513–21) cardinals were Florentines, and 4.8 per cent Siennese; 19.6 per cent of Pius IV's (1559–65) cardinals were from Lombardy; and 21 per cent of Alexander VII's (1655–67) cardinals were Tuscan. This preferential relationship between the pope and his homeland was also reflected in Benedict XIII's (1724–30) choice of men from Benevento; however, this pattern generally became less distinct in the late 17th century as the numbers of cardinals from within the Papal States grew.

The representation of the rest of Catholic Europe in the College reflected, above all, the struggle between the major powers for political hegemony. Spain had 48 cardinals in the College between 1485 and 1559 (although this figure includes 16 promoted by Alexander VI). Yet the number of Spanish cardinals fell to 16 for the years 1560–1605, to 13 for 1606–55, and to 12 for 1656–1730. In those same years, the numbers of cardinals from imperial lands were respectively: 12 (1485–1559), 8 (1560–1605), 4 (1606–55), and 14 (1656–1730). The French crown boasted 51 national cardinals between 1485 and 1559, 20 (1560–1605), 11 (1606–55) and 16 (1656–1730). The presence of other nations in the College,

2 Marco Pellegrini, "Corte di Roma e aristocrazie italiane in età moderna: Per una lettura storico-sociale della curia Romana," *Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa* 30 (1994), 543–602; Miles Pattenden, *Electing the Pope in Early Modern Italy, 1450–1700* (Oxford: 2017), 29–38.

3 Wolfgang Reinhard, "Le carriere papali e cardinalizie: Contributo alla storia del papato," in *Roma, la città del papa: Vita civile e religiosa dal giubileo di Bonifacio VIII al giubileo di papa Wojtyła*, eds. Luigi Fiorani and Adriano Prosperi (Turin: 2000), 262–90; Atis V. Antonovics, "Counter-Reformation Cardinals: 1534–90," *European Studies Review* 2 (1972), 301–28.

such as Portugal, was sporadic. However, significantly, the desire to spread the faith in the aftermath of the Council of Trent inspired popes to create cardinals from Catholic Europe's frontiers, notably Hungary, Poland, and England.

2 Social Class

The surnames of 971 cardinals created between 1485 and 1730 (from Innocent VIII to Benedict XIII) show a combination of men from within the same group of longstanding families and new arrivals made up of outsiders, a pattern that changed little over the early modern era but which took on particular meanings at different periods.

For Italian princely houses, obtaining a red hat for one or more members was a vital tool to control the Church within their state, to defend the family's interests at the papal court and, crucially, to give them a voice in papal election. The Medici used their extensive financial resources to create 10 Medici cardinals between 1513 and 1561 – and this number increases to 18 if you include those with Medici mothers: Innocenzo Cibo, Niccolo Ridolfi, Luigi de' Rossi, Giovanni Salviati, Lorenzo Strozzi, Bernardo Salviati, and two Gonzaga cardinals. Between 1461 and the early 17th century, the Gonzaga family itself was represented in the College by Francesco I, Sigismondo, Ercole, Federico, Ferdinando, and Vincenzo – these last two the sons of Eleonora de' Medici; during the 16th century these also included Pirro and Scipione from the Bozzolo branch of the family and Francesco II and Gian Vincenzo from the Guastalla branch. Like other clans, both noble and commoner, they occasionally had two cardinals in the College at the same time, despite Julius III's 1554 decree forbidding this practice.⁴ The Este cardinals were, from the 15th to the late 17th century, Ippolito I, Ippolito II, Luigi, Alessandro, Rinaldo I and Rinaldo II. The demise of the Aragon dynasty in Naples in 1503 limited the cardinals of this ruling house to Giovanni and Luigi. The single exception to this pattern was Savoy, perhaps because it was not wholly Italian. The Savoyards produced just one anti-pope and one cardinal: Amadeus VIII, Duke of Savoy, elected Felix V (1439–49), and Maurizio of Savoy.

By the same token, the royal houses of Europe considered a red hat an ornament to their status and a tool to enhance their political clout. The Aviz of Portugal gained hats for three royal princes between the mid-15th and mid-16th centuries: Jaime, Afonso, and Dom Henrique. In Poland the Jagiellonian

4 Flavio Rurale, "I cardinali di Casa Gonzaga," *Annali di storia moderna e contemporanea* 1 (1995), 371–89.

dynasty acquired a red hat for Frederick Casimir in 1496, while the Wasa dynasty was given hats for John Albert and John Casimir in the 17th century. The Habsburg cardinals were Andreas of Austria, created in 1576, Albert of Austria, who was elevated to the purple only one year later and Ferdinand of Austria, the son of Philip III of Spain, who received his hat in 1619. French princes of the blood, considered part of the royal family, formed the cardinalatial dynasties of Guise-Lorraine and Bourbon.⁵

For princely cardinals a red hat did not always involve the taking of priestly vows: a lack of legitimate heirs meant they had to be ready to assume dynastic duties, as was the case with Dom Henrique of Portugal, who became king in 1578; Jan Casimir Wasa became king of Poland in 1648; Albert of Austria married his cousin, Isabella, to become joint governors of the Netherlands; Ferdinando de' Medici became grand duke of Tuscany after 25 years as a cardinal; Ferdinando and Vincenzo Gonzaga, as well as Rinaldo II d'Este, all resigned the cardinalate to become dukes (see DeSilva's essay in this volume). Also, in parallel with the changing role of the cardinal in the Church, the demographic decline of many Italian and other European dynasties made the princely cardinal an increasingly rare figure by the end of the early modern era.

The ambition to create dynasties of cardinals was not limited to ruling houses: the same mechanism was also at work to a greater or lesser extent in patrician and aristocratic families. The example of Venice is significant. The papacies of Gregory XII (Correr, 1406–15), Eugene IV (Condulmer, 1431–47) and Paul II (Barbo, 1464–71) marked “a profound and irreversible change” in relations between Venice and Rome.⁶ Despite some major crises in this relationship (the League of Cambrai, for example, or the Interdict), members of the Venetian patriciate often pursued Church careers. While they were never a cohesive group in the College, like the Genoese or Tuscans, with their links to the Curia's financial institutions, the Venetians succeeded in developing cardinalatial dynasties like the Grimani or, above all, the Corner (San Polo branch), who counted 8 cardinals amongst their numbers between 1500 (Marco Corner) and 1697 (Giorgio Corner), and dominated the pro-Roman faction within the Venetian patriciate. Also from northern Italy were the Madruzzo family from Trent, who were nobles of the Holy Roman Empire; the Spinola family from Genoa, whose members included two 16th-century, six 17th-century, and four 18th-century cardinals; the various branches of the Pallavicino family from Genoa and

5 On *cardinales ex sanguine regio*, see “*Cardinales ex sanguine regio*,” BAV, Barb. lat. 2375, fols. 272r–76v.

6 Giuseppe Del Torre, *Patrizi e cardinali: Venezia e le istituzioni ecclesiastiche nella prima età moderna* (Milan: 2010), 47–61.

Parma, which produced seven cardinals between 1489 and 1766; the Trivulzio family from Lombardy who obtained five red hats between 1500 and 1629; and the Ferrero family from Piedmont who furnished six cardinals during the 16th century. In the Kingdom of Naples the largest number of red hats went to the Carafa family, with 12 cardinals created between 1467 (Oliviero Carafa) and the 1730s, including one pope; the family produced a further three cardinals created up to the middle of the 19th century. Next in importance was the Acquaviva d'Aragona with six cardinals between 1542 and 1732.

Cardinals from Roman families existed within a complicated hierarchy. In 1511 when Julius II was gravely ill, representatives of the city's barons and government swore an oath, the *Pax romana*: the factions would keep the peace if the pope ensured that the College always contained members of their leading families, the Orsini, Colonna, Savelli and Conti. These four clans were also all ancient papal families, and they produced an impressive number of cardinals. Between 1400 and the 1740s, the various branches of the Orsini counted 10 cardinals, including the Dominican Vincenzo Maria who would become Benedict XIII. The Colonna had 10 cardinals from the death of Martin V (Oddone Colonna, 1417–31) to the 1760s, sometimes two at once, such as Marcantonio I and Ascanio from 1586 to 1597. The Savelli, whose principal branch died out in 1712, had six cardinals, as did the Conti between 1483 and the election of Michelangelo Conti as Innocent XIII in 1721. The Caetani, a family not included in this agreement, but which produced two medieval popes and subsequently a long list of members of the Curia, also had five cardinals in the College between 1538 and 1642, until their financial and social prestige ran out.

However, it is important to recognize that the early modern cardinalate was not a closed social system.⁷ On the contrary, men from lower social classes – lawyers and other professionals, communal government officials, tradesmen, entrepreneurs – were increasingly attracted to curial careers through the growing numbers of posts for sale (see also Lucinda Byatt's essay in this volume). In his *Discorso sopra la corte di Roma* (1554), the future cardinal Giovanni Francesco Commendone saw the Curia as a place where the rich, the poor and the *mediocri* were in constant competition. Although birth, wealth, and merit were all factors in success, he judged the crucial factor was *buona fortuna*.⁸ In his lives of popes and cardinals published in 1567 Girolamo Garimberto reported, with satisfaction, the modest backgrounds of many cardinals: Jacopo

7 Christoph Weber, *Senatus Divinus: Verborgene Strukturen im Kardinalskollegium der frühen Neuzeit 1500–1800* (Frankfurt a.M.: 1996).

8 Giovanni Francesco Commendone, *Discorso sopra la corte di Roma*, ed. Cesare Mozzarelli (Rome: 1996), 46.

Ammannati, “quite well-read but poor”; Jean Balue, “poor and plebeian”; Thomas Wolsey, “son of a butcher”; Egidio da Viterbo, “common and poor but eloquent”; Gabriel Merino, who “had charge of the dogs in the household of Cardinal Ascanio [Maria Sforza].” For Garimberto, the number from “common” and poor backgrounds was “very large” – and the reason for their rise was “that mysterious motive that comes only by the will of God, vulgarly called Fortune.”⁹

A not insignificant number of cardinals came from the legal profession: among the sons of notaries to receive red hats were Giovanni Battista Ferrari (1500), Bernardo Dovizi da Bibbiena (1513), and Silvio Passerini (1517). Angelo Niccolini (1565), a diplomat at the papal court, came from a family of lawyers in the service of the Medici. Gabriele Paleotti, of the generation that would implement the reforms of the Council of Trent, also came from a legal background.¹⁰ Others had medical backgrounds: Nicholas V was the son of a doctor, while Julius II’s physician Scipione Lancelotti paved the way for his grandsons Scipione (1583) and Orazio (1611) both to become cardinals.

Members of Rome’s banking community, the so-called *mercatores romanam curiam sequentes*, excelled above everyone at achieving red hats for their own. Barbara Hallman has counted 17 families of Florentine and Genoese bankers each of whom had a cardinal in the first half of the 16th century – for 14 of them, it was their first red hat. Although some of the Genoese banking families, like the Spinola, Sauli, and Grimaldi, already had the social status of patriicians, others found the cardinalate provided a strategic advance in the rise towards noble status. The Florentine Gaddi family provides an example: the son of bankers who arrived in Rome during the pontificate of Alexander VI (1492–1503), Niccolò Gaddi paid 40,000 ducats for his red hat (1527) while his brother, Luigi, bought the fief of Riano and married Claudia Savelli.¹¹ Other tradesmen also used their wealth to ascend the social ladder. Giovanni Battista Mellini came from a family of merchants who dealt in agricultural produce and livestock, but he rose from being a canon of the Lateran Basilica in the 1450s to become his family’s first cardinal in 1476. Although there would not be another Mellini cardinal until the 17th century – with Garzia (1606), Savio (1681), and then Mario in the 18th century – the family’s social standing had changed

9 Girolamo Garimberto, *La prima parte delle vite ovvero fatti memorabili d’alcuni papi e di tutti i cardinali passati* (Venice: 1567), 331–48; on this text, see Mario Rosa, *La Curia Romana nell’età moderna: Istituzioni, cultura, carriere* (Rome: 2013), 203–21.

10 Paolo Prodi, *Il cardinale Gabriele Paleotti 1522–1597* (Rome: 1959), 17–40.

11 Barbara McClung Hallman, *Italian Cardinals, Reform and the Church as Property* (Berkeley: 1985), 135–41.

considerably: in his biography of Garzia, the cardinal's secretary, Decio Memmoli, represented him as a member of Rome's ancient nobility.¹²

Another route to a red hat was curial service. From a family originally from Narni in Umbria, Angelo Cesi had a successful curial career as a consistorial advocate, and acquired red hats for his sons, Paolo (1517) and Federico (1544), with further relatives promoted by Pius V (1566–72), Clement VIII (1592–1605) and Urban VIII (1623–44). By the mid-16th century the Cesi were lords of Monticelli and Federico Cesi became the first duke of Acquasparta in 1588. Justifiably, Peter Partner emphasized that “theirs was the pattern for many other successful Roman families who originated in various parts of the papal state in the early modern period,” citing other families with similar histories.¹³ These included the Capranica, whose fortunes began to change when Domenico acquired a cardinal's hat in 1430, and the Cesarini, an old family that was impoverished until Giuliano was made a cardinal in 1426, enabling them to become one of the most eminent families in 15th-century Rome, and marquises of Civitanova.

It is a commonplace in the historiography that these Roman dynamics also contributed to shaping the Italian nobility during the early modern age. This did not, however, lead to a process of complete “aristocratization.” The arrival of new men was also motivated by religious change. Popes like Pius V and Sixtus V, neither of whom was of noble rank, followed Paul IV (1555–59) by favouring reformers and bringing many churchmen into the College. Not all of these reformers were commoners, but they were all recognized for their religious profile not for their noble blood. As Massimo Firpo has underlined, the later 16th century saw a new generation of red hats who were in marked contrast to the princely cardinals of the Renaissance. Some of these men, such as Michele Ghislieri, Felice Peretti di Montalto, or Giulio Antonio Santori, had pursued careers in the Holy Office.¹⁴ Although still a minority, those from religious orders obtained red hats more commonly: four of the 19 cardinals created by Paul IV; six of the 21 cardinals of Pius V; and four of Sixtus V's 33 cardinals. Many cardinals had links with the Oratory of St. Philip Neri, a veritable nursery for the Sacred College whose ranks included Alessandro de' Medici (later Leo XI), Ippolito Aldobrandini (later Clement VIII), Federico Borromeo, Benedetto Giustiniani, Girolamo Pamphilj, Ottavio Paravicini, Silvio Antoniano, Francesco

12 Decio Memmoli, *Vita dell'eminentissimo Signor Cardinale Gio. Garzia Mellino Romano* (Rome: 1644).

13 Peter Partner, *The Pope's Men: The Papal Civil Service in the Renaissance* (Oxford: 1990), 172.

14 Massimo Firpo, “Il cardinale,” in *L'uomo del Rinascimento*, ed. Eugenio Garin (Rome: 1988), 124–27.

Maria Tarugi, and Cesare Baronio.¹⁵ These are illustrious names and a few others less well-known, but they all shared a common spirituality which reflected the post-Tridentine Church.

The grafting of new families into the College of Cardinals took on another dimension in the early 17th century. The growing importance of Rome's diplomatic role required loyal servants and the promotions of Paul v (1605–21), Urban VIII (1623–44), and Innocent x (1644–55) all reflected this: they included men from less eminent families who had proved their trustworthiness in household service. Michelangelo Tonti came from a modest background but had been an administrator for the Borghese family when Camillo had still been a cardinal. Similarly, Maffeo Barberini gave red hats to Fausto Poli, his major-domo, and to Angelo Giori, who came from a humble background in the Marche and had been tutor to his nephews, when he was elected as Urban VIII.¹⁶

The College of Cardinals in the early modern era was not only a showcase for noble blood but also a venue for social advancement. However, it is important to underline that, apart from a few random examples, it was impossible to embark on a career in the Church without connections. As Renata Ago and Christoph Weber have shown, access to a post in the Curia depended on having a relationship with someone who was already installed there – an uncle, for example, paternal or maternal, or marital links with an established curial family.¹⁷ This became harder in the second half of the 17th century with the decision by Alexander VII to restrict access to the post of *referendarius* – often the first step in a curial career – to those with noble status, a legal training, and an annual income.¹⁸ The result was fewer new men and a greater recurrence of the established families, despite the fact that many Italian dynasties were in decline and that Innocent XII (1691–1700) officially abolished the institution of nepotism (see Birgit Emich's essay in this volume) – that said, nepotism still persisted as a social phenomenon alongside the favouritism that brought many parvenus into the Sacred College especially during the pontificate of Benedict XIII.¹⁹

15 Maria Teresa Fattori, *Clemente VIII e il Sacro Collegio 1592–1605* (Stuttgart: 2004).

16 Maria Antonietta Visceglia, "La giusta statera de' porporati: Sulla composizione e rappresentazioni del Sacro Collegio nella prima metà del Seicento," *Roma moderna e contemporanea* 4 (1996), 167–211.

17 Renata Ago, *Carriere e clientele nella Roma barocca* (Bari: 1990), 32–42; Weber, *Senatus Divinus*, 367–428.

18 Ago, *Carriere e clientele*, 16.

19 Orietta Filippini, *Benedetto XIII (1724–1730): Un papa nel Settecento secondo il giudizio dei contemporanei* (Stuttgart: 2012).

3 Education

As with the social background of the cardinal, it is difficult to establish a single model for his education. Those cardinals from princely families were educated like other aristocrats in humanistic studies, poetry, music, and hunting. The education of Giovanni de' Medici (later Leo X) offers one example of a non-linear apprenticeship to the cardinalate. Made a *protonotario* when just nine years old, Medici was educated by the humanists Angelo Poliziano, Urbano Bolzanio, Demetrios Chalkokondyles, and Gregory of Spoleto. This literary education appeared somewhat inadequate after his creation as cardinal at the age of 13 so, before his nomination was published (1492), he was sent to Pisa to study law.²⁰ Similarly, Ippolito II d'Este (1509–72), younger son of Alfonso I and Lucrezia Borgia, started his ecclesiastical career early, becoming archbishop of Milan while still a boy. His tutors until 1525 were Celio Calcagni, a humanist and expert in military arts, letters and law, and Fulvio Pellegrino Morato, a supporter of Church reform. The young archbishop completed his studies at Padua and became a cardinal in 1538. He excelled in dance, hunting, and jousting. The education of Luigi d'Este, another worldly prince and devotee of Ariosto, was not dissimilar: il Pigna (G. Nicolucci) taught him natural philosophy and the Jesuit Pelletier religious studies. It was the princely court rather than the Curia which formed the natural habitat for these cardinals.

Ferdinando de' Medici (1549–1609) was not originally destined for an ecclesiastical career but the early death of his brother, Cardinal Giovanni, changed that. Made a cardinal in 1563 at the age of 13, Ferdinando had already received a classical education, while he had also shown greater interest in travel books, geography, and exotica. When he became a cardinal, he had "a knowledge of Latin limited to the mnemonic recitation of poetry."²¹ His father Cosimo I appointed a new tutor Ludovico Beccadelli, learned archbishop of Ragusa, who earlier had been entrusted by Paul III with the education of his grandson, and future cardinal, Ranuccio. Yet Ferdinando did not excel at his studies even with such a master, although he would later become a skilled politician and patron of the arts.

These cardinals from the old princely houses remained an elite among the elites, because of their education amongst other factors. However, they were far from impermeable to religious and intellectual change, which they amalgamated with the values of the nobility. Moreover, at the beginning of the early

20 Giovan Battista Picotti, *La giovinezza di Leone X* (Florence: 1927), 1–66, 235–94.

21 Stefano Calonaci, "Ferdinando de' Medici: La formazione di un cardinale principe (1563–72)," *Archivio Storico Italiano* 154 (1996), 658.

modern era, aristocratic military skills were needed by a series of soldier-cardinals whose role it was to command the campaigns that consolidated the Papal States. Eugene IV's armies were led by Giuliano Cesarini (1426), a graduate of Padua, Giovanni Vitelleschi (1437), and Ludovico Trevisan (1440), who was also the pope's physician. Sixtus IV also later appointed the learned Oliviero Carafa (1467) to command the papal fleet in an expedition against the Turks. Scions of the Roman baronial clans used their military skills too. Franciotto Orsini (1517), who shared the learned tutors of his cousin Giovanni de' Medici, became a cardinal after having married and having participated actively in the wars between the Roman factions. Pompeo Colonna (1517) fought at the battles of Cerignola and Garigliano and led the raid against Clement VII in 1526. Perhaps the greatest exemplar of this type was Giuliano della Rovere who, as Julius II, was known as the Warrior Pope.²² Later, Pompeo Colonna's former page, Carlo Carafa (1519–61), fought with armies across Europe before being given a red hat by his uncle Paul IV.²³ After the Italian Wars (1494–1559) the figure of the soldier-cardinal went into decline though it never entirely disappeared.

By 1500 the study of humanistic literature formed the basis of the typical cardinal's education. In this period high value was placed on the knowledge of Latin and Greek, and of Platonic and Aristotelian philosophy – subjects which flourished at the academies and universities. This is also the context of the new importance of the papal secretary after the reforms of Innocent VIII (1487). Among those secretaries was Pietro Bembo, a Venetian patrician who studied Greek with Lascaris in Messina, philosophy at Padua, and spent time at the cultured courts of Urbino and Ferrara. Leo X appointed Bembo as a papal secretary and he worked alongside Jacopo Sadoletto, who was also competent in Greek, Latin, and philosophy, and Bernardo Dovizi da Bibbiena, another learned man whose friends included Ficino, Poliziano, Castiglione, and who had been private secretary to the young Giovanni de' Medici.²⁴ The education of Girolamo Aleandro, secretary to Giulio de' Medici (the future Clement VII), was not dissimilar: he studied philosophy at Padua before becoming a professor at the University of Paris, where he taught Greek.²⁵ All three – Aleandro

22 Christine Shaw, *Julius II: The Warrior Pope* (Oxford: 1993). Massimo Rospocher, *Il papa guerriero: Giulio II nello spazio pubblico europeo* (Bologna: 2015).

23 David S. Chambers, *Popes, Cardinals and War: The Military Church in Renaissance and Early Modern Europe* (London: 2006).

24 Carlo Dionisotti, *Pietro Bembo*, in *DBI*, 8:140; Giuseppe L. Moncallo, *Il cardinale Bernardo Dovizi da Bibbiena umanista e diplomatico 1470–1520* (Florence: 1953); Richard M. Douglas, *Jacopo Sadoletto 1477–1547: Humanist and Reformer* (Cambridge, MA: 1959).

25 Girolamo Aleandro, *Journal autobiographique du Cardinal Jérôme Aleandre 1480–1530*, ed. Henri Omond (Paris: 1895).

(1536), Sadoletto (1536), and Bembo (1538) – received their red hats from Paul III, whose cardinals came from a complex mixture of educational backgrounds, and reflect an important period of transition in the Church which needs some explanation.

The Habsburg-Valois wars of the 16th century led to the establishment of a diplomatic network across Europe that required cardinals with the skills to undertake difficult international missions on the papacy's behalf (see Alexander Koller's contribution in this volume). Moreover, negotiations with Protestants required theological rather than curial expertise. Previously it had been rare for members of religious orders to receive red hats, and when they had received them it had always been for specific reasons. Sixtus IV, a Franciscan, had created several, and a few others had gained their hats for their outstanding theological skills – for example, the neo-Platonist Egidio of Viterbo (1517), Prior General of the Augustinians, and the Dominican Tommaso de Vio (1517), who defended the divine institution of the papacy.²⁶ Paul III, however, appointed several cardinals from religious orders to deal with issues of reform: in 1542, for example, he gave red hats to the Dominican Tommaso Badia, Master of the Sacred Palace (*Magister Sacri Palatii*) under Clement VII and the theologian accompanying papal legate Tommaso Campeggi to Worms in 1540, and to the Benedictine Gregorio Cortese, theologian and abbot of the reformed monastery of San Benedetto Po, near Mantua. Another inflexible reformer given a red hat by Paul III was Gian Pietro Carafa, the future Paul IV, educated in the humanist circle of his uncle, Oliviero Carafa, in Rome, and founder of a new religious order, the Theatines.²⁷

The establishment of the Inquisition (1542 – see Vincenzo Lavenia's contribution to this volume) and the dynamics of the Council of Trent influenced the religious experiences and the cultural choices of many prelates, including Marcello Cervini (Marcellus II) and Guglielmo Sirleto. Cervini's early education had focused on the study of Greek and he frequented literary and scientific circles in Siena established. Receiving his red hat in 1539, Cervini was the first cardinal librarian of the Vatican library and he played a key role in putting the study of the Bible and the early Church Fathers at the centre of the Curia's cultural agenda.²⁸ His relationship with Sirleto was fundamental. Sirleto, who

26 John O'Malley, *Giles of Viterbo on Church and Reform: A Study in Renaissance Thought* (Leiden: 1968); Egidio da Viterbo, *Orazioni per il Concilio Lateranense v*, eds. Giulia Troncarelli, Fabio Troncarelli, and Maria Paola Saci (Rome: 2012).

27 Andrea Vanni, *"Fare diligente inquisition": Gian Pietro Carafa e le origini dei chierici regolari teatini* (Rome: 2010), 57–58.

28 Chiara Quaranta, *Marcello II Cervini (1501–1555): Riforma della Chiesa, concilio, Inquisizione* (Bologna: 2010).

came from a non-noble background in Calabria, had studied in Naples before joining Cervini's household where he played a crucial role during the Tridentine Council, discovering writings and manuscripts of relevance to the debate (see Camille Rouxpetel's essay in this volume). In 1545 he had refused the chair of Greek at Perugia because the university had diverged from "*autori divini*." In the 1550s he affiliated himself with Antonio and Alfonso Carafa (Paul IV's nephews), discussing his religious beliefs and patristic competence with them; in 1565 Pius IV made him a cardinal and Pius V appointed him Vatican librarian in 1570.²⁹

In the post-Tridentine world new editions of Church texts provided the educational goals for aspiring cardinals: the new version of the Vulgate, the revision of Gratian's *Decretum*, the new edition of the Septuagint, the *Martyrologium*, the Acts of the Councils, and the refutation of the Centuriators of Magdeburg. Not that profane culture was abandoned – the study of the classics and science (especially natural philosophy) continued – but the focus had shifted to another register. Ascanio Colonna, for example, studied Latin and Greek at Alcalá de Henares and law at Salamanca, where he came into contact with Spanish biblical scholars. Federico Borromeo (1587) studied theology at Pavia and moved to Rome where Filippo Neri was his spiritual guide and inspired his memoir, *De suis studiis commentarius* (1627). Cesare Baronio (1596), notwithstanding his more limited education in comparison to the previous prelates – notably in regard to Greek – made important contributions to the new edition of the *Martyrologium* and wrote his magnum opus, the *Annales Ecclesiastici*. Even if a red thread of philological expertise linked the humanist cardinals of the early 16th century with those of the Counter-Reformation, these later cardinals used their skills towards very different objectives.

In his *De cardinalatu* (1510; see David S. Chambers's contribution to this volume), Paolo Cortesi advised that cardinals should be experts in Law – "*senatores maxime pontificalis iuris esse debere peritos*." Legal qualifications had been important in the earliest years of the humanist era – determining the promotion of cardinals like Giovanni Arcimboldi (1473), Pietro Foscarelli (1477), Ardicino della Porta (1489), and Domenico Jacobazzi (1517). However, over time, as the Curia bureaucratized after the creation of the Congregations and the growth of the papacy's diplomatic arm, a legal education became increasingly important. David S. Chambers, in his study of the princely cardinal Ferdinando Gonzaga (1607) has shown that, on the advice of his great-uncle, Grand Duke Ferdinando de' Medici, Ferdinando studied law Pisa after a period with the

29 Maria Gabriella Cruciani Troncarelli, *Carafa, Antonio*, in DBI, 19:483–84; Romeo di Maio, *Alfonso Carafa, cardinale di Napoli 1540–1565* (Vatican City: 1961).

Jesuits at the University of Ingolstadt.³⁰ Cardinal Bentivoglio described in his memoirs the difficulties of studying Law “with a private tutor all hours of the day” and his love of history. Law and history were useful disciplines for the papal diplomat at a European court. The schoolbooks of little Francesco I Barberini reveal the range of subjects that Maffeo Barberini considered suitable for the education of his nephew: rhetoric, poetry, religious and secular history, French, Science, and, above all, Law.³¹ Francesco graduated in law from Pisa, where also his uncle had graduated in 1589 after studying at the Collegio Romano. Urban’s biographer, the canon Nicoletti, emphasizes his eclectic education, which included poetry and mathematics but showed how “he left every other subject, to concentrate solely on law,” learning Justinian’s *Institutes* by heart. However, Urban would also read religious poetry in his spare time, Nicoletti adds.³²

Law continued to play an important role in the future Cardinal’s career into the 17th and the 18th century: a typical late 17th-century example is Giovanni Battista de Luca (1614–83) who had extensive legal education and juridical experience. In Chapter 24 of *Il cardinale di Santa Chiesa pratico* (1680) de Luca asks the question of what subjects would be useful for cardinals in the different Congregations – beginning with that of the Inquisition. De Luca argues that a cardinal will need to know canon, civil, and criminal law, as well as theology and both sacred and profane history, as the tools for his day-to-day work. He further remarks that the literary education of prelates, which had been prevalent in the 16th century, was now definitively surpassed by Law.³³ A cardinal’s curriculum in the later part of the early modern era was designed to prepare him for work in the Congregations, working for the administration of a church facing difficult and complex political, diplomatic, and missionary problems on the international stage. The *Notizie dell’azioni e costumi de’ Signori Cardinali*, written during Benedict XIII’s pontificate (1724–30) shows the omnipresence of legal qualifications among the College’s members.³⁴

30 David S. Chambers, “The ‘bellissimo ingegno’ of Ferdinando Gonzaga (1587–1626), Cardinal and Duke of Mantua,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 50 (1987), 110.

31 BAV, Barb. lat., 1726 (*Notae variae grammaticales*), 1727 (*Ad usum D. Francisci Barberini libellus*), 1728 (*Lexicon Latinum*), 1827 (*Francisci card. Barberini Rethorica, Phisica, Historica ante cardinalatum ab eo scripta*).

32 BAV, Barb. lat., 4730, ff. 21r, 22v (*Della vita di Urbano VIII scritto da Andrea Nicoletti*).

33 Giovanni Battista De Luca, *Il cardinale della S.R. Chiesa pratico* (Rome: 1680), 278–87.

34 ANP, Archives Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Mémoires et Documents, Rome: 72, *Notizie dell’azioni e costumi de’ Sig,ri Card.li e Prelati residenti in Curia nel Pontificato di N.ro Sig. re Papa Benedetto XIII ... principiando dall’anno 1726*.

Yet, the prominence of legal studies in 17th-century Rome needs to be seen in the context of the cultural atmosphere in the city which was, despite the weight of the censorial machine, extremely lively. There was a galaxy of academies: the Lincei (1603), the Umoristi (1603), the Ordinati (1608), the Virtuosi al Quirinale, the academy of Maurizio of Savoy, the Desiosi, the circle of Scipione Cobelluzzi, the circles around the Barberini, the Chigi, and Queen Christina of Sweden – all of which offered opportunities for socializing and exchanging views not only on religious history or poetry but also about more controversial issues such as natural philosophy or physics. Giovanni Ciampoli's promotion to the College never materialized because, after Galileo's trial, he was deemed to have been too close to the astronomer. The Jesuit Francesco Maria Sforza Pallavicino (1607–67) was more successful: like Ciampoli he belonged the Lincei but he had distanced himself from Galileo, an example of how important such choices could be for a cardinal's career.³⁵

Towards the end of the 17th century, the College of Cardinals was divided between rival theological schools, Quietism and Jansenism, attitudes to scientific advance, and to missionary work. Innocent XI's choices of cardinals reflected the renewed attention given to theology and scriptural studies under the influence of Louvain and Paris (see Jean-Pascal Gay's contribution in this volume). Amongst them were the Oratorian Piermatteo Petrucci, who was educated in methodical study of Scripture, the Franciscan Lorenzo Brancati, learned in logic and physics but above all in Scotist theology, the Dominican Raimondo Capizzuchi, Master of the Sacred Palace and secretary of the Index (1561), the Carthusian Etienne Le Camus, close to Bossuet, and the Benedictine Jose de Aguirre, who had a chair at Salamanca and defended the papacy against Gallicanism. Both Brancati and Petrucci were members of the Inquisition but were also suspected of Quietism, as was the mathematician Michelangelo Ricci (1681), a member of the Florentine Accademia del Cimento.³⁶

4 Conclusion

Historians have detailed the ways in which the social figure of the Cardinal as prince of the Church was transformed into an administrative bureaucrat, though less attention has been given to an analysis of the educational

35 Federica Favino, *La filosofia naturale di Giovanni Ciampoli* (Florence: 2015).

36 Francesco Butaffa, "Innocenzo XI e Michelangelo Ricci," in *Innocenzo XI Odescalchi: Papa, politico, committente*, eds. Richard Bösel, Antonio Menniti Ippolito and Andrea Spiriti (Rome: 2014), 57–74.

backgrounds that lie behind successful careers. This statistical and classificatory approach suggests a distinctive web of family relations, friendships, university, and academic contacts and connections at court. A legal training was of central importance but there is no such thing as a stereotypical educational route for a cardinal: on the contrary, this route varied according to different social contexts and was inextricably linked to the cultural and religious developments that took place within the Catholic Church and in early modern Europe.

Translated from Italian by the editors

The Cardinal's Household

Mary Hollingsworth

One of the key identifiers of rank in early modern Europe was the size of the court that surrounded members of the elite. Like kings, popes, and princes, a cardinal had his own household: courtiers and domestic servants to run his palace, attend to his personal needs, stage his banquets, groom the horses in his stables, and travel with him when he had business outside Rome. Inside the city these retinues were an important component in the display of papal prestige, providing the escort that accompanied each cardinal as he went about his ceremonial duties, paying formal visits to his colleagues, attending consistory at the Vatican, or taking part in the official ceremonies staged at the city gates for the reception of important visitors. These courts also provided the focus for the cardinals' own client-patron networks in the highly complex web of political patronage in Rome.

1 *Familia and corte*

One difficulty in making a comparative study of the households of early modern cardinals is the fact that, although ledgers and salary rolls have survived in the Italian state archives for cardinals from princely families, very little of this type of material exists to document the households of those from more modest backgrounds. Moreover, eyewitness information from letters and diaries needs to be treated with care. A cardinal travelling outside Rome, for example, was rarely accompanied by his entire household but left behind a skeleton staff to take care of his residence in the city. By contrast, the much-quoted reference to Ippolito II d'Este's arrival in Siena in 1552 with a retinue of over 400 men, in addition to over a hundred soldiers and an "infinite number of gentlemen," is usually cited as the ultimate exemplar of the extravagance of Renaissance households. In fact, Ippolito's household was never so large – the size of his retinue on this occasion was not intended to display his princely rank as cardinal but his royal status as Henry II's governor of the city.¹

¹ Atis Antonovics, "Counter-Reformation Cardinals 1534–90," *European Studies Review* 2 (1972), 323; Vincenzo Pacifici, *Ippolito II d'Este, Cardinale di Ferrara* (Tivoli: 1920), 212; Mary

There are also problems of terminology. Although the terms *corte* and *familia* were used interchangeably to designate a cardinal's household in treatises and documents of the period, technically the *familia* formed a distinctive clan within the court. All members of the household were permanent staff, remunerated for their services and given the right not only to sleep in the cardinal's palace but also to eat at his table (or, more usually, in the staff dining-room), in formal terms, *continuus et commensalis*. The *familiari* proper were a small elite of courtiers, who were distinguished from the rest of the court by letters patent, issued to them by the cardinal, which granted them certain legal and fiscal privileges within the Church, notably exemption from the customary fees payable for apostolic letters and the right to acquire ecclesiastical benefices.²

It was the abuse of this practice in the Middle Ages, and the threat this abuse posed to papal finances, as much as a desire to rein in the increasing extravagance of the cardinal's courts, that led medieval popes to attempt to limit the number of *familiari* in a cardinal's household.³ These efforts continued into the 15th century.⁴ Martin v's reform commission, headed by Cardinals Giordano Orsini, Alamanno Adimari, and Alfonso Carrillo de Albornoz, proposed a maximum of 25 *familiari* and a limit on a cardinal's escort of 20 horses.⁵ An anonymous memorandum of 1432 raised the limit to 30 (with 24 mounts) and the Council of Basel urged cardinals to moderate both the size of their households and the luxury of their dining-tables, though it made no specific

Hollingsworth, "Ippolito d'Este: A Cardinal and his Household in Rome and Ferrara in 1566," *The Court Historian* 5 (2000), 111.

- 2 On the complexities of defining the legal status of the *familiari*, see Lucinda M.C. Byatt, "Aspetti giuridici e finanziari di una 'familia' cardinalizia del XVI secolo: Un progetto di ricerca," in *"Familia" del principe e famiglia aristocratica*, ed. Cesare Mozzarelli (Rome: 1988), 611–30; Guido Guerzoni, "Between Rome and Ferrara: The Courtiers of the Este Cardinals in the Cinquecento," in *Art and Identity in Early Modern Rome*, eds. Jill Burke and Michael Bury (Aldershot: 2008), 59–63.
- 3 On medieval attempts to restrict the size of cardinals' households, see Guillaume Mollat, "Contributions à l'histoire du Sacré Collège de Clément v à Eugène iv," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 46 (1951), 22–112; Agostino Paravicini Baglioni, *Cardinali di Curia e "familiae" cardinalizie, 1227–1254* (Padua: 1972); Bernard Guillemain, *La cour pontificale d'Avignon (1309–1376): Etude d'une société* (Paris: 1962); Norman Zacour, "Papal Regulation of Cardinals' Households in the Fourteenth Century," *Speculum* 50 (1975), 434–55.
- 4 Byatt, "Aspetti giuridici," 612–13, 616; Gigliola Fragnito, "'Parenti' e 'familiari' nelle corte cardinalizie del Rinascimento," in *"Familia" del principe*, ed. Mozzarelli, 571; Guerzoni, "Between Rome," 60–61.
- 5 Hubert Jedin, "Vorschläge und Entwürfe zur Kardinalsreform," in *Kirche des Glaubens – Kirche der Geschichte* (Freiburg i.Br.: 1966), 2:122 n.14; Fragnito, "Parenti," 566.

recommendations (see also Bernward Schmidt's chapter in this volume).⁶ Following another memorandum, drawn up by Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa, Pius II issued *Pastor aeternus*, proposing to limit the *familiari* of those cardinals created by his predecessors to 60 and those of his own creation to 40; however, it was never published, due in part to the College's opposition.⁷ Sixtus IV's reform bull, *Quoniam regnantium cura*, which concentrated on limiting the extravagance of the cardinals, in particular their dining-tables, similarly remained unpublished, as did that of Alexander VI (1497).⁸ This bull, which set the limit of *familiari* at 80, 12 of whom had to be religious, also banned conjurors, players, and musicians from cardinals' palaces, and also forbade cardinals from employing youths as personal servants.

It was Leo X who, instead of attempting to limit the number of *familiari*, addressed the problem more directly when he issued *Contra mentientes personas in literis apostolicis* (1517), which set out punishments for anyone caught falsely exercising the rights of a *familiare* to free apostolic letters.⁹ The debate over the definition of a *familiare* continued in the pages of 16th-century treatises on the ideal cardinal. It was no longer enough to have letters patent, signed by the cardinal (which of course could be forged): in his *Tractatus de tempore utili et continuo* (1573), the Sienese jurist Marcantonio Bardi defined the *familiare* as one who regularly ate at his patron's table and lived in his house and excluded all those who did not.¹⁰ Tommaso Azzi, whose *Discorso delle prerogative de i curiali antichi, et moderni cortegiani* was published in 1600, defined "those who are properly called *familiari* serve the person of the Patron, and conduct themselves at his expense."¹¹

In practice, however, few were aware of the legal distinction between *corte* and *familia*. What Roman officials, shopkeepers and craftsmen could see, and what shocked many pre-Reformation visitors from northern Europe, was that most cardinals lived in magnificent style surrounded by quantities of courtiers and servants, very much in the manner of a secular prince. Indeed, Rome's

6 Jedin, "Vorschläge," 134–35 n. 52; Fragnito, "Parenti," 566.

7 Jedin, "Vorschläge," 134–35 n. 2; Fragnito, "Parenti," 578, n.14; on Pius II's reform project, see Rudolf Haubst, "Der Reformentwurf Pius des Zweiten," *Römisches Quartalschrift* 49 (1954), 188–242.

8 Jedin, "Vorschläge," 131 and n.44, 132, 135, n.52; see also *Pastor*, 5:515–18 and 558–63 (doc. 41).

9 Gigliola Fragnito, "Cardinals' Courts in Sixteenth-Century Rome," *Journal of Modern History* 65 (1993), 31.

10 Byatt, "Aspetti giuridici," 617.

11 Guerzoni, "Between Rome," 62 and 76, n.18: "quegli sono detti propriamente familiari, che servono la persona del Padrone, et alle sue spese si governo."

urban economy was heavily dependent on their consumption of foodstuffs, their tastes for expensive textiles and jewels, and their grandiose building projects.

2 Function and Structure

One of the prime functions of a cardinal's household in early modern Rome was the provision of the lavish hospitality for which the Renaissance was famous.¹² To this end, a large proportion of the staff, as much as half the total, was involved in the daily tasks of choosing menus, often very elaborate ones, shopping for ingredients, cooking the hot dishes in the kitchen, preparing the cold dishes for the *credenzieri*, decking the table, clearing the platters and doing the washing-up, the unenviable task of one of the kitchen boys.¹³ Many grand households also employed musicians, whose playing and singing was designed to increase the sensory pleasures of the cardinal and his guests.

The structure of a cardinal's household was broadly similar to that of secular households of the period, though of course it made no provision for wives or children.¹⁴ Indeed it was an exclusively male establishment, encompassing a very broad range of social classes living under the same roof, the majority of them lower-class, lay servants under the authority of a small, largely celibate, clerical elite.¹⁵ Rank within the household was carefully delineated. The bulk of Ippolito II d'Este's household, for example, was divided by status into two categories of staff: courtiers and officials.¹⁶ The courtiers, several of whom were churchmen, included the *maestro di casa*, who was the household's head,

12 Pierre Hurtubise, "La 'table' d'un cardinal de la Renaissance: Aspects de la cuisine et de l'hospitalité à Rome au milieu du XVI^e siècle," *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome* 92 (1980), 249–82; Lucinda Byatt, "The Concept of Hospitality in a Cardinal's Household in Renaissance Rome," *Renaissance Studies* 2 (1988), 312–20.

13 Hurtubise, "La 'table,'" 260.

14 On the secular courts of Urbino and Ferrara, for example, see Sabine Eiche (ed.), *Ordine et officii de casa de lo Illustrissimo Signor Duca de Urbino* (Urbino: 1999); Guido Guerzoni, *Le corti estensi e la devoluzione di Ferrara del 1598* (Modena: 2000); on more general issues, see Ronald G. Asch, "Court and Household from the Fifteenth to the Seventeenth Centuries," in *Princes, Patronage, and the Nobility*, eds. Ronald G. Asch and Adolf M. Birke (Oxford: 1991), 1–38.

15 Laurie Nussdorfer, "Masculine Hierarchies in Roman Ecclesiastical Households," *European Review of History* 22 (2015), 627–30; for a useful list of the posts, see 634–36; Laurie Nussdorfer, "Men at Home in Baroque Rome," *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance* 17 (2014), 124–27.

16 Hollingsworth, "Ippolito d'Este," 112–15.

and the masters of its various departments – the chamber, the wardrobe and the stables; the chief steward and carver; valets (*camerieri*) and equerries (*scudieri*); lawyers, accountants, secretaries, in-house intellectuals, chaplains and doctors. The officials were the domestic staff of his palace, many skilled in a trade, such as the cooks, *credenzieri*, sommeliers, barbers, tailors, farriers, and saddlers. Most courtiers and all officials were paid salaries and both groups were fed at the cardinal's expense, either at his own table or in the staff dining-room. A third group of menial servants (*garzoni*), employed to assist the officials working in the kitchens, larder, chamber, and wardrobe, were also paid salaries and fed in the staff dining-room. The other three groups – musicians, footmen and stable boys – were all paid wages but given a daily food allowance instead of dining rights. Another way of grading the status of these different types of staff is to examine how long they had to wait before being paid: the stable boys and the *garzoni* were paid their wages for March 1566 in April; the officials, footmen and musicians were all paid in June; the gentlemen, by contrast, were still unpaid at the end of the year.¹⁷

3 The Household in Theory

Delineating hierarchies within the household was a central topic in several books on managing a cardinal's household – more handbooks than theoretical treatises – published in 16th- and 17th-century Rome.¹⁸ First in this popular genre was Francesco Priscianese's *Del governo di un signore in Roma* (1543), and it inspired several others, which were regularly reprinted, notably Reale Fusoritto's *Il mastro di casa* (1593), a short manual attached to his text on the carver, and Cesare Evitascandalo's *Dialogo del maestro di casa* (1598). Besides giving practical advice on how to run a cardinal's household, the texts also describe the other posts in the household, and recommended the types of people best suited to each one – a valet needed to be courteous, for example, while strength was required not only for the carver, who was a courtier, but also for more menial jobs of scullions and grooms; footmen should be good-looking, the coachman needed to be good-tempered, and the cooks had to be sober.¹⁹

¹⁷ Ibid., 112.

¹⁸ Gigliola Fragnito, "La trattatistica cinque e seicentesca sulla corte cardinalizia 'il vero ritratto d'una bellissima e ben governato corte,'" *Annali dell' istituto italo-germanico in Trento* 17 (1991), 135–85; Laurie Nussdorfer, "Managing Cardinals' Households for Dummies," in *For the Sake of Learning. Essays in Honor of Anthony Grafton*, eds. Ann Blair and Anja-Silvia Goeing (Leiden: 2016), 173–94; Nussdorfer, "Masculine Hierarchies," *passim*.

¹⁹ Nussdorfer, "Masculine Hierarchies," 625–26.

4 Changes in Size

The size of the cardinals' courts grew dramatically between 1450 and 1550. In 1462 Francesco I Gonzaga, son of the marquis of Mantua, was providing for 82 mouths – this was half the size of the average household (154 mouths) in 1509 according to a census drawn up for tax purposes in Rome.²⁰ The largest of the 26 cardinals' households listed belonged to a papal nephew, Raffaele Riario (250), while the smallest was that of Francesco Soderini (101), a cardinal with a reputation for parsimony.²¹ Paolo Cortesi's *De cardinalatu* (1510, see David S. Chambers's chapter in this volume) recommended a household of 140, a similar figure.²² Another census drawn up by the Roman authorities in 1526–27 gave an average of 150 mouths.²³ This listed 22 cardinals' households, with the largest, that of Alessandro I Farnese (later Paul III), counting 306 persons. Only six cardinals had households of under a hundred persons. Two, Domenico Jacobazzi (80) and Paolo Emilio Cesi (80), were relatively poor.²⁴ Significantly, the next two were leading reformers: the Observant Franciscan, Cristoforo Numai (60) and the Dominican Tommaso Cajetan (45). And the last two, Agostino Trivulzio (40) and Giovanni Salviati (16), were both away from Rome on papal business, so these figures do not represent the actual size of their households: Salviati's has been estimated at a minimum of 120 mouths.²⁵

It should be added here that the surge in the size of cardinals' households mirrored a similar expansion at the Vatican. This growth was fuelled by the policies of popes from Sixtus IV onwards which increased the number of venal offices in the Curia, encouraging the ambitious to move to Rome to take up a lucrative career in the Church.²⁶ The papal court, which had numbered just 130

20 David S. Chambers, "The Housing Problems of Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 39 (1976), 23; David S. Chambers, "The Economic Predicament of Renaissance Cardinals," *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 2 (1966), 293; Kate J.P. Lowe, *Church and Politics in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge, Eng.: 1993), 236.

21 Lowe, *Church and Politics*, 236–37.

22 For a discussion of Cortesi's ideal household, see John F. D'Amico, *Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome* (Baltimore: 1983), 49–53.

23 Domenico Gnoli, "Un censimento della popolazione di Roma avanti il sacco borbonico," *Archivio della Reale Società di Storia Patria* 17 (1894), 375–507; the size of Farnese's household appears as 306 in the article (p. 387) but as 366 in the transcript (p. 471).

24 Lowe, *Church and Politics*, 245.

25 Pierre Hurtubise, "La 'familia' del Cardinale Giovanni Salviati (1517–1553)," in *Familia del principe*, ed. Mozzarelli, 589.

26 On the political significance of the papal court, see Paolo Prodi, *The Papal Prince* (Cambridge, Eng.: 1987), 42–49.

men under Eugene IV, had almost doubled to 230 under Pius II, and reached 370 under Pius III.²⁷ According to the 1526–27 census Clement VII's court contained 700 mouths resident at the Vatican, and another 85 at Castel Sant'Angelo.²⁸ By way of comparison, the household of the Duke of Urbino in 1527 numbered only 202 mouths, while in Florence in 1543 the status-conscious Cosimo I had a household of 312 mouths.²⁹

The extent to which the calls for reform in the early 16th century affected the size of cardinals' households is open to debate. Neither the Fifth Lateran Council (1514) nor Paul III's reform program, *Consilium de emendanda ecclesia* (1537), made any effort to limit the size of these courts. Indeed *Supernae dispositionis arbitrio* (1514) encouraged an increase in size when it declared that "a cardinal's house should be an open house, a harbour and a refuge especially for upright and learned men."³⁰ These larger courts, financed by the accumulation of benefices, can also be seen as a form of compensation for the erosion of the cardinals' political power.³¹ Above all, it was papal policy to encourage the splendour of the cardinals' courts in order to enhance the image of Rome, as Francesco Priscianese put it in his *Del governo della corte* (1543): "where [else] will we see the seat of a court of such magnificence and grandeur, and full of so many noble lords?"³² Nor did the Council of Trent attempt to impose limits though its decrees did encourage cardinals to adopt a modest and frugal lifestyle.³³ Certainly some reformist cardinals did exactly this: Charles Borromeo created an austere Christian court at Milan with a household of just 100 members in the aftermath of Trent, though his practice did not become widespread.³⁴

The average size of cardinals' households in Rome seems to have fallen from around 150 in the 1520s to 100 by the middle of the century. The noble French cardinal Jean du Bellay lived in the city in the 1550s with a household of 103, while Bernardo Salviati's household numbered 110 in the 1560s. Gregorio Cortese, who was described by his colleague, Ercole Gonzaga, as "*poverissimo*," had

27 D'Amico, *Renaissance Humanism*, 41.

28 Gnoli, "Un censimento," 453.

29 Sabine Eiche, "Behind the Scenes at Court," in *Ordine et officij de casa de lo Illustrissimo Signor Duca de Urbino*, ed. Sabina Eiche (Urbino: 1999), 55; Fragnito, "Parenti," 580 n. 29.

30 Fragnito, "Cardinals' Courts," 33: "domus patens hospitium, portusque ac refugium proborum et doctorum maxime virorum."

31 *Ibid.*, 34.

32 *Ibid.*, 38–39.

33 Fragnito, "Parenti," 568.

34 Pamela M. Jones, "The Court of Humility: Carlo Borromeo and the Ritual of Reform," in *The Possessions of a Cardinal*, eds. Mary Hollingsworth and Carol M. Richardson (University Park, PA: 2010), 169.

just 59 servants when he died in 1548.³⁵ There is evidence to suggest that this drop in household size had more to do with economic than religious imperatives. Maintaining a large household was very expensive: Bernardo Salviati's cost him around 4,000 scudi a year in salaries, food and living expenses.³⁶ In 1566 Ippolito II d'Este spent 18,000 scudi a year on the upkeep of his court of 273 – as an indicator of real values, this sum represented 22 years' work for one of the skilled carpenters the cardinal employed on his building projects.³⁷ And Rome was expensive. Cardinal Innocenzo del Monte claimed in 1569 that the cost of living at the papal court was three times that of Florence and Pius IV was one of several popes who gave subsidies to poor cardinals to ensure that the city continued to exhibit an appropriately splendid image of papal power.³⁸ However, although the average size had dropped, wealthy princely cardinals in the second half of the 16th century did little to restrain the lavishness of their display. Ippolito II d'Este did not have the largest court in Rome: Ferdinando de' Medici travelled to Rome in 1568 with an entourage of over 300 men, while Alessandro II Farnese had a household of 284 mouths in 1589.³⁹

Cardinals' households shrank further in the decades around 1600, due mainly to the worsening state of the Roman economy, in which prices had doubled over the course of the 16th century.⁴⁰ Antonio Maria Salviati's household in the 1580s was half the size that those of his uncles, Giovanni and Bernardo Salviati, had been earlier in the century.⁴¹ The moral argument probably influenced the modest households of two cardinals created in the 1590s: Cesare Baronio (45), follower of Filippo Neri, and the Jesuit Robert Bellarmine (30), were both reformers and conspicuous for their frugality (see also Pamela Jones's chapter in this volume).⁴² But elsewhere the motive was economic necessity. The dire state of Ascanio Colonna's financial affairs obliged him to accept a loan of 400,000 ducats from Sixtus V to pay off his debts, with the condition that he

35 Gladys Dickinson, *Du Bellay in Rome* (Leiden: 1960), 90; Hurtubise, "La 'table,'" 258; Eiche, "Behind the Scenes," 52; Fragnito, "Parenti," 581 n. 35.

36 Hurtubise, "La 'table,'" 280 n. 151.

37 Hollingsworth, "Ippolito d'Este," 111–12.

38 Fragnito, "Cardinals' Courts," 42–44.

39 Fragnito, "Parenti," 580 n. 29, 581–82 n. 35.

40 Jean Delumeau, *Vie économique et sociale de Rome dans la seconde moitié du XVI^e siècle* (Paris: 1957–59), 1:433–37 and 2:744–50; Fragnito, "Cardinals' Courts," 50; cf. Antonovics, "Counter-Reformation Cardinals," 324, who thought this "unproven."

41 Pierre Hurtubise, "Familiarité et fidélité à Rome au XVI^e siècle: Les 'familles' des Cardinaux Giovanni, Bernardo et Antonio Maria Salviati," in *Hommage à Roland Mousnier*, ed. Yves Durand (Paris: 1981), 338.

42 Hubert Jedin, "Das Gefolge der Trienter Konzilsprälaten im Jahre 1562," in *Kirche des Glaubens – Kirche der Geschichte* (Freiburg i.Br.: 1966), 2:340.

reduced his court from 170 to 50 in 1590, and sent his Spanish pages back to Spain.⁴³ In 1599 Clement VIII gave pensions to four penurious cardinals so that they could afford to pay for “twenty servants each.”⁴⁴ Although Maurizio of Savoy, who received his red hat in 1607, was reputed to attend functions in Rome with a retinue of 200 carriages, the documentary evidence suggests that the era of the great cardinal court was over.⁴⁵

Cardinals' households in 17th-century Rome averaged around 50 – half the size of those in the second half of the 16th century.⁴⁶ The pattern of scale remained the same, however, with wealthy cardinals, especially cardinal nephews, able to maintain significantly larger retinues (see Birgit Emich's chapter in this volume). In 1598 Clement VIII's nephew, Pietro Aldobrandini, had a household of 140 mouths – though this was half the size that that of Ippolito II d'Este had been three decades earlier.⁴⁷ Similarly, Flavio I Chigi, Alexander VII's nephew, had a household of 103 mouths in 1685.⁴⁸ Francesco Maria del Monte lived in some style, according to a contemporary, in the Palazzo Madama in 1593 with 50 mouths.⁴⁹ Maffeo Barberini, who received his red hat in 1606, had a household numbering 46 before being elected pope in 1623, while in 1670 Luigi Capponi had a household of 51 and Ottavio Acquaviva's had 58 members.⁵⁰ Even the household of Leopoldo de' Medici, brother of Grand Duke Ferdinando II, numbered only 158 in 1667.⁵¹ At the bottom of the scale, Camillo Massimo, whose old Roman family was in financial difficulties, could only afford a retinue of 31 when he was made a cardinal in 1671.⁵²

The reduction in the size of cardinals' households reflected the new economic priorities they faced. Maintaining a large court as a sign of rank was evidently less important than the visible baubles associated with wealth and prestige, such as carriages, jewels, and palaces.⁵³ Massimo's tiny household showed just how far a court could be reduced. He filled most of the high offices that

43 Delumeau, *Vie économique*, 1:473.

44 Antonovics, “Counter-Reformation Cardinals,” 324–25.

45 Moroni, 23:135.

46 Fragnito, “Cardinals' Courts,” 50 n. 79; Nussdorfer, “Masculine Hierarchies,” 637–38 n. 25.

47 Fragnito, “Parenti,” 569.

48 Lisa Beaven, “Cardinal Camillo Massimo (1620–1677) at the Court of Pope Clement X,” in *The Possessions of a Cardinal*, eds. Hollingsworth and Richardson, 321.

49 Zygmunt Ważbiński, *Il Cardinale Francesco Maria del Monte 1549–1626* (Florence: 1994), 1:115–16.

50 Beaven, “Cardinal Camillo Massimo,” 321.

51 Fragnito, “Cardinals' Courts,” 43 n. 53.

52 Beaven, “Cardinal Camillo Massimo,” 320–22 and Appendix B, 358.

53 Delumeau, *Vie économique*, 2:744–50; Fragnito, “Cardinals' Courts,” 50; on carriages, see Delumeau, *Vie économique*, 1:443–46.

were standard in a cardinal's household, and essential to his position: he had a *maestro di casa*, a lawyer (*auditore*), a secretary, several chaplains, and a steward (*scalco*), but only took on a valet in charge of the chamber (*maestro di camera*) after he received his red hat.⁵⁴ His economies were more obvious in the lower ranks of the household, where he employed just one *credenziero*, two cooks, two chamber assistants, and, surprisingly, no footmen (*palafrenieri*). It may well be that these more menial tasks could be outsourced as and when required.

5 A Cardinal's Court: Definition and Function

The process of identifying who actually belonged to a cardinal's court illustrates some of the problems modern scholars face in trying to define the boundaries between the *corte* and the early modern cardinal's household. According to the surviving accounts ledgers for 1565–66, Ippolito II d'Este paid salaries and/or living expenses (*companatico*) to over 300 people in Rome.⁵⁵ Some 30 of these, including two laundresses, a water carrier, and several gardeners, did not count as members of his household because they did not live in his palace, nor did they travel with him when he left Rome – equally the people he employed on his estates and benefices in Ferrara and France did not belong to his household.

The remaining 273 men lived in Ippolito's palace, some with a salary, some without; some eating at his table, others given *companatico* – and this is what

TABLE 16.1 The court of Cardinal Ippolito II d'Este in 1565–66^a

Courtiers (<i>gentiluomini</i>)	62 + 71 servants	
Officials (<i>ufficiali</i>)	40	
Boys (<i>garzoni</i>)	27	
Musicians	20 + 13 servants	
Footmen (<i>palafrenieri</i>)	12	
Stable boys	28	
	189 + 84 servants	Total 273

a ASMò, Camera Ducale Amministrazione Principi [hereafter CDAP], vols. 896, 905, passim.

54 Beaven, "Cardinal Camillo Massimo," 320–21.

55 Hollingsworth, "Ippolito d'Este," 111.

would have been perceived as his court, certainly by visitors, shopkeepers, and Roman officials. Rather surprisingly, Ippolito's ledgers reveal that 88 of the men receiving the daily *companatico* were actually other people's servants, notably of his courtiers and musicians (see Table 16.1). Four more belonged to Francesco Bandini, archbishop of Siena, who spent most of 1565–66 as the cardinal's guest. Moreover, although by definition none of these servants belonged to Ippolito's household, they did contribute to his expenses in maintaining his court – another factor that explained why a large court was so prestigious. And, significantly in terms of interpreting data, they would all have been included in official lists of “mouths” resident in the palace – so we can say that while Ippolito's court numbered 273, his own household contained only 189 courtiers and servants.

6 The Cardinal and His Courtiers

Acquiring a red hat advanced its owner up the social scale and, invariably, an increase in the size of his household represented a visible sign of this. Francesco I Gonzaga's household increased from 30 to 82 after he received his red hat in 1461: two centuries later, Leopoldo de' Medici's entourage also more than doubled from 72 to 158 for the same reason.⁵⁶ Girolamo Seripando had a household of just 25 when he was appointed archbishop of Salerno in 1554; he received his red hat in 1561 from Pius IV, who appointed him as one of the legates to Trent, where he arrived with a retinue of 50 men.⁵⁷ Ippolito II d'Este's salary list for 1536 contained 36 courtiers and domestic servants; five years later, after he had received his hat, it numbered 56 – and the number of cooks had been doubled, from three to six.⁵⁸

The acquisition of a red hat acted as a powerful magnet for those keen for a position in a new cardinal's household, with distant cousins, friends of friends, co-nationals, indeed anyone who could claim any sort of link with him, using what influence they could to acquire one of these coveted positions.⁵⁹ In his *De cardinalatu*, Cortesi warned his readers that Romans, Neapolitans, Florentines, and Venetians were “ill-suited to service in cardinals' households” and recommended foreigners, specifically French, German, and English staff, though he

56 Chambers, “The Housing Problems,” 22–23; Fragnito, “Cardinals' Courts,” 43 n. 53.

57 Jedin, “Das Gefolge,” 338.

58 ASMO, CDAP, vols. 901, 902.

59 See the example cited by Fragnito, “Cardinals' Courts,” 52.

strongly advised against employing Spaniards.⁶⁰ In reality, of course, cardinals chose from amongst their own, creating households that reflected not only their geographical origins and familial ties, but also their political loyalties, personal tastes, and ambitions. And the multi-national character of these courts contributed significantly to Rome's cosmopolitan character.

The importance of who joined the household was critical – a cardinal's choice of courtiers had a significant impact on his image.⁶¹ For many young princely cardinals, their household was chosen for them from amongst loyal family retainers. The senior members of Francesco I Gonzaga's household had close ties with the Mantuan court, to the extent that they corresponded regularly with his mother, Barbara of Brandenburg.⁶² There were drawbacks to this arrangement: Francesco had to ask his mother to tell his *maestro di casa*, Bartolomeo Marasca, who had been his tutor, that he did not want to have to share his bed with Marasca as he had been obliged to do as a child.⁶³

Other cardinals had forceful reasons for not choosing staff from their home town. Francesco Soderini, brother of the Florentine *gonfaloniere* Pietro Soderini and arch rival of Giovanni de' Medici (Leo X), employed very few Florentines, though one of his secretaries had worked for the Florentine republic; in 1506 he took the unusual step of asking the town council of Volterra, the traditionally staunchly anti-Medici centre of which he was bishop, to pick four well-born young men to join his household in Rome.⁶⁴ Similarly, the Salviati cardinals, who had a tricky relationship with Cosimo I, preferred not to employ Tuscans. Of Bernardo Salviati's courtiers, 74 per cent were Italian but just 8 per cent were Tuscan; his tenure as *grand aumonier* at the court of his cousin, Catherine de' Medici, was reflected in the fact that 20 per cent of them were Frenchmen.⁶⁵ Another cardinal whose links with France were evident in his household was Ippolito II d'Este. While initially this was made up of men largely from families already in Este service, after his appointment as cardinal protector of the French crown in 1549 and his move to Rome, he employed large quantities of Frenchmen on his staff, including cooks, a pastry chef,

60 D'Amico, *Renaissance Humanism*, 51.

61 David S. Chambers, "Postscript on the Worldly Affairs of Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga and Other Princely Cardinals," in *Renaissance Cardinals and Their Worldly Problems* (Aldershot: 1997), XI: 1–22.

62 Chambers, "The Housing Problems," 22–23.

63 David S. Chambers, "Bartolomeo Marasca, Master of Cardinal Gonzaga's Household (1462–1469)," *Aevum* 63 (1989), 275–76.

64 Lowe, *Church and Politics*, 239 n. 27, 242–44.

65 Hurtubise, "Familiarité," 337–38.

singers, a sommelier, a tailor, a coachman, and a scholar, Marc-Antoine Muret.⁶⁶ Ippolito's "French" identity in Rome was also enhanced by his French hunting dogs, the chapel silver he had made in Paris, his French-style clothes; even the columns for his bed, which were made by French craftsmen working in Rome.

A post in a cardinal's household was the goal for ambitious humanists in 15th- and early 16th-century Rome. Cortesi recommended that cardinals should employ learned men and many humanists served as cardinals' secretaries before obtaining posts as scribes, abbreviators, or in other positions within the Curia.⁶⁷ These educated figures enhanced the intellectual character of many courts: Bessarion, Francesco Todeschini-Piccolomini, and Giovanni de' Medici were all prominent patrons of humanism; Pietro Riario's palace at Santi Apostoli was famed for its literary discussions, while Raffaele Riario promoted the revival of classical theatre through the Roman Academy.⁶⁸ The role of the cardinal's household as "a seminary for papal functionaries" had largely died out by 1600 as members of the nobility replaced humanists and the papal court increasingly adopted the rituals and manners of the royal courts of Europe.⁶⁹

The "aristocratization" of a cardinal's court was also evident in the growing fashion for court artists. Two architects, one painter, and a sculptor were listed in Ippolito II d'Este's salary roll for 1565 but these men were not part of the household proper: rather, they lived in their own homes and remained in Rome when the cardinal left the city the following year.⁷⁰ Indeed the practice of employing court artists was far less common in the 16th century than is usually thought.⁷¹ They did, however, become more common in cardinals' households during the 17th century. Caravaggio was part of the household of Francesco del Monte, for example, and Antonio II Barberini employed Andrea Sacchi for a range of artistic projects, including not only painting and architecture but also the elaborate ephemera for his lavish theatrical entertainments.⁷²

66 Mary Hollingsworth, "A Taste for Conspicuous Consumption: Cardinal Ippolito d'Este and his Wardrobe, 1555–1566," in *The Possessions of a Cardinal*, eds. Hollingsworth and Richardson, 141–42.

67 D'Amico, *Renaissance Humanism*, 38–60; see also Peter Partner, *The Pope's Men: The Papal Civil Service in the Renaissance* (Oxford: 1990).

68 D'Amico, *Renaissance Humanism*, 53–54.

69 Fragnito, "Cardinals' Courts," 54–55.

70 Hollingsworth, "Ippolito d'Este," 115.

71 Guerzoni, "Between Rome," 70–71.

72 Waźbiński, *Francesco Maria del Monte*, 1: 188–90; Karin Wolfe, "Cardinal Antonio Barberini (1608–1671) and the Politics of Art in Baroque Rome," in *The Possessions of a Cardinal*, eds. Hollingsworth and Richardson, 274.

One feature of a cardinal's household that distinguished it from the secular court was the presence of large numbers of churchmen.⁷³ By tradition, a cardinal's *maestro di casa* was a cleric, and so were many of his courtiers. When appointing her son's senior courtiers in 1462 shortly after he had been given his red hat, Barbara of Brandenburg dismissed the advice sent to her from Rome that Francesco should have a senior prelate as *maestro di casa*, preferring the boy's old tutor for the role.⁷⁴ Of the four men who served as *maestro di casa* to Francesco Soderini, three were clerics, as were many of his secretaries.⁷⁵ With calls for reform growing in Rome from the middle of the 16th century the post of theologian started to appear in household rolls, a novelty for those who had previously preferred to emphasize their secular prestige.⁷⁶ Giovanni Salviati employed the theologian, Girolamo Borri, from around 1536, and Borri was listed as Ippolito II d'Este's *teologo* in the salary rolls for 1551, the year he was imprisoned on a charge of heresy.⁷⁷ Borri's successor as *teologo* in Ippolito's household was Fra Bartolo da Lugo – tellingly, his salary of 100 gold scudi a year was half that the cardinal paid his *filosofo* (Giovanni Antonio Lucatelli) and his French scholar (Marc-Antoine Muret).⁷⁸

7 Loyalty and Favours

A cardinal rewarded his household with more than a salary, board, and lodging. Ties of loyalty, both given and anticipated, brought responsibilities which went far beyond the basic remuneration of a servant. Ippolito II d'Este gave many gifts to his household: old clothes made of expensive materials; money to three of his musicians to retrieve their possessions from pawn; the doctors' bills of a Franciscan friar who had been stabbed by the stepson of his gardener; delicacies to tempt the appetite of his *maestro di casa* when he was ill; and so on.⁷⁹ One of the privileges of belonging to the cardinal's inner *familia* was the right to acquire ecclesiastical benefices – usually these benefited courtiers were not paid a salary – as gifts from their patron, who might resign one of his

73 On the implications of this, see Nussdorfer, "Masculine Hierarchies," *passim*.

74 Chambers, "Housing Problems," 22.

75 Lowe, *Church and Politics*, 238–41.

76 Hurtubise, "La 'familia,'" 600–01.

77 *Ibid.*, 608 n. 62; ASMO, CDAP, vol. 903, fol. 1r; DBI, 13:14.

78 ASMO, CDAP, vol. 905, fols. 3r–5r.

79 Mary Hollingsworth, "Coins, Cloaks and Candlesticks: The Economics of Extravagance," in *The Material Renaissance*, eds. Michelle O'Malley and Evelyn Welch (Manchester: 2007), 267.

own bishoprics in favour of a *familiare* or enable the *familiare's* appointment through influence in consistory.⁸⁰ It was a sign of how far the cardinals' power had changed since 1450 that the consistory was no longer the forum for deciding political issues but became a conduit for the distribution of benefices.⁸¹ Ippolito II d'Este ensured the promotion of his equerries (*scudieri*) into the Church hierarchy: Bartolomeo Novello, who had been his equerry in 1536, was acting as his vicar-general at the French abbey of Jumièges in 1544, sending money to Giovanbattista Orabon who had been the bookkeeper in the wardrobe in 1536 and was now acting as *recevedore generale*, Ippolito's financial agent in Paris.⁸²

Self-evidently, a cardinal's ability to arrange these ecclesiastical gifts for his courtiers and clients depended heavily on his standing at the papal court. Giovanni Morone, long suspected of heresy by Paul IV, found that, despite his high standing in Rome, he was unable to grant the favours requested by his retainers and clients; it was only after the election of Paul IV's successor, Pius IV, that he was able to function properly again.⁸³

Ippolito II d'Este too, was out of favour during the pontificate of Paul IV – he was expelled from Rome on a charge of simony – but he recovered his standing quickly after helping to engineer Pius IV's election on Christmas Day 1559. Brandelice Trotti, who had been one of Ippolito's courtiers since 1536, was appointed Bishop of Saint-Jean-du-Maurienne in January 1560, and that April, Ippolito's secretary, Paolo Amanio was made Bishop of Anglona.⁸⁴ Ippolito, surprisingly, retained his status at court after the election of Pius IV's successor, Pius V, who had been appointed as Inquisitor General by Paul IV. Within days of the election, Vincenzo Laureo, Ippolito's *medico*, was appointed Bishop of Mondovì, the new pope's vacant see.⁸⁵ That August Laureo was made *nuncio* to Scotland, no doubt through Ippolito's influence (his niece, Anna d'Este, was

80 Guerzoni, "Between Rome," 60–61; on the process, see Barbara McClung Hallman, *Italian Cardinals, Reform, and the Church as Property* (Berkeley: 1985), 98–110; Partner, *The Pope's Men*, 154–58.

81 Fragnito, "Cardinals' Courts," 36.

82 On Bartolomeo Novello (Vicino) and Giovanbattista Orabon, see Mary Hollingsworth, *The Cardinal's Hat* (London: 2004), passim; for their promotion in the Church hierarchy, see ASMO, CDAP, vol. 917, fol. 1r: "[15 February 1544] dal Mag[nifi]co M[esser] Jovanni battista Orabon Recevedore Gen[era]lle di Sua S[ignore] R[everendissi]ma ... dal R[everen]do M[esser] Bartolhomeo Novello vicario de Jumegies."

83 Hallman, *Italian Cardinals*, 98–99.

84 Mary Hollingsworth, "A Cardinal in Rome: Ippolito D'Este in 1560," in *Art and Identity in Early Modern Rome*, eds. Burke and Bury, 85–86.

85 Hollingsworth, "Ippolito d'Este," 112–13.

aunt to Mary Queen of Scots); Gregory XIII appointed Laureo to the committee reforming the calendar (1577–80) and made him a cardinal in 1583.

Cardinals arranged appointments to the many smaller benefices in their dioceses to the benefit of both their *familiari* and their blood relatives. Giovanni Salviati complained to his father in 1528 that the lack of benefices at his disposal was making it difficult to keep his best staff.⁸⁶ During the years 1544–53 he disposed of 48 benefices, nearly half going to his *familiari* (17) and relatives (5); his brother, Bernardo, disposed of 11 benefices over the years 1563–67, giving all but two to *familiari* (8) and relatives (1).⁸⁷

“Whatever one desired, it was always essential to know a cardinal or somebody who knew a cardinal,” as Wolfgang Reinhard has judged succinctly.⁸⁸ Giovanni Ricci’s career illustrates how the complex networks of patronage operated in Rome. He arrived in the city in 1515 with few connections but a lot of ambition. He obtained a place in the household of Antonio del Monte and by 1527 had become one of the cardinal’s secretaries.⁸⁹ When Antonio del Monte died in 1533, Ricci turned to Ascanio Parisani, another of del Monte’s ex-secretaries, for help. Parisani’s career had prospered: appointed Bishop of Rimini in 1529, after the cardinal resigned the see in favour of his protégé, he had found favour with Alessandro I Farnese who was elected pope the year after Antonio del Monte’s death. Parisani was appointed *thesaurarius generalis* and was able to arrange a post for Ricci in the Apostolic Chamber. Parisani got his red hat from Paul III in 1539; Ricci acquired his in 1551 from the nephew of his old patron, Julius III.

The cardinal was the central figure in a network of people and institutions – family, friends, clients, fellow churchmen, foreign rulers, bankers, tradesmen, artists, and, of course, his household. These networks were constructed by the trading of favours and services and held together primarily by ties of loyalty. How successfully a cardinal operated his network depended much on his political skills and, above all, on how he maintained his influence in the interlocking webs of patron-client relationships that drove the political agendas of early modern Europe.

86 Hurtubise, “La ‘familia,’” 596.

87 Hurtubise, “Familiarité,” 347.

88 Wolfgang Reinhard, “Papal Power and Family Strategy in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,” in *Princes, Patronage, and the Nobility*, eds. Asch and Birke, 351.

89 On Ricci’s rise, see Hubert Jedin, “Kardinal Giovanni Ricci (1497–1574),” in *Kirche des Glaubens – Kirche der Geschichte* (Freiburg i.Br.: 1966), 1:208–11.

Cardinals' Property and Income

Lucinda Byatt

Prior to David S. Chambers' seminal work on the economic predicament of Renaissance cardinals, surprisingly few studies engaged the finances of individual cardinals in the early modern period.¹ Since the 1970s, however, patronage studies and the growing interest in the College of Cardinals' changing composition and influence have generated considerable interest in the topic.² An overall picture of cardinals' incomes remains problematic due to the multiplicity of their income streams. Full series of cardinals' accounts are rare – although some may still be waiting to be reconstructed and fully researched – and it is often difficult to build a complete picture of payments, particularly when sources of revenue straddled state borders with different currencies and fluctuating exchange rates. Ambassadorial reports of cardinals' incomes and

- 1 David S. Chambers, "The Economic Predicament of Renaissance Cardinals," *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 3 (1966), 289–313. A valuable early study is Edith Hewitt, "An Assessment of Italian Benefices Held by the Cardinals for the Turkish War of 1571," *English Historical Review* 30 (1915), 488–501. Individual cardinals' incomes are mentioned in Jean Delumeau's *Vie économique et sociale de Rome dans la seconde moitié du XVI^e siècle* (Paris: 1957–59), 1:447–62; Peter Partner's research on Rome and papal government provides an essential starting point: Peter Partner, *Renaissance Rome 1500–1559: A Portrait of a Society* (Berkeley: 1976); idem, *The Popes' Men: The Papal Civil Service in the Renaissance* (Oxford: 1990).
- 2 Volker Reinhardt, *Kardinal Scipione Borghese (1605–1633): Vermögen, Finanzieren und sozialer Aufstieg eines Papstnipoten* (Tübingen: 1984); Joseph Bergin, *Cardinal Richelieu: Power and the Pursuit of Wealth* (New Haven: 1990); Kate J.P. Lowe, *Church and Politics in Renaissance Italy: The Life and Career of Cardinal Francesco Soderini, 1453–1524* (Cambridge, Eng.: 1993); Richard J. Ferraro, *The Nobility of Rome, 1560–1700: A Study of its Composition, Wealth, and Investment* (Ann Arbor: 1994); Marco Pellegrini, "Ricerche sul patrimonio feudale e beneficiario del cardinale Ascanio Sforza," *Archivio Storico Lombardo* 122/3 (1996), 41–83; Mary Hollingsworth, *The Cardinal's Hat: Money, Ambition and Housekeeping in a Renaissance Court* (London: 2004); Mary Hollingsworth, "A Cardinal in Rome: Ippolito d'Este in 1560," in *Art and Identity in Early Modern Rome*, eds. Jill Burke and Michael Bury (Aldershot: 2008), 81–94 (esp. 82–83, Table 4.1). Other studies include: Atis V. Antonovics, "Counter-Reformation Cardinals: 1534–1590," *European Studies Review* 2 (1972), 301–28; Mario Rosa, "Curia romana e pensioni ecclesiastiche: Fiscalità pontificia nel Mezzogiorno (secoli XVI–XVIII)," *Quaderni storici* 42 (1979), 1015–1055; Barbara McClung Hallman, *Italian Cardinals, Reform and the Church as Property, 1492–1563* (Berkeley: 1985); Massimo Firpo, "The Cardinal," in *Renaissance Characters*, ed. Eugenio Garin, trans. Lydia Cochrane (Chicago: 1991), 46–97; Anthony D. Wright, *The Early Modern Papacy from the Council of Trent to the French Revolution, 1564–1789* (Harlow: 2000).

details given in *Avvisi* need to be treated with circumspection. For these reasons, it remains practically impossible to trace the total income that was actually received by a particular cardinal during the early modern period. What is more, many cardinals relied heavily on credit due to the dangers of transporting large sums: large transactions were impractical and risky, meaning bills of exchange or other credit instruments were used instead. Most cardinals appear to have built up a network of bankers and merchants, often with a European-wide reach, on whom they could rely for loans, and this is an area where future research may prove valuable. However, arrears in the payment of income were frequently considerable, leading to mounting debts caused by the costs of a magnificent lifestyle. Although debts frequently built up to significant levels, the fact that credit continued to be extended is indicative of the expectation that accompanied the cardinalate status. Later in the 16th century, the ability to raise money through public debt was extended for the first time to the innovative solution of publicly funded private loans, such as the Monte Colonnese of 1587, one of whose beneficiaries was Cardinal Ascanio Colonna.³

The changing make-up of the College of Cardinals – the “Italianization” and “familialization” of the College, including the presence of wealthy cardinal nephews – also affected cardinals’ income.⁴ Traditionally, the church had met cardinals’ financial needs. The bull *Caelestis altitudo potentiae* (1289) decreed that all temporal revenues to the Curia would be divided into two parts of which one would be shared equally amongst the cardinals.⁵ At the Council of Basel the portion allocated to the cardinals was itemised as “half of all fruits, revenues, proceeds, fines, penalties and taxes deriving from all the lands and places subject to the Roman Church.”⁶ Commonly known as the *rotolo* (or *divisio*, *divisione del capello*) these payments were made through the

3 For debts left by rich cardinals and private *monti*, see Delumeau, *Vie économique et sociale*, 1:469–73 and Sergio Raimondo, “La rete creditizia dei Colonna di Paliano tra XVI e XVII secolo,” in *La nobiltà romana in età moderna: Profili istituzionali e pratiche sociali*, ed. Maria Antonietta Visceglia (Rome: 2001), 225–53.

4 Maria Antonietta Visceglia, “The Pope’s Household and Court in the Early Modern Age,” in *Royal Courts in Dynastic States and Empires: A Global Perspective*, eds. Jeroen Duindam, Tülay Artan, Metin Kunt (Leiden: 2011), 248; Marco Pellegrini, “A turning point in the history of the factional system in the Sacred College: the power of the pope and the cardinals in the Age of Alexander VI,” in *Court and Politics in Papal Rome, 1492–1700*, eds. Gianvittorio Signorotto and Maria Antonietta Visceglia (Cambridge, Eng.: 2002), 8–30; Jennifer Mara DeSilva, “Politics and Dynasty: Underaged Cardinals, 1420–1605,” *Royal Studies Journal* 4 (2017), 89.

5 Peter Partner, *The Lands of St Peter: The Papal State in the Middle Ages and the Early Renaissance* (Berkeley: 1972), 284.

6 Session 23, 26 March 1436. *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. Norman Tanner (London: 1990), 1:499.

camerarius (chamberlain) of the Sacred College at regular intervals, except during the Vacant See. The decision not to make payments to the College of Cardinals during this time was introduced after the exceptionally long conclave prior to the papacy of Gregory X (1271–76). Later popes codified the cardinals' rights and responsibilities during the Vacant See (discussed in John M. Hunt's chapter), but no payments of the regular cardinalatial division were envisaged even in Pius IV's bull *In eligendis* of 1562 or Clement XII's bull *Apostolatus officium* of 1732.⁷ While in conclave, a cardinal's household and affairs still needed to be financed; in addition he had to feed and clothe his conclavists, and maintain his status even in confined circumstances. It was no wonder that debt was so prevalent in many cardinals' financial affairs.⁸

1 The *rotolo* of the College of Cardinals

Two requirements were necessary in order for a cardinal to qualify for a share of the Sacred College's corporate income. Firstly, he was obliged to participate in the ceremony of *aperitio oris* (the opening of the mouth), only after which he was able to become a full member of the College (see Jennifer Mara DeSilva's chapter in this volume).⁹ Secondly, in theory, a cardinal had to be present at the consistory immediately preceding the division.¹⁰ Yet, in practice, during the 16th century, legates and other papal emissaries outside the Papal States could readily acquire a dispensation from the latter requirement. In the division of 25 February 1543, seven of the cardinals were absent, yet they were included in the division.¹¹

In 1514 it was decreed that a division of the common funds should take place at least once every two months. However, new constitutions for the Sacred College, approved on 19 February 1546, stated that the divisions (known as

7 Session 23, 26 March 1436. *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 1:499. More detailed reforms appeared in the papal chirograph of 24 December 1732, published in *Constitutio diversas continens ordinationes pro bona directione Conclavis, ac rerum Sede Apostolica Vacante agendarum* (Rome: 1733). Miles Pattenden, *Electing the Pope in Early Modern Italy, 1450–1700* (Oxford: 2017), 112.

8 Wright, *The Early Modern Papacy*, 50–51, 71. For the early period see Frederic J. Baumgartner, "Henry II and the Papal Conclave of 1549," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 16 (1985), 301–14.

9 Atis V. Antonovics, "A Late Fifteenth-Century Division Register of the College of Cardinals," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 35 (1967), 93.

10 Adrien Clergeac, *La curie et les bénéfices consistoriaux: Etude sur les communs et menus services, 1300–1600* (Paris: 1911), 125.

11 ASV, Acta consistorialia 4, fol. 108v.

divisioni del cappello or *rotuli*) would be held four times a year: at Christmas, Easter, the Nativity of Saint John (24 June), and All Saints Day (1 November).¹² The cardinal *camerarius* supervised the division. In addition to eligible members of the College, the division records included those cardinals who had died since the last division; their portion was claimed by their executors or heirs. The time limit within which their portion had to be claimed was reduced from six months to one month by 1514, presumably as a means of avoiding the outstanding debts that lengthy inheritance disputes might cause. If the portion was not claimed in time, then it was either given in alms for the benefit of the defunct or was spent on masses for his soul.

The Sacred College's corporate income, or *camera cardinalium*, was composed of three items: half of the census (which was made up of the aforesaid revenues from the Papal States and miscellaneous tributes and taxes), the tax on visitations *ad limina apostolorum*, and the *servitia* or services tax. The Apostolic Chamber levied the former tax, *ad limina apostolorum*, on bishops who visited Rome. The latter tax, the *servitia*, was divided into the *servitia communia* and the *servitia minuta*.¹³ The common services had developed from the custom whereby newly elected bishops to consistorial benefices made gifts to the pope and to his entourage of cardinals on the occasion of their consecration, translation, or confirmation. By the 15th century the common service tax was assessed at one third of the annual revenue of a major benefice (those with yearly incomes of more than 100 gold cameral florins).¹⁴ It formed the most important source of revenue for the *camera cardinalium*. The petty service tax, which had also evolved from the practice of presenting gifts to members of the papal entourage, was imposed by the Apostolic Chamber on all consistorial benefices, with the exception of those held by cardinals, and the amount was negligible.¹⁵

The records of the payments made to the *camera cardinalium*, known as the *obligationes et solutiones*, are missing for the period 1479–1534. The sole surviving register of the *cedularum et rotularum* for 1498 gives an individual income from the collective sources as about 900 florins.¹⁶ David S. Chambers reports the average annual share received by Cardinal Niccolò Fieschi during the period 1504–20 as around 900 ducats; that of Cardinal Giulio de' Medici for 1521–22 was around 700 ducats a year.¹⁷

12 Clergeac, *La curie*, 129; Antonovics, "A Late Fifteenth-Century Division Register," 90 n. 18.

13 Antonovics, "A Late Fifteenth-Century Division Register," 95.

14 Clergeac, *La curie*, 39–43.

15 William E. Lunt, *Papal Revenues in the Middle Ages* (New York: 1965), 1:89.

16 Antonovics, "A Late Fifteenth-Century Division Register," 95.

17 Chambers, "Predicament," 297 and appendix 1.

The amounts which were received in each *rotolo* varied considerably, since they depended on the value of the benefices which were provided in consistory, on the income from other papal taxes and on the number of cardinals who were eligible. During Paul III's pontificate (1534–49) examples of the revenues received by cardinals included in the divisions ranged from approximately 227 gold florins on 14 February 1541 to 149 gold florins on 7 January 1542.¹⁸

The College of Cardinals doubled in little over a century, from 36 cardinals under Sixtus IV in 1477 to 70 under Sixtus V (1580–85). This has been seen as decreasing the individual share of the corporate income, but during the same period, a “real increase in the burden of [Papal State] taxation” boosted temporal revenues: Peter Partner calculated that papal revenues quadrupled between 1525 and 1576, and virtually doubled again by 1616.¹⁹ However, as Mario Rosa has pointed out, not only did the common services (which traditionally provided most of the corporate income of the Sacred College) not increase during the 16th century, but they tended to become arbitrary, conditional on the pope's favor at the moment the benefice was granted, and untimely due to arrears.²⁰ In 1643 they were still worth 110,000 gold *scudi* a year, but by 1711–20 they had shrunk to little under one third of that sum.²¹

2 Income from Ecclesiastical Property

Ecclesiastical benefices were the principal source of income for cardinals throughout the early modern period. Indeed, their acquisition, exchange, reservation, and resignation constitute the major part of the consistorial records. A benefice comprised any ecclesiastical possession, whether a chapel or an archbishopric, and it was – until the 20th century – the most common spiritual office within the church. The incumbent had the right to receive revenue from his benefice. This right was established in order to ensure a decent standard of living for the clergy and it was thought appropriate that the temporal possessions of the church and its people should contribute to this end. In fact, one of

18 Clergeac, *La curie*, 130.

19 Peter Partner, “Papal Financial Policy in the Renaissance and Counter-Reformation,” *Past and Present* 88 (1980), 48–49, Table 5.

20 Mario Rosa, “La scarsella di Nostro Signore: Aspetti della fiscalità spirituale pontificia nell'età moderna,” *Società e Storia* 38 (1987), 833.

21 Rosa, “La scarsella,” 833; Mario Rosa cites Partner, “Papal Financial Policy,” 47, who notes that “one of the main revenues of the late medieval church lost all fiscal importance, not, perhaps, because it shrank to nothing, but because it failed to expand with the changing value of money.”

the qualifications necessary for ordination was the assurance that a living would be available in the form of a benefice.²²

Exactly how much income cardinals should receive from benefices – coupled with the thorny issue of residence – was a constant topic of reforming debate. In the early summer of 1497, Alexander VI engaged a commission of six cardinals who recommended a limit of 6,000 ducats a year and also that cardinals were not to hold more than one bishopric.²³ However, by July the pope withdrew his support and the commission was dissolved. The proposal to equalize cardinals' incomes continued to appear in reforming tracts. Paolo Cortesi (c.1465–1510) in his *De cardinalatu* even suggested that a maximum of 40 cardinals should pool income from benefices and be paid an equal income of 12,000 ducats, thereby relieving the disparity between rich and poor cardinals and also obviating the vagaries of climate (bad weather) and politics (warfare) and their influence on money from agricultural properties belonging to benefices.²⁴ As Gigliola Fragnito has pointed out, the sum of 12,000 gold ducats was higher than other reforming projects but was justified in that it was intended to be the sole income and to fund the magnificent lifestyle that members of the College were expected to maintain.²⁵

A cardinal's titular church in Rome reflected national, political, and family allegiances (see Arnold Witte's chapter in this volume), but its income – or amenities in the form of accommodation – did not necessarily align with a straightforward hierarchy. For example, the deacon's church of Santa Maria in Via Lata was reputedly wealthy, gainsaying the fact that its titular holder was only a cardinal deacon.²⁶ Another diaconate church, Santa Sabina, was worth 1,000 ducats a year, while in 1522 Cardinal Wolsey wrote that his titular church, Santa Cecilia, also a diaconate, was "not of smale valow."²⁷

22 *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (Washington, DC: 1967), 2:306; Moroni, 5:79–90; *Dictionnaire de droit canonique* (Paris: 1937), 2: cols. 406–49.

23 Denys Hay, *The Church in Italy in the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge, Eng.: 1977), 87; Pellegrini, "A Turning Point," 15–16.

24 Paolo Cortesi, *De cardinalatu* (Castro Cortesio: 1510), fol. XLVII r–v: "Quocirca erit confiteri necesse omne status genus eo videri debere tranquillius quo longius a seditionum tempestate absit." See also Angelo Rossi, *Il collegio cardinalizio* (Vatican City: 1990), 220–21; Gigliola Fragnito, "Le corti cardinalizie nella prima metà del Cinquecento: Da Paolo Cortesi a Francesco Priscianese," *Miscellanea Storica della Valdelsa* 108/3 (2002), 52–53; and David S. Chambers, "The Renaissance Cardinalate: From Paolo Cortesi's 'De cardinalatu' to the Present," in *The Possessions of a Cardinal: Politics, Piety, and Art, 1450–1700*, eds. Mary Hollingsworth and Carol M. Richardson (University Park, PA: 2010), 20.

25 Fragnito, "Corti cardinalizie," 53.

26 Chambers, "Predicament," 298.

27 Chambers, "Predicament," 298.

Outside Rome, benefices could be acquired and exchanged in a policy of familial (and personal) aggrandizement. On 1 November 1534, a matter of months after his grandfather's election as Pope Paul III, fourteen-year-old Alessandro II Farnese (1520–89) was made bishop of the rich diocese of Parma, two weeks before his first nomination to the cardinalate (18 December 1534), in the form of a reservation *in pectore* owing to his youth. Ippolito de' Medici's death the following summer enabled Alessandro to acquire most of the latter's French benefices, soon to be followed by other benefices belonging to the disgraced Cardinal Benedetto Accolti, whom Paul III imprisoned (on charges of corruption, simony, and pluralism, but the subplot was political, namely Accolti's support for the imperial faction). Such high-level trafficking in benefices frequently led to national disputes. Again, using Cardinal Farnese as an example, the bishopric of Jaén was transferred to him after the death of the Spanish cardinal Gabriele Stefano Merino in July 1535. This triggered a prolonged dispute with Emperor Charles V that was only resolved when the bishopric was exchanged for the much richer, but politically less sensitive, diocese of Monreale, in Sicily.²⁸

3 Pluralism and Reform

Prior to 1548, when the first decree against the practice was enacted, pluralism – and the concomitant abuse of absenteeism – was an established feature of the Catholic Church. It was commonplace to find a cardinal with more than one archbishopric or diocese and with several monasteries and abbeys. Barbara McClung Hallman offers figures for the periods 1512–19 and 1520–39: over 50 per cent of cardinals in the first period held more than four bishoprics (three held a maximum of 11); and 45 per cent held more than four bishoprics in the second period (with Alessandro II Farnese holding 13).²⁹

Such situations arose because bishoprics were assigned *in administrationem* while lesser benefices were held *in commendam*. Several archbishoprics and bishoprics could be held *in administrationem* simultaneously because no residence requirements were imposed on the administrator, nor did this position entail pastoral care. In theory, the administrator of the benefice was not violating the long-recognized obligations of residence; however, in practice, holding benefices *in administrationem* represented a flagrant violation and no

²⁸ Clare Robertson, "Alessandro Farnese," *DBI*, 45: 52.

²⁹ Tables 2.1 and 2.2 in McClung Hallman, *Italian Cardinals*, respectively, 22, 26.

amount of criticism of this widespread abuse appeared able to bring about reform. Although absent, the administrator was nonetheless entitled to a share of the temporal and spiritual revenues. However, the complex problems of dividing the revenues amongst rights holders meant that litigation was commonplace. Like administered benefices, those held *in commendam* allowed the holders to enjoy the revenues, despite it being, in theory, a temporary arrangement. In practice, a benefice held *in commendam* was often extended over an indefinite period, or for the beneficiary's own lifetime; the latter were thus known as *commendatarii ad vitam*.³⁰

Both methods of holding benefices *in administrationem* or *in commendam* could be combined with the practice of resignation or renunciation. Frequently used as part of an exchange of dioceses, the *resignationes in favorem* entailed the administrator or titular resigning a benefice in favour of a specified person. With the resignation went the powerful instrument of *regressus*, and its accompanying rights of *ingressus* and *accessus*. The right of *regressus* allowed a prelate to resign a benefice, possibly retaining a large pension on its revenues, with the assurance that he could reclaim the benefice and its revenues either when the new incumbent died or if the latter in turn resigned, or indeed if the terms of the resignation (payment of pension, for example) were not respected.³¹

The traffic in benefices escalated throughout the 15th and early 16th century, allowing the formation of family prerogatives, benefices that passed from cardinal to nephew, and brother to brother.³² Benefices were indeed the lifeblood of the Curia, although they were often seen more as leech than lymph. Agostino Vespucci wrote to Machiavelli in July 1501: "Benefices are more for sale here than musk melons are up there, or buns and water down here."³³ The process of conferring benefices was itself a source of income for cardinals: the majority of benefices were conferred in consistory, and "for every 'consistorial benefice'

30 Noted abuses since the Council of Constance (1414–18), by the time of the Fifth Lateran Council in 1512, pluralism and absenteeism were the prime targets for reform. Moroni, 15:61.

31 McClung Hallman, *Italian Cardinals*, 34–38, for the reform of *accessus* and *regressus* on major benefices under Paul IV, and the subsequent relaxation of the Pauline decree under Pope Pius IV.

32 Hay, *The Church in Italy*, 19. Hay refers to Clergeac's description of "véritables apanages": Clergeac, *La curie*, 50.

33 *Machiavelli and his Friends: Their Personal Correspondence*, trans. and eds. James B. Atkinson and David Sices (DeKalb: 1996), 38.

there was a *cardinalis ponens*, who proposed the successful candidate and was awarded a fee (*propina*) for his pains.”³⁴

The Cistercian monastery of Santa Maria in Lucedio provides an example of the way that the income from a rich benefice held *in commendam* could be divided up. Located in the fertile area northwest of Casale Monferrato, the monastery owned and managed a large amount of land. Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga and the Gonzaga dukes finally secured Lucedio, but they had to share its rich revenues by paying pensions to the Farnese cardinals for many years, making it “a money stream on which Gonzaga cardinals floated.”³⁵

In general terms, numerous benefices were an indication of a cardinal's wealth, but mere possession of a benefice did not necessarily mean income. While figures for the theoretical incomes of particular dioceses were often publicized – in letters, *Avvisi*, and other reports – it is extremely difficult to evaluate these in practice. It is even more difficult to calculate the exact income received from a benefice, not only because of incomplete accounts but because many sources were hidden and may have been paid in kind. As noted earlier, the revenue from a particular benefice was often used as collateral to fund other credits and loans and this further complicates the problems of assessing regular income.

The Council of Trent's 24th Session (held in November 1563) finally prohibited pluralism for all clerics, including cardinals. This marked a significant change but it did leave a loophole by stating that if the benefice “does not suffice to support the incumbent in a reasonable fashion, another simple benefice may be granted to him provided that both do not require residence.”³⁶ In the post-Tridentine Church, the abolition of pluralism helped to extirpate other abuses, like the renunciations *ad favorem*, the *regressus* and some forms of *commendam*, but it undoubtedly also allowed greater scope for the ecclesiastical pension.³⁷ For much of the 17th century, cardinal nephews, in particular, continued to hold numerous smaller benefices in administration or *commendam*.

34 Partner, *The Pope's Men*, 35 and 150–52. For the cardinal proposer and the *propina*, see Antonovics, “A Late Fifteenth-Century Division Register,” 89.

35 Cardinal Alessandro 11 Farnese is recorded as receiving “half the fruits,” worth 4,200 *scudi*, which were subject to the “donativo” to pay for arming the pontifical galleys subsequently engaged in the battle of Lepanto, 1571: Hewitt, “An Assessment,” 489 and Paul Grendler, *The University of Mantua, the Gonzaga, and the Jesuits, 1584–1630* (Baltimore: 2009), 75–76 n. 72–77.

36 Session 24, canon 17, 11 November 1563, Council of Trent. *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 2:770.

37 Paolo Sarpi, *Trattato delle materie beneficiarie*, cited by Rosa, “Curia romana,” 1015–1016; Wright, *The Early Modern Papacy*, 77.

As will be seen later, this may in part explain some of the continuities, pre- and post-Trent, identified by O'Malley and others.³⁸

4 Rent from Benefices

The practice of renting out ecclesiastical property was by no means new to the 16th century. It involved a contract or lease stipulating the rent and the term, after which the benefice returned to the lessor.³⁹ What was leased was the benefice's temporal property, excluding the fabric of the church building itself and the resident clergy, the suffragan, the *vicario* and others, who continued to be responsible for the pastoral and spiritual care of the benefice. Such rents could form a major part of a cardinal's income, despite the fact that rental income from ecclesiastical property formed part of the *bona ecclesiastica* and was not wholly at the disposition of the incumbent.⁴⁰ In the bull *Ambitiosae cupiditati*, of 1 March 1467, Paul II prohibited the rental, mortgaging, or other alienation of any ecclesiastical property for longer than three years.⁴¹ The tenants could be laymen and, more specifically, merchants.⁴² However, the reiteration of the prohibition against alienation or enfeoffment of church lands, culminating in Pius V's *Admonet nos* of 1567, highlights the continuing blurring of boundaries between private and ecclesiastic income through the intervening period.

Cardinal Richelieu (1585–1642) was, according to Joseph Bergin, “one of the best beneficed churchmen in all of French history,” holding a plethora of benefices that comprised, amongst many others, the see of Luçon, the neighboring abbey of L'Île Chauvet, and the priories of Les Roches and Coussay near Richelieu.⁴³ Bergin also states that it was very unusual for the “predominantly aristocratic upper clergy” to manage their landed estates personally in the early 17th century and benefices were leased to *fermiers* for stipulated periods in return for fixed annual payments.⁴⁴ This had the advantage of assuring income, as well as relieving the holder of much of the risk of ordinary administration and

38 John W. O'Malley, *Trent and All That: Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge, MA: 2000), 66–67. Moroni comments on the continuing recourse to perpetual *commende* in the 18th century: Moroni, 15:64.

39 McClung Hallman, *Italian Cardinals*, 66–80, 93–94.

40 Harry G. Hynes, *The Privileges of Cardinals: Commentary with Historical Notes* (Washington, DC: 1945), 144–45.

41 *Bullarium romanum* 5 (Turin: 1860), 194–95.

42 McClung Hallman, *Italian Cardinals*, 126–46.

43 Bergin, *Cardinal Richelieu*, 197, and see 42, 214–15 for full details of his benefices.

44 *Ibid.*, 42, 59, and 215.

extraordinary events, like a harvest failure. However, Richelieu insisted on regular inspections and appointed regular clergy to do the job, a fact that Bergin argues reveals his determination “to see his benefices well administered.”⁴⁵

There is an interesting contrast between the French preference to lease out lands and benefices owned by cardinals under the *ancien régime* and the more frequent use of direct management in Italy. Bergin notes that the practice “has often been criticized as contributing towards economic backwardness and anti-entrepreneurial attitudes amongst the propertied classes of France.”⁴⁶ Many Italian cardinals also rented out property, as demonstrated by McClung Hallman, who noted that Italian banking dynasties (Altoviti, Strozzi, Rucellai, Malvezzi) were the principal beneficiaries of ecclesiastical leases.⁴⁷ However, it was not uncommon for cardinals to use members of their *familia* to oversee the agricultural management of benefices: this was the case of the Florentine cardinal Niccolò Ridolfi (1501–50), one of the nephews of the first Medici pope, in the case of the rich abbey of San Genesio, Brescello, which he held *in commendam*.

Agricultural lands belonging to benefices were a major source of revenue, although important caveats need to be made here regarding the use of grain and fodder for the household. This form of private use is difficult to trace in the accounts: it was obviously associated with expenditure of various forms, including transport, but the overall value of “in kind” use needs to be pieced together. On the other hand, a good harvest could produce lucrative sales of grain: Cardinal Giovanni Salviati (1490–1553) owned estates at Formello, outside Rome, and the income he received from these, mainly in the form of grain and other foodstuffs, was recorded in his accounts.⁴⁸

5 Income from Ecclesiastical Pensions

An ecclesiastical pension may be described as the payment of a specified portion of the revenue from a benefice (or curial office) to a third party, regardless of the fact that the latter was not in any way connected to the benefice.⁴⁹ Of

45 Ibid., 53.

46 Ibid., 59 with reference to Jean Jacquart, *La Crise rurale en l'Île-de-France 1550–1670* (Paris: 1974), 130–32, 435ff.

47 McClung Hallman, *Italian Cardinals*, 75–77.

48 BAV, Archivio Barberini, Fondo Salviati. “Entrate di Formello, 1547–1550,” fols. 19r, 39v–39r.

49 S.F. Gass, *Ecclesiastical Pensions: An Historical Synopsis and Commentary* (Washington, DC: 1942), 3.

course, the allocation of a pension detracted from the revenues that might otherwise have been received by a benefice's possessor, whether *in commendam* or otherwise. For the historian, knowing whether or not a pension was being paid to a third party constitutes a further obstacle to any realistic assessment of the income from a particular benefice: numerous pensions could virtually exclude the titular holder of the benefice from a share in its revenues. By the 16th century the abuse of pensions led the Camera Apostolica to decree that no one pension should exceed a third of the total revenues of a benefice.⁵⁰ Even after Trent, although a pension holder needed to be seven years old and to have received the *prima tonsura*, no papal dispensation was required to hold multiple pensions, as in the case of pluralist benefices.

It has been argued that the growing number of pensions allocated during the first half of the 16th century, especially following the "Great Promotion" of 31 cardinals in 1517, reflected the increasing pressure of the pursuit for benefices amongst the vast circle of courtiers in attendance at the cardinals' courts of Rome. This trend increased enormously following the prohibitions against pluralism. In the early 17th century, the Servite reformer Paolo Sarpi traced the development of the pension and describing it as a "*rimedio*" that befitted the times, a means of avoidance but not of evasion.⁵¹ Unlike the possession of a benefice or *commendam*, a pension was transferable, an aspect which has been seen as one of the causes of the curial "dynasties" which were created by the transmission of a pension from uncle to nephew.

6 Income from Curial Office

The income of the major offices of the papal Curia (Penitentiary, Apostolic Chamberlain, and Vice-Chancellor) not only varied in yield but their acquisition, as David S. Chambers writes, "depended on luck, graft or favour."⁵² Kate Lowe's study of Cardinal Francesco Armellini (1470–1527) recounts the bidding war for the post of Apostolic chamberlain between the latter and Cardinal Innocenzo Cibo. Armellini borrowed 50,000 ducats from the Strozzi bank to purchase the office (a satirical dialogue between Armellini and Madonna Honesta reported his comment "that one of the joys of being a cardinal was immunity

50 Clergeac, *La curie*, 109.

51 Rosa, "Curia romana," 1015–1016. By the 18th century, Luca Ferraris ascertained that the pension was a proper ecclesiastical benefice; see *ibid.*, 1049n.

52 Chambers, "Predicament," 299. Pattenden, *Electing the Pope*, 109, 116–17.

from imprisonment for debt").⁵³ The richest offices were often secured by popes for their relatives.

Minor curial offices – which included the posts of abbreviators, secretaries, and protonotaries, as well as honorary chivalrous orders – could also represent a lucrative income stream, particularly since they could be resold after the holder died or, more frequently, after he was promoted. Known as *vacabilia*, the initial investment attracted a monthly income, which included a reasonable level of interest.⁵⁴ Others, like the customs officials, the cubiculars and scutifers, were equally sought after and sold at high prices. The extent to which venal offices were acquired by cardinals is less studied than other lay figures, such as merchants and bankers, but it seems highly likely that many benefited from the system.⁵⁵

Similarly, the possession of a castle or other fief was often fruitful, since jurisdictional rights and other seigneurial dues were paid to the holder.⁵⁶ The office of legate to the Patrimony of St. Peter was of immense political significance and also brought with it numerous privileges that undoubtedly translated into revenue. On 17 August 1524, Cardinal Niccolò Ridolfi was given full jurisdictional powers over the clergy in the Patrimony, the right to nominate and depose public officials, to make provisions to vacant benefices, to confer prebends, canonries and other dignities, to alienate the goods of the church, to approve *ius patronati*, to accord indulgences, and to concede noble titles.⁵⁷ A later example is that of Cardinal nephew Scipione Borghese (1576–1633) who was paid 405 *scudi* a month as *soprintendente dello stato ecclesiastico*, a tiny portion of the 140,000 *scudi* he received as papal nephew in 1612.⁵⁸

During this period the position of cardinal nephew developed into a full curial office with functions and notable prerogatives (see Birgit Emich's chapter in this volume). Its occupants benefited from multiple revenue streams and almost unlimited patronage from at least the pontificate of Sixtus IV until the

53 Kate J.P. Lowe, "Questions of Income and Expenditure in Renaissance Rome: A Case Study of Cardinal Francesco Armellini," *Studies in Church History* 24 (1987), 178 n. 18; 182.

54 Hay, *The Church in Italy*, 43–45.

55 Melissa Meriam Bullard, *Filippo Strozzi and the Medici: Favor and Finance in Sixteenth-Century Florence and Rome* (Cambridge, Eng.: 1980), 151–56; an incomplete record for the monthly income from venal offices held by Cardinal Niccolò Ridolfi during a 31-month period in 1537–39 amounted to 2,836.8 gold ducats in gold; see Lucinda Byatt, "*Una suprema magnificenza*": *Niccolò Ridolfi, a Florentine Cardinal in Sixteenth-Century Rome*, Ph.D. dissertation (European University Institute: 1983), 165, Table 2.

56 Chambers, "Predicament," 300 n. 58.

57 Byatt, "*Una suprema magnificenza*," 162–63.

58 Richard E. Spear, "Scrambling for Scudi: Painters' Earnings in Early Baroque Rome," *The Art Bulletin* 85 (2003), 312.

abolishment of the function in 1692. Under the papacy of Gregory XV (1621–23), prompted by his uncle's ill-health, Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi (1595–1632) wasted no time in collecting a large number of posts and wealthy ecclesiastical benefices, including the archbishopric of Bologna, the position of *camerlengo* (and from 1623 onwards also that of the even more lucrative position as vice-chancellor), and various abbacies and priories, generating an income of over 100,000 *scudi* per year. This was a sum that was "further added to by income from temporal sources," notably from the duchies of Fiano and Zagarolo.⁵⁹ Ludovisi's immediate predecessor Scipione Borghese was notorious, even amongst his contemporaries, for accumulating forty-eight Italian *commendams* that contributed over 33 per cent of the wealth he acquired between 1605 and his death in 1633: a staggering 6.5 million *scudi*.⁶⁰ Pensions, property in the form of *castelli* and *casali*, the purchase and rebuilding of palaces and villas in and around Rome, and investments in bonds and venal offices helped to bolster his income well beyond his uncle's death in 1621.⁶¹

Protectorships formed part of this panoply of offices available to well-connected cardinals. The revenues were variable, but some cardinals were accused of "considering their protectorate as part and portion of their patrimony."⁶² The cardinal protector of a nation (see Bertrand Marceau's chapter in this volume) received a commission, known as the *propina*, for any benefice he successfully proposed in consistory. In 1505 this was set as a fixed charge of 15 per cent of the annual taxable value of the benefice received, if it was valued at over 300 ducats; if the value was lower, then the *propina* remained a statutory 41 gold ducats.⁶³ A further 5 per cent was levied for the cardinal's secretary and other officials.⁶⁴

59 Mario Rosa, "The 'world's theatre': The court of Rome and politics in the first half of the seventeenth century," in *Court and Politics in Papal Rome, 1492–1700*, eds. Gianvittorio Siginorotto and Maria Antonietta Visceglia (Cambridge, Eng.: 2002), 91.

60 Reinhardt, *Kardinal Scipione Borghese*, Ch. 9. See also Ferraro, *The Nobility of Rome*, 573; Wright, *The Early Modern Papacy*, 244.

61 Wolfgang Reinhard, *Papstfinanz und Nepotismus unter Paul v. (1605–1621)* (Stuttgart: 1974) and most recently Wolfgang Reinhard, *Paul v. Borghese (1605–1621): Mikropolitische Papstgeschichte* (Stuttgart: 2009); Reinhardt, *Kardinal Scipione Borghese*, 96–99.

62 Chambers, "Predicament," 301.

63 Clergeac, *La curie*, 188–93.

64 Chambers, "Predicament," 301–02. Acknowledging that "the actual income of any cardinal of that period is impossible to calculate," Stella Fletcher sees potential for further research in the patronage relationships between cardinals and secular powers, as well as between cardinals and the clerics being provided or translated into benefices: "Cardinal Marco Barbo as Protector of English Interests at the Roman Curia in the late Fifteenth Century," *The Downside Review* 118 (2000), 29.

Cardinal Ippolito d'Este (1509–72) received around 7,000 *scudi* in 1560–61 as cardinal protector of France (8.5 per cent of his estimated income, compared to 52 per cent from benefices in France).⁶⁵ In the mid-17th century, Clement XII's nephew, Cardinal Neri II Maria Corsini, received the considerable sum of 75,000 gold *scudi* over a nine-year period from the Crown of Portugal for his role as cardinal protector of that kingdom too.⁶⁶ Rewards also included additional benefices for the cardinal's own clientele. Other financial benefits were offered to Cardinal Maurizio of Savoy (1593–1657), as well as a pension of 24,000 *livres* from the archbishopric of Auch.⁶⁷ Cardinal protectors of religious orders had been forbidden from profiting from their position at the Council of Basel in 1430, but the possibility remained of benefiting from the order's properties.⁶⁸

7 Private Wealth

The wide variation of revenues within the College of Cardinals also reflected the individual cardinals' differing degrees of private wealth, mainly obtained from investments in privately owned land and urban property. However, it is impossible to distinguish between income from private wealth or enterprise and that from ecclesiastical benefices and offices – Massimo Firpo describes this situation as one of “total confusion between private property and ecclesiastical property.”⁶⁹ Only a minority of cardinals can be said to have benefited from their own entrepreneurship. A key example is again Cardinal Francesco Armellini – a “papal bureaucrat cardinal,” who unlike the majority of cardinals, was very unlikely to “have received a significant part of his overall revenue from benefices.”⁷⁰ In addition to the proceeds from the Apostolic Chamber, Armellini invested in property to provide a source of income, and maybe capital growth. His surviving accounts (1520–22) indicate that he owned as many as

65 Hollingsworth, “A Cardinal in Rome,” 83 (Table 4.1).

66 Vernon Hyde Minor, *The Death of the Baroque and the Rhetoric of Good Taste* (Cambridge, Eng.: 2006), 187 n. 29.

67 Olivier Poncet, “The cardinal-protectors of the crowns in the Roman curia during the first half of the seventeenth century: The case of France,” in *Court and Politics in Papal Rome, 1492–1700*, eds. Gianvittorio Signorotto and Maria Antonietta Visceglia (Cambridge, Eng.: 2002), 166 n. 33.

68 Poncet, “The Cardinal-Protectors of the Crowns,” 158–60; also Hubert Jedin, “Per una preistoria della riforma dei regolari,” *Chiesa della fede, Chiesa della storia* (Brescia: 1972), 234–35.

69 Firpo, “The Cardinal,” 60.

70 Lowe, “Francesco Armellini,” 183–84.

sixty houses, shops and inns. The total annual income from the rents of these houses amounted to some 640–95 *ducati di carlini* in 1517–20. He also owned property worth 200,000 ducats outside Rome.⁷¹

Personal or family wealth became a primary requisite when it came to paying for the red hat (see also Maria Antonietta Visceglia's chapter in this volume).⁷² As Marco Pellegrini writes: "it is impossible to exaggerate the importance of this late-15th-century extension of venality to the cardinalate."⁷³ The names of Italy's ruling families crop up frequently amongst the earliest "princely" members of the cardinal college from around the mid-15th century onwards. In their reliance on private wealth, even post-Trent, some later 16th-century cardinals were no different: Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici (1549–1609) wrote a letter to his brother, Grand Duke Francesco, two months after arriving in Rome in which he set out in detail the expenses he had incurred in order to maintain himself and his *familia*.⁷⁴ It was to pre-empt mounting debt that the initial appanage of 24,000 gold *scudi* was raised to 36,000 in 1572, shortly before the Grand Duke's death.⁷⁵ Cardinal Odoardo Farnese (1573–1626), great-nephew of the Gran Cardinale Alessandro Farnese, required a "top-up" of 24,000 *scudi* from his brother Ranuccio, taken from the revenues of the Duchy of Castro, in order to bring his income to around 75,000 *scudi*.⁷⁶

8 The Wealth Gap and Poor Cardinals

The College's expanding size reduced each individual cardinal's share in the pooled curial resources, and revenues from benefices varied widely. Disparities in benefice income was compounded by differences in private wealth between the princely cardinals and the College's humbler members and led to an

71 ASR, Camerale appendice, 15–17; *Dictionnaire d'histoire et géographie ecclésiastique* (Paris: 1930), 4:col. 282. For Cardinal Francesco Soderini's property portfolio, see Kate J.P. Lowe, "A Florentine Prelate's Real Estate in Rome between 1480 and 1524: The Residential and Speculative Property of Cardinal Francesco Soderini," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 59 (1991), 259–82.

72 Hollingsworth, *The Cardinal's Hat*, 123–25, 131–32, 214–15.

73 Pellegrini, "A Turning Point," 19.

74 Elena Fasano Guarini, "'Rome, workshop of all the practices of the world': From the letters of Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici to Cosimo I and Francesco I," in *Court and Politics in Papal Rome, 1492–1700*, eds. Gianvittorio Signorotto and Maria Antonietta Visceglia (Cambridge, Eng.: 2002), 61–62.

75 *Ibid.*

76 Clare Robertson and Roberto Zapperi, "Odoardo Farnese," *DBI*, 45:113.

increasing internal imbalance. At the top end the popes' cardinal nephews and other cardinals from dynastic families enjoyed a tenor of living that few secular princes could rival, especially in the size of their *familia* (see Mary Hollingsworth's chapter in this volume).⁷⁷ At the other extreme the "poor" cardinals were certainly not impoverished in the real sense of the term but they were unable to live up to the dignity of their status. Temporary hardship could also be political in origin: Pellegrini gives the example of a "poor cardinal" during the pontificate of Alexander VI as Cardinal Gian Giacomo Schiaffenati who had fallen out with the Sforza dukes of Milan.⁷⁸

The *piatto cardinalizio*, or cardinal's plate, had existed since the pontificate of Calixtus III (1455–58).⁷⁹ However, it was formalized by 1484, when at the conclave that elected Innocent VIII, the cardinals had presented an electoral capitulation pact in support of "poor" cardinals. This stipulated that those cardinals who did not hold benefices providing annual revenues of 4,000 gold *scudi* "de proventibus ecclesiasticis et capello" (from ecclesiastical revenues and the cardinalatial division) would be granted 100 gold *scudi* a month and freed from all burdens.⁸⁰ However, these subsidies were withheld by Julius II.⁸¹ Writing during the latter's pontificate, Paolo Cortesi stressed the purpose of these payments: the cardinalate status needed to be upheld by a dignified lifestyle.⁸²

Poverty was not a hindrance to advancement, as can be seen in the case of Felice Peretti (1520/21–90). Born to a simple family, Peretti progressed from vicar-general at the Franciscan convent of SS. Apostoli to personal confessor to Pius V, and subsequently to the cardinalate in May 1570. As Cardinal Montalto, he was initially entitled to the annual allowance paid to "poor" cardinals, which included a gift of 500 gold ducats from Pius V and an annual pension of 1,200 *scudi*.⁸³ Mindful, perhaps, of his own background, Sixtus V was reportedly generous in his support of "poor" cardinals: his biographer wrote that, "being

77 For a comparison of cardinalate households, see Lucinda Byatt, "The Concept of Hospitality in a Cardinal's Household," *Renaissance Studies* 2 (1988), 312–20.

78 Pellegrini, "A Turning Point," 24 n. 53.

79 Moroni, 52:257f.

80 Antonovics, "A Late Fifteenth-Century Division Register," 96.

81 Paul II (1464–71) had set a higher level of 200 ducats a month for "poor" cardinals, according to Mandell Creighton, *A History of the Papacy during the Period of the Reformation* (Boston: 1887), 4:177.

82 Chambers, "Predicament," 293–94.

83 Firpo, "The Cardinal," 61; W.T. Selley, *Sixtus v: The Hermit of Villa Montalto* (Leominster: 2007) 120.

informed of the need of many [poor cardinals], he gave them the necessary sums to settle their debts.”⁸⁴

9 Conclusions

The vast incomes of the cardinal nephews, in particular that of Scipione Borghese calculated as 190,000 *scudi* in the closing years of Paul v's pontificate should not be seen “as an indication of Roman Catholic moral and economic decadence,” but rather as being “indicative of the relative fiscal health of the papacy.”⁸⁵ Paradoxical though it seems, Borghese's vast income was only twice that of the saintly Cardinal Charles Borromeo, around 100,000 *scudi*.⁸⁶ What mattered to contemporaries was how Borromeo spent that income – much of it in piety, alms-giving, and liberal hospitality – but nonetheless the income streams continued to be dominated by benefices, many held *in commendam*, and ecclesiastical pensions, highlighting the “predicament” noted by David S. Chambers. Ecclesiastical income and church property continued to be essential to the post-Tridentine high-ranking clergy, meaning that expectations of the financial (and other) rewards of a cardinal's hat continued to be realized throughout the early modern period. As Denys Hay commented, “[r]eform usually mean[t] tightening up the rules for collecting money,” but it did not essentially change the system.⁸⁷ It was the Church itself, both in the form of papal revenues and the myriad arrangements involving benefices, that underpinned the magnificent expenditure, and ideally secured the good works, loyalty, and allegiance to the Curia of the princely cardinals, the cardinal bureaucrats, the cardinal nephews, and the pious reforming cardinals of the early modern period.

84 Gregorio Leti, *Vita di Sisto v, Pontefice romano* (Amsterdam: 1698), 2:353.

85 Simon Ditchfield, “Wolfgang Reinhard, *Paul v Borghese (1605–1621): Mikropolitische Papstgeschichte*,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 64 (2011), 974.

86 Ferraro, *The Nobility in Rome*, 113–114. Ferraro's reconstruction of the income of Cardinal Charles Borromeo in 1563 is based on the report given by the Venetian ambassador, Girolamo Soranzo; additional information in Pio Paschini, *Il Primo soggiorno di S. Carlo Borromeo a Roma* (Turin: 1935), 51. For an analysis of Borromeo's household (about 100 persons) and hospitality, see Pamela M. Jones, “The Court of Humility: Carlo Borromeo and the Ritual of Reform,” in *The Possessions of a Cardinal*, eds. Hollingsworth and Richardson, 169.

87 Hay, *The Church in Italy*, 39.

Cardinals' Testaments: Piety and Charity

Fausto Nicolai

1 Clerical Status and the *licentia testandi*

The right to make a will or to leave one's possessions to a designated heir according to universal principles recognized in Roman law gained a particular meaning for cardinals.¹ This was due to their special status in canon law, according to which cardinals were beneficiaries of ecclesiastical income in the form of Church revenues (coming from titular churches, deaconries, etc.) and curial incomes as members of the Sacred College and as a result of certain positions (monasteries *in commendam*, prebends etc.; see the contribution by Lucinda Byatt in this volume) who could not freely dispose of the wealth obtained *per ecclesiam* but only of such possessions as they had obtained privately, and/or through their family. When properties and assets accumulated during a cardinal's life became part of a single undivided patrimony containing possessions both obtained in private and *per ecclesiam*, the option of leaving these by testament to an heir was lessened – and with that also the faculty of making a will. Moreover, from the Middle Ages onwards the right to make a will was further limited by the practice of the papal *jus spoli*, the pope's prerogative to appropriate possessions of deceased ecclesiastics, which was seen as an act of recuperation or restitution of that which had been obtained *per ecclesiam*.²

The lack of clear regulations guaranteeing cardinals full faculty for drawing up their testament was only resolved at the end of the 12th century when, first as customary practice and subsequently as formal act, the *licentia testandi* was introduced.³ This was a permission to draw up one's own will which the pope

1 For a historical discussion of the regulations in canon law with respect to the administration of possessions and the legation of goods by cardinals, see Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, *I testamenti dei cardinali del Duecento* (Rome: 1980), and Barbara McClung Hallman, *Italian Cardinals, Reform and the Church as Property 1492–1563* (Los Angeles: 1985); see also the contributions by Arnold Witte and Mary Hollingsworth on titular churches and the cardinal's household in the present volume.

2 On the papal *jus spoli* see the documentary material in Daniel Williman, *Records of the Papal Right of Spoil, 1316–1412* (Paris: 1974).

3 Paravicini Bagliani, *I testamenti*, 42–46.

could concede upon request.⁴ This *licentia testandi* not only guaranteed a cardinal complete disposal of his own patrimony, but it also placed it beyond the reach of the papal *jus spolii*. In conceding the faculty of bequeathing in the form of grace (*grazia*) or dispensation (*dispensa*), the pope on the one hand showed his sovereign powers by means of a relative submission of the Sacred College to his will, and on the other hand renounced the possibility of appropriation of these possessions.

The licence granted by the pope allowed a cardinal to formalize his last will, with full powers to administer his entire heritage with the sole exception of liturgical vestments and the furnishings of his private chapel; these were to be reserved for churches or other holy institutions. From the 13th century onwards, it became the norm for cardinals to arrange their last wishes; amongst the few who died intestate are Giovanni Battista Savelli (1422–98) and Ascanio Maria Sforza (1455–1505).⁵ Not only could a cardinal express his testamentary arrangements at any moment, he could also modify them in a new will – so long as he obtained a *licentia testandi* for every new testament. Therefore, making changes to a testament required a specific new papal license.

The pope would grant this licence in the form of a papal letter or brief, which he addressed directly to the supplicant. A cardinal thus had to turn to the reigning pope with the request for a licence that, if obtained, would remain valid even after that pope's death. It was only very seldom that a pope refused such a request; if this happened, it was due to the pope's own personal interests, as was the case when Alexander VI denied Ascanio Maria Sforza a *licentia testandi* and attempted to confiscate the substantial possessions of this Lombard ecclesiastic – the Borgia pope wanted to use these funds to finance his son Cesare's military campaigns in the Romagna.⁶

The contents of a *licentia testandi* can be explained by means of the example of Cardinal Ottavio Bandini, who obtained permission from Paul V in 1616.⁷ The decision in the form of a brief consists of approximately ten pages, the majority of which defined the goods obtained *per ecclesiam*, the beneficiaries

4 From the 12th through to the early 17th century there were no legal premises or requirements for the concession of the *licentia*. Pope Gregory XV (1621–23) established a preliminary “tax on the ring” of 500 Roman *scudi* which allowed then the cardinals to receive it and being able in this way to dictate their last wills. See Moroni, 2:68.

5 Marco Pellegrini, *Ascanio Maria Sforza: La parabola politica di un cardinale-principe del Rinascimento* (Rome: 2002), 626.

6 Pellegrini, *Ascanio Maria Sforza*, 626. The lack of a *licenza testandi* resulted in Ascanio Sforza dying without a testament, which permitted Pope Julius II to appropriate his possessions and use them for the construction of the new St. Peter's.

7 ASV, Segreteria dei Brevi, Reg. 534, fols. 530–40, 11 March 1616.

of the will, and the papal powers in abrogating a part of the heritage by means of the *licentia*. It also included a list of the cardinal's possessions of which he could freely dispose: "stones, also precious; money and property of any kind, both moveable and real estate, and also castles, lands, villages, houses, palaces, vineyards, and farms."⁸ Furthermore, the document mentioned incomes derived from interest-bearing bonds, including those deriving from ecclesiastical benefices such as prebends, abbeys, and priories. The cardinal was conceded complete faculty with regards to "legandi, relinquendi, et erogandi" (to assign, bequeath, and provide) but the pope reserved for himself the power to revoke this licence.⁹ As will be clear, the favourable character of the concession and the pontiff's limited possibility for revocation underlined the College's subordination to the pope's supreme will. Finally, thanks to the licence conceded to him, the cardinal also had the faculty to formulate codicils, or supplement to his will by means of which it was possible to add details and/or additions on one or more points, without however modifying its content.

2 The Typical Structure of a Cardinal's Will

Any cardinal's testament logically opens with a reference to the license, as it was a necessary legal condition allowing the testament to be made. This reference could be precise, citing the exact date of the brief with the pope's approval. However, it could also be more generic, merely stating that a licence had been obtained. Once this declaration had been made at the *incipit*, the actual contents of the testament would be dealt with according to an essentially standardized model. The text developed according to the following scheme:

1. The recommendation of the soul
2. Dispositions regarding the burial, obsequies and the possible erection of a funeral monument, stone or epitaph
3. Alms and pious legacies
4. Nominating a universal heir
5. Bestowing goods or sums of money to members of the family or court
6. Naming the executors of the will

8 ASV, Segreteria dei Brevi, Reg. 534, fols. 530–40, 11 March 1616; fol. 538: "gemmis etiam preziosis, mobilibus etiam pecunia cuiusquamque generis existentibus, ac se moventibus et immobilibus, necnon castris, terris, villis, domibus, palatiis, vineis, casalibus."

9 The papal power to revoke the licence demonstrates and confirms the subordination of the cardinal as prince to his "king" since the 12th century when the licence itself had been introduced.

7. Place of drawing up the will, or where the testament should be opened, with a list of witnesses.

Each of these sections followed certain standard formulations and/or contained specific elements throughout the early modern period.

2.1 The primary recommendation of the soul was usually to the Trinity and the Madonna, an act of repentance which declared true Christian faith. The recommendation of the soul was given the form of a *legatum*, as it represented effectively a surrender of the self to the Redeemer.

2.2 The *electio loci sepulture* or the choice of burial place was a fixed element in any testament. The testator could indicate a specific place or location, or he could mention several possibilities, depending on the region or country where his demise might occur. For example, "foreign" cardinals of non-Roman families habitually asked for temporary burials in the city followed by translation of their remains to their hometown. Alternatively, cardinals of Roman descent might ask for their mortal remains to be translated to Rome if their death occurred elsewhere. The choice could fall on the cathedral church of which the testator was bishop, or on one of the monasteries, convents or abbeys of the religious order of which he was protector, or for which he had a particular devotion. For foreign cardinals, a request to be interred in one of the national churches was also a logical choice. Furthermore, the testator might ask to be buried in an already existing tomb – either his family's or one of his own construction. Equally, he could specify to have a new one erected at the expenses of his heirs (see also Philipp Zitzlsperger's contribution in this volume).

Indications concerning funeral celebrations habitually complied with a principle of sobriety and restraint, as the majority of testators requested a memorial service *senza pompa* (without pomp), often to be celebrated during the night, in the presence of a very restricted number of persons (as in the case of the funeral of Alvise Corner in 1579).¹⁰ In rare cases, however, cardinals asked for more solemn memorial services in the presence of the entire College and with funeral decorations for the location of the event.¹¹ The testator usually left conspicuous sums of money for the organization of such a service and for issues related to the requiems which would be celebrated in churches or chapels

10 For the testament of Alvise Corner see: <http://cardinaliserenissima.uniud.it/joomla/128-corner-alvise-testamento>.

11 In his last will Cardinal Francesco Pisani requested for his funeral the presence of all the other cardinals that were at that moment in Rome (27 June 1570). For his testament see: <http://cardinaliserenissima.uniud.it/joomla/162-pisani-francesco-testamento>.

indicated in the testament or left to the choice of his heirs. It was also an option to celebrate memorial services on the day of burial or at a later moment for the soul of the deceased.

2.3 The gifts and donations in money to the so-called *legati pii* or pious bequests might be one-off sums, or incomes on the basis of regular profits, and could be destined for religious orders, churches, brotherhoods, hospitals, or other charitable institutions. The beneficiaries of these pious bequests might also include the cardinal's titular church, so that improvements, restorations, and embellishments could be undertaken in it. These pious bequests, as acts of almsgiving or donations to the poor and needy, directly reflected the testator's Christian charity and also the connections, interests, and relations he had developed during his life. The cardinal might further allocate additional funds in the form of pensions, both long-term or perpetual, for which he would ask in return prayers and solemn masses for the salvation of his soul – so as an alternative to the option mentioned in the dispositions on his burial service.

If the cardinal had belonged to a particular religious order, had been its protector, or harboured a particular devotion towards it or towards its (founding) saints, he might bequeath sums in money or real estate to it. This kind of philanthropy was often also directed towards lay and ecclesiastic hospitals and brotherhoods, in other words the system of organizations that during the early modern period offered social assistance and help towards the poor, sick and needy, convicts, and other marginalized groups, while at the same time promoting certain devotional cults.¹² Another important form of economic support frequently appearing in cardinal's wills in the early modern period was that of *maritaggio* of *povere zitelle*, or the donation of sums for the dowry of poor girls, which would guarantee them either to marry or to enter a convent, thanks to an appropriate gift.¹³

2.4 The indication of the principal heir (*designatio heredi*) was a fundamental issue in the wills of early modern cardinals: it represented the main reason for drawing up one's testament in the first place, namely the need to protect the inheritance from the *jus spoli pontificio*. The nomination of an heir guaranteed to safeguard moveable possessions and real estate within the cardinal's family according to the principles of continuity and legitimacy. The choice of a universal heir usually fell on the cardinal's brother or nephew, but always a

12 Christopher F. Black, *Italian Confraternities in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, Eng.: 1989), 123–26.

13 Black, *Italian Confraternities*, 178–84.

male member of his family who could establish direct descendants in the near future or had already done so. The testator could define a *primogenitura*, or the restriction of succession from first-born to first-born, beginning with the offspring of his designated heir.¹⁴ Another measure to safeguard the patrimony often adopted was that of the *fidecommesso* or *fideicommissum* which established a prohibition against even partial alienation of possessions and real estate received by means of an inheritance.¹⁵ This type of constraint was meant to prevent dispersal and maintain the integral transfer of all goods from one generation to the next. Although this was not always respected, the *fideicommissum* certainly represented the main form of tutelage and preservation of art collections and monumental buildings that remained in the care of the families owning them.

The heir was also asked to resolve all debts incurred by the testator, making sure that his memory would not be stained. Any worldly debt would represent an issue of moral integrity and the heir was expected to make a solemn commitment in resolving it.

2.5 Besides nominating a universal heir, a testament usually also contained donations of money or particular objects to particular members of a cardinal's family. As already discussed above, in this case the cardinal could also leave one-off sums of money or incomes, real estate owned or rented by the deceased, valuable objects such as jewels, paintings, tapestries, and books. Such cases concerned only small parts or single items from the inheritance that were specifically indicated by the testator, obliging the universal heir to respect these wishes.

The distribution of money also involved members of the "court" (or *familia*, see Mary Hollingsworth's chapter in this volume), or those who served the cardinal in various functions: his chamber servant (*aiutante di camera*), majordomo (*maestro di casa*), cook, coachman, etc. From this point of view a cardinal's testament furnishes important information about the size and structure of his entourage and its economic organization. The number of people employed and the salaries paid obviously depended on each individual cardinal's resources and typically varied from dozens of persons to the mere essential help.

14 The historical development of the *primogenitura* in early modern Rome has been discussed by Nicola La Marca, *La nobiltà romana e i suoi strumenti di perpetuazione del potere* (Rome: 2000).

15 Romualdo Trifone, *Il "fedecommesso": Storia dell'istituto in Italia dal diritto romano agli inizi del secolo XVI* (Rome: 1914); Luigi Tria, *Il fedecommesso nella legislazione e nella dottrina dal XVI secolo ai nostri giorni* (Milan: 1945).

2.6 One item found in every testament was the nomination of executors. Such executors would see to it that all wishes expressed in the will were fulfilled correctly and completely. A cardinal would normally choose candidates from within the ecclesiastical hierarchy, members of the Sacred College itself or bishops, or members of his own or other illustrious families, for this role and he would nominate between two to four persons.¹⁶ These executors would be legal guarantors for the fulfilment of the will's dispositions. This choice reveals the cardinal's political position within the highest echelons of the ecclesiastical hierarchy and his involvement with a certain faction of the College. In many cases, the testator also invoked the protection of executors for the main heir, in the name of a consolidated affiliation.

2.7 The will might be written by the cardinal himself or it could be dictated to a notary. In the former situation, the testament is defined as *in scriptis* or handwritten, and in the latter case it is called nuncupative. If the document was written in the testator's own hand, it would be sealed and consigned to a notary – to be opened up only after the cardinal's death in the presence of witnesses, during the *apertio testamenti* or opening of the will. If on the other hand the cardinal employed a notary to compile his last wishes, it would enter that particular notary's *instrumenti* or acts. There is no particular kind of notary that cardinals called upon for drafting their testament (or other legal deeds for that matter). In the city of Rome, for example, cardinals' testaments can be found indistinctively in the acts of various curial notaries, in the papers of the offices of the Auditor Camerae (AC), amongst those of the Reverenda Camera Apostolica (RCA) or amongst those of the College of Capitoline Notaries and the "Trenta Notai Capitolini," the latter working in the city itself.¹⁷ In most cases a cardinal would make use of a notary whom he knew already, and whom he had employed earlier for the drafting of other kinds of legal documents. Moreover, in the case of the nuncupative testament, the presence of witnesses was compulsory and their identity is always indicated at the bottom of the document alongside the place where the testament was drawn up.

16 For instance, in his testament Cardinal Francesco Pisani (1570) commended that all other cardinals attend his funeral: "cum interventu illustrissimorum et reverendissimorum dominorum cardinalium." See: <http://cardinaliserenissima.uniud.it/joomla/162-pisani-francesco-testamento>.

17 Romina De Vizio (ed.), *Repertorio dei notari romani dal 1348 al 1927: dall'Elenco di Achille François* (Rome: 2011).

3 Charity and Care of the Cardinal's Family before Trent

The points discussed so far constitute the standard for the will of a cardinal, in the order of its contents. However, the will could of course vary according to the particular case; specific emphasis might be given to one aspect or another. Historical and personal circumstances obviously had an impact on every testament's contents, and the choices made reflected the testator's particular character. Some specific examples of testaments dating from between the early 16th century and the second half of the 17th century can offer interesting insights into the modalities of drafting up a will and the decisions made in the process. The examples discussed here illustrate, in particular, some developments in the contents of cardinals' testaments, showing a tendency away from attention to the private interests and those of his family, which dominated in the first half of the Cinquecento, towards a sincere inclination towards disinterested charity, which reflected cardinals' moral commitments in the Seicento.

Cardinal Domenico Grimani (1461–1523) dictated his last will to a curial notary who had been called to his quarters in the Palazzo of San Marco (the present Palazzo Venezia) in Rome on 16 August 1523, a few days before his death.¹⁸ This testament, of the nuncupative type and in the form of a notarial act, begins with a reference to the *faculta testandi* that had been conceded to him “a Sede Apostolica ... in litteris apostolicis,” without, however, indicating the exact date of the papal act. After having recommended his soul to the Holy Trinity, the Virgin Mary and the entire “Curia celeste,” supplicating piety and clemency for the liberation of sins, Grimani arranged that his mortal body should be buried in the Roman church of Santi Giovanni e Paolo, his former titular church, which was administered by the order of the Jesuati. To this end, Grimani bequeathed 100 gold ducats as alms to these brothers to recompense them for funeral costs. The memorial service was to be “sober” and without any pomp, and the grave should likewise be simple (“sepultura simplex”).¹⁹

The text continued with the distribution of precious objects to both individuals and institutions. The pope was given a cameo in a gold setting, a silver statue and relics of Saint Bonaventure; the pope's secretary was given an embroidered *Officiolo* or Book of Hours; the church of San Marco in Rome received a number of liturgical vestments; to the Collegiata di Santa Maria

18 For a complete transcription of this document, see: Caterina Furlan and Patrizia Tosini (eds.), *I cardinali della Serenissima: Arte e committenza tra Venezia e Roma (1523–1605)* (Cinisello Balsamo: 2014), 322–28.

19 <http://cardinaliserenissima.uniud.it/joomla/93-grimani-domenico-testamento-2>.

Assunta or Cathedral of Cividale he bequeathed four tapestries with gold thread; to his nephew Marino Grimani *seniore*, Patriarch of Aquileia, went a breviary of great value with the condition that after his death it should go to the Venetian Republic. To the city of Venice itself Cardinal Grimani left the “statue, teste, immagini e le altre opere di antichità” (statues, busts, images and other works from Antiquity) that at that moment were stored in the monastery of Santa Chiara at Murano, plus a large ruby that should embellish the San Marco treasure. All remaining antique objects were to go to his nephew. The monastery of Sant’Antonio in Venice received his Latin and Greek codices; however, the paintings stored in Santa Chiara should go to his nephew, the previously mentioned Patriarch of Aquileia; the Bishop of Sebino was to receive the painting of Saint Jerome by Giovanni Bellini, and the Bishop of Urbino two rings of his choice. Only at the very end, Cardinal Domenico named his brother Vincenzo Grimani as universal heir, while his nephew Marino received the income from real estate including also the “vigna presso il Quirinale” (a land with a villa near the Quirinal). Subsequently Domenico named Teodorico, the papal secretary, his nephew Marino Grimani, Giovanni Stafileo, Bishop of Sebenico, and the Bishop of Urbino, Giacomo de Nordis as executors of the testament.

As this summary of the testament demonstrates, the cardinal dedicated most of his testament to the distribution of objects, not of money. The former represented the most important reason for the bequests: these gifts were made out of friendship or gratitude towards individuals, and as embellishment and decorum for certain institutions in relationship with the Grimani family. For those institutions, nevertheless, Domenico Grimani did not provide any amount of money in the form of charity. It seems that Cardinal Grimani privileged his personal relations, not that of beneficence or disinterested support of institutions. The testament reflects therefore the “internal” interests of the family clan, with an absolute minimum of charitable deeds.

Grimani’s attitude seems to characterize the majority of cardinals’ testaments from the first half of the 16th century, as can also be deduced from Cardinal Ricci, after having remembered in a rather generic way the “*facultas testandi et disponendi de bonis suis tam tibi particulariter quam etiam universaliter*” (faculty of drawing up a will and disposing of his possessions in specific and universal ways), nominates his nephew Giulio Ricci as universal heir, assigning him an annual income of 500 *scudi* on the basis of his general patrimony.²⁰ Furthermore, it set aside a sum of 300 *scudi* to be divided amongst

20 For the first testament signed by Cardinal Giovanni Ricci see: ASCR, Archivio Urbano, Sezione I, vol. 464, fols. 728–30, 1 June 1556.

the servants of his Eminence who were in his service at the time of his death.²¹ To his secretary Ricci left an annual income of a hundred *scudi*. His palace on Via Giulia in Rome he left to his nephew while the palace at Montepulciano was to go to his mother, if still alive. Finally, Ricci named as executors of his testament the cardinals Alessandro and Ranuccio Farnese, and Roberto de' Nobili. In his brief testament of 1556, Cardinal Ricci clearly made no reference to charitable donations or bequests outside of the circle of family and *famiglia*. His main attention went to establishing a universal heir to whom he could transfer his possessions, and to distributing sums to the members of his household staff and court so that they would be taken care of.

The testament of Cardinal Vitellozzo Vitelli from Umbria, which he dictated in Rome in 1562, six years before he died, is remarkably similar. Almost the entire text of this equally brief document is concerned with the institution of a universal heir, which Vitelli himself called in this text "caput est et fundamentum testamenti" (the head and fundament of this testament).²² Donations of money destined for his family members and around twenty servants and courtiers were given in a separate list.

No mention at all can be found in this testament to any kind of alms or charity, neither in ready money nor in the form of objects or real estate bequeathed to institutions. One has to wait until the 1560s to witness a new tendency of beneficence in wills. The same Cardinal Ricci discussed above, for example, drew up a second testament in 1566, in which he destined a quarter of the income from his Tuscan estates to the town of Montepulciano and its monasteries of San Gerolamo, Santa Chiara, and San Bernardo. The bequest to this last monastery was earmarked to finance the studies of youngsters from poor families. Moreover, the cardinal obliged his universal heir Giulio Ricci to donate 30 *scudi* to each of the Roman monasteries of San Pietro in Montorio, Santa Maria del Popolo, Santa Prassede, and Trinità dei Monti.²³

4 Piety and Charity in Cardinals' Wills after Trent

This broadening of the spectrum of heirs towards charitable donations is characteristic of cardinals' testaments from the late 16th century onwards. For

21 The testament reads: "familiares ipsius Reverendissimi qui reperietur in servitio ipsius Reverendissimi tempore obitus sui." See: ASCR, Archivio Urbano, sez. I, vol. 464, fol. 729.

22 For Cardinal Vitellozzo Vitelli's testament see: ASCR, Archivio Urbano, sez. I, vol. 464, fol. 489. 23 May 1562.

23 Cardinal Ricci was buried in his family chapel in the church of San Pietro in Montorio on the basis of his own last will: "Voglio essere sepolto nella mia cappella in San Pietro in Montorio senza pompa...." ASCR, Archivio Urbano, sez. I, vol. 464, fol. 730.

example, Alvise Corner in his 1579 testament left a donation of 4,000 *scudi* to the *Crociferi* of which he was cardinal protector, but also the same amount to the pope for distribution as alms for the needy. Moreover, even beyond earmarking this significant sum for that purpose, Corner left the choice of how to distribute the alms up to the pope as a further sign of his complete disinterestedness – and also of his submission to the papal will.

Another interesting example is the testament of the French cardinal Matthieu Cointrel drawn up in Rome in 1585. This document shows the greater uniformity between formulation and contents than those of Italian cardinals, according to a “supranational” expression of intentions; moreover, it confirms the tendency of bequeathing large sums to charitable institutions. Cointrel designated 800 gold *scudi* as annual income for the foundation of a college consisting of twelve priests attached to the church of San Luigi dei Francesi, which should take care not only of the maintenance and embellishment of the building, but should also guarantee administration of the sacraments – in other words, continuous care for maintenance of the church and the assistance of the needy through the distribution of alms.

If we consider the testaments of cardinals from the 17th century, the sums spent on alms become a dominant aspect in the formulation of the last will. Two examples suffice here to illustrate this: the will of Cardinal Bernardino Spada (dated 1661) and that of Girolamo Colonna (dated 1666). In the former, the Roman cardinal assigned 12,000 *scudi* in pious bequests “da distribuirsi a poveri con opere pie certe in dodici anni” (to be distributed to the poor through pious institutions, over a period of twelve years).²⁴ Amongst these donations were those to his own titular churches and to those of his nephews who were also cardinals, alms for charitable organizations to be chosen by his heir, and subventions to religious orders such as the Knights of Saint John and the Order of the Franciscans. Cardinal Colonna also bequeathed a total sum of more than 3,000 *scudi* to twenty-two recipients, amongst whom were religious orders, hospitals, and charitable institutions. The same tendency can be observed in the testaments of Cardinals Giambattista Leni (dated 1627), Ciriaco Rocci (dated 1651), and Decio Azzolini (dated 1689), to cite just a few.²⁵ In each of these testaments, the total sum bequeathed in alms to recipients outside of the circle of family and court exceeded 2,000 *scudi*. We can also see a consistent

24 For Cardinal Bernardino Spada's testament see: ASR, Notai Auditor Camerae (AC), vol. 5933, fols. 87–112, 30 October 1661.

25 For Cardinal Ciriaco Rocci's testament, see: ASR, Notai AC, vol. 30, fols. 210–19, 8 June 1648; For Cardinal Decio Azzolini's testament, see: ASR, Notai AC, vol. 915, fols. 282–91, 6 June 1689; for Cardinal Giambattista Leni see: Maria Gemma Paviolo, *I testamenti dei Cardinali: Giambattista Leni (1573–1627)* (Morrisville: 2013).

portion allocated to charitable donations in testaments of the 18th century, although with a lesser emphasis.

Excluding the individual variables in each case, consisting of personal interests and the character of each testator, the increasing weight of beneficence after the conclusion of the Council of Trent is clear. Tridentine decrees about the moral conduct and the integrity of the College had a particular impact on the contents of cardinals' wills. The testament, as a final worldly deed and as a conclusion of an exemplary existence, signalled the cardinal's Christian virtues, with particular attention to charity – for it was through this institutional apparatus that the cardinal remained in contact with the rest of society. Thanks to pious bequests the cardinal contributed to the economic prosperity and functionality of religious orders and institutions of welfare, thereby lending prestige not only to his own memory but to the Church as a whole.

As attested by numerous treatises on the ideal cardinal, which were published between late 16th and early 17th century (see David S. Chambers's chapter in this volume), the Princes of the Church had to maintain a modest and frugal way of living, without however completely renouncing the splendour appropriate to their princely status.

A stark example of a cardinal for whom renunciation of worldly goods was a lifelong rule up to the point of writing his will was Robert Bellarmine. Bellarmine nominated the Jesuit Order, to which he belonged, as universal heir of his possessions. This gesture was received with so much popular enthusiasm that it incited strong support for his beatification (see Pamela M. Jones's chapter in this volume).²⁶ Moreover, thanks to this act, the Jesuits witnessed a social turnaround, in terms of a wider appreciation and support, especially from the lower classes. This may have been the most important result, because in fact Bellarmine left the order more debts than credits.

Translated from Italian by the editors

26 Giacomo Fuligatti, *Testamento del Cardinale Bellarmino voltato in italiano* (Rome: 1623).

PART 5

Cardinals and Rome



Cardinals and the Government of the Papal States

Irene Fosi

1 Introduction: From Theory to Practice

The exercise of authority in the Papal States, whether as governor of a town or city, or as a papal legate, was an important step in a cardinal's career. The choice of governor for any legation represented a twofold procedure. For the pope it was necessary to choose cautiously, appointing a cardinal who had already given proof of administrative and/or diplomatic skills. On the other hand, the legate would exploit this post, which had a standard duration of two or three years, but which could be extended, to promote his own advancement in the Curia. Heading a legation provided direct experience "at the coalface" and it was critical for cardinals who would later hold posts in the Roman Congregations and in the Church's central government, including the post on the throne of St. Peter itself. The legations to the provinces of the Papal States were abolished in 1860, when the Kingdom of Sardinia (later the Kingdom of Italy) occupied most of these territories.

From the chronicles edited in the past by learned locals to more recent prosopography, it appears that not only a legation but also the governorship of either a city or a town constituted an important stage in the career of future popes such as Clement VIII, Paul V, and Urban VIII.¹ These experiences were not always positive and often involved mediating conflicts between local lay institutions and those of the Church – bishops, feudatories, urban patriciates, and inquisitors. However, legates and governors established continuity of communication between the periphery and the Curia and Congregations in Rome. Efforts were made to educate the "prelate in government" – that is, to direct his behaviour according to instructions, many of which survive from the late 16th and 17th centuries, in manuscript and in print.² These texts proposed precise

1 For the sources and biographical data, see Christopher Weber, *Legati e governatori dello Stato Pontificio (1550–1809)* (Rome: 1994).

2 *Istruzione per un prelato che sia mandato in governo*, ASV, Fondo Bolognetti, vol. 156, fols. 73r–86c. On this text, see also Peter Rietbergen, *Pausen, prelaten, bureaucraten: Aspecten van de geschiedenis van het Pausschap en de Pauselijke Staat in de 17e eeuw* (Nijmegen: 1983), 138–58; Irene Fosi, "Il governo della giustizia nello Stato Ecclesiastico fra centro e periferia (secoli XVI–XVII)," in *Offices et Papauté (XIVe–XVIIe siècle): Charges, hommes, destins*, eds. Armand

guidelines for representing papal authority, winning the favour of local elites as prudent, and praising the obedience of the subjects. They codified theory out of long-established practices from the imperative of maintaining a continuous exchange of letters with Rome, to recognizing, rectifying, and adapting instructions sent out from the centre to the variety of local situations that synthesized “the maintenance of public things for the benefit of private citizens ... good government of the magistrate to satisfy his debt.”³ The pages of these texts are crammed with useful advice on how to generate consensus for the central power and to achieve the common good (*bene comune*) through the obedience of the subjects and the devotion of local elites. To govern a province meant to know, order, record, and preserve; in other words, to keep an eye on both public and moral order.

These writings reflect an early instance of *cameralism* and the necessity for absolute power, capable of dominating organically and, rationally, all of government’s day-to-day facets. They present a planned image, which ignored a reality splintered by a multiplicity of jurisdictions, privileges, and structural deficiencies innate to the systems of government of the period, that of the papacy in particular. It was a propagandistic image celebrating sovereign power, the end result of good government (*buon governo*) of the state. If the sovereign was the family’s father, then the governor was its doctor: the image is present in political theory and, to a lesser extent, in these instructions that simplified both concepts and behaviours, styles of government and of life. The same directions were included also in the briefs nominating cardinal legates. Besides being repetitive, the numerous “instructions,” like the collections of letters from legates, nuncios, and governors, underline the difficulty of creating a new governmental culture, founded on an ethic of service and on an aptitude for government that would legitimize the authority which these clerics represented.

Both the theory of government and the instructions for it originated in the late 15th century from Christian principles and the ethics of the nobility and resulted in the creation of a state bureaucracy during the course of the 16th century. This new expression of papal sovereignty was enclosed in a governmental machine slowly separating itself from the ecclesiastical hierarchy, yet sharing with it the journey of training.⁴ The experience of governance – in the

Jamme and Olivier Poncet (Rome: 2005), 216–21; Irene Fosi, *Papal Justice: Subjects and Courts in the Papal States 1500–1750*, trans. Thomas V. Cohen (Washington, DC: 2011).

3 Fosi, *Papal Justice*, 177–84.

4 On this issue, see Paolo Prodi, *The Papal Prince. One Body and Two Souls: The Papal Monarchy in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, Eng.: 1987); Gabriella Santoncini, *Il Buon Governo: Organizzazione e legittimazione del rapporto fra sovrano e comunità, Sec. XVI–XVIII* (Milan: 2002);

legations but especially in the smaller towns plagued by famine, the threat of war on their borders, opposition of the nobility, and banditry – was often seen as a punishment, a distancing from the Roman centre of power, and from the pope himself. This is evident in the letters these governors wrote to their own courtiers, to “friends” and to members of the papal household, in the hope that one of them provide the means to enable the papal representative to return to Rome.

Instructions, memoirs, and other papers illustrate the fundamental importance of circulating information within the curial structure of central government, something realized through the presence of these same people in various Congregations. The participation of these figures – in this case of cardinals who had had experience of governing outside Rome before becoming members of Congregations – also confirms the Roman Curia, above all after Sixtus V’s reforms, as an organic system for informational exchange. Such exchanges drove a culture of government, of *buon governo*, that diffused itself into the provincial Papal States. What happened in Rome was to be an exemplar of the perfect realization of a universal design: this was a constant feature in the propaganda, from the frescoes in the Salone Sistino in the Vatican Library to those in the Salone Paolino in the Palazzo Quirinale, where Rome’s government is open to the world. However, reality frequently strayed far from this model.

After a brief description of the geography of the Papal States and the reorganization of its government in the course of the 16th and 17th centuries, my chapter will seek to outline the main features of government by cardinals, above all in the legations of Ferrara, Bologna, and the Romagna, and also to give some examples of careers that, from the experience of government in minor cities and municipalities, then moved on to legations and the Roman Congregations.

2 The Political Geography of the Papal States

From the late 15th century, the political geography of the Papal States underwent some major changes: the Farnese state of Camerino was created in 1539 and then ceded to the Holy See in 1545; the duchy of Ferrara was incorporated into the Papal States in 1598 (see Fig. 32.4), and that of Urbino between 1625 and 1631. In the mid-17th century, the duchy of Castro was brought back under

Stefano Tabacchi, *Il Buon Governo: Le finanze locali nello stato della Chiesa (secoli XVI–XVIII)* (Rome: 2007); Antonio Menniti Ippolito, *Il governo dei papi in età moderna* (Rome: 2007); Mario Rosa, *La Curia romana in età moderna: Istituzioni, cultura, carriere* (Rome: 2013).

direct papal rule. From the end of the 15th century the Papal States were divided into five provinces that were not affected by these frequent changes: Patrimonio di S. Pietro, Ducato di Spoleto, Marca Anconitana (the present-day region of the Marche), Romagna, and Campagna e Marittima. This division was laid out in the *Constitutiones Aegidiane* issued by Cardinal Gil Álvarez de Albornoz in 1357, with the aim of extending the political and administrative model used in the Marca to the rest of the Papal States. These constitutions also regulated the role of the rector who, as the pope's representative, was to consolidate papal authority and gain the consent of the pope's subjects.⁵ This function had an explicit political value, designed to reinforce why, frequently, the rector was accompanied by a legate, a learned cardinal with ample jurisdictional and political powers, who was sent to the province to solve specific and delicate issues. In time, the figure of the cardinal legate took over all the functions of the rector in some provinces.

The *Constitutiones Aegidiane* specified the limits of jurisdictional authority in both civil and criminal law, of public order and the defence of the territory, and they underlined the fundamental importance of justice and government in affirming papal authority. In 1509, Julius II used these norms to reaffirm papal rule to the Romagna after his military victory at Agnadello.⁶ The pope had already restored papal rule in Bologna after expelling the Bentivoglio in 1506, although that city kept its unique position in the Papal States, a situation recognized in 1544 by the appointment of its own cardinal legate.⁷ Several eminent cardinals were appointed to the see of Bologna: Giovanni Morone, Charles Borromeo, Giovan Battista Castagna (Urban VII), Antonio Maria Salviati, and Alessandro Peretti, to name the holders of the office during the 16th century, when papal power needed consolidating.⁸ These legates found it hard to impose the authority of Rome onto the local realities in Bologna, which was split by factional rivalries that gave rise to serious banditry in the countryside, mostly led by noble fief-holders. In this situation, papal policy in the second half of the 16th century tended, on the one hand, to break up the territory into smaller entities and, on the other, to centralize authority under the Roman Congregations. During the 17th century, for example during the pontificate of Urban

5 Andrea Gardi, "L'amministrazione pontificia e le province settentrionali dello Stato (XIII–XVIII secolo)," *Archivi per la storia* 13 (2000), 43.

6 For an account of the Romagna in the early modern era, see Angelo Turchini, *La Romagna nel Cinquecento: Istituzioni, comunità, mentalità* (Cesena: 2003).

7 On the particular situation of Bologna, see Angela De Benedictis, *Repubblica per contratto: Bologna: una città europea nello Stato della Chiesa* (Bologna: 1995).

8 Andrea Gardi, *Lo stato in provincia: L'amministrazione della Legazione di Bologna durante il regno di Sisto V (1585–1590)* (Bologna: 1994).

VIII, who himself had been legate in Bologna from 1611 to 1614, cardinals from the Barberini entourage were appointed – for example, Luigi Capponi, Antonio Santacroce, Giulio Sacchetti, and Bernardino Spada, and the papal nephew Antonio Barberini.

Since the political failure of Cesare Borgia, the Romagna had remained a distinct territory, with variable borders, characterized by the absence of a centre. Through its cardinal legates, papal government asserted and manifested itself as a superior entity. The governorship of the Romagna was often united with that of Bologna, at least until the middle of the 16th century, and it was only under Sixtus V and Urban VIII, that the administration of this (and other) territories received a more definitive institutionalization. Until the mid-17th century, the Romagna was governed by legates, governors, or presidents. The first category, usually cardinals, exercised greater authority than the latter two and displayed great autonomy; the presidents or governors, because of their “inferior” rank, were more subject to Roman directives.

The situation in the Marca was similar: between 1501 and 1610, governors were appointed to the cities of Ascoli, Ancona, Fano, Fermo, Jesi, Montalto, Fabriano, S. Severino e Matelica. Cardinal Rodolfo Pio da Carpi, who became legate to the Marca in 1539, was fundamental to the development of government there – he reformed Albornoz’s *Constitutiones Aegidiane*, overcoming civic resistance to secure approval, “seeking to find a fair balance between the demands of centralization and ancient autonomies” in Ancona. Shortly before the end of Carpi’s legation in the Marca, Alessandro Farnese, Paul III’s secretary (and cardinal nephew) sent him an *Istruzione ... per le cose d’Ancona* (22 January 1542), which probably indirectly reflected the tensions and disagreements between the legate and the magistracy of Ancona.⁹

The territorial fragmentation of the Marca, which resulted from the need to divide the areas governed by papal representatives so that they could be controlled directly from Rome, was also due to particular papal personalities: Sixtus V, for example, who came from Grottamare (Montalto), wanted to reorganize the civic governments of his native region, where several idiosyncrasies persisted. From the mid-16th century, the governorship of Fermo had been reserved for papal nephews or prelates from the Roman Curia.

Factional struggles facilitated Paul III’s policy of forcing submission to papal power and in 1540 Perugia, which had already been brought into the orbit of the Papal States, finally lost its independence. Relations with the papacy were regulated by two documents: the 1424 *Capitoli* and Julius III’s bull of 1553. In the latter document, Julius, who was from the city, re-defined papal representation

⁹ Matteo Al Kalak, *Pio, Rodolfo* in DBI, 85:94–98.

in the city, which had previously been governed by a cardinal legate, but was now entrusted to a governor who controlled the whole of the province of Umbria, of which Perugia was the capital. The higher authority and the pacifying function of a cardinal could be efficacious in difficult moments, assuming a powerfully symbolic significance capable of overcoming local tensions and divisions by the exercise of papal authority. Thus it was, at Spoleto on 27 August 1583, when Alessandro Sforza, cardinal legate in Umbria, reserved all civil court cases for himself to avoid discord between the parties and celebrated a solemn peace between the factions. He did so as the Umbrian city had been shaken by the involvement of sections of the nobility in banditry.¹⁰

Regions to the north and south of Rome that had been integrated into the Papal States at different times and in different ways to form the province of Campagna e Marittima Province illustrate the variety of situations, political and legal, geographic and social, that limited and/or conditioned papal government's effectiveness. In this complex political geography diverse and sometimes ill-defined types of government such as legations and presidencies existed, including administration by prelates, by doctors, by brief, and by so-called *governo di Consulta*. The larger and more important territories were governed by legations and presidencies that were reserved for cardinals. The legate was invested with powers defined in a *breve* and he sometimes had the power to repeal laws and apostolic constitutions.

From the mid-16th century, the number of legations dropped: previously cardinal legates had been appointed for Avignon, Bologna, Campagna e Marittima, Marca, Patrimonio (Viterbo), Perugia and Umbria, and occasionally also to cities like Spoleto, Ascoli and Camerino. However, by the end of the 16th century, apart from Avignon and its surrounding *Comtat Venaissin*, legations were concentrated along the northern borders of the Papal States: Bologna, Romagna, and Ferrara (from 1598), and Urbino, which was taken under direct papal rule between 1625 and 1631, after the della Rovere family became extinct.

3 Rule by Legates: Ferrara, Bologna, and the Romagna

Over the centuries the figure of the legate, already present amongst papal officials in the Middle Ages, changed profoundly. By the end of the 16th century a legate could be defined as “a high-ranking bureaucrat who, in the course of

¹⁰ Fosi, *Papal Justice*, 44.

his career, found it prestigious to take up appointments of responsibility but also honours and advantageous accessories."¹¹ Such legates could be churchmen from the world of papal finance or with close links to it: at Bologna, for example, 17th-century legates were mostly Genoese, representatives of those same banking families who were active at the papal court.¹² This offered plenty of opportunities for these legates to let their co-nationals manage contracts issued by the provincial treasuries and to entrust them with governmental posts within their territory.

The legate represented, then, papal authority and, above all, he was to realize justice and good government. His letters of appointment were explicit in this sense, listing all the areas in which the *Superiore*, as he was known, was able to exercise his powers. In the spiritual arena these powers were considerable. In matters of justice, the legate could judge the clergy, both regular and secular, conduct investigations, issue sentences in criminal cases and, in this context, act as the secular arm to order arrests, and to imprison or execute individuals. As the representative of papal authority, he also had the pope's duality of powers but in fact, the legate did not interfere in spiritual affairs and generally avoided conflict with episcopal authority.

Above all, in the 17th century, with the role of the bishop redefined by the Council of Trent, the legate tried not to occupy himself at all with spiritual issues. By contrast, in 16th-century Bologna several events had underlined the weakness of episcopal authority in maintaining order and discipline, both spiritual and temporal, and had consequently induced the city's legates to develop a function as substitute or deputy bishop, even regarding issues belonging to the spiritual sphere. While frictions and conflicts inevitably erupted from this superposition, it was rather the rekindling of factional strife that threatened papal authority in difficult cities. The legate's power was represented at Bologna by the *Tribunale del Torrone* where he exercised justice in criminal matters as the pope's representative. Instituted in the 1530s during Clement VII's pontificate, when Bologna's legate was the famous Florentine historian Francesco Guicciardini, the *Torrone* was intended as an explicit manifestation of the pope's authority and of the legate's coercive power over the city's claims to independence. The Bolognese never liked the tribunal, regarding the legate's powers in the dispensing of justice as despotic and oppressive.¹³ In situations

11 Andrea Gardi, "Il mutamento di un ruolo: I legati nell'amministrazione interna dello Stato Pontificio dal XIV al XVII secolo," in Jamme and Poncet, *Offices et Papauté*, 418.

12 Nicole Reinhard, "Bolonais à Rome, Romains à Bologna? Carrières et stratégies entre centre et périphérie: Une esquisse," in Jamme and Poncet, *Offices et Papauté*, 237–49.

13 For more information on this tribunal, see Cesarina Casanova, "L'amministrazione della giustizia a Bologna: Alcune anticipazioni sul tribunale del Torrone," *Dimensioni e problemi*

of grave danger and threat, such as the spread of banditry or rebellion by the local nobility, as happened in Bologna in the late 16th century, legates' administration of justice verged on repression, for instance through a ban on those guilty of *lèse-majesté* attending Mass.

Apart from these repressive measures, aimed at heads of factions or families like the Pepoli or the Malvezzi, legates' interventions up to the end of the 16th century were directed mainly at punishing petty criminals with financial settlements; legates also tried to put an end to the proceedings in a preliminary phase with the retraction of complaints and the stipulation of a "peace."¹⁴ However, there was no shortage of open conflicts, with complaints raised against the overly harsh, repressive, and brutal punishments which some cardinal legates meted out. Some plaintiffs sent their complaints directly to Rome, through Bologna's ambassador at the papal court, though often without success. Rome's position appeared, in some cases, to go decisively against the Bolognese, almost as if taking a hard line demonstrated not only the pope's authority but also the "privileges" and "liberty" granted since the foundation of the city.¹⁵ By the end of the 17th century complaints about the harshness and brutality of the police and those riding out into the countryside to round up real or presumed ruffians, and complaints against the greed and corruption of lawyers, had generated a widespread and profound dissatisfaction within the city and amongst its magistrates against the actions of legate Buonaccorso Buonaccorsi.¹⁶

In 1598 the duchy of Ferrara came under papal authority when the last Este duke died heirless. Clement VIII spent a long time in the city, negotiating and imposing his new authority. Subsequently, the pope was represented here by a legate, a cardinal who ruled the province for three years. The Ferrarese legation also benefitted from a more stable balance between episcopal power and that of the legate. This was grafted onto a social system in which there was very little opposition to papal rule. Moreover, the geographic position of Ferrara on the northern border of the Papal States gave provincial affairs of the province

della ricerca storica 2 (2004), 267–92; Giancarlo Angelozzi and Cesarina Casanova, *La giustizia criminale in una città di antico regime: Il tribunale del Torrione di Bologna, Sec. XVI–XVII* (Bologna: 2008).

14 Gardi, *Lo stato in provincia*, 212–18.

15 On the contrast between Bologna and Ferrara in their relations with Rome, see Birgit Emich, "Bologneser libertà, Ferrareser decadenza: Politische Kultur und päpstliche Herrschaft im Kirchenstaat der frühen Neuzeit," in *Staatsbildung als kultureller Prozess: Strukturwandel und Legitimation von Herrschaft in der frühen Neuzeit*, eds. Ronald G. Asch and Dagmar Freist (Cologne: 2005), 117–34.

16 Angelozzi and Casanova, *La giustizia in una città di antico regime*, passim.

an international dimension which transformed the cardinal legate from an administrator into a diplomat.

Ferrara was not a post for candidates deemed suitable for the tiara itself, something apparent from its first legate – Pietro Aldobrandini, Clement VIII's own nephew. From his official entry into the city, wearing the robes of the *Superiore*, the imagery of justice, order, and peace emphasized the legate's role as pacifier of factionalism, internal discord, and disorder, generating the consensus necessary for government.¹⁷ The position at Ferrara was, as with other legations, predominantly political, but it could develop into a diplomatic mission when the international situation put the territories on the borders of the Papal States in danger. Relations with the Venetian republic, the duchy of Milan, and also with the duchy of Savoy, entrusted the legates with the *regia* of papal politics. In peacetime, however, the legate imposed papal authority on the city, its territory, and the surrounding towns, avoiding conflict with local privileges and especially avoiding factional strife amongst the local nobility. Justice became a useful instrument of social control: the legates' letters of appointment underlined the fact that their task should be the protection of the weak, of women and children, to avoid disorder, and to repress crimes and banditry. The legate's daily role, in theory, was to balance the rules with practical considerations, to modify his responses in such a way that he juggled the demands of the authority that he represented with local traditions. Finding a balance between these two often conflicting realities may have been the basis of *buon governo*, but its realization in cities like Bologna, Ferrara, and Perugia – with long traditions of communal or seigniorial rule – certainly involved ability and good sense, virtues that did not always shine in cardinals appointed to these posts. The guarantee of order started with the securing of food supplies, limiting the possession of weapons, controlling the numbers of beggars, vagabonds and other potential threats to social stability of the city and its surrounding area.

The presence of a new papal representative was announced to the pope's subjects with the confirmation and reiteration of the proclamations issued by the legate's predecessor and general proclamations that peremptorily listed all punishable offences and their penalties. Published at the beginning of each legation, these general proclamations (*bandi generali*) were intended to create a sense of continuity between the new legate and his predecessor which

17 Irene Fosi, "Parcere subiectis, debellare superbos": La giustizia nelle cerimonie di possesso a Roma e nelle legazioni dello Stato Pontificio nel Cinquecento," in *Cérémonial et rituel à Rome XVIe–XIXe siècle*, eds. Maria Antonietta Visceglia and Catherine Brice (Rome: 1997), 89–115.

enforced their mutual role in embodying the pope's authority. Right from the start, the legate's judicial authority was confirmed under the threat of the gravest penalties to transgressors and criminals, including capital punishment.

Severity, control, and vigilance over mismanagement by "ministers" that fed grievances amongst the population and could even generate rebellion, were seen as explicit signs of *buon governo*. It was the legate's duty to ensure that those who administered minor centres did not engage in abusive or illegal behaviour: the communal accounts of such places were sent to him to be forwarded to Rome. Until the modern era, the legate's correspondence with the cardinal nephew (see Birgit Emich's contribution in this volume) testified to his place within the continual process of mediation between central authority and the province – the latter in its differing and often conflicting articulations of power.¹⁸ But the real importance of the legate in matters of order and justice emerges from the correspondence between him and the governors of the various cities within his territory – letters underlining the difficulty of ensuring that his "justice" was evident across his legation.¹⁹

Although clashes over diocesan affairs were blunted in the late 16th century, cardinal legates sometimes came into conflict with the inquisitors who claimed authority over them in local lay and ecclesiastical tribunals, as well as at a ceremonial level. For example, in a memoir proposing the remodelling of the ceremonial of the cardinal legate of Ferrara, written by Cardinal Galeazzo Marescotti in 1678, a strategy of prudent behaviour was suggested that, nevertheless, failed to hide a certain discomfort in the face of a presence which had by this time become cumbersome:

There is the tribunal of the S. Uffizio in the convent of San Domenico with the father inquisitor and with his officials and licencees, as in every other tribunal, and with these it is necessary in the case of a jurisdictional dispute to tread with great care, so as not to cause offence with the general Congregation of the S. Uffizio in Rome, which upholds its privileges and licencees with great vigour in order so as not to make a bad example to secular princes nearby, whence it will be always commendable to come to a friendly settlement with the father inquisitor when differences arise ... indeed it would be good if the cardinal legate would order the Master

18 For Ferrara, see Irene Fosi (ed.), *La Legazione di Ferrara del cardinale Giulio Sacchetti 1627–1631* (Vatican City: 2006).

19 Andrea Gardi, *Costruire il territorio: L'amministrazione della Legazione di Ferrara nel XVII e XVIII secolo* (Rome: 2011).

of his Chamber to send the father inquisitor up ahead of everyone else whenever he arrives, and not to make him wait in the antechamber.²⁰

To the letters of appointment of the cardinal legates of Bologna, Ferrara, and the Romagna a brief specifying ample *facultates contra bannitos* was usually added. This brief became part of the investment ritual which, in conferring extraordinary powers on the legate, aimed to reinforce papal authority in his territory. In practice, by the 17th century legates' interventions against banditry in these territories became increasingly like policing those banished from the city and thus obliged to live in the countryside, living off smuggling, attacking peasants, rustling cattle, and seizing and killing travellers. Banditry was endemic in the border regions and emerged with greater violence in moments of crisis. Nevertheless, the possibility of achieving *buon governo* and order in distant legations – and especially of the possibility of subduing a factional and rebellious nobility – came to be regarded in Rome with scepticism or veiled irony. The author of an *Istruzione curiosa et utile data al legato di Romagna al tempo di Urbano VIII* wrote that:

[In] the jurisdiction that the legate holds over the places under his charge it is necessary rather to make credible that it is possible to exercise [justice] than to reduce it to mere legislation; however it is always good to avoid incentives because as some barons hold severe grudges, they do not easily tolerate the complaints of subjects and that their cases are reconsidered, and thus they create a fuss for themselves and the legate with memorials and appeals to Rome on the pretext of violation of their privileges ...

The document also underlined that all “the cares of government” in their various forms – from the provision of water and maintenance of the streets to the control of public order – are all conditioned by interests and “private concerns.”²¹

4 Conclusion

The administrative reorganization of the Papal States in the course of the 16th century instituted new legations that extended the system of government set

20 Vatican City, Archivio della Congregazione per la dottrina della fede, SO. St. St. UV 11, fols. 90r-91v.

21 ASV, Misc. Arm. III, 15, fol. 181r.

up by Alborno. The legate's role was no longer defined as an exceptional or emergency one but as that of the pope's loyal representative. In the light of recent studies, it seems inappropriate to speak of the dichotomy between centre and periphery as a linear process of centralization to explain the formulation of the pope's (or any other) government from the capital to the province. Analysis of this relationship should move instead to those figures appointed to govern in the periphery and, in particular, to the figure of the cardinal legate, his functions, his relations with the pope and the papal family; it should also focus on the local nobility and, above all, diocesan titleholders. Above all, legates or provincial rectors who exercised a *potestas directa* received *de latere* (in other words from the pope himself) and who represented papal authority "*in provincia sua*," were acknowledged authorities of such jurisdictional range, even over spiritual issues, that they could go to war with locals or, at least, actively limit their power. In the course of the 16th century, in various parts of the Papal States, cardinal legates sometimes found themselves usurping the bishop's role in spiritual issues; however, from the 17th century this conflict was largely replaced by collaboration in both the legations – Bologna, Ferrara, and the Romagna and later Urbino – and also in the cities ruled by governor prelates.

The personal relationship between the legate and the Roman Congregations, and above all, between the legate and his superior, the cardinal nephew and chief minister of the Papal States, was fundamental, as can be gauged from their correspondence. Letters sent to family, friends, and to various contacts in the Curia, provide insight into the conflict of papal administration in the provinces with existing powers and also the compromise, pacification, the *buona giustizia* and the liberality that allowed legates to integrate and dominate. These strategies manifested themselves in political marriages and in patronage – something confirmed by the numerous artists taken from the provinces to Rome to become guests at the cardinals' courts. But they were also manifest in the protection accorded to cathedral chapters, religious orders, churches, monasteries, and other pious sites in the cities of the legation. The exercise of legatine power, furthermore, delineated the space of papal authority, both real and symbolic, over civic reality.

The continuous flow of information between cardinal legates and Rome testifies to the desire and duty to communicate – not only so that the cardinal might receive orders but also that he might show himself a prudent and shrewd administrator, suitable for the tasks of government, loyal to the Curia, to the pope and to his patron, the cardinal nephew. The sheer quantity of this correspondence illustrates its importance as the primary tool which connected the centre and the peripheries. It was an essential instrument of government, to earn and enforce power and consensus. Beside this, the direct and informal

conversations with the pope, that family, friends, and other intermediaries had on a daily basis in the rooms of the papal court, as is evident in the replies sent from Rome to the legates, enforced the activities of peripheral governors and legates. The letters illustrate the techniques and methods of government which legates adopted in order to mould and discipline the local nobility, and to smooth the recurring conflicts with the civic magistracies. These epistolary exchanges with the cardinal nephew in Rome finally also emphasize the hard work and discomforts experienced by the legate in the fulfilment of this duty. And, obviously, such legates never forgot to underline that, once free of their onerous duty, they would repay the benevolence of their patrons by showing them eternal loyalty.

Translated from Italian by the editors

Cardinals and the Vacant See

John M. Hunt

With Sixtus v's death on 27 August 1590 the Papal States fell into the disarray and violent disorder that often accompanied the *Sede Vacante*, the period between a pope's death and the election of his successor. A few days after the pope's death the exiled Sieneese noble and captain, Alfonso Piccolomini, with his band of brigands reclaimed his fief, Monte Marciano, located in the Marches near Ancona. A courier brought this news to the papal court, adding that Piccolomini had said, "in the *Sede Vacante* everything was permissible."¹ Three weeks later, Piccolomini was still roaming throughout the Papal States, holding travellers for ransom and looting villas and farmhouses. During that October the bandit-lord petitioned the College of Cardinals to restore his feudal rights over his fief. The cardinals responded that "it would not be wise to make a decision [on the matter], which might cause further problems in these troubling times."²

This episode involving Piccolomini highlights two intertwined aspects of the *Sede Vacante*: the populace's assertion of freedom to do things normally proscribed during the *Sede Plena* (when the reigning pope was alive) and the limitations that the College of Cardinals faced in restraining the disorder associated with the papal interregnum.³ This chapter will examine the little-studied matter of the governing power of the College of Cardinals during the *Sede Vacante*. With the papacy's definitive return to Rome in 1420, after several decades of destabilization of the Great Schism, absolutist popes – in an evolutionary march towards centralization – sought to curtail the authority of the College of Cardinals. Once great princes of the Church who challenged the popes for leadership roles, by the late 16th century the cardinals had assumed mainly advisory roles within the papacy, serving as administrators in various congregations or as governors in the provinces of the Papal States.⁴ However,

1 ASF, Mediceo del Principato, Lettere di Particolari, f. 822, letter of 30 September 1590 from Domenico Grimaldi, Archbishop of Avignon, to the Grand Duke Ferdinand, fol. 30r.

2 BAV, Urb. lat. 1058, *Avvisi* di 1590, newsletter of 17 October 1590, fols. 535r-v.

3 On this violence and the freedom of *Sede Vacante*, see John M. Hunt, *The Vacant See in Early Modern Rome: A Social History of the Papal Interregnum* (Leiden: 2016), 132–73.

4 Paolo Prodi, *The Papal Prince. One Body and Two Souls: The Papal Monarchy in Early Modern Europe*, trans. Susan Hawkins (Cambridge, Eng.: 1987), 17–58. See also Mario Caravale and

the *Sede Vacante* brought new opportunities for the cardinals to exercise authority over the Curia, Rome, and the Papal States since they served as substitutes for the dead pontiff as interregal leaders of the Church. The most pressing task was the ability to elect the new Vicar of Christ, an awesome power that gave the cardinals the potential to shape the tone of the next pontificate. Moreover, the cardinals also had the authority to govern the lands of the Church, including Rome and provincial capitals. Tradition, codified in several bulls beginning with *Ubi periculum* (1274) accorded the cardinals this faculty but also strictly limited their governmental authority as an independent body.⁵ These restrictions, coupled with the fact that the cardinals were sealed in the conclave, hampered their ability to direct the affairs of the Papal States, thus exacerbating the inherently chaotic period of the interregnum.

Although much has been written on the conclave, and more recently, on the *Sede Vacante* and its concomitant turmoil, there has been little comprehensive research dealing directly with the governmental power of the cardinals during the papal interregnum.⁶ Lorenzo Spinelli was the first modern scholar to address the issue in his monograph on papal bulls from *Ne Romani* (1312) to *In eligendis* (1562), which regulated both access to the conclave and the authority of the cardinals. Spinelli outlined the impact of these bulls, tracing an evolution to an increasing loss of governing clout on the part of the cardinals.⁷ In separate studies, both Laurie Nussdorfer and I have examined the jurisdictional conflicts between the Sacred College and the civic regime of Rome (the *Popolo Romano*) over the city's regulation.⁸ In his survey of the papal elections from 1450 to 1700, Miles Pattenden has summarized this literature and added his own insights, notably that the cardinals acted with their own self-interests in mind, frequently placing these over good government and often prolonging the election.⁹ While this research has contributed to a deeper understanding

Alberto Caracciolo, *Lo Stato pontificio da Martino v a Pio x* (Turin: 1978), 383–87. For the challenge of the cardinals at the papacy's return to Rome, see Carol M. Richardson, *Reclaiming Rome: Cardinals in the Fifteenth Century* (Leiden: 2009).

5 Luigi Tomassetti et al. (eds.), *Bullarium Romanum: Bullarum diplomatum et privilegiorum sanctorum romanorum pontificum* (Turin: 1862), 4:37–38.

6 See Laurie Nussdorfer, "The Vacant See: Ritual and Protest in Early Modern Rome," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 18 (1987), 173–89; Hunt, *The Vacant See*; Maria Antonietta Visceglia, *Morte e elezione del papa: Norme, riti e conflitti. L'Età moderna* (Rome: 2013); and Joëlle Rollo-Koster, *Raiding Saint Peter: Empty Sees, Violence, and the Initiation of the Great Western Schism, 1378* (Leiden: 2008).

7 Lorenzo Spinelli, *La vacanza della Sede apostolica dalle origini al Concilio tridentino* (Milan: 1955).

8 Nussdorfer, "The Vacant See," and Hunt, *The Vacant See*, 32–46 and 50–60.

9 Miles Pattenden, *Electing the Pope in Early Modern Italy, 1450–1700* (Oxford: 2017).

of the cardinals' authority, as this brief historiography reveals, there is plenty of potential for new conclusions to be drawn, particularly with reference to the cardinals' management of the provinces and the vicissitudes of their power during the long 18th century (1680–1815), a period in which the papacy had to adjust to modernizing ideas and to its declining international influence.

1 Papal Bulls and the Power of the Cardinals

Since the papacy's advent, disorder and violence characterized the *Sede Vacante*. Warring nobles, rebellious bishops, and turbulent commoners beset the papacy (whether the see was located in Rome or another city, as was often the case before the 15th century) whenever it was without its vicar.¹⁰ This tradition continued into the later Middle Ages and into the early modern era. In the absence of the pope, the papal bulls charged the College of Cardinals not only to govern the papacy and its lands but also to quell interregal violence. The first definitive statement on this matter was found in Gregory X's bull, *Ubi periculum* (1274). Wary of long interregna, including the tumultuous one that raised him to throne (1268–71), Gregory sought to hasten the election by creating a closed, monastic environment – the conclave, meaning “with key” in Latin – that would both limit the corrupting influence of German emperors and Roman nobles and also spur the cardinals into action by encouraging them to avoid factional infighting.¹¹ *Ubi periculum* also stressed that the cardinals' focus should be the election rather than governance since most of the spiritual and temporal offices of the Church ceased functioning until the election of the new pope. Consequently, the cardinals were only allowed to make decision in matters of extreme urgency.

For the first few elections after Gregory's death (1276) the cardinals assiduously followed the rules established by *Ubi periculum*, however, by the beginning of the 14th century, the Avignon pope, Clement v, felt the need to reinstate these rules with more rigour. At the council of Vienne Clement issued the bull, *Ne Romani* (1311), which not only forcefully took up Gregory's reforms but also conceded to the cardinals a fuller authority in providing law and order for the lands of the Church, and especially in watching over the conclave.¹² Nevertheless, cardinals and their servants from within, and ambassadors and spies

10 Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, *The Pope's Body*, trans. David S. Peterson (Chicago: 2000), 81–82.

11 Rollo-Koster, *Raiding Saint Peter*, 94.

12 Spinelli, *La vacanza*, 131–40 and Paravicini Bagliani, *The Pope's Body*, 51–54.

from without continued to break conclave rubrics with abandon. Hence, along with the universal reform of the Church outlined by the Council of Trent (1545–63), a reform of the conclave was enacted with Pius IV's bull, *In eligendis* (1562). Most of Pius's bull focused on keeping the election a secret and sealed affair – away from the prying eyes and influence of royal ambassadors and courtiers. Moreover, key parts reinstated the rubrics of earlier bulls, but acknowledged the role the cardinals would play in the affairs of the Church, especially regarding temporal matters related to the regulation of the Papal States during the *Sede Vacante*. Nevertheless, stringent rules circumscribed the authority of the cardinals: they were limited to regulatory roles rather than legislative ones. Moreover, all decisions had to meet the approval of members of the Sacred College present in the conclave, normally agreed upon in secret votes (just like the election itself). Even mundane issues, such as the nomination of conclave servants, could only be undertaken with a two-thirds majority. *In eligendis* thus simultaneously empowered and limited the cardinals.¹³

In addition to delimiting the powers of the Sacred College, these bulls provided for the leadership during *Sede Vacante*. Most importantly, they established that three *Capi degli Ordini*, the three most senior cardinals of the orders of deacons, priests, and suburbicarian bishops, would head the cardinals and the interregal regime.¹⁴ These three ecclesiastics led the congregation of cardinals that met daily to provide for the *buon governo* of the Papal States and to ensure that the conclave was kept in proper order during the election. If one of these prelates was ill or missing from the conclave, a substitute was typically found from amongst the cardinals. The cardinal chamberlain, head of the Apostolic Chamber, led the *Capi degli Ordini* in their governance of Rome and the Church. Although the authority of cardinal chamberlain was largely symbolic while the pope lived, throughout the 16th and 17th centuries the office was still prestigious enough to compel Romans families to compete for its purchase. However, the coming of *Sede Vacante* magnified the power of the office. During the nine days of ritual mourning, the *Novendiales*, the chamberlain occupied the papal apartments, travelled about the city with a contingent of Swiss Guards surrounding his carriage, and gained the ability to mint gold and silver coins with personal coat-of-arms on one side and on the reverse the coat-of-arms of the *Sede Vacante* (the crossed keys under an umbrella).¹⁵ These

13 Tomassetti, *Bullarium Romanum*, 7:230–36; Spinelli, *La vacanza*, 229–24 and Visceglia, *Morte e elezione*, 248–49.

14 Niccolò Del Re, *La curia romana: Lineamenti storico-giuridici*, 4th ed. (Vatican City: 1998), 285–97.

15 Giovanni Battista De Luca, *Il dottor volgare ovvero il compendio di tutta la legge civile, canonica, feudale e municipale* (1673; repr. Florence, 1839–43), 4: 503–04.

honorific acquisitions served to broadcast to the court and city that the papacy was now under the command of the Sacred College.

Bulls since *Ubi Periculum* called for the cessation of most of the governmental offices of the papacy once the pope had died. These offices included the Datary, the Penitentiary, and the criminal tribunals of Rome and other provincial capitals. Unlike other early modern monarchies, the papacy, instead of seeking political continuity, emphasized the severance of the office from the man holding the position and the principle of inertia in government until the election of the next pope. To highlight these changes a series of rituals were enacted under the direction of the cardinal chamberlain. Before the members of the papal court, all dressed in funeral attire and assembled in the sacristy of St. Peter, the chamberlain with the assistance of the papal Masters of Ceremonies, broke the *annulus pescatoris*, the ring of the fisherman used to affix the pope's seal on major documents. The breaking of this ring symbolized the temporary cessation of the papal apparatus. Next, the moulds used to make the seals for official documents were also broken. Furthermore, all requests for dispensations in progress were placed on stasis and then paperwork filed in a sealed chest for the duration of the *Sede Vacante*. These heralded, coupled with the ritual honours of the chamberlain, the onset of the papal interregnum.¹⁶ In Rome, contrasting symbolic rituals officiated by the *Popolo Romano* were performed at the Capitol, including the tolling of the *campanile* on the hill (only rung to announce *Carnevale* and the pope's death, events that presaged disorder and violence), sending the civic militia through streets with drums and fanfare, and the freeing of the prisoners in the city's main jails. Similarly, civic regimes in other cities of the Papal States publicized the pope's death through bell-tolling and civic processions through the urban quarters.¹⁷

2 Maintaining Peace and Order in Rome and the Papal States

For the next ten days the cardinals met in daily congregations in the early evening, in either the Sala dei Paramenti or the sacristy of St. Peter (once the conclave was sealed, the cardinals met solely in the sacristy). At the first two congregations the cardinals made provisions for law and order in Rome and in the provinces of the Papal States. In these meetings, the cardinals had companies of men-at-arms from Umbria and Romagna; and by the late 16th century,

16 Girolamo Lunadoro, *Lo stato presente della corte di Roma* (Rome: 1765), 72–73 and Paravicini Bagliani, *The Pope's Body*, 73, 119–20.

17 Hunt, *The Vacant See*, 73–83.

contingents of Corsican soldiers from nearby garrisons stationed at strategic places to protect city and conclave.¹⁸ They also reinforced the border cities of Bologna and Ferrara, as well as the port of Civitavecchia, always under threat from corsairs. In addition to security, the cardinals had the duty of supplying Rome with bread and other foodstuffs. This entailed extracting money from the treasury at Castel Sant'Angelo to purchase grain from the provinces and Spanish Sicily. Although feeding the population was an integral aspect of maintaining peace and stability, the cardinals often failed in this task. Rome's heavy reliance on grain from the provinces provoked widespread resentment in the Papal States, especially during the times of dearth. During the severe famine of early 1590s, which took place during four *Sedi Vacanti* (1590–92), provincial cities in Umbria and the Marches teetered on the brink of revolt.¹⁹

At the first few congregations the cardinals, led by the *Capi degli Ordini*, selected through a two-thirds majority vote the interregal officials charged with maintaining security over the conclave and Rome. The cardinals confirmed the incumbent general of the papal army, usually occupied by the lay nephew of the dead pope, in his position and vested him with authority to regulating soldiers in Rome and throughout the Papal States. Typically, the general's confirmation met little resistance amongst members of the Sacred College. However, in 1644, Taddeo Barberini, the nephew of Urban VIII, barely acquired the requisite number of votes to retain his office, due to the animosity several cardinals had towards the dead pope.²⁰ Not trusting the loyalty or capabilities of the deceased pope's lay nephew, the cardinals generally elected a lieutenant, often a member of the old Roman aristocracy with extensive military experience.²¹ Both the general and the lieutenant were responsible for regulating the papal army in Rome and throughout the provinces. Equally important for Rome were the nominations of the governors of the Borgo and Rome. The former official was an ecclesiastic elected to watch over the conclave and the surrounding quarter (the Borgo); he replaced the lay governor who held the position during the *Sede Plena*. The governor of Rome, a bishop with training in jurisprudence was the most powerful judicial official in the city, and increasingly throughout the 16th century began to claim a larger role in maintaining law and order despite the fact that his tribunal was supposed to

18 Hunt, *The Vacant See*, 99–101.

19 BAV, Urb. lat. 1058, *Avvisi di* 1590, newsletters of 2 October and 7 November 1590, fols. 549r–v, 547r.

20 Hunt, *The Vacant See*, 30.

21 Hunt, *The Vacant See*, 31–32.

cease its activities with the pope's death.²² Throughout the interregnum, the governor issued edicts regulating the city and corresponded with the *Capi degli Ordini* on a daily basis.²³ Notwithstanding a few close votes, the cardinals usually agreed to maintain the incumbent governor in his office, although after Innocent X's death in 1655 they exercised their ability to select a new governor by replacing the much-hated Giacomo Francesco Arimberti with Giulio Rospigliosi.²⁴

In subsequent congregations before entering the conclave the cardinals elected minor officials and servants who would assist them during the election process. These comprised confessors, barbers, doctors, conclavists, and even the carpenters who would repair the cells where the cardinals would stay for the duration of the conclave. Following the rubrics of *In eligendis* each of these men were rigorously vetted to ensure their honesty and reliability in maintaining the conclave's secrecy.²⁵ Throughout the *Novendiales* the cardinals met ambassadors and agents of the great Catholic powers and the small Italian principalities to discuss the upcoming election with the heads of factional parties amongst the cardinals. This was the last chance for ambassadors to wield open influence over the election in favour of their princes.

After the cardinals had been locked up in the conclave, they still had the task of maintaining peace in Rome and in the provinces. Until the election of the next pontiff the cardinals kept a correspondence with the governors of Rome and Borgo as well as the governors and vice-legates in the regional capitals. Under the leadership of the *Capi degli Ordini*, they met in the sacristy of St. Peter's to vote on important issues related to the maintenance of order. This included replacing ineffective regional governors, suppressing provincial riots that frequently broke out after the pope's death (especially during those of the 16th century), and shifting troops to the coasts and borders as needed. However, the cardinals' competence was firmly restrained: they could not introduce new legislation or take any vital decisions in theological or diplomatic matters except in matters of urgent necessity. One rare example of decisive action occurred in the *Sede Vacante* of 1572 when the college elected to continue the papacy's leadership role that Pius V had assumed over the Holy

22 On the Governor of the Borgo, see Niccolò Del Re, "Il governatore di Borgo," *Studi Romani* 11 (1963), 13–14 and 20. On the Governor of Rome, see Miles Pattenden, "Governor and Government in Sixteenth-Century Rome," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 77 (2009), 252–72 and Irene Fosi, *La giustizia del papa: Sudditi e tribunali nello Stato Pontificio in età moderna* (Rome: 2007), 23–29.

23 Hunt, *The Vacant See*, 35–39 and 50–60.

24 Giacinto Gigli, *Diario di Roma*, ed. Manlio Barberito (Rome: 1994), 2:720.

25 De Luca, *Il dottor volgare*, 4: 481–82 and Visceglia, *Morte e elezione*, 248–49.

League that was assembled against the Ottoman Empire.²⁶ Yet, inertia and indecision were more typically the case. During the four-month-long interregnum of Innocent X in 1655 the Venetian Senate vainly beseeched the Sacred College to supply the republic with soldiers against the Ottomans during the War of Candia (1645–69). The cardinals were still dragging their feet as late as April 3, only four days before the election of Alexander VII, who subsequently made the decision.²⁷

3 Disorder and Contested Authority

The lack of authority of the cardinals clearly left the *Sede Vacante* without reliable governance. Lengthier *Sedi Vacanti* became a problem for the maintenance of order and could leave the papacy in a true state of disarray. The four interregna from 1590 to 1592 – what I call the long *Sede Vacante* because Gregory XIV's brief pontificate from December 1590 to October 1591 failed to provide steady leadership – proved to be a real governing and societal disaster for the Papal States.²⁸ During these years, the Papal States were beset by famine, grain shortages, floods, and marauding bands of bandits led by the notorious captains, Piccolomini and Marco Sciarra. Diarists and newsletter writers lamented this plague of problems, variously blaming the situation on the hubris of Sixtus V or the sins of the people. Yet, the people, rather than having recourse to theories of divine retribution, located the root of troubles on the inability of the College of Cardinals to resolve the situation. Newsletter writers, echoing the murmuring of the people, targeted the factionalism of the cardinals that both prolonged the *Sede Vacante* and led to governmental inaction. One *avviso* (newsletter) lamented, “while the cardinals remain undecided in the conclave, the bandits remain at large doing the worst that they can.”²⁹ After the death of the feeble Gregory XIV, his successor, Innocent IX, ruled only for a month, dying on the first of the New Year 1592. Exasperated, another newsletter-writer complained bitterly, “the Papal States were nearly destroyed on account of too many *Sedi Vacanti*.”³⁰ Although the years 1590–92 proved to be exceptional in its sustained lack of *buon governo*, the long *Sedi Vacanti* of 1559 and 1655 (lasting longer than a month or two) saw the Sacred College fail in

26 Giovanni Battista De Luca, *Il cardinale della S.R. Chiesa pratico* (Rome: 1680), 102–03.

27 ASV, Conclavi, “Conclave per la morte di Innocenzo X, anno 1655,” 593r.

28 Hunt, *The Vacant See*, 124–25.

29 BAV, Urb. lat. 1058, *Avviso* of 5 November 1590, fol. 565r.

30 BAV, Urb. lat. 1060, *Avvisi* di 1592, newsletter of 18 January 1592, fols. 37r-v.

maintaining law and order in Rome but especially in the countryside and the provinces.

Even shorter *Sedi Vacanti* (most of which lasted about a month) presented problems to the Sacred College in addressing the security in Rome and the Papal States. With much of the papal government in abeyance and the cardinals locked up in the conclave, papal subjects felt that justice resided with themselves and consequently took the law into their hands, seeking vengeance against rivals and imparting on the *Sede Vacante* its infamous violent tenor. In Rome, the *Popolo Romano* tried to fill the void left by the cessation of the governor's tribunal with its civic militias, which had the right to patrol the streets. However, the artisans of the militias, lacking the necessary training with swords and arquebuses, failed to tame this violence and often contributed to it by brawling with the experienced soldiers stationed throughout the city. Rates of violent altercations during the *Sede Vacante* thus remained exorbitantly high throughout the early modern era: during the interregnum of 1572, 8.8 episodes occurred per day, and in 1644 the rate was 8.2 per day.³¹ Consequently, starting from the second half of the 16th century the *Capi degli Ordini* empowered the governor of Rome to send his constables throughout the city during the *Sede Vacante*, a direct challenge to the authority of the *Popolo Romano* and an egregious affront to tradition in the eyes of the people. Moreover, at least from 1572 onwards the Sacred College sought to force barbers and surgeons to report all suspicious wounds to the Governor's Tribunal rather than to the *Popolo Romano*.³²

Rationalizing that they could best maintain law and order in the city, throughout the 17th century the Sacred College sought to strip the *Popolo Romano* of even more of its traditional authority. The *Capi degli Ordini* clashed with the *Popolo Romano* over the ability to issue *bandi* (public notices) that regulated a myriad of activities related to public security, including the carrying of prohibited weapons and traveling through the streets in groups of more than four men. In 1623 the *Capi degli Ordini* began having the governor of Rome issue *bandi* that nullified those of the *Popolo Romano*.³³ The Sacred College was essentially asserting that only one power could govern Rome during the *Sede Vacante*. The issue quickly dissipated with the election of Urban VIII a few years later. Yet, with the *Sede Vacante* of 1644, the Sacred College again clashed with the *Popolo Romano* over the ability to issue *bandi*. Heated words passed

31 Hunt, *The Vacant See*, 92–97, esp. 98. See also Peter Blastenbrei, *Kriminalität in Rom, 1560–1585* (Tübingen: 1995), 59–60.

32 Hunt, *The Vacant See*, 50–56.

33 For all that follows, see Nussdorfer, “The Vacant See,” 180–81 and Hunt, *The Vacant See*, 56–60.

between both parties before a face-saving compromise was reached: the *Popolo Romano* could proclaim *bandi* but had to submit them to the Sacred College for approval before publishing them. By the *Sede Vacante* of 1655 the tide seemed to have turned to favour the cardinals since the *Capi degli Ordini* had warned the *Popolo Romano* that they could only issue two *bandi*, those regulating soldiers and the city walls. Nevertheless, the *Popolo Romano* continued to decree *bandi*, thus exacerbating the already chaotic moment of the *Sede Vacante*. In time the issue became a moot point since the cardinals progressively chipped away at the interregnal authority of the *Popolo Romano*, marching in step with the onward rise of papal absolutism and its centralizing goals.

The problems of Rome were paralleled in the provincial capitals and cities of the Papal States. Governors and vice-legates (who acted as substitutes for the cardinal legates summoned to take part in the election) provided for the security by recruiting soldiers, issuing *bandi*, and working with both the local civic regimes and the College of Cardinals.³⁴ Despite their closure in the conclave, the *Capi degli Ordini* kept a close correspondence with these provincial governors.³⁵ This correspondence shows that the cardinals were deeply concerned about bandits and vagabonds causing trouble in the provinces. It also demonstrates that the cardinals had to deal with rebellious cities in which communal regimes, as Rome, resented papal intrusion in the form of soldiers and constables. At stake was the ability of civic leaders and their artisan militias to govern themselves during the interregnum, especially in patrolling the streets and issuing edicts, the same issues that provoked the turf wars in Rome. In 1644, the town leaders (*Conservatori*) of the small coastal town of Senigallia in the Marches wrote the *Capi degli Ordini* complaining that the foreign soldiers recruited by the governor were infringing upon the jurisdictional prerogatives of the *Caporioni* (the captains of neighbourhood districts who led patrols of artisans through the streets).³⁶ Yet, in other cases, as the example of Narni during the same *Sede Vacante* of 1644, the cardinals could depose a castellan who abused his powers over the city (just like they later also did with the governor of Rome in 1655), who had tried to attenuate the authority of the *Caporioni* and their patrols.³⁷ In some cases the cardinals had to deal with blatant rebellion as in 1572 when three Umbrian towns – Narni, Terni, San Mavigliano and Monte Franco – waged a war over boundaries that saw townsmen in Terni occupy the city's fortress, commandeer its artillery, and march on their

34 On *bandi* issued outside of Rome, see ASV, Misc. Arm. IV & V, t. 95, "Bandi di Bologna, 1652–1666," *bando* of 10 January 1655, fol. 9 and Pattenden, *Electing the Pope*, 129.

35 ASV, Conclavi, "Conclave per la morte di Urbano VIII, anno 1644," fols. 35r-160r.

36 ASV, Conclavi, "Conclave per la morte di Urbano VIII, anno 1644," fol. 272r.

37 ASV, Conclavi, "Conclave per la morte di Urbano VIII, anno 1644," fol. 230r-v.

rivals in Narni.³⁸ Episodes like this became rarer in the 17th century, although as late as 1644 the city of Fano in the Marches revolted over the high tariffs on grain and oil at the death of Urban VIII.³⁹

4 Conclusion

The late 17th century, a period of momentous change for the papacy, also saw transformed the cardinals' exercise of power during *Sede Vacante*. Innocent XII's bull, *Romanum decet Pontificem*, of 1692, definitively signalled a new regime by forbidding institutionalized nepotism, turning the papacy into an impersonal bureaucracy rather than a system linked by familial connections.⁴⁰ This certainly altered the *Sede Vacante's* impact by mitigating the struggles for jurisdictional competence between the cardinals and pope's relatives. Moreover, by the late 17th century, although weak internationally after the Treaty of Westphalia (1648), the papacy through the governor of Rome came to dominate the *Popolo Romano*. This had repercussions during the *Sede Vacante* since the cardinals could finally assert themselves as the dominant interregal authorities through nullifying the *Popolo Romano's bandi* and more frequent patrols of the governor of Rome's constables. Consequently, 18th-century *Sedi Vacanti* were much more tranquil than their tumultuous 16th-century counterparts.

Despite the cardinals' triumph over their jurisdictional competitors – the *Popolo Romano* and the deceased pope's family – the rubrics of *In eligendis* prevented them from amassing absolute authority over the Church and the Papal States. They never won the ability to craft permanent laws or make lasting changes in the papal government during the *Sede Vacante*. In effect, the cardinals acted as mere substitutes until they could elect a successor to the papal throne. Increasingly throughout the late 17th and 18th centuries, conclaves lasted longer, an indication both of the cardinals' impotence and of how peaceful the *Sede Vacante* had become.⁴¹ Nevertheless, more research into this relative terra incognita in papal studies must be done to give a fuller picture of the cardinals' power during the *Sede Vacante*.

38 ASR, Tribunale del Governatore, Processi (16th century), busta 149.

39 ASV, Conclavi, "Conclave per la morte di Urbano VIII, anno 1644," fol. 206r-v. See also Christopher F. Black, "Perugia and Papal Absolutism in the Sixteenth Century," *English Historical Review* 96 (1981), 519, 529.

40 Antonio Menniti Ippolito, *Il tramonto della Curia nepotista: Papi, nipoti e burocrazia curiale tra XVI e XVII secolo* (Rome: 1999).

41 Pattenden, *Electing the Pope*, 93.

Cardinals and Their Titular Churches

Arnold Witte

Formally speaking, a titular church is a church in the diocese of Rome allocated to a cardinal priest. In the Early Christian period, titular churches were private dwellings in Rome where, according to the decision by Pope Evaristus (97–105 A.D.), the sacraments of baptism and penitence could be administered. This network of churches became the parish system of the Roman diocese.¹ Most *tituli* originated from private donations – the Roman legal term literally referring to ownership.² Thus, the donor’s name was often applied to these churches, such as Santa Pudenziana (Titulus Pudentis, from a Roman senator called Pudens from the 1st century A.D. who left his house to the Christian community) or the Titulus Equitius (the estate on which it was built had been donated in the 3rd century A.D. by a priest called Equitius). Other *tituli* originated at places connected to the martyrdom or burial of an Early Christian saint, such as Santa Cecilia in Trastevere.³ Early modern treatises assumed, on the basis of Gregory the Great’s letters, that priests were permanently allocated to this church – the term used was “incardinated,” or “hinged” and this is the origin of the word “cardinal.”⁴ In this way early modern authors used the

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- 1 Johann Peter Kirsch, *Die römischen Titulkirchen im Altertum* (Paderborn: 1918), 1 and Joseph J. Christ, “The Origin and Development of the Term ‘Title,’” *The Jurist: A Quarterly Review published by the School of Canon Law* (1944), 103.
 - 2 Christ, “The Origin,” 101–02 and Carol Richardson, *Reclaiming Rome: Cardinals in the Fifteenth Century* (Leiden: 2009), 186.
 - 3 Onofrio Panvinio, *Interpraetatio multarum vocum ecclesiaricarum, quae obscurae vel barbarae videntur. Item de stationibus urbis Romae, libellus* (Rome: 1568), 12–14; Moroni, 75:204; Louis-Marie-Olivier Duchesne, “Notes sur la topographie de Rome au moyen-âge – II. Les titres presbytéraux et les diaconies,” *Mélanges d’archéologie et d’histoire*, 7, no. 1 (1887), 217–43; Kirsch, *Die römischen Titulkirchen*, 148–73 and 175–82, and Federico Guidobaldi, “L’inserimento delle chiese titolari di Roma nel tessuto urbano preesistente: Osservazioni ed implicazioni,” in *Quaeritur inventus colitur: Miscellanea in onore di Padre Umberto Maria Fasola* (Vatican City: 1989), 383–96.
 - 4 Domenico Magri, *Notitia de’ vocaboli ecclesiastici, con la dichiarazione delle cerimonie, et origine de’ riti sacri* (Rome: 1650), 56; Onofrio Panvinio, *De episcopatibus, titulis, & diaconijs cardinalium, liber* (Paris: 1609), 2, and Carlo Bartolomeo Piazza, *La gerarchia cardinalizia* (Rome: 1703), 353.

building, the “*Cardo dignitatis nostrae*,” to trace the function of the cardinal from its roots in the early Christian Church.⁵

The titular church not only played an important role in identifying the cardinal’s historical status in the early modern era, it was also fundamental in defining a particular cardinal’s position within the College of Cardinals. Technically only cardinal priests had titular churches: cardinal bishops were assigned to a suburbican diocese while cardinal deacons were affiliated to deaconries, originally hospices for the poor and needy.⁶ However, by the later Middle Ages, deaconries were generally considered similar to titles; and in early modern non-ecclesiastical sources, deaconries were often indicated as *tituli*.⁷ Even formal sources such as the *Index tribunalium congregationium...* of 1644 referred to the churches to which cardinal deacons were attached with the abbreviation “tit.,” and so did inscriptions on cardinals’ portraits.⁸ By the 16th century, *tituli* could be converted into deaconries and vice versa.⁹ Even the cardinals themselves glossed over the differences: Ippolito II d’Este (1509–72) referred to his deaconry of Santa Maria in Aquiro as a *titulus* when he received it in 1539.¹⁰ However, the differences in status between *tituli* and deaconries remained important for the Sacred College throughout the early modern period, as it represented prestige and income. It also meant duties, expenditure and obligations, and this explains why cardinals paid particular attention to their deaconry and titular church during their entire career.

5 Francesco Albizzi, *De iurisdictione quam habent s.R.E. cardinales in ecclesijs suorum titularum* (Rome: 1668), ii.

6 Antonio Nibby, *Della forma e delle parti degli antichi templi cristiani* (Rome: 1833), 10.

7 Albizzi, *De iurisdictione*, 7; Richardson, *Reclaiming Rome*, 198; see also below.

8 Francesco Cristofori, *Cronotassi dei Cardinali di Santa Romana Chiesa dal secolo v all’anno del signore MDCCCLXXXVIII* (Rome: 1888) and Pietro Crostarosa, *Dei titoli della Chiesa Romana: Appunti storico-giuridici* (Rome: 1893), 15, speaking of “titoli diaconali.” Giovanni Battista de Luca, *Il Cardinale della S.R. Chiesa pratico* (Rome: 1680), 148 saw the need to explain the difference as it has been largely forgotten. See also Christoph Weber, *Die ältesten päpstlichen Staatshandbücher: Elenchus congregationum, tribunalium et collegiorum urbis 1629–1714* (Rome: 1991), 226. For the use of “titulus” for cardinal deacons in portraits, see Friedrich Polleroß, *Die Kunst der Diplomatie: Auf den Spuren des kaiserlichen Botschafters Leopold Joseph Graf von Lamberg (1653–1706)* (Petersberg: 2010), 314 and 325.

9 Giacomo Coellio, *Notitia Cardinalatus in qua nedum de S.R.E. Cardinalium Origine, Dignitate, Preeminentia, & Privilegijs sed de praecipuis Romanae Aulae Officialibus uberrimè pertractur* (Rome: 1653), 10–11.

10 Mary Hollingsworth, *The Cardinal’s Hat: Money, Ambition and Everyday Life in the Court of a Borgia Prince* (Woodstock: 2006), 233.

1 Early Modern Changes in the *chiese titolari*

The *Ordo*, or ecclesiastical hierarchy, was discussed in the *Numerus et tituli cardinalium...* of 1533, which summed up the three ranks of cardinals, together with those of archbishops and bishops.¹¹ Similar lists can be found in the early modern acts of the consistory that annually recorded all cardinals including their diocese, title or deaconry.¹² This system also indicated the affiliation of each cardinal to one of the five papal basilicas in Rome, which originated under Pope Simplicius (468–83). This hierarchy turned *tituli* into “filiali” of these basilicas, obliging the priests affiliated to Roman churches – i.e. cardinals – to assist in papal liturgy in weekly turns.¹³ By the early modern period, this liturgical schedule had become obsolete.¹⁴ What remained, however, was the hierarchy within the College and the role of certain cardinals in the papal liturgy – such as cardinal deacons, who often helped the pope dress for liturgical occasions which secured them access to the reigning pontiff, and cardinal bishops, who had the privilege of celebrating mass at the high altars of St. Peter’s and St. John Lateran.¹⁵

During the early modern period there were significant changes to the list of titles, for both cardinal priests and cardinal deacons (the six suburbicarian dioceses were not subject to change). When Leo X created an unprecedented number of thirty-one cardinals in 1517, he was obliged to elevate several new churches to create twelve *tituli* and one deaconry. Further promotions increased this trend: for example, Julius III, in 1553, and Paul IV, in 1557, both added new churches to the list.¹⁶ Sometimes churches were elevated to titles in order to satisfy certain requirements – Paul IV chose to elevate Santa Maria sopra Minerva, which was attached to a Dominican convent, into a *titulus* for the Dominican Michele Ghislieri (1504–72; later Pope Pius V).¹⁷ In 1587 Sixtus V’s bull, *Religiosa sanctorum pontificium*, which instituted far-reaching reforms to the function and duties of the College, set the number of cardinals at seventy and added a further seven churches to the list.

11 *Numerus et tituli cardinalium, archiepiscoporum & episcoporum christianorum* (Paris: 1533).

12 An example in ASV Arch. Concist. Acta Camerarii 35.

13 Crostarosa, *Titoli*, 14; Mariano Armellini, *Le Chiese di Roma dal secolo IV al XIX* (Rome: 1942), 1:29; Richardson, *Reclaiming Rome*, 190, and Stefan Kuttner, “Cardinalis: The History of a Canonical Concept,” *Tradition* 3 (1945), 147–48.

14 Piazza, *La gerarchia*, 9–10 and Moroni, 75:219.

15 Richardson, *Reclaiming Rome*, 240.

16 Cristofori, *Cronotassi*, LX.

17 Cristofori, *Cronotassi*, LX.

Titular churches legitimized the position of cardinals within the Church's hierarchy, providing them with an association with the city of Rome and its ecclesiastical history, an issue that took on added significance in the aftermath of the Great Schism and the papal court's return to Rome in 1420.¹⁸ The ideological significance of the titular church was stressed also as a result of the enduring struggle for power between the College of Cardinals and the pope, resulting in a growing emphasis of the Early Christian origins of the concept. For example, in 1568 the ecclesiastical historian Onofrio Panvinio summarized the origin of the titular church as related to the martyr(s) venerated there, or to the converted Roman citizen who donated his house to the church community.¹⁹ In 1650, Domenico Magri's *Notizia dei vocaboli ecclesiastici* re-interpreted the role of Early Christian donors from patrons of individual churches to founders of the Church as a whole, thus buttressing the status of the cardinals against that of the pope.²⁰ This matter reflected the changing relations between the papacy and the cardinals in an age of absolutism.²¹

2 Conferral and *possesso*

Why and how was a titular church conferred to a cardinal? Prior to the ritual of conferral (see Jennifer Mara DeSilva's chapter in this volume), the pope decided which church or deanery a candidate would receive (no new cardinal was created cardinal bishop). The motivations behind this conferral were diverse. For example, the pope might allocate a church to a candidate because it had been in possession of a cardinal belonging to the same family, such as the Medici at Santa Maria in Domnica or the Gonzaga at Santa Maria Nuova.²² National affiliations could also be influential such as the French at San Martino ai Monti (as Saint Martin of Tours was its patron saint) or the Venetians at San Marco.²³ Thirdly, if a titular church belonged to a monastery, it could be

18 Richardson, *Reclaiming Rome*, 197f and Maria Giulia Aurigemma, "Residenze cardinalizie tra inizio e fine del '400," in *Le trasformazioni urbane nel Quattrocento*, ed. Giorgio Simoncini (Rome: 2004), 2:120.

19 Panvinio, *Interpraetatio*, 13. Another example can be found in Cesare Baronio, *Annales Ecclesiastici* (Lucca: 1738), 2:68–69.

20 Magri, *Notitia*, 262.

21 Marie-Louise Rodén, *Church Politics in Seventeenth-Century Rome: Cardinal Decio Azzolino, Queen Christina of Sweden, and the "Squadron Volante"* (Stockholm: 2000), 68–70.

22 Cristofori, *Cronotassi*, 224 and 257–58.

23 Cristofori, *Cronotassi*, 72 and 115–17 and Mauro Vincenzo Fontana, "Qui est titulus meus: I cardinali veneti a Roma e le loro chiese titolari," in *I cardinali della Serenissima: Arte e committenza tra Venezia e Roma (1523–1605)*, eds. Caterina Furlan, Patrizia Tosini, and Giuseppe Gullino (Cinisello Balsamo: 2014), 419–31.

assigned to a cardinal coming from that same order, such as San Sisto Vecchio, which was often given to Dominicans.²⁴ Finally, the pope sometimes conferred a titular church in need of restoration to a rich cardinal – a valid reason in the 15th century and of renewed importance during the Counter-Reformation. An example of this is the title Santi Nereo ed Achilleo that was restored between 1596–97 by Cardinal Cesare Baronio (1538–1607).²⁵ There are even indications that cardinals could sometimes choose themselves which church they wanted – which happened in the case of Giovanni Francesco Guidi di Bagno, who in April 1631, a month before his entry in Rome and the public consistory of May 26 during which he was assigned his titular church of Sant'Alessio, was sent a list of available deaconries by the Sacred College's secretary.²⁶

The title's formal conferral took place in a papal ceremony which represented the first step in constructing a relationship between the cardinal and his church through the conferral of the cardinalatial ring and the formula spoken at that event. The next step was the cardinal's ceremonial entry into his deaconry or titular church. This ceremony, which expressed the legal aspects of this relationship and thus saw little variation in its constituent elements during the early modern period, was called his *possesso* – a term which echoed that of the pope's *possesso*, which signified his installation as bishop of Rome.²⁷

The cardinal's *possesso* ideally took place shortly after his elevation to the purple. He would arrive at his church dressed in *cappa magna* (Fig. 21.1), and would kneel at its doorstep, receiving either keys or a cross as a symbol of his legal possession. Subsequently he proceeded into the church, sprinkling holy water and censed by the swinging of the thurible, towards the altar where he would pray. Then the cardinal would be seated in order to receive the reverence of all present, and an *osculum pacis* (sign of peace or ritual embrace) would be exchanged between the principal cleric and the titular cardinal. After this, mass would be celebrated by the cardinal at the main altar.²⁸ At the ritual's

24 Richardson, *Reclaiming Rome*, 244–49.

25 Alexandra Herz, "Cardinal Cesare Baronio's Restoration of SS. Nereo ed Achilleo and S. Cesare de'Appia," *Art Bulletin* 70 (1988), 593–94; for the importance of the restoration of titular churches in the Counter-Reformation, see Giovanni Botero, *Dell'Uffizio del cardinale libri II* (Rome: 1599), 30–31.

26 Georg Lutz, *Kardinal Giovanni Francesco Guidi di Bagno: Politik und Religion im Zeitalter Richelieus und Urbans VIII.* (Tübingen: 1971), 443.

27 Francesco Sestini da Bibbiena, *Il Maestro di camera* (Florence: 1621), 67–73.

28 Sestini da Bibbiena, *Il Maestro*, 67–70 and Cloe Cavero de Carondelet, "Possessing Rome 'in absentia': The Titular Churches of the Spanish Monarchy in the Early Seventeenth Century," *Royal Studies Journal* 3, no. 2 (2016), 55.



FIGURE 21.1 Ottavio Leoni, *A cardinal's procession*, 1621. Oil on copper, 39.4 × 37.5 cm.
Metropolitan Museum New York
PHOTO: METROPOLITAN MUSEUM

conclusion, the cardinal would take off his liturgical vestments and in *mozzetta* or short cape and *rocchetto scoperto* or rochet in view bless the church and its community – but only if he was a cardinal priest.²⁹ Subsequently, in the presence of the church's clerics or monastic community the papal bull of creation with the assignment of the titular church would be read aloud.³⁰ The

29 Sestini da Bibbiena, *Il Maestro*, 69.

30 Ulrich Nersinger, *Liturgien und Zeremonien am Päpstlichen Hof* (Bonn: 2011), 46–47 for the modern and historical ceremonies of the *posse*, and Moroni, 75:239–42.

event was often concluded by a reception. In some cases, it was combined with other ceremonies in which the titular cardinal played a role: the 1644 *possesso* by Cardinal Ernst Adalbert von Harrach (1598–1667) at Santa Prassede coincided with the annual ceremony of giving dowries to poor girls.³¹

The description of the *possesso* by Cardinal Nuno da Cunha e Ataíde (1674–1750) which was held at Sant’Anastasia on 21 July 1721, nine years after his nomination, shows just how elaborate such ceremonies could be. The cardinal arrived at the church with a retinue of thirty-six servants and courtiers in a train of eleven coaches. The church was decorated with red and yellow draperies, the choir covered in red velvet. Upon entry the cardinal was offered a ceremonial cross to kiss. A notary then read the papal bull, and, after Mass, the new titular cardinal inspected the sacristy and the church’s relics, and departed after handing many gifts to the clerics, ranging from a ring worth 260 *scudi* for the papal master of ceremonies, who presided over the occasion, to tips of 105 *scudi* to the musicians, 50 *scudi* to the chaplains and 200 *scudi* to the confraternity of the Rosary which was affiliated to Sant’Anastasia.³² Thus, the ceremony was costly. To this could be added the *rinfrasco* – although sometimes the cardinal did not have to pay, as was the case with Cardinal Harrach’s *possesso* in 1637 of Santa Maria degli Angeli. Harrach noted in his diary: “... and then with [my] cortege I took possession of my titular church Santa Maria degli Angeli, of the Carthusians *alle Terme*, and they paid all the expenses without any inconvenience for me, and they also gave us some refreshments.”³³

Not all cardinals came to Rome to receive their cardinalatial rings and titular churches. In some instances, the absence of a newly created cardinal was justified – for example in the case of Spanish bishops whose residence prohibited traveling. Such cardinals might receive their red hat from the hand of the nunzio and also the *possesso* could be performed *in absentia*. When Bernardo de Sandoval y Rojas (1546–1618) was created cardinal in 1599, his *possesso* of the church of Sant’Anastasia was done by proxy through his representative Alonso Manrique de Lara. It remains unclear how often this privilege was

31 Ernst Adalbert von Harrach, *Die Diarien und Tagzettel des Kardinals Ernst Adalbert von Harrach (1598–1667)*, eds. Alessandro Catalano and Katrin Keller (Vienna: 2010), 2:504: “Finita la messa ripigliai la cappa, andai sotto il baldachino, et ivi diedi la dote alla zitelle, che erano sette ...” (When Mass was finished, I put on again my *cappa* and went under the baldachin, and there I gave the dowries to the orphans, which were seven in total...).

32 Filippo Cappello, *Brevi Notizie dell’ antico et moderno stato della Chiesa Collegiata di S. Anastasia di Roma* (Rome: 1722), 61–62.

33 Harrach, *Diarien*, 2:73: “... et poi con corteggio presi il possesso del mio titolo a S. Maria delli angeli delli certosini alle Terme, fecero tutta la spesa loro senz’altro incommodo mio, et ci diedero anco un puoco di collatione.”

granted; it certainly seems not to have been standard practice.³⁴ For example, the 1628 woodcut portrait of Balthasar Moscoso y Sandoval, created cardinal in 1615, lacks the name of his titular church. Due to his absence from Rome, he had not been assigned one – this was only done by Urban VIII in 1630, fifteen years after his elevation.³⁵ The same omission can be found in the portrait of Alfonso de la Cueva (nominated 1622 but receiving his *galero* and titular church in 1633),³⁶ and of Armand-Jean du Plessis de Richelieu, who never came to Rome and therefore was not affiliated to any titular church.³⁷

3 *Jus optione*

Although the ceremonies suggested a cardinal should remain “faithful” to his title or deaconry this was hardly the case – indeed, cardinals who never changed churches were the exception not the rule. The concept of exchanging one *titulus* for another, or moving from one *ordo* to another was called *optio-ne*.³⁸ The phenomenon had existed in the Middle Ages but it only became important when attempts to resolve the Great Schism meant merging the Colleges of Cardinals of the Roman Pope Gregory XII and of the Avignonese Pope Benedict XIII into one.³⁹ In 1409, Pope Alexander V permitted this practice, which was reconfirmed in 1431 by Eugene IV.⁴⁰ Although *optio-ne* was intended to be a temporary measure, it became standard practice – and was, indeed, very prevalent in the 16th and 17th centuries, until the number of transfers

34 Cavero de Carondelet, “Possessing,” 48. For later (equally exceptional) instances of such ceremonies by proxy, in this case the *possesso* of protectorates over the cities of Orvieto and Piperno in 1855 and 1870, see Alejandro Mario Dieguez, “*Gubernator, protector et cor-rector*: Il processo di nomina del cardinal protettore,” in *Les cardinaux entre Cour et Curie: Une élite romaine (1775–2015)*, eds. François Jankowiak and Laura Pettinaroli (Rome: 2017), 118–21.

35 Andrea Brogiotti, *Sanctissimi D.N. Urbani VIII ac illustrissimorum, & reverendissimorum DD. S.R.E. cardinalium nunc viventium effigies insignia, nomina, & cognomina* (Rome: 1628), ill. XXIII, and Konrad Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica Medii aevi* (Regensburg: 1935), 4:13.

36 Eubel, *Hierarchia*, 4:17.

37 Brogiotti, *Sanctissimi*, ill. XXXIV and XXXV.

38 Giovanni Pietro Moneta, *Tractatus de optione canonica* (Milan: 1602) provided a generic discourse on the right to opt for clerics; for cardinals see Panvino, *De episcopatus*, 37–46 and Moroni, 50:80–84.

39 Paul Maria Baumgarten, “Die Translationen der Kardinäle von Innocenz III. bis Martin V.,” *Historisches Jahrbuch* 22 (1901), 85–97 and Richardson, *Reclaiming Rome*, 250.

40 De Luca, *Il Cardinale*, 28 and 421.

began to fall after 1700.⁴¹ It was through this system that the original hierarchy within the College was reconfirmed and visualised.

The *jus optione* meant that when a *titulus*, deaconry or suburban episcopal see became vacant, a cardinal could opt for transferral to it, either within or above their present rank. The only exclusion was that of a cardinal deacon opting for a suburbicarian diocese – this was prohibited by Sixtus V in 1587 and 1589, with the exception that, if four dioceses had become vacant, the eldest of the cardinal deacons might opt for the last.⁴² Clement VIII further defined this rule by allowing a cardinal deacon to opt for a *titulus* after he had served ten years in the College.⁴³

Opting was always done in consistory. This was habitual with the appointment of new cardinals; the pope would allow cardinals to opt for vacant deaconries or titular churches before he would decide which to assign to the newly created cardinal(s). Only cardinals present at consistory could exert their rights to opt, although in the course of the 17th century, the pope could give dispensation in case of illness.⁴⁴

During consistory the vacant churches would be listed (the so-called *Propositiones*), but cardinals would be aware in advance of which titular churches or deaconries the death of one or more of their colleagues had rendered available. Preliminary negotiations thus took place. In this process, an informal hierarchy, which depended on status, seniority in the college and also personal relations with the reigning pope, would come into play. As the pope himself had to give the final consent, he also had, in theory, to be consulted (although this was far from always the case). Once all this had been done, confirmation would be given during consistory: the cardinal wishing to opt for another church would stand up and pronounce his request; if the pope conceded this request he would make the sign of the cross, agreeing to the transaction and legally confirming it.

Why would cardinals want to change their affiliation to a titular church, deaconry or suburbicarian diocese? In the first place, the formal and informal hierarchy in combination with seniority meant that cardinals were continuously striving to confirm their status through their church. Outside and beyond this hierarchy stood San Lorenzo in Damaso, which was reserved for the cardinal chamberlain from 1532 onwards and was conferred on him irrespective

41 Cristofori, *Cronotassi*, LVIII.

42 Moroni, 50:83 and Vincenzo Amadori, *Discursus in causa Romana optionis Episcopatus* (Rome: 1715), fol. 2v–3r.

43 Francesco Cancellieri, *Notizie sopra l'uso dell'anello pescatorio e degli altri anelli ecclesiastici e specialmente del cardinalizio ...* (Rome: 1823), 37–39.

44 Panvinio, *De episcopatibus*, 43 and De Luca, *Il Cardinale*, 27.

of his position in the *ordo*. All other affiliations reflected their incumbent's status: for example, the most senior cardinal priest habitually received San Lorenzo in Lucina, while the senior cardinal deacon was usually attached to Santa Maria in Domnica, later to Santa Maria in Via Lata; the most senior cardinal bishop was assigned the diocese of Ostia.⁴⁵

Secondly, churches varied in the advantages, and disadvantages, they brought to their titular cardinals. Although these aspects are never recorded in the acts of consistory, they are reflected in other sources, such as in Cardinal Harrach's diaries. During his career as cardinal, Harrach twice opted for another church. His description of his first option, when he exchanged Santa Maria degli Angeli for Santa Prassede in 1644, illustrates how the formal act was preceded by informal consultations – beginning with the three senior cardinals of his rank, who (in this case) provided their reasons for *not* opting, as they either had other advantages (such as the right to nominate canons or other prelates) or were expecting to be promoted to the rank of cardinal bishop.⁴⁶ Each time a cardinal successfully opted for another title, he was entitled to a new *possesso*. So, Harrach went to take possession of Santa Prassede a week after his successful *optione*, and when in 1667 he opted for San Lorenzo in Lucina, he went to take possession of that church three days afterwards.⁴⁷ Taking into account the number of transfers in the College of Cardinals, the ceremony of the *possesso* must have been a regular feature in the Roman urban space (and a profitable economic opportunity for artists, musicians, masters of ceremony, and many others).

4 *Titulus and palatio*

A titular church or deaconry might also include a palace. In Christianity's first centuries, titular churches had constituted the first stable residences of clerics in Rome and so the practice of cardinals in living in houses belonging to their *titulus* was well-established. In the 12th century, non-Roman cardinals in particular improved the buildings attached to their *titulus*.⁴⁸ But during the later Middle Ages and especially during the Western Schism, many of these had

45 Richardson, *Reclaiming Rome*, 240; see also Panvinio, *De episcopatibus*, 27; Cristofori, *Cronotassi*, LXI.

46 Harrach, *Diarien*, 2:497–98.

47 *Ibid.*, 2:504 and 4:410–12.

48 Sandro Carocci, "Insediamento aristocratico e residenze cardinalizie a Roma fra XII e XIV secolo," in *Domus et splendida palatia: Residenze papali e cardinalizie a Roma fra XII e XV secolo*, ed. Alessio Monciatti (Pisa: 2004), 17–28.

been turned into monastic complexes, such as at San Martino ai Monti, where the palace was converted into a Carmelite monastery in 1299. After the papal court's return to Rome, many cardinals chose to reside at their *tituli* again, and restored the palaces alongside the adjacent churches. This choice also had the advantage that their residences were easily recognizable and located at crucial points in the urban fabric.⁴⁹ In the early 15th century, titular residences were indicated with the term *palatium*, suggesting a more than average size.⁵⁰

Residences attached to titular churches that were extended and embellished in the 15th century included the palace at San Marco (the present Palazzo Venezia – which led to a long lineage of Venetian cardinals having the *titulus* of San Marco), the palace at Santi XII Apostoli which was eventually incorporated into the Palazzo Colonna, and the palace next to San Lorenzo in Damaso, the Cancelleria.⁵¹ In 1541, the use of the palace at Santa Maria in Trastevere was reserved for Cardinal Marino Grimani (ca. 1488–1546) even though Francesco Corner (1478–1543) had succeeded him as titular cardinal of the church.⁵² The titular palace at San Marcello al Corso was completely rebuilt in the latter half of the 15th century by Cardinal Giovanni Michiel (1454–1503), and the new Renaissance palace remained in the possession of San Marcello after the cardinal's death in 1503.⁵³

From the late 15th century onwards, however, these dynamics began to change. The institutional reason for this was Sixtus IV's decision of 1475 to suppress the papal right to claim the properties belonging to deceased clerics (see the contribution by Fausto Nicolai in this volume), provided that these clerics built their palace in Rome or its vicinity. This meant that investing in real estate became attractive for cardinals as they could bequeath that to their heirs.⁵⁴ As a result, titular churches or deaconries were no longer relevant for housing; from then on, these palaces were rented out, converted, or even sold to private ownership, as in the case of the residences next to Santi Apostoli and San Lorenzo in Lucina.⁵⁵

49 Aurigemma, "Residenze," 118.

50 Ibid., 122.

51 Georg Schelbert, *Der Palast von SS. Apostoli und die Kardinalsresidenzen des 15. Jahrhunderts in Rom* (Norderstedt: 2007), 24–30.

52 ASV, Arch Consist., Acta Camerarii 5, 1541–1545, fol. 27v: 16 March 1541: "Titulum vero Sta. Mariae T.te optavit sibi R.mus D. Franciscus Pbr. Cardin.lis Cornelius, cum reservatione tamen Domus, pro eodem R.mo D. Grimano."

53 Ubaldo Todeschini, "Liber introitus conventus S. Marcelli de urbe: Libro di entrata del convento di S. Marcello di Roma da ottobre 1491 a settembre 1510," *Studi Veneziani* 70 (2014), 194–95.

54 Aurigemma, "Residenze," 128.

55 Richardson, *Reclaiming Rome*, 260.

5 Prerogatives

The juridical position of a cardinal in his titular church incited many popes to pronounce on the matter. In the 11th century, Alexander II declared that cardinal priests had quasi-episcopal rights in their churches, and this was reconfirmed by various popes.⁵⁶ These rights were extensive – for example, cardinals were entitled to apply the first tonsure, confer benefices, and they were also allowed to judge both secular and religious cases in their parish. Although such prerogatives were to be abolished on the basis of the Tridentine decrees, Sixtus v's 1587 bull *Religiosa* only adjusted Paul IV's 1555 statement that titular cardinals had episcopal rights in their titular church into them being “quasi-episcopal” in status – which also applied to cardinal deacons.⁵⁷ In the meantime, the overlap in jurisdiction with the cardinal vicar or Rome (who represented the Pope as bishop in his diocese and whose rights were infringed by the titular cardinals as well as by cardinal protectors of orders and confraternities) led to increasing tension, which was resolved by Innocent XII in 1692 who reserved all legal issues to the vicariate.⁵⁸

This change was also related to Cardinal Francesco Albizzi (1593–1684) and his 1666 treatise *De iurisdictione quam habent S.R.E. Cardinales in ecclesijs suorum titularum*. This book supported Albizzi's claims on his titular church Santa Maria in Via, in opposition to the Servite Monks who lived in the adjacent monastery and officiated the church. He might have received this church as *titulus* in 1654 as he originally maintained good relations with the Servites in his native Cesena.⁵⁹ As a cardinal in Rome, however, he claimed precedence over the friars in both financial and spiritual matters. When this was contested, Albizzi claimed his rights through legal action. In support of his claim, Albizzi's treatise listed a host of venerable authorities on the origins of the titular church, ranging from popes Evaristus and Boniface VIII to more contemporary writers such as Prudentius and Scaliger. Not surprisingly, he concluded that cardinal priests were invested in a position that was equivalent to that of a bishop. Legally, Albizzi's claim was refuted and a temporary congregation instituted by pope Alexander VII also left the issue unresolved, meaning that the

56 Kuttner, “Cardinalis,” 176.

57 Harry G. Hynes, *The Privileges of Cardinals: Commentary with Historical Notes* (Washington, D.C.: 1945), 12–13.

58 Nicolò Antonio Cuggiò, *Della giurisdittione e prerogative del Vicario di Roma*, ed. Domenico Rocciolo (Rome: 2004), 242–45 and Hynes, *The Privileges*, 16.

59 Lucien Ceysens, *Le Cardinal François Albizzi (1593–1684): Un cas important dans l'histoire du jansénisme* (Rome: 1977), 169.

powers of a cardinal in his titular church were certainly not unrestricted if there was a regular community involved.⁶⁰

Therefore, from the late 17th century only the ceremonial element of the titular church or deaconry (such as the use of the throne and baldachin for the seat of the cardinal) remained uncontested.⁶¹ However, this offered attractive possibilities in the sense of public visibility. For example, when the pope celebrated mass in any church in Rome, the number of courtiers each cardinal was allowed to bring was restricted to three, but if that church happened to be the cardinal's own *titulus* or deaconry, that number could be increased to fifteen.⁶² But also at other occasions, the titular church offered the location for ceremonial, which provided an even more public occasion to express one's public status than in the case of one's residence, while following the exact same rules (for which see Patricia Waddy's chapter in this volume). As described by Sestini in his 1621 manual, when a cardinal was celebrating mass in his titular church (or deaconry), upon the entry of another cardinal his *gentiluomini* were to go and meet the visiting prelate at the door (and accompany him back to his coach at the end of the visit), and if the cardinal himself was not occupied, he would encounter his guest at a point that according to the rules of etiquette agreed with the social standing of guest and host – and bid him goodbye at the very same spot.⁶³ This points out that the frequent recurrence of particular ceremonial elements in the context of the papal court, which was noted by Peter Burke, was also valid for cardinals – and it even meant that aspects of secular etiquette could be enacted in religious contexts.⁶⁴ Therefore, the titular church functioned as if it was an extension of the private residence, even long

60 De Luca, *Il cardinale*, 152.

61 Hynes, *The Privileges*, 28–29.

62 Markus Völkel, *Römische Kardinalshaushalte des 17. Jahrhunderts: Borghese – Barberini – Chigi* (Tübingen: 1993), 332.

63 Sestini da Bibbiena, *Il Maestro*, 71–72: “E se ... vengono Cardinali, il Maestro di Camera con altri gentiluomini di sua famiglia deve andare a rincontrargli alla porta della Chiesa ... e alla partenza andare a servirli al cocchio almeno per tutta la Chiesa ... Ma se il Cardinale non è impedito, v'egli medesimo a rincontrargli alla porta, e gli accompagna al luogo solito ... e nel partire gli riaccompagna infin dove almeno andò a riceverli” (And ... if other cardinals come in, the chamberlain with other gentlemen of his retinue should go and meet him at the door of the church ... and when he leaves, they should accompany him to his coach at least along the length of the church ... But if the cardinal is not busy, he himself should come to meet him at the door and guide him to the usual place ... and upon his departure he will accompany him to the spot at least where he will have come to meet them.)

64 Peter Burke, “Sacred Rulers, Royal Priests: Rituals of the Early Modern Popes,” in *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy: Essays in Perception and Communication* (Cambridge, Eng.: 1987), 173.

after the separation of the two. Last but not least, the position as titular cardinal provided them with conspicuous locations for their funeral monuments (see Philipp Zitzlsperger's chapter in this volume).

6 *Titulus, Income and in commendam*

Finally, a *titulus* also meant income. Over the course of time titular churches and deaconries had accumulated property and dependencies, which often still existed in the early modern period.⁶⁵ In the preparations for a Papal bull during the early 1460s, it was proposed that cardinals should refrain from accumulating incomes, but should live off the revenues of their titular church only – suggesting that at that moment, it was feasible to do so.⁶⁶ But in 1635, Girolamo Lunadoro recorded that “for most, the income from the *titulus* does not suffice, and they started to have *in commendam* simple benefices, canonries, archpriesthoods, and the like.”⁶⁷ This suggests that the concept of the titular church procuring income for a cardinal was still valid but the amount was far from sufficient. But what kind of amount did a titular church or deaconry represent between 1420 and 1750?

Various sources indicate that titular churches and deaconries represented revenues, but exact amounts are seldom mentioned. For example, Cardinal Jean Jouffroy (ca. 1412–73) earned an income from San Martino ai Monti, but it was less than what a rich monastery or an (arch)episcopal diocese would bring, as it was listed amongst pensions and the other sources of fluctuating income.⁶⁸ Further evidence from the 16th century equally points to the relative importance of this source of income; for example, in 1530 a brief was published that allowed Cardinal Agostino Spinola (ca. 1482–1537) the fruits of plural benefices, and included in the list was that from his titular church San Ciriaco alle Terme. A similar grant made to Cardinal Girolamo Doria (1495–1558) in 1533 also listed the revenues from his titular church, San Tommaso in Parione.⁶⁹ The fact that in some *licentia testandi* the revenues from the titular church or

65 Richardson, *Reclaiming Rome*, 189.

66 Walter Schürmeyer, *Das Kardinalskollegium unter Pius II.* (Berlin: 1914), 52.

67 Girolamo Lunadoro, *Relatione della corte di Roma* (Rome: 1635), 180: “non bastando a molti l'entrata de' Titoli, cominciano ad haver in commenda Benefitij semplici, Canonici, Archipresbiteriari, e simili.”

68 Claudia Märtil, *Kardinal Jean Jouffroy (†1473): Leben und Werk* (Sigmaringen: 1996), 240.

69 Barbara McClung Hallmann, *Italian Cardinals, Reform, and the Church as Property* (Berkeley: 1985), 42 and 47.

deaconry were counted amongst the assets to be bequeathed underscores the reality of income from that source.⁷⁰

Although it is impossible to establish what an average titular church rendered in income, one can get an idea by looking at some examples. The case of Scipione Borghese (1576–1633) is well documented and his accounts provide an insight into what he earned from his titular church of San Crisogono. Cumulatively, this church provided Borghese an income of 4,045 *scudi* over a period of 28 years. The annual income fluctuated between 54 and 170 *scudi*, with an average of 145 *scudi*, which accounted for only a tiny part of an average cardinal's expenditure.⁷¹

This financial information was available to cardinals when they were opting for another church. In 1644, when Cardinal Harrach opted for Santa Prassede, he was informed that "... this *titulus* possesses a house with three gardens, that is rented out for 210 *scudi* a year. The costs are at least 30 *scudi* for the two feasts celebrated at the expense of the titular cardinal."⁷² Moreover, cardinals also intervened in the financial affairs of their *tituli* in the hopes of extracting more income. Again, Harrach noted, when he visited Santa Prassede in 1655 incognito, that "I saw then the palace that is rented out in parts with two small gardens, and in total, when it would be rented out as a whole, it would lead to 230 *scudi* yearly."⁷³ There are other examples: during the 17th century Santa Maria in Trastevere brought 420 *scudi* a year in rent for the adjacent palace, and San Lorenzo in Lucina carried an income of 800 *scudi* with it.⁷⁴ However, in comparison with the incomes of cardinals – around 6,000 *scudi* for a "poor" cardinal in the 16th century (see Lucinda Byatt's chapter in this volume, also for other examples of income from the *titulus*) – what they gained on average from their *titulus* counted only marginally.

If we shift our perspective to individual churches we see that Sant'Anastasia, for example, in 1722 owned a *casale* with 77 *rubbia* of land (approximately 142 hectares) located outside the Porta San Sebastiano, as well as five granaries plus a number of houses, and it had investments in papal bonds.⁷⁵ This must

70 McClung Hallmann, *Italian Cardinals*, 82.

71 Volker Reinhardt, *Kardinal Scipione Borghese (1605–1633): Vermögen, Finanzen und sozialer Aufstieg eines Papstnepoten* (Tübingen: 1984), 40–98.

72 Harrach, *Diarini*, 2:498: "Et gode questo titolo una casa con 3 giardini, che s'affittano per 210 scudi l'anno. La spesa che ci va almeno 30 scudi per le due feste che vi si celebrano a costo del titolare."

73 Harrach, *Diarini*, 4:122: "viddi poi il palazzo che s'affitta in diverse pezze con 2 giardinetti, et in tutto, quando si può totalmente affittare, porterà da 230 scudi l'anno."

74 Moroni, 75:227.

75 Cappello, *Brevi notizie*, 58.

have rendered a sizeable income. But this was reduced by obligations – in fact, nothing was available to the titular cardinal, as the income was spent entirely on salaries of canons, who earned 1,000 *scudi* a year. Many titular churches had similar arrangements, with canons or colleges of clerics taking care of the pastoral duties. As Piazza reminded in 1703, Leo X and Sixtus V had urged titular cardinals to reserve provisions for at least one priest officiating in their *titulus*.⁷⁶ For that reason, cardinals often used their influence to nominate their relatives or courtiers to such functions – in other words, their position as titular cardinal was used to favour their clients rather than to enrich themselves. Such a right was obtained by Ippolito II d'Este in 1539 for the appointment to vacancies in his church of Santa Maria in Aquiro.⁷⁷

Another expense incumbent on a cardinal was the upkeep and embellishment of his titular church. In the case of Scipione Borghese, the renovation of the building of San Crisogono cost him the total sum of over 39,000 *scudi* in the same period of time – although he did not have to pay for priests or deacons as the church belonged to a Carmelite monastery. Of course, other cardinals might have spent much less on their titular churches, but with an income of 4,045 *scudi* over such a long period not a lot could be done in terms of maintaining a building and paying for its liturgical functions.

Finally, if there were titular churches (or deaconries) vacant, the income of these could be given *in commendam* to other cardinals – a practice already in use in the later Middle Ages. In the 15th century, this was still regularly done, as there were then more titular churches than cardinals.⁷⁸ However, with an ever-growing College, this practice became unusual from the 16th century onwards. Still, cardinals promoted to cardinal bishop often maintained their titular church.⁷⁹ It was also permitted in other situations; for example, in October 1511 Cardinal Bendinello Sauli (ca. 1494–18) obtained Santa Maria in Trastevere *in commendam* while maintaining his previous title of Santa Sabina.⁸⁰ A common reason for this was related to housing; for example, San Marco was held *in commendam* in the 16th century by a number of Venetian cardinals who lived in the adjacent palace.⁸¹ It is furthermore interesting that Santi Quattro Coronati was the titular church of three members of the Pucci family between 1514

76 Piazza, *La gerarchia*, 348.

77 McClung Hallmann, *Italian Cardinals*, 105.

78 Richardson, *Reclaiming Rome*, 253.

79 Moroni, 75:222.

80 Helen Hyde, *Cardinal Bendinello Sauli and Church Patronage in Sixteenth-Century Italy* (Woodbridge: 2009), 24 and Eubel, *Hierarchia*, 3:66.

81 Eubel, *Hierarchia*, 3:65.

and 1547, of whom two held it *in commendam*.⁸² It suggests that, its eccentric location notwithstanding at that moment, it was still used as a residence, just as it had been the case in the 13th century.⁸³ By the 17th century, however, the phenomenon of keeping a titular church or deaconry *in commendam* became far less frequent.

7 Identity

Finally, until the 18th century cardinals were often known by the name of their church.⁸⁴ In official acts of the 16th century, at least a third of the cardinals were not indicated by family name, place of origin or diocese, but by means of their church.⁸⁵ Also in printed collections of cardinals' portraits, they are always identified first by their *titulus*, deaconry or suburbicarian diocese, and second by their family name. Other sources throw light on how much the epithet of a titular church meant for the cardinals themselves: Giambattista Cicala (1510–70), who had been raised to the purple in 1551 with San Clemente as his title, expressly asked permission to retain his right to be called Cardinal San Clemente after he opted for Sant'Agatha in 1565.⁸⁶ Examples of this kind can be found until the 18th century; Cardinal Annibale Albani (1682–1751) maintained his titular church of San Clemente after being elevated to cardinal bishop, and continued to be called “Cardinale San Clemente” in formal and informal documents.⁸⁷

In art historical terms, the issue of identity translated into decorative programs and artistic embellishments. The reformist sphere of the Counter-Reformation led to a heightened focus on the *titulus* and deaconry; the restoration of their churches by Cardinals Baronio and Bellarmine illustrate that even cardinals who led an austere life took their obligations towards their *titulus* very seriously.⁸⁸ Popes would habitually press the cardinals to pay attention to their titular church in preparation for a Jubilee year. For example, in the consistory of 3 March 1749 Benedict XIV reminded all cardinals of their obligation to restore and embellish their *titulus* and, indeed, any other church in the city of

82 Ibid., 3:62.

83 Andreina Draghi, *Il Palazzo cardinalizio dei Santi Quattro a Roma: I dipinti duecenteschi* (Milan: 2012), 7–8.

84 Richardson, *Reclaiming Rome*, 197–98.

85 Baumgarten, “Die Translationen,” 17–20 and McClung Hallmann, *Italian Cardinals*, 60.

86 Gigliola Fragnito, “Cicala, Giambattista,” in *DBI*, 25:306.

87 Moroni, 75:219

88 Herz, “Cardinal Cesare Baronio's Restoration,” 590–620.

which they were protector. One of the problematic issues in this respect is the fact that most titular churches and deaconries were restored so often that traces of earlier periods were wiped away, especially in the restoration programmes of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Many early modern interventions by cardinals in their titular churches can thus only be traced solely through archival documents.

8 Further Research

The literature on the subject of titular churches is extensive, with a focus however on the Early Christian period and the Middle Ages. More recently, research has been done on the period after 1420. It is significant that scholars paid less attention to the period after the Renaissance – a focus which expresses the assumption that, with the loosening ties between the titular church and the cardinal's residence, finances, and legal obligations, the importance of this aspect was waning. But a lot of material can be found on the 17th and 18th centuries by means of archival research on individual cardinals and specific churches, that indicates a continuous importance of the titular church for the average cardinal. These sources can also make up for the lack of material remains that once visualized the importance that early modern cardinals attached to their titular church. The very fact that virtually every cardinal had works done in his titular church means these buildings resemble perpetual palimpsests and are thus difficult to decipher. As a result, even though the subject has received sufficient attention in the literature, often the importance of the titular church and the ceremonies and practices connected to it remain underestimated – including their importance for daily life in early modern Rome. It is indicative that in the research on the ephemeral festive culture in early modern Rome, the numerous events connected with the titular churches have been altogether ignored, caused by the simple fact that its frequency led to a complete lack of visual sources.⁸⁹ Further research on the basis of written accounts might therefore focus on the 17th and 18th centuries, and especially the titular church's ceremonial aspects in the urban context of the Eternal City.

89 Maurizio Fagiolo dell'Arco, *La festa barocca*, Corpus delle Feste a Roma 1 (Rome: 1997), 45–48.

Cardinals' Palaces: Architecture and Decoration

Patricia Waddy

The large number of cardinals in Rome – drawn to the papal capital because of their duties as cardinals – make a class, so that we may reasonably talk about “the cardinal’s palace” in that city, even though there was considerable variety in the conditions of cardinals – their origins, wealth, special offices, relation to the reigning pope, political affiliations, and other factors. Cardinals’ dwellings resembled those of other high-ranking persons in early modern Rome. Both cardinals and secular princes represented themselves and conducted much of their public lives in their palaces. Indeed, a cardinal might live in an apartment that had previously been used by a prince or even a noblewoman, with a few adjustments; and a cardinal and a secular nobleman, each with his own apartment, might share a palace as a sign of their complementary roles in a single family. Both, however, were distinct from the pope, with his unique dignity and usages.¹ Inevitably, as with any living organism, there were changes over the three hundred years of this study. A description of the cardinal’s palace must therefore admit of considerable variety, even if a normative condition can be identified.

1 Cardinals’ Dwellings

Paolo Cortesi, in his treatise on the cardinalate (for which see David S. Chambers’ chapter in this volume), described the ideal residence for a cardinal in Rome.² Though writing in the early years of the 16th century, he was distilling longstanding practices. Indeed, he may have had in mind dwellings like that of Cardinal Giordano Orsini (?–1438), who had established such an apartment for himself in the southwest wing of his family’s compound at Montegiordano by around 1430.³ Like Giordano, Cortesi’s ideal cardinal is a single person, but his

1 Patricia Waddy, “Many Courts, Many Spaces,” in *The Politics of Space: European Courts ca. 1500–1750*, eds. Marcello Fantoni, George Gorse, and Malcolm Smuts (Rome: 2009), 209–30.

2 Kathleen Weil-Garris and John F. D’Amico, *The Renaissance Cardinal’s Ideal Palace: A Chapter from Cortesi’s De cardinalatu* (Rome: 1980), 76–87.

3 Kristin A. Triff, *The Orsini Palace at Monte Giordano: Patronage and Public Image in Renaissance Rome* (Turnhout: forthcoming). I thank Kristin Triff for sharing her work with me before its publication.

dwelling must accommodate many others: his large household staff; the many persons who will come to visit, whether guests who will stay for a while or “courtiers and messengers” who come to treat with him; or scholars who wish to consult books in his library (for which see Maria Pia Donato’s chapter in this volume). It was a typical Roman palace of the times in that a single entrance opened to a courtyard with a loggia. Giordano’s well-known library was on the ground floor, and the stair in the courtyard led up to his apartment on the *piano nobile*, the heart of the palace. The large *sala*, “spacious enough to seem built for the meeting and gathering of men rather than for private comfort,” according to Cortesi, was decorated with a painted cycle of famous men by Masolino in 1431–32. Visitors could gather there and even be observed discreetly before meeting with their host. As Cortesi was to prescribe, the *sala* contained a small chapel at its west end. At the east end there was a cluster of four rooms, two opening from the *sala* and two behind them. The first room to the south was likely the audience room, and its neighbour to the north opened to a loggia, as Cortesi was to recommend for a dining room. The room behind the audience room could be the bedroom and the fourth room could be either the silver closet (an adjunct to Cortesi’s dining room) or, more likely, the night study that Cortesi was to describe, with a small private stair that led to the library below. As Cortesi later described, the rooms stood in relation to one another (the chapel to the *sala*, the dining room to the silver closet and loggia, the bedroom to the night study) but not in a sequential configuration.

At Giordano’s death in 1438, his nephew Latino Orsini (ca. 1410–77; elevated to the cardinalate in 1448) inherited this part of the palace. When Latino died in 1477, he was succeeded by his son Paolo (who was not a cardinal). Thus, on the eve of Cortesi’s writing the apartment had sheltered three generations of Orsini men – two cardinals and a secular nobleman.

A variant of this plan of a few compactly-arranged rooms was used by Cardinal Pietro Barbo (1417–71; the future Paul II) when he rebuilt the palace next to his titular church of San Marco beginning in 1455.⁴ There was no courtyard, but a stair ascended from the ground floor past a mezzanine to the *piano nobile* of only a few very large rooms. First was the *sala*; then a second room, likely his audience room; and then the corner room below the tower of the palace, which could be the cardinal’s *camera*. The small rooms between this set of three and the east wall of the basilica would have fulfilled Cortesi’s ancillary functions. It was only after becoming pope in 1464 that he decided to extend his cardinal’s

4 Christoph Luitpold Frommel, “Francesco del Borgo: Architekt Pius’ II. und Pauls II. 2: Palazzo Venezia, Palazzetto Venezia und San Marco,” *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 21 (1984), 71–164, esp. 73–79, 92–104.

palace at San Marco with three large halls, following the example of the major suite of rooms at the Vatican but in a more regularized way. This ambitious scheme was not completed by his death in 1471, but its intention was clear.

The type of cardinal's palace (distinct from the papal model of the Vatican) continued past the date of Cortesi's writing. Cardinal Alessandro I Farnese (1468–1549) began a palace for himself in 1514, according to a design by Antonio da Sangallo the Younger.⁵ At first, the plan provided for a compact apartment of *sala*, a *salotto* (or audience room), and a *camera* like that of the cardinal's apartment at Palazzo Venezia. The cardinal was elected pope and took the name Paul III in 1534; work stopped for several years; and in 1540–41 Sangallo developed a "papal project" – not however for the pope but for Pierluigi, a duke and son of the pope. There was a shift in scale as the stair was moved and enlarged and a new grand *salone* two stories high was built to precede the cardinal's rooms. The former *sala* now became the "salotto primo" in a series that was continued by a "salotto secondo" and then the "camera a paramento in sul cantone overo tertio salotto" in the north corner, according to a drawing prepared by Sangallo.⁶ The fifth room in the sequence, beyond the original cardinal's apartment, then, must be the "sala del papagallo." Just as at Palazzo Venezia, the sequence of rooms emulated that of the Vatican palace. The linear apartment of the papal palace had displaced the compact cluster of rooms of Cortesi's model. It was not clear, however, how the duke would use this sequence of rooms with their papal names, for his dignity and attendant ceremonies were different from those of the pope.

Though Cortesi had identified a norm, there had been some multiroom linear apartments in cardinals' palaces in the 15th century. Rodrigo Borgia (1430/32–1503), nephew of Calixtus III, was elevated to the cardinalate in 1456 and named Vice-Chancellor in 1457. One of the richest cardinals of the day, he began a palace that was substantially finished by 1462.⁷ Later re-buildings have obscured its original plan, but Cardinal Ascanio Sforza (1455–1505), who visited in 1484, described a suite of four richly decorated and furnished rooms of imprecise functions: a *sala*, then a smaller *salotto* in which there was a canopied bed as well as a sideboard laden with a display of gold and silver vessels; then two more rooms (*camere*), each with a canopied bed. He also saw another suite of magnificent rooms with beds in adjoining rooms. Rodrigo Borgia

5 Christoph Luitpold Frommel, "La construction et la décoration du Palais Farnèse: Sangallo et Michel-Ange (1513–1550)," in *Le Palais Farnèse, École française de Rome* (Rome: 1981), 130–58.

6 Florence, Uffizi A735, published by Frommel, "Palais Farnèse," 209, fig. 47.

7 Torgil Magnuson, *Studies in Roman Quattrocento Architecture (Figura 9)* (Stockholm: 1958), 230–41.

eventually became pope himself, as Alexander VI (1492–1503). His palace became the residence of subsequent vice-chancellors Ascanio Sforza and then Galeotto della Rovere (1471–1507) and came to be called the Cancelleria Vecchia (later Palazzo Sforza-Cesarini). It was more than a simple cardinal's dwelling; it had become an official residence.

The palace built by Cardinal Raffaele Riario (1460–1521), a nephew of Sixtus IV, was similarly more than a cardinal's residence.⁸ He was appointed vice-chancellor in 1483 and in that same year was assigned the church of San Lorenzo in Damaso as his titular church. Beginning probably in 1489, he rebuilt both church and palace. The cardinal had not only great wealth but also papal ambitions, and the plan of the rooms on the *piano nobile* followed the model of the recent "papal" plan of Palazzo Venezia. Raffaele Riario did not become pope, but his palace was confiscated in 1517 and thereafter, as the Cancelleria Nuova, served as the official seat of the vice-chancellor of the Roman Church.

After the example of Palazzo Farnese in the 1540s, the linear apartment escaped its papal and official connotations and became the framework for a new etiquette for cardinals and secular princes alike. The papal terminology for rooms following the *sala* was replaced by *prima anticamera*, *seconda anticamera*, *camera d'udienza*, and *camera da letto*. Earlier in the 16th century the word "anticamera" had been used for rooms of various functions but usually behind rather than in front of a "camera."⁹ By 1563 it appears in a plan of the Palazzo dei Penitenzieri in a sequence of "Sala, Salotto, Anticamera, Camera, Camera."¹⁰ By the time of Michel de Montaigne's visit to Rome in 1580–81, the apartment of a suite of many rooms leading to an audience room was well established. He wrote in his journal that in Rome "the palaces have a great suite of rooms one after the other. You pass through three or four halls before you reach the main one."¹¹

8 Christoph Luitpold Frommel, "Raffaele Riario, committente della Cancelleria," in *Arte, committenza ed economia a Roma e nelle corti del Rinascimento (1420–1530)*, eds. Arnold Esch and Cristoph Luitpold Frommel (Turin: 1995), 197–211 and Figs. 15–40.

9 Christoph Luitpold Frommel, *Der römische Palastbau der Hochrenaissance* (Römische Forschungen der Bibliotheca Hertziana 21) (Tübingen: 1973), 2:72–73.

10 ASR, Confraternita SS. Annunziata, Catasto 1563, fol. 51, published by Frommel, *Palastbau* vol. 3, plate 191a.

11 "[À Rome] les palais ont force suite de mambres les uns après les autres. Vous enfilés trois et quatre salles, avant que vous soyés à la maistresse," Michel de Montaigne, *Journal du voyage de Michel de Montaigne en Italie par la Suisse et l'Allemagne en 1580 et 1581*, ed. Alessandro d'Ancona (Città di Castello: 1889), 238.

2 Etiquette and Space

The etiquette that developed to animate these linear apartments (Fig. 22.1) was firmly in place by the beginning of the 17th century and was recorded in handbooks like *Il maestro di camera* by Francesco Sestini da Bibbiena, first published in 1621.¹² It depended on a hierarchical organization with many fine gradations in which every person knew his rank and position with respect to every other person. A major part of a cardinal's work involved the reception of guests, whether for formal courtesies or for calculated negotiations, within his apartment. The respective positions of the participants were shown by many signs, but foremost among them was the point in the linear apartment at which the guest was greeted, first by gentlemen attendants and then by the cardinal host, and then the different point at which he was bidden farewell. The stair and the sequence of rooms, with their distinctive furnishings and the persons attendant in them, provided markers against which rank could be measured.

The first room in the suite, the *sala*, was distinguished by its furnishings and attendants.¹³ For a cardinal, the room was dominated by a large *baldacchino* emblazoned with his family's coat of arms; beneath the *baldacchino* was a *credenza* that supported a stepped rack on which a display of silver plate would be arranged; and the ensemble was surrounded by a balustrade. A cardinal of high rank could display a second *baldacchino* in the first anteroom, a chair beneath it turned toward the wall.

The serving of meals was as governed by ceremony as the reception of guests, but there was no dedicated dining room.¹⁴ Instead, a table was brought in and set up, often in the outer anteroom, and then taken away after the meal so that the room could resume its place in the sequence leading to the audience room. But, according to the occasion or season, the ceremony of dining might be arranged in another room.

Beyond the audience room, the cardinal's bedroom was completely private; it was entered by servants only under specified circumstances.¹⁵ Beyond the bedroom there was typically a service room with a stair for the discreet movements of servants or perhaps the cardinal himself.

There might be additional rooms, according to the cardinal's interests – for example, a study (like Cortesi's night study), a library, or a gallery outside the

12 Patricia Waddy, *Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces: Use and the Art of the Plan* (New York: 1990), 4–6; Francesco Sestini da Bibbiena, *Il maestro di camera* (Florence: 1621, and many subsequent editions).

13 *Ibid.*, 8.

14 *Ibid.*, 6.

15 *Ibid.*, 7.

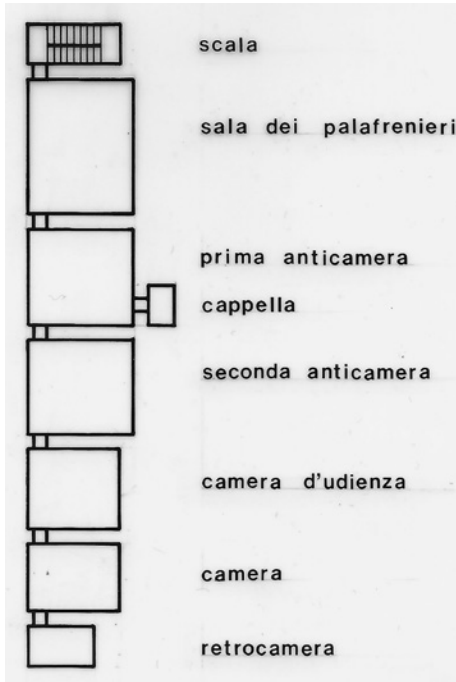


FIGURE 22.1
The 17th-century Roman apartment,
diagram
DRAWING: PATRICIA WADDY

suite of formal reception rooms. There might also be an alternative apartment, or at least alternative rooms, for comfort in various seasons of the year, rooms to the north and east being cooler in summer and those to the south and west warmer in winter.¹⁶ And the rooms need not proceed in a straight line, although the sequential arrangement was essential.

This kind of apartment could serve either a cardinal or a secular prince or ambassador in Rome, but there were a few special requirements for a cardinal. First was the *baldacchino*, a sign of his dignity that was shared only with a few other persons of high rank.¹⁷ Another was a private chapel, typically a small room opening to one of the anterooms (rather than from the *sala* as described by Cortesi) so that the household could gather there to hear mass, while a window to an inner room of the apartment would allow the cardinal to hear mass privately.¹⁸ Chapels were allowed only to cardinals, bishops, and regular prelates; other persons could have one only through a special papal indult. The

¹⁶ Ibid., 14–24.

¹⁷ Ibid., 8.

¹⁸ Ibid., 7.

cardinal also needed a bell that could be rung on the arrival of a visitor of specified rank. And a cardinal's palace would need ample passage and parking areas for the carriages of distinguished guests.¹⁹ Carriages were introduced in Rome in the middle of the 16th century, and their popularity spread quickly among persons of status.²⁰ The etiquette of receiving guests assumed the entrance of the carriage into the palace to take the guest to the foot of the stair. For important ceremonial calls, a cardinal's personal carriage might be accompanied by a considerable train, and there had to be space not only for the movements of the many carriages but also for their parking for the duration of the visit, whether in a courtyard or in a nearby piazza.

Conversely, a cardinal, a single celibate man, did not need the provisions for women that a secular prince would need: a separate apartment for the noblewoman that would be very much like the linear suite of her husband; quarters for her women attendants with their own kitchen and a turnbox to pass provisions to them without their needing to come into contact with the men of the household; a laundry; and possibly a private garden.²¹

Over time, the etiquette was inflated and the apartment was extended.²² By the end of the 17th century, more honour was shown to visitors of every rank, as gentlemen attendants and host advanced farther to greet them. While two anterooms were the norm for Sestini in 1621, there could be three or four, providing additional points against which to measure respective ranks. A second audience room was introduced, for receiving different kinds of guests: when the Swedish architect Nicodemus Tessin the Younger visited Rome in 1687–88, he observed two audience rooms in the cardinal's apartment in the south wing of Palazzo Barberini alle Quattro Fontane, the first specifically for "knights and prelates"; and at the palace of Cardinal Flavio I Chigi (1627–93) in Piazza Santi Apostoli (Fig. 22.2) he saw two audience rooms, the second for "women and particular knights."²³ The *baldacchino*, previously restricted to the *sala* and the outer anteroom, began to appear in the audience room as well, a portrait of the reigning pope placed beneath it. A room with an elaborate bed was inserted between the audience room and the actual bedroom, at least as early as 1648 – perhaps in emulation of the impressive beds that Romans saw in the *chambre*

19 Ibid., 61–63.

20 John M. Hunt, "Carriages, Violence, and Masculinity in Early Modern Rome," *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance* 17 (2014): 175–96.

21 Waddy, *Palaces*, 25–30.

22 Waddy, "Many Courts," 215–16.

23 Nicodemus Tessin the Younger, *Travel Notes 1673–77 and 1687–88*, eds. Merit Laine and Börje Magnusson (Stockholm: 2002), 305, 313.

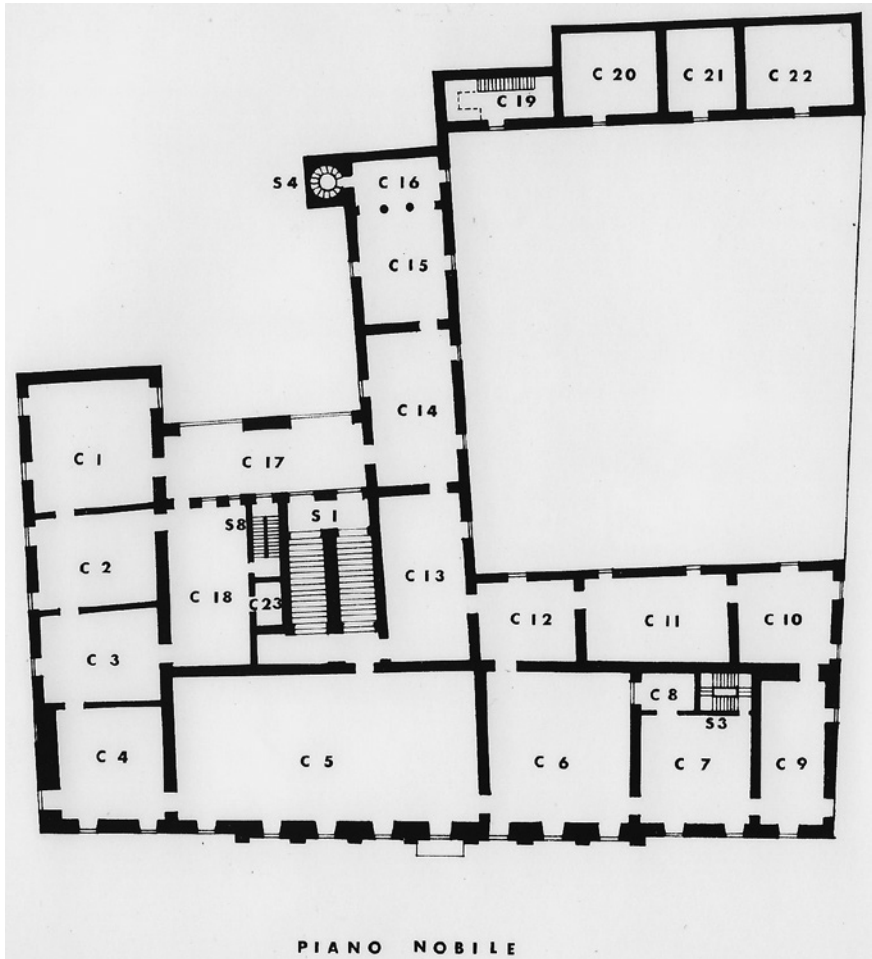


FIGURE 22.2 Reconstruction of the piano nobile plan of Palazzo Chigi (later Chigi-Odescalchi), 1664–1667

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of apartments in France. Tessin paused long in admiration of Cardinal Chigi's splendid bed in a richly decorated alcove in his palace, completed in 1668.²⁴

The distinctiveness of this Roman apartment and the etiquette that it supported is shown by the experience of Cardinal Francesco I Barberini (1597–1679) when he went to France as papal legate in 1625.²⁵ He was lodged in

²⁴ Tessin, *Travel Notes*, 313.

²⁵ Patricia Waddy, "The Roman Apartment from the Sixteenth to the Seventeenth Century," in *Architecture et vie sociale: L'organisation intérieure des grandes demeures à la fin du*

splendidly furnished rooms in the Archbishop's Palace adjacent to the cathedral of Notre Dame, in an apartment that his hosts surely thought appropriate for a cardinal in France; but it had only three rooms, "camera, anticamera, e sala," according to his cupbearer, Cassiano dal Pozzo. Richly outfitted beds were in both the "anticamera" and "camera," in the second of which it seemed that the cardinal was to sleep. Beyond were a *retrocamera*, a chapel, and a small *gabinetto*. In other words, Francesco had a typical (if splendid) French *appartement* of *antichambre*, *chambre*, *cabinet*, and *garderobe* (only the first two for the reception of guests) after the *salle*. A loggia had to be called into service as a *sala* to extend the suite for the observance of Roman etiquette, and the cardinal ate according to his usual (Roman) style but in the *salle*, in substitution for the outer anteroom where he would have dined at home.

A churchman of lower rank did not need this kind of apartment; but if he was elevated to the cardinalate, he would immediately have to improve his dwelling to conform to his new dignity. Indeed, as soon as he received his cardinal's hat, he would have to be ready to receive his new colleagues, who would come to congratulate him. Innocenzo del Bufalo (1566–1610) was in Paris serving as papal nuncio when, in 1604, he received word that he was to become a cardinal, but he could not leave his post until his successor should arrive.²⁶ In the interval, he wrote to his brother Muzio in Rome asking him to prepare appropriate accommodations for him. The Del Bufalo brothers were not wealthy – in fact, Innocenzo would be a "poor" cardinal (for which see Lucinda Byatt's chapter in this volume) – but they had a *casa grande* of moderate size (not a palace) that had been in their family for over a century, and when they divided the house in 1600 the compact part toward the Via del Corso had been assigned to Innocenzo while the newly constructed wing along a side street had gone to Muzio and his wife. The rooms in Innocenzo's part were too few and, except for the *sala* (ca. 6 x 12 m), rather small; and they were not arranged in a way that could support the etiquette that he would have to observe as a cardinal. His first thought was that he should not live in the family house but instead should rent an appropriate palace. Considering the possibilities further, the brothers decided that if Muzio and his wife would move out, then the house could be adjusted so that the new cardinal could extend his occupation through the entire house. On the *piano nobile*, a door would be opened between the two parts, so that a sequence of rooms could extend from the *sala*

Moyen Âge et à la Renaissance, Actes du colloque tenu à Tours du 6 au 10 juin 1988, ed. Jean Guillaume (Paris: 1994), 159–60.

26 Patricia Waddy, *Casa Grande to Palazzo: Del Bufalo Buildings in the City of Rome*, in preparation.

through the three small rooms along its side and into the three rooms of Muzio's wing. A wall could be removed between the first two small rooms to make a more ample anteroom; and the third room could be converted to the essential chapel. Through the new door, the first of Muzio's rooms (his *sala*) would become Innocenzo's second anteroom; Muzio's second room would be the audience room; and his third, smallest, room would be the cardinal's private chamber.

Accommodations for the carriages of guests were not adequate, however: the entrance corridor, only 2.12 m wide, was too narrow, although carriages could park in the nearby piazza. Work proceeded: the all-important *baldacchino* was purchased; the chapel was formed, complete with a painted ceiling; and the bell for the announcement of guests was installed. But before the wall between the two small rooms could be removed, another possibility presented itself. The brothers' distant relative, Ottavio del Bufalo, had just acquired a nearby house from the widow of yet another relative, Ascanio del Bufalo, and he agreed to rent it to Innocenzo for 250 *scudi* per semester. This house too was not a proper cardinal's palace, but the part in which Ascanio and his wife had been living had been rebuilt about twenty years earlier and – most important – had a row of ample rooms that could be adapted to serve a cardinal's needs. The new *baldacchino* could be installed here. The portal was wider, so that carriages could enter. Innocenzo lived here until his death in 1610.

Innocenzo del Bufalo's successor as papal nuncio in Paris was Maffeo Barberini (1568–1644), and he too received word of his promotion to the cardinalate while he was in France, in 1606. Like Innocenzo, Maffeo wrote home to his brother, Carlo Barberini, asking him to prepare the family *casa grande* for his occupancy as a cardinal.²⁷ The first item in his detailed instructions was that Carlo and his family should move out, so that Maffeo could have the entire house. It was larger than the Del Bufalo house and more amenable to reconfiguration to create a suite of rooms for the reception of guests. In addition to the obligatory *baldacchino*, bell, and chapel, Maffeo also specified accommodations for his enlarged household staff, which he calculated would be 63 persons. He also thought about access for carriages. In the end, this issue could not be resolved, and he decided not to live in his own house but instead to rent the Palazzo Salviati in piazza del Collegio Romano, according to a contemporary notice, "because the entrance to his own palace is narrow and the piazza in

27 Patricia Waddy, "Barberini Cardinals Need Places to Live," in *I Barberini e la cultura europea del seicento*, eds. Lorenza Mochi Onori, Sebastian Schütze, and Francesco Solinas (Rome: 2007), 487–90.

front is too small for the parking of coaches of those who come for visits."²⁸ Later Maffeo was bishop of Spoleto and lived there, and then papal legate to Bologna and lived there. In 1623 his housing problems were permanently solved when he was elected pope; as Urban VIII he had at his disposal the Vatican, Quirinal, and Lateran palaces. His nephews, Francesco and Antonio (1608–71), whom he promoted to the cardinalate in 1623 and 1627 respectively, were far from poor, thanks largely to their uncle's generosity; they had ample apartments at various times in the greatly enlarged *casa grande* in Via dei Giubbonari, at the new Palazzo Barberini alle Quattro Fontane, and in the *Cancelleria* (this last because Cardinal Francesco was appointed vice-chancellor in 1632).

3 Decoration

Cortesi described painted decoration on the walls throughout the cardinal's apartment, because it was less expensive than other modes and because of the didactic and intellectual possibilities of the painted representations (though he says nothing about aesthetic issues).²⁹ Though the Orsini cardinals' apartment at Monte Giordano had been painted, such extensive painted decoration was exceptional in cardinals' dwellings. Ascanio Sforza's description of the palace of Cardinal Rodrigo Borgia (later Sforza-Cesarini) instead speaks of an extensive décor of textiles: tapestries, carpets, beds with canopies and coverlets, and table coverings.³⁰ Tapestries were unquestionably the most expensive and luxurious of wall coverings, and they included the possibilities of warmth, colour, and imagery. Cardinal Francesco Barberini so valued tapestries that he established his own tapestry works led by Flemish masters. Leather wall coverings (*corame*; Fig. 22.3) were used especially in the later 16th century and first half of the 17th century: large rectangular panels of stamped and painted leather, sometimes with silver or gilding, were hung in an overall pattern on the walls. Revetments of brocade, damask, or other fabrics composed of vertical strips of alternating vibrant colours and ornamental patterns were especially favoured in the second half of the 17th century; these were hung from hooks

28 Cardinal Barberini stayed in palazzo Salviati "perche il suo palazzo proprio è angusto dintrata et ha poco piazza avanti, onde non ci possono star cocchi, che vengono alle visite." *Avviso* of 31 October 1607, BAV, Urb. lat. 1075, c. 679, published by J.A.F. Orbaan, *Documenti sul Barocco in Roma* (Rome: 1920), 86.

29 Weil-Garris and D'Amico, *The Renaissance Cardinal's Ideal Palace*, 90–97.

30 Magnuson, *Studies*, 240–41.



FIGURE 22.3 Circle of G.L. Bernini, *Corame* (leather wall hanging), detail with oak leaves on a red background, ca. 1665–70. Ariccia, Palazzo Chigi, Anticamera (Stanza del Toro). PHOTO: PALAZZO CHIGI, ARICCIA

and could be changed according to the season or occasion. Painted decoration in rooms hung with leather or fabric revetment was reserved for the coffered or beamed ceilings and for friezes that might feature ornamental motifs, heraldry, or narrative or landscape scenes.

Cardinal Ranuccio Farnese (1530–65) lived in the (still unfinished) Palazzo Farnese and commissioned the painting of the first anteroom, by Francesco Salviati and Taddeo Zuccari, to celebrate the history of his family.³¹ His older brother, Cardinal Alessandro II Farnese (1520–89), vice-chancellor and therefore resident in the *Cancelleria*, had earlier commissioned Giorgio Vasari to provide an even grander and more extensive painted décor for the second *sala* of that palace, which came to be called the Sala dei Cento Giorni.³² Because the *Cancelleria* was not his private palace, the cardinal focused not on the Farnese family but on themes of papal virtue that were exemplified by its most important member, his grandfather, Paul III; these themes would remain appropriate even when other cardinals would have succeeded Alessandro as vice-chancellor.

Vaults – less common in Roman palaces than wooden ceilings – provided fields for painted decoration. On the ground floor of Cardinal Flavio I Chigi's palace (Fig. 22.4), the vaulted anteroom of his apartment for the display of sculptures was painted by Vincenzo Corallo, with a (painted) balustrade supporting sculptures around the base of the vault and birds perching or flying overhead; and airy perspectives lightened the deep jambs of the windows. In the small gallery at the end of this suite, Corallo continued the illusion of openness with a vault painted like a pergola and perspectives on the walls.³³

Easel paintings might also form part of the décor of a palace. Painted overdoors could complement *corame* or fabric revetments. For the *sala* of his palace, in 1664, Cardinal Flavio I Chigi commissioned Bernardino Mei to paint four large allegorical canvases that filled the wall surfaces that were not occupied by windows, doors, or the *baldacchino*.³⁴

Cardinal Girolamo Capodiferro (1502/4–59), who had travelled to France first as papal nuncio and later as cardinal legate, was impressed by the innovative design of the Gallery of Francis I at Fontainebleau (by Italian artists, Primaticcio and Rosso Fiorentino), an oblong room outside the formal apartment of the king, with its combination of fresco, sculpture, and ornamental

31 Clare Robertson, *"Il gran cardinale": Alessandro Farnese, Patron of the Arts* (New Haven: 1992), 222–23.

32 Robertson, *"Il gran cardinale,"* 55–68.

33 Waddy, *Palaces*, 308.

34 *Ibid.*, 245, 304–05.

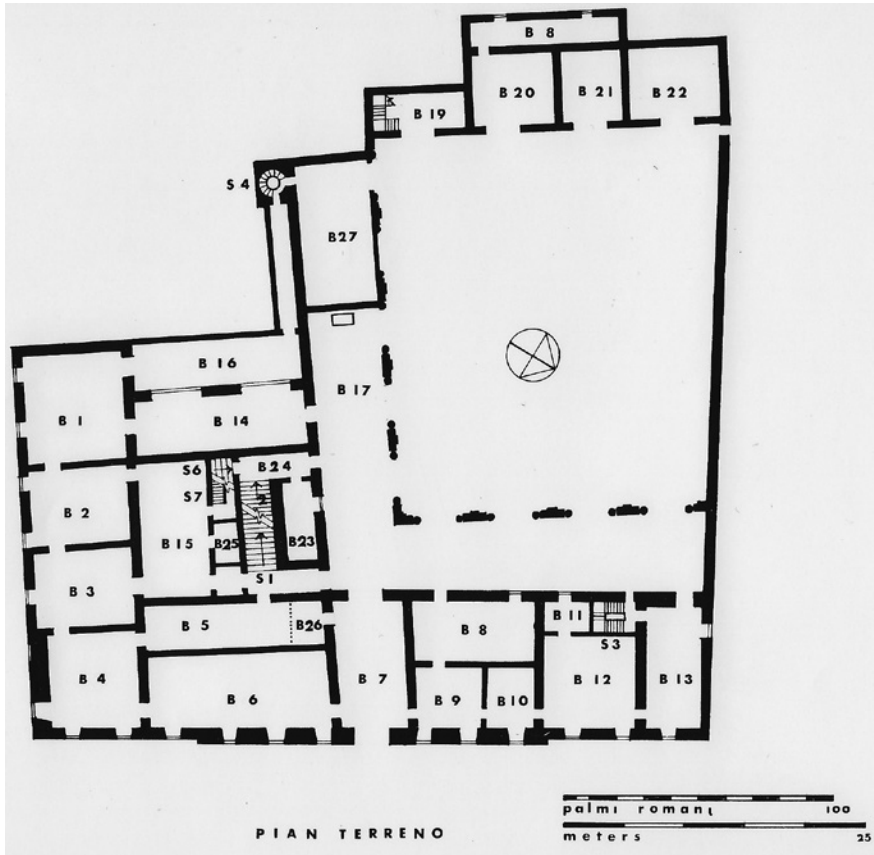


FIGURE 22.4 Reconstruction of the *pian terreno* plan of Palazzo Chigi (later Chigi-Odescalchi), Rome, 1664–1667

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frames of stucco above wood paneling in a unified decorative and iconographic ensemble; and he was inspired to create such a room, at a smaller scale, in an enclosed loggia on the *piano nobile* of his new palace (now Palazzo Capodiferro-Spada; Fig. 22.5). Languid figures seem to support frames containing frescoed mythological scenes; three niches contain sculpted busts; and rich stucco ornament provides a matrix for the whole. Unlike the Gallery of Francis I, Capodiferro's gallery was vaulted, so the pattern of framed paintings and texture of stucco ornament continue from the walls into the vault. This room type, brought to Rome through the initiative of the cardinal, provided a model for the gallery at Palazzo Farnese, sponsored by another cardinal, Odoardo Farnese (1573–1626), and executed by Annibale Carracci in 1597–1601; and galleries large and small, with coherent multimedia decoration, for family palaces and



FIGURE 22.5 Giulio Mazzini and workshop, *Galleria degli Stucchi*, ca. 1556–60. Rome, Palazzo Capodiferro-Spada
PHOTO: ALINARI

secular patrons as well as cardinals, continued to enrich Roman palaces well into the 18th century.³⁵

35 Wolfram Prinz, *Die Entstehung der Galerie in Frankreich und Italien* (Berlin: 1970), 19–22.

The environment of colour, rich materials, and imagery through which visitors, attendants, and the cardinal himself moved was complemented by furnishings that supported the cardinal's dignity.³⁶ In the *sala*, in addition to the *baldacchino* and *credenza*, benches stood along the walls, and chests contained bedding for the use of guards on duty during the night. Anterooms were furnished with suites of chairs and stools, a table on which candles would be set in the evening, and board games for the gentlemen's amusement. Tables for dining were brought in only at mealtime. In the audience room chairs would be arranged according to the ranks of visitors with respect to that of the cardinal. Console tables placed against the walls might have elaborately carved bases and support rich and ingenious chests with little drawers and compartments. The representational bedroom, introduced around the middle of the 17th century, featured a bed with splendid hangings (though the cardinal continued to sleep in his private bedroom). Just as people moved through the apartment, so too the furnishings could be moved: *portiere* lifted and lowered, the chairs arranged for audience, the table set up for meals and taken away afterward, candelabra brought in at dusk and carried before a departing guest in the evening, the wall hangings changed according to the season or the occasion. In the course of the 17th century these several separate items came to be more and more coordinated, through their materials, their colours, their shared vocabulary of forms, and their placement within the room, to create a unified interior.³⁷ By the 18th century there was a shift in style, to lighter forms and colours.

Wealthy cardinals assembled extensive collections of paintings and sculptures, and even a "poor" cardinal like Innocenzo del Bufalo, who seems not to have had much personal interest in the visual arts, understood the need to form a collection: while still in Paris as papal nuncio (anticipating his promotion but not yet officially a cardinal), he wrote to his brother Muzio in Rome that he had taken a Flemish painter into his household to help him select pictures. In the inventory of his possessions after his death in March 1610 there were about 30 paintings.³⁸ In 1658 Cardinal Antonio I Barberini bought his family's *casa grande* in Via dei Giubbonari and created a ground-floor apartment of twelve rooms especially for the display of paintings and sculptures.³⁹

36 Waddy, *Palaces*, 8.

37 Stefanie Walker, "Toward a Unified Interior: Furnishings and the Evolution of Design," in *Display of Art in the Roman Palace 1550–1750*, eds. Gail Feigenbaum with Francesco Fredolini (Los Angeles: 2014), 48–60.

38 ASR, Archivio Santacroce 796, unnumbered loose sheet, 29 May 1603; Archivio Santacroce 818, "Libro dell'Heredità," fols. 17, 19, 25.

39 Waddy, *Palaces*, 171.

It was arranged as a normal (if large) apartment, with a chapel, two audience rooms, and a room with a daybed (but not a bedroom for night-time sleeping); and, according to the inventory of the palace after his death in 1671, more than 300 paintings were installed there. His heir was his brother, Cardinal Francesco Barberini, and when the works of art were moved to Palazzo Barberini alle Quattro Fontane there were 91 cartloads of sculptures, medals, busts, figurines, pedestals, and a large harp, and 116 cartloads of paintings.⁴⁰ This vast inheritance prompted Francesco to remodel the ground floor of Palazzo Barberini as a pair of apartments especially for the display of art.⁴¹ The two apartments, in the north and south wings of the palace, were arranged as normal apartments with anterooms and audience rooms, but there were no hooks for the hanging of fabric wall revetments; instead, the walls were covered with paintings. Visitors could enter through portals in the deep ground-floor loggia without passing through the living quarters on the *piano nobile*. Similarly, Cardinal Flavio I Chigi installed his extensive collection of art in his palace at Piazza Santi Apostoli so that visitors could come without disturbing whatever activities might be going on in his primary apartment.⁴² From the entrance corridor they could enter the ground-floor apartment for the display of sculptures, its décor evoking the quality of a sculpture garden. From the *sala* on the *piano nobile* they could enter the *appartamento nobile de quadri*, with an anteroom, an audience room, and even a little gallery, but no bedroom, its walls covered with paintings. When Nicodemus Tessin the Younger visited in 1687–88, he observed 92 sculptures, along with several columns, vases, and consoles, in the ground-floor apartment; and he counted 406 paintings in the apartment for paintings above.⁴³ In both cases, the experience would be that of visiting the cardinal, moving through his apartments, viewing the works of art, and understanding his magnificence and generosity, without his actually being present.

4 Rent, Buy, Borrow, or Build?

If a new cardinal was from an established Roman family, his first choice of housing might be to stay in his family's residence. Two cardinals in succession

⁴⁰ Ibid., 251.

⁴¹ Ibid., 265–66.

⁴² Ibid., 306, 308.

⁴³ Tessin, *Travel Notes*, 312–13.

lived in the southwest wing of the Orsini palace at Monte Giordano in the 15th century, and young Cardinal Carlo Barberini (1630–1706) could move into the apartment previously maintained by his uncle, Cardinal Francesco I Barberini, at Palazzo Barberini. Palaces for secular noblemen could easily be adapted for a cardinal's use, and even a *casa grande* belonging to a family of lower rank might be amenable to alteration for a cardinal, as Innocenzo del Bufalo and Maffeo Barberini demonstrated. In this way he would bring the dignity of his office to enhance the prestige of the family.

A cardinal could also enjoy a palace attached to his titular church (see the chapter by Arnold Witte in this volume). This was an especially attractive choice in the 15th century when, up until 1475, cardinals were not allowed to pass their wealth on to their family members (see Fausto Nicolai's chapter).⁴⁴ Their contributions to their palace would be part of their care of their *titulus*. But some *titulus* churches were outside the inhabited part of the city and therefore not supportive of their other activities as cardinals.

A cardinal nephew could be housed in a papal palace, where he would be able to assist his uncle the pope (see Birgit Emich's chapter in this volume). Scipione Borghese (1576–1633), for example, had an apartment on the ground floor in the northeast wing of Palazzo del Quirinale,⁴⁵ and Cardinal Flavio I Chigi's apartment in the Vatican Palace was directly under that of his uncle, Alexander VII.⁴⁶ These accommodations were of course terminated on the death of the pope. The lifetime office of vice-chancellor, however, after 1517 included residence in the *Cancellaria*, a privilege that could long outlive the pope who had appointed the cardinal to that post.

Cardinals from abroad might reasonably wish to rent an appropriate dwelling, as in the well documented case of the young Francesco I Gonzaga (1444–83), who was named cardinal in 1461.⁴⁷ Cardinal Marcantonio Franciotti (1592–1666) of Lucca rented the Del Bufalo palace in Piazza Colonna, where he lived with his household of 46 persons, from 1647 until his death in 1666, for 1,000 *scudi* per year. Other cardinals followed him in that same building for shorter terms, until Cardinal Giuseppe Renato Imperiali (1651–1737) of a Genoese

44 Edict of Sixtus IV, 1 January 1475, granting cardinals and other clerics the right to dispose of their real property as they wished; Eugène Müntz, *Les arts à la cour des papes pendant la XV^e et XVI^e siècles*, 3, *Sixte IV–Léon X, 1471–1521*, Section 1 (Paris: 1882), 180–81.

45 Extensive documentation in ASR, Camerale I, Giustificazioni di tesoreria, buste 33ff.

46 Waddy, "Barberini Cardinals," 491.

47 David S. Chambers, "The Housing Problems of Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 39 (1976), 21–58.

family rented it from 1698 until his death in 1737.⁴⁸ Romans too might want to rent, for one reason or another, as shown by both Innocenzo del Bufalo and Maffeo Barberini.

While cardinals from abroad might want to maintain their allegiance to their home cities and families by not buying or building a palace in Rome, they also might see an economic advantage to renting. There was a lively rental market in Rome at all levels of society, surely in part because of the movements of the population related to the presence of the papal court. A typical rental was only about 3.5 per cent of the material value of the house. Not sure of how long he would be occupying a palace in Rome, and without a family there, a non-Roman cardinal might not want to commit to the expense of buying or building. There were also intermediate positions. One might rent a palace, agreeing to improve the property in lieu of paying money, as when Cardinal Francisco Guzmán de Avila (1548?–1606), from 1596 to 1606, rented a modest palace from the heirs of Cardinal Marcantonio Colonna (1523–97) at Piazza Santi Apostoli and built a substantial wing that considerably enhanced the major apartment.⁴⁹ One might also buy a property with a buy-back provision: calculating their respective advantages, either the purchaser or the seller might retain the right to reverse the sale, perhaps after a specified number of years. This was the case with that same Colonna palace at Piazza Santi Apostoli, when Pierfrancesco Colonna (heir of Marcantonio) sold it to Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi (1595–1632) in 1622 for 39,000 *scudi*; Ludovisi began to rebuild it but then sold it back for 53,988 *scudi* (the difference in price being the amount that he had spent in remodelling the palace during his short tenure there) after his uncle, Pope Gregory XV, appointed him vice-chancellor in June 1623.⁵⁰ The following year, Pierfrancesco Colonna entered into a different rental agreement with Cardinal Trejo y Paniagua (1577–1630): the cardinal rented the palace for life for 12,000 *scudi*.⁵¹ The lifetime rental might be seen as a kind of wager on how long one expected to live.

Cardinal Camillo Borghese (1552–1621) of Siena rented a palace that, in spite of its unfinished state, contained a complete residence for one distinguished person, for 1,000 *scudi* per year, in October 1602 – a reasonable choice for a cardinal from a non-Roman family. In January 1605, he purchased the property

48 Waddy, *Casa Grande to Palazzo*, in preparation.

49 Waddy, *Palaces*, 292.

50 Howard Hibbard, *Carlo Maderno and Roman Architecture 1580–1630* (London: 1971), 213.

51 Hibbard, *Carlo Maderno*, 213.

for 42,000 *scudi* – perhaps surprising, as he could have continued to rent for 42 more years for the same price.⁵² Less than four months later he was elected pope, taking the name Paul v, and everything changed. He gave this unfinished cardinal's palace to his two brothers, and work began that would transform it into a palace for a papal family – the Palazzo Borghese. The Siense family would take root in Rome, and the construction of the palace, costing 275,000 *scudi* by 1621, would be an important part of that establishment.⁵³ So too with other families. If they wanted to establish themselves as Roman, it would be worth the considerable expense of building (or rebuilding) a major new palace in Rome. The palace could be designed to house both a cardinal and a secular prince, as at Palazzo Barberini alle Quattro Fontane;⁵⁴ or, as the family of Alexander VII Chigi – another Siense pope – decided, there could be two palaces, one for the secular part of the family and one specifically for the cardinal.⁵⁵ The unfinished Aldobrandini palace on Piazza Colonna was acquired and completed as a palace for the brother and nephew of the pope and their heirs; and the Colonna palace on piazza Santi Apostoli was bought for Cardinal Flavio I Chigi. The price of this cardinal's palace (now Palazzo Chigi-Odescalchi) was 25,000 *scudi* in 1664, and the cardinal spent more than 48,000 *scudi* to rebuild it.⁵⁶

The end of papal nepotism in 1692 meant the end of papal subventions for the construction of grand palaces for their cardinal nephews and other family members, but it did not mean the end of lavish residences for cardinals. Some cardinals were already well positioned because of the efforts of earlier family members; for example, Cardinal Carlo Barberini could live in the south half of Palazzo Barberini alle Quattro Fontane, built in the 1630s and extensively remodeled by his uncle, Cardinal Francesco I Barberini, in the 1670s; and Cardinal Benedetto Pamphilj (1653–1730; a grandnephew of Innocent X Pamphilj) could enjoy his family home, the Aldobrandini-Pamphilj palace (later Palazzo Doria Pamphilj) in Via del Corso. Cardinals of non-papal families who had their own personal incomes as well as income from their ecclesiastical benefices could also enjoy opulent lifestyles, as shown by the inventory of Cardinal Giuseppe Renato Imperiali's possessions in his (rented) palace on his death in

52 Howard Hibbard, *The Architecture of the Palazzo Borghese* (Rome: 1962), 45.

53 Hibbard, *Palazzo Borghese*, 62.

54 Waddy, *Palaces*, 179–80.

55 Dorothy Metzger Habel, *The Urban Development of Rome in the Age of Alexander VII* (New York: 2002), 140–216.

56 Waddy, *Palaces*, 302, 315.

1737.⁵⁷ Cardinal Neri Corsini (1685–1770), nephew of the severe Clement XII, exercised special ingenuity in gaining money to build the vast Palazzo Corsini (incorporating Palazzo Riario) in Via della Lungara for his family, finished by 1753.⁵⁸

57 ASR, Notai Segretari Cancellieri R.C.A., vol. 398, fols. 112–257.

58 Heather Hyde Minor, *The Culture of Architecture in Enlightenment Rome* (University Park, PA: 2010), 126–51.

PART 6

Cardinals and Mission



Cardinals and the Non-Christian World

Miles Pattenden

1 Cardinals and Global History

The Catholic Church has long been accepted as an important agent in world history and is a significant subject of global historical research in a variety of contexts. Cardinals, however, and the Church's central institutions in Rome more generally, have not always fitted easily into this picture for a number of reasons: a preference for microhistory at the missionary "frontier," the off-putting complexity of the Curia's processes and institutions, perhaps even ideological distaste for centring scholarship on a privileged body of elderly white males. Nevertheless, cardinals were often at the forefront of shaping relations between the Catholic Church and the non-Christian world in the early modern period in a variety of ways. Indeed, the centuries after 1500 were crucial to the evolution of Catholic responses to other faiths, in Rome as much as elsewhere. As Hubert Jedin argued, Catholicism itself consolidated as a far more distinctive and ideologically coherent version of Christianity after the Council of Trent such that we can talk specifically of its *propagation* to the faithful both within Christendom's traditional bounds and overseas.¹ But, just as importantly, many of the European adventurers, who explored, colonized, and evangelized the globe at this time, were Catholic and either wittingly or unwittingly co-opted their faith as an agent of empire.² The increasing frequency with which Catholics encountered other religions meant greatly increased incentives to incorporate them into their own worldview. Meanwhile, the need to define early modern Catholic identity inevitably meant contrasting it with the "other," which might just as easily be non-Christian as Protestant.

All this had major implications for how Catholics interacted with the non-Christian world. Cardinals, as senior figures within the papacy – the institution which saw itself as the beating heart of Tridentine Catholicism, and the authority empowered to direct programmes of protection and evangelization – inevitably played a disproportionately large role in that process. Individual

¹ Hubert Jedin, *Geschichte des Konzils von Trient*, 4 vols. (Freiburg i.Br.: 1949–75).

² For a general framework on this subject, see Alan Strathern, "Religion and Empire," in John MacKenzie (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Empire* (Hoboken: 2016), https://search.credoreference.com/content/entry/wileyempire/religion_and_empire/o

members of the Sacred College contributed substantially to developing the Church's collective knowledge about other religions, formulating Catholic doctrine about them and deciding how their adherents were to be handled. They also shaped Catholics' interactions with the world beyond Europe in other ways, for example in their activities as collectors of artefacts and consumers of extra-European goods.

Evaluating the precise nature of the cardinals' collective contribution is difficult for both methodological and historiographical reasons: research on cardinals and the world beyond Europe has thus far been piecemeal, specialized, and tangential – its primary focus has generally been on some other subject with any cardinals involved as mere bit part players. Moreover, it is typically hard to isolate the role that a particular individual's status *as cardinal* played within his reaction to other faiths, their adherents, material production, or intellectual underpinnings. What follows here is therefore a work of synthesis but also, to some extent, of conjecture: these pages summarize present scholarship and indicate possible paths of inquiry for future scholars to flesh out. They also engage a number of topic areas which would certainly have merited chapters in their own right had we been able to find scholars willing to write them. My hope is very much that the pathways I set out here will be explored in greater depth in other publications – for it should go without saying that interactions between the early modern cardinal and the “other” is always an exciting and self-evidently rewarding topic.

2 Cardinals Compared

There are two principal means by which cardinals might initially be incorporated into global history: the connective and the comparative.³ This chapter is predominantly about the first of these two, but it is worth mentioning the second briefly by posing a question: how does the early modern cardinal compare with sacerdotal authorities in other world religions? From a world-historical perspective, cardinals are a unique category: most other faiths have designated or self-appointed individuals who specialize in providing spiritual services or who serve as religious authorities within their host societies, but only medieval Christianity in the West developed a strictly hierarchical – and exclusively male – model of religious authority that vested power over everyone else in the holder of its supreme priestly office.

3 On the methodology of global history, see Sebastian Conrad, *What is Global History?* (Princeton: 2016), 62–79.

Islam has perhaps the nearest equivalent in the person of the *khalifah*, but the *khalifah*, unlike the pope, was not drawn from a separate, and strictly celibate, clerical order within society; nor did Islam at this time develop a *de jure* and *de facto* distinction between temporal and spiritual realms, the Church and State, which became a hallmark of the high-medieval Latin West.⁴ The cardinal was very much a product of that dominant hierarchical political model – and the Church, like other contemporary “absolute” monarchies, needed a means of settling the succession, which in the Catholic Church’s case could scarcely be achieved by hereditary means. Since the pope claimed a universal mandate directly from God, he could not allow temporal powers to be involved in his selection. Equally, he could not designate his own successor without undermining his unique personal authority for the remainder of his lifetime.

Some Eastern Christians resolved this succession paradox by choosing their patriarch by lot from amongst a set of approved candidates – indeed, the Coptic pope is still today chosen by that method.⁵ We might frame the College of Cardinals as having constituted the Western Church’s own idiosyncratic solution: a special order of clerics appointed by previous popes who were uniquely responsible for identifying their successors. This specialized responsibility gave the cardinals not only their own institutional identity but also the opportunity to carve out roles as key brokers between the competing hierarchies of spiritual and temporal power: medieval princes sought cardinals who might represent them within the Roman curia, and the scions of local elites likewise often sought entry into cardinals’ households as a first step towards preferment in their local ecclesiastical spheres. The papacy’s development after its return to Rome in 1420 only amplified these effects: early modern cardinals were veritable ecclesiastical princes – guardians of the Universal Church’s institutional continuity and, increasingly, of its theological purity – but they also engaged in energetic advocacy of the interests of their own clients and interest groups: families, religious orders, national communities, royal dynasties. This confluence is what made them so important in world-historical terms and, arguably, was part of what gave the Catholic Church a competitive advantage both in spreading its religious ideas around the globe and as a vessel for transporting the ideas of other religions to Europe.

4 Thomas Arnold, *The Caliphate* (London: 1965).

5 Otto Meinardus, “Procedures of Election of Coptic Patriarchs,” in *Christian Egypt: Faith and Life* (Cairo: 1970), 90–141.

3 Connected Cardinals

So, what then made cardinals such important vectors of connectivity in early modern global history? Partly it was their role in coordinating the spread of Catholic Christianity (and this topic is addressed in Giovanni Pizzorusso's chapter). But it was also something else. John Darwin observes in the early part of his *After Tamerlane* that the defining feature of globalization's first phase, the period from ca.1450 to ca.1750, was that Europeans set about creating networks around the globe for the distribution of luxury goods.⁶ The quantity of goods which circulated globally, and the number of Europeans who participated in or profited from their circulation, was necessarily limited because of their high-end value: only wealthy, high-status Europeans consumed them and only relatively small networks of intermediaries were needed to procure them. Of course, the limited participation of Europeans had implications for the circulation of religious ideas, a point that will be developed later in the text. Nevertheless, cardinals were a tiny but important subset of that small group of high-status individuals and they were particularly well-placed to participate in the new global networks and exchanges which were emerging around them at this time. Not all members of the College were wealthy men, but many of them had fortunes that far surpassed the wealth of the members of contemporary secular nobilities or mercantile elites (see Lucinda Byatt's chapter). Just as importantly, the education many cardinals had received led them to acquire tastes and values which incentivized the consumption of certain goods produced within non-Christian cultures – and to see it as fit and proper that they should involve themselves in shaping the tastes and values of others. Finally, through the Catholic Church and its nascent missions they had an unparalleled network of intermediaries who could act as brokers between them and non-Christians to make acquisition and consumption possible.

At the moment, all we have to verify the trade flows through which cardinals acquired global goods are a few incidental and fragmentary records. For instance, we can ascribe the popularization of Chinchona bark as a treatment for malaria in Rome to the agency of Juan de Lugo (1583–1660) – De Lugo, made a cardinal by Urban VIII in 1643, has been credited with promoting the bark's medicinal use after he was presented with some by the Jesuit Bartolomé Tafur, who visited Rome from Peru in 1645.⁷ Jesuits certainly also supplied Odoardo

6 John Darwin, *After Tamerlane: The Global History of Empire* (London: 2007).

7 Joseph Rompel, "Kritische Studien zur ältesten Geschichte der Chinarinde," *XIV Jahresbericht des öffentlichen Privat Gymnasium an der Stella Matutina zu Feldkirch* (1905), 63–64. See also idem, "Kardinal de Lugo als Mäzen der Chinarinde. I. Aus dem Leben des Kardinals," *75 Jahre*

Farnese (1573–1626) with botanical specimens from Asia for the Orti Farnesiani and a short letter from Cardinal Francesco del Monte (1549–1627) to the Grand Duke of Tuscany confirms that he, in turn, distributed such specimens around other members of the Italian political and ecclesiastical elite:

I am sending here in a little packet a few ‘beans’ brought from the Portuguese colonies in the Indies to Cardinal Odoardo Farnese, to whom I have promised not to give them to anyone apart from to Your Highness. [The plants from these seeds] create a shade which covers an even greater circle than squashes (pumpkins) do.⁸

Barbara Karl has likewise shown Cardinal Ferdinando de’ Medici (1549–1609) to have been as active as his brother Duke Francesco in making use of the family’s supplier in India, the Florentine merchant Filippo Sassetti.⁹ A mid-17th-century English account in fact claimed that luxury goods reached Rome regularly from both Asia and the Americas:

Procurators [from the religious orders] carry with them great wealth, and gifts to the Generalls, to the Popes and Cardinals and Nobles in Spain, as bribes to facilitate whatsoever just or unjust, right or wrong they are to demand.¹⁰

Amongst the ‘gifts’ the book’s author Thomas Gage describes are “a little wedge of Gold, a Box of Pearls, some Rubies or Diamonds, a Chest of Cochineal, or Sugar, with some boxes of curious Chocolate, or some feather works of Mechoacan.” Thus, whilst almost no cardinals themselves, or even men who later became cardinals, set foot outside Europe in the period before 1800, many members of the College directed or patronized men who did, propagating their missionary and sometimes even their commercial activities.

Stella Matutina. Festschrift (Feldkirch: 1951), 1:416–52. A note on Tafur is found in E. Torres Saldamando, *Los antiguos Jesuitas del Perú* (Lima: 1882), 294.

8 “Mando qui in un scattolino alcuni Fagiuoli venuti dall’Indie di Portogallo al Card[ina]le [Odoardo] Farnese, et gli ho promesso non ne dare a veruno eccetto v[ostra] A[ltezza]; questi fanno tanta ombra che coprano una cerchiata più abundantemente che no[n] fanno le Zucche,” Francesco del Monte to Ferdinando de’ Medici, 12th March 1604, in Zygmunt Ważbiński, *Il Cardinale Francesco Maria del Monte 1549–1626* (Florence: 1994), 2:445.

9 Barbara Karl, “Galanterie di cose rare ...”: Filippo Sassetti’s Indian Shopping List for the Medici Grand Duke Francesco and His Brother Cardinal Ferdinando,” *Itinerario* 32 (2008), 23–41.

10 Thomas Gage, *The English-American, His Travail by Sea and Land; or, A New Survey of the West-India’s* (London: 1677), 16.

4 Cardinals and the Global “Other”

What then of Catholic encounters with other religions beyond (or, frequently, within) the Christian world? Studies to date have tended to present their subject in one of two ways: either they describe the interactions of specific individual Catholics at the religious and cultural frontier or they channel Catholic responses through the reified persona of the papacy. A very large number of important pieces of research fall into the former category: Liam Brockey’s work on the Jesuits in China, Tara Alberts’ on Catholicism in South-East Asia, and Luke Clossey’s on Jesuit missions worldwide (to identify some of the better-known recent English language contributions).¹¹ Collectively, these historians show the wide variety of approaches to interaction, the multiplicity of sites at which it took place, and its multidirectional nature. Their research has created a structural framework for analysing Catholic interaction with non-Christians whilst still emphasizing the personal and the contingent. Above all, it warns against treating historical actors simply as parts of monolithic blocks or assigning them common labels.

Those of us who write on the hierarchical Church and, in particular, its central institutions in Rome have not necessarily caught up with all the developments made within this body of literature. Indeed, scholarship on “official” responses to other faiths all too often still addresses them in impersonal or institutional terms, reconstructing the “papacy’s” actions or views, as though the hundreds of individual clerics who staffed papal office really all shared a homogenous position. Some accounts like Anthony D. Wright’s history of the Early Modern Papacy take a slightly different approach, ascribing fuller agency over papal responses specifically to the person of the pope himself.¹² Yet there is self-evidently a problem with this kind of interpretation too: it obscures our very real uncertainty about how much personal input the holder of the papal office had in many of the decisions taken in his name. Many pontiffs were disproportionately important in shaping papal policy towards everything, but none were important to the exclusion of all other agents. A balanced account of papal responses to the non-Christian world therefore has to find space to express the variety of individual inputs into the papacy’s overall collective

11 Liam Brockey, *Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579–1724* (Cambridge, MA: 2008); Tara Alberts, *Conflict and Conversion: Catholicism in Southeast Asia, 1500–1700* (Oxford: 2013); Luke Clossey, *Salvation and Globalization in the Early Jesuit Missions* (Cambridge, Eng.: 2008).

12 Anthony D. Wright, *The Early Modern Papacy: From the Council of Trent to the French Revolution, 1564–1789* (Harlow: 2000), 205–30.

position – not just in terms of the different opinions held by curial clerics but also the different routes by which they came to interact with non-Christians. Doing that reveals how the Roman Curia served as a hub in connecting religious ideas and distributing the material production they inspired. In these matters, the Catholic Church was surely a crucial network within Europe during the 16th and 17th centuries.

5 Cardinals and Islam

Cardinals sometimes influenced inter-faith relations directly and heavily through their participation and the religion with which they had most contact in the early modern period was the one closest to the territories of Christendom: Islam. The papacy's interaction with the Islamic world has generally been better studied than its interactions with the religions of Eurasian societies further to the east. The work of Kenneth Setton and others suggests that three distinct phases shaped early modern papal-Islamic relations: first there was a period of shock in the immediate aftermath of the fall of Constantinople in 1453; second, there was a long phase of attempts to create a Holy League to repel, and even reverse, Ottoman advances in the Eastern Mediterranean; and, third, there was a final phase of accommodation in which papal efforts against the Turk became more rhetorical than practical, eventually dwindling to nothing at all.¹³ The boundaries between these phases are obviously somewhat arbitrary and thus open to dispute: Calixtus III and Pius II preached a revival of crusading as early as the 1450s; Clement XI invoked its spirit as late as 1715 to persuade the King of Spain not to attack the Emperor while he waged war on the Turks. On the other hand, really significant papal initiatives against the Ottomans were restricted to the mid-16th century, culminating in the famous victory at Lepanto in 1571. Innocent X participated in the Venetian defence of Crete in 1645, but his new Holy League soon fell apart; Innocent XI hankered for holy war in 1682 but was told in no uncertain terms by Louis XIV's ambassador, Cardinal César d'Estrées (1628–1714), that the age of crusading was over. Not even the promise of being crowned emperor of Constantinople could persuade Louis to entertain papal plans to recover the eastern Mediterranean any further. Only in 1684 did Innocent, finally, assemble a new Holy League with

13 See, in particular, Kenneth Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204–1571)*, 4 vols. (Philadelphia: 1976–84).

Leopold I, John III Sobieski, and the Venetian Doge – yet campaigning fizzled out in 1687 without anything significant having been achieved.¹⁴

Cardinals fit into this narrative in a number of specific ways. One is apocryphal: a manuscript tradition, which survived down to the 15th century, posited the conceit that Muhammed himself had been a renegade Roman cardinal and that Islam was, in essence, schismatic.¹⁵ What is not fantasy is the prominent role several individual cardinals played in Christianity's cultural response to Constantinople's fall, a subject which Margaret Meserve has studied at length.¹⁶ Nicholas of Cusa's *De pace fidei* (On the peace of faith) made considerable reference to this event and his *Cribratio Alkorani* (Examination of the Koran) attempted to confirm Gospel truths through a critical reading of Koranic text.¹⁷ Cusa (1401–64) believed in the commonality of faith between Christians and Muslims, even entertaining the possibility that Muhammed was a prophet who misunderstood the direction in which God had been leading him or who was deceived in his early theological training by Nestorianism. But other contemporaries in the College saw things differently: Isidore of Kiev (1385–1463), who had actually witnessed the fall of Constantinople, may have believed the Turks were descended from the Trojans.¹⁸ However, Basilios Bessarion (1403–72), a Greek who fled the Turkish advance, instead used his *Orationes* (1471) to equate the conquerors of his native home with every barbarian nation that had ever invaded Italy; he vigorously repeated Pius II's calls for a crusade.¹⁹

16th- and 17th-century cardinals generally held to Pius II's view, sometimes channelling it through concern for the persecution of Eastern Christians and representing holy war as the means of liberating them and restoring the Universal Church. Evidence for this is often found in the records of the *Propaganda Fide* (see Giovanni Pizzorusso's chapter), but can also be inferred from individual cardinals' activities as collectors of Eastern manuscripts. Antonio Carafa (1538–91), who was both cardinal librarian from 1585–91 and protector of the Maronites, acquired several texts; however, the greater proportion of the

14 Pastor, 32:124–25, 186, 222–23.

15 Kenneth Setton, *Western Hostility to Islam and Prophecies of Turkish Doom* (Philadelphia: 1992), 14.

16 Margaret Meserve, *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought* (Cambridge, MA: 2008).

17 Morimichi Watanabe, "Cusanus, Islam, and Religious Tolerance," in Ian Christopher Levy, Rita George-Tvrtković, and Donald F. Duclow (eds.), *Nicholas of Cusa and Islam: Polemic and Dialogue in the Late Middle Ages* (Leiden: 2014), 15–16.

18 Terence Spencer, "Turks and Trojans in the Renaissance," *Modern Language Review* 47 (1952), 331. Meserve doubts this association, *Empires of Islam*, 30.

19 Jacques Paul Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* (Paris: 1857–61) 161: 651–59.

Vatican's other 2000 Arabic, 1222 Persian, and 496 Turkish manuscripts entered either through the private collections of the Barberini cardinals in the 17th century or of Stefano Borgia (1731–1804) in the 18th (for more on this subject, see Maria Pia Donato's chapter).²⁰ Yet cardinals also acted as witnesses to the gradual establishment of diplomatic relations between the papacy and various Islamic rulers. For instance, several members of the College witnessed Paul V's exchange of gifts with envoys of the Persian shah who visited Rome in 1605.²¹

6 Cardinals and the Religions of South and East Asia

By way of contrast, the chief factor influencing the cardinals' responses to the religions of eastern Eurasia was not an enthusiasm for holy war but a specific desire to bring about conversions. Missions to central Asia and China had taken place at various times in the later Middle Ages and such activities were stepped up in the wake of the new European exploration of the Indian Ocean and Asia's Pacific coastline.²² Portuguese missions in India start with the "neo-apostles" who arrived with Vasco da Gama in 1498 and who spread out across southern Asia over the following century, reaching Japan in 1549 and mainland China in 1582. Because the predominantly Jesuit missionaries were tolerated by local political rulers, they achieved a moderate number of conversions and their activities were discussed with interest in Rome. Cardinals were often at the forefront of these discussions: Marcello Cervini (1501–55), later Marcellus II, was responsible for acquiring Chinese manuscripts for the Vatican Library in the early 1550s, which he probably intended to assist these missions.²³ Later cardinals also participated in gift exchanges while Alessandro Farnese (1520–89), Filippo Boncompagni (1548–86) and Filippo Guastavillani (1541–87)

20 Stephan Roman, *The Development of Islamic Library Collections in Western Europe and North America* (London: 1990), 145–51; Paola Orsatti, *Il fondo Borgia della Biblioteca Vaticana e gli studi orientali a Roma tra Sette e Ottocento* (Vatican City: 1996); Giorgio Levi della Vida, *Elenco dei manoscritti arabi islamici della Biblioteca Vaticana* (Vatican City: 1935); idem, *Ricerche sulla formazione del più antico fondo dei manoscritti orientali della Biblioteca Vaticana* (Vatican City: 1939); idem, *Secondo elenco dei manoscritti arabi islamici della Biblioteca Vaticana* (Vatican City: 1965).

21 Pastor, 25:365.

22 James Muldoon, *Popes, Lawyers, and Infidels: The Church and the non-Christian World, 1250–1550* (Philadelphia: 1979), 79–85, 92–95.

23 Donald Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol.2, 2: *The Literary Arts* (Chicago: 1977), 511–13.

enthusiastically hosted the famous embassies of newly-converted Christian Japanese who visited Rome in 1585.²⁴

The Church's expansion into east Asia was not without its problems, however, and several cardinals engaged in the often quite heated disputes about how converts' desire for, or need to continue, participating in pre-existing local rituals could be accommodated within orthodox Christianity. In 1612, Robert Bellarmine (1542–1621) wrote to reprimand his young relative Roberto de' Nobili (1577–1656), whose mission to India was at the centre of the Malabar Rites Controversy. Gregory xv only settled the controversy in Nobili's favour with the apostolic constitution *Romanae sedis antistes* in 1623.²⁵ Sabina Pavone has undertaken some recent work on the case's progress in Rome.²⁶

In the early 18th century, several other cardinals involved themselves in Clement xi's efforts to resolve similar problems over Chinese rites diplomatically. This episode witnessed the only journey of a man destined to be a cardinal to the Far East. Carlo Tomaso Maillard de Tournon (1668–1710) was Clement's legate to the Kangxi Emperor (1661–1722). Maillard de Tournon was raised to the status of cardinal while there in 1707 after the emperor had placed him under arrest for having condemned the practice of performing ancestral rites to Confucius amongst converts. Maillard de Tournon only learnt of his elevation shortly before his death in 1710. Yet other men who were well-aware of their status as cardinals continued to shape papal policy towards China – with the help of several members of Tournon's 1701 legation and the legation that followed it in 1720, as Eugenio Menegon has shown.²⁷ Tournon himself had become leader of the first legation because of his long-standing role as a client of the *zelanti* within the College: Leandro Colloredo (1639–1709), Baldassare Cenci (1648–1709), Alessandro Caprara (1626–1711) and Gian Francesco Albani (1649–1721), the future Clement xi. Stefano Andretta argues that the failure of these missions owed much to the structure of curia itself: too competitive, too

24 Pastor, 20:458–64.

25 Stephen Neill, *A History of Christianity in India*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: 1984), 287–93. Édouard René Hambye, *History of Christianity in India*, vol 3: *The Eighteenth Century* (Bangalore: 1997), 211–37.

26 Sabina Pavone, "Inquisizione romana e riti malabarici: Una controversia," in *A dieci anni dall'apertura dell'Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede: Storia e archivi dell'Inquisizione* (Rome: 2011), 145–61, and idem, "Jesuits and Oriental Rites in the Documents of the Roman Inquisition," in *The Rites Controversies in the Early Modern World*, eds. Ines Zupanov and Pierre Antoine Fabre (Leiden: 2018), 165–88.

27 Eugenio Menegon, "A Clash of Court Cultures: Papal Envoys in Early Eighteenth-century Beijing," in *Europe-China: Intercultural Encounters (16th-18th Centuries)*, ed. Luís Felipe Barreto (Lisbon: 2012), 139–78.

venal and, above all, too bureaucratic.²⁸ Benedict XIV (1740–58) eventually condemned the Chinese rites once and for all in the bull *Ex quo singulari* (1742).²⁹ Yet cardinals, especially those connected with the Propaganda Fide, continued to be involved in mediating the cultural differences between Confucianism and Catholicism amongst Chinese converts. Stefano Borgia, in his capacity as the Propaganda's secretary, was directly responsible for rescinding the prohibition on use of Chinese language in liturgical prayers and hymns and even pleaded for the Society of Jesus to be retained in China after its suppression in Europe on the grounds that the Church had no resources to replace the fathers there.³⁰

It is probably worth noting that several early 18th-century cardinals, including Fabrizio Paolucci (1651–1726), Giuseppe Renato Imperiali (1651–1737), and Filippo Antonio Gualtieri (1660–1728), collected East Asian art, including porcelain, on a substantial scale.³¹

7 Cardinals and Judaism

Cardinals' encounters with Judaism differed from their interactions with the other religions discussed above. For Islamic, Hindu, Buddhist, or Confucian societies, cardinals were senior figures in an alien religious movement that was seeking converts. In cardinals' encounters with Judaism a different dynamic prevailed: they represented Catholic Society's dominant religious authority and, in the Papal States, its temporal authority too. Jews were a despised and persecuted minority throughout much of Western Europe; where not actually expelled, they were always disadvantaged in their relations with Christian authorities of all kinds. Various historians (most recently Rebecca Rist) have argued the papacy to have been generally protective of Jews from the eleventh century onwards, citing a prevailing belief that the need to rid Christian society of their presence had to be balanced with patience at the prospect of their

28 Stefano Andretta, "Clemente XI," in Massimo Bray (ed.), *Enciclopedia dei papi* (Rome: 2000), 3:405–20.

29 On the Chinese Rites controversy in Rome, see Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, "Chinese Voices in the Rites Controversy: From China to Rome," in *The Rites Controversies*, eds. Zupanov and Fabre, 29–49.

30 Maria Stüiber, *Zwischen Rom und dem Erdkreis. Die gelehrte Korrespondenz des Kardinals Stefano Borgia (1731–1804)* (Berlin: 2013), 94.

31 Christopher Johns, *China and the Church: Chinoiserie in Global Context* (Berkeley: 2016), 72–73.

conversion.³² Kenneth Stow has argued that this changed only in the mid-16th century when Paul IV's eschatological fervour inspired him to institute a Roman ghetto.³³ Pius V later expelled all Jewish communities other than those of Rome and Ancona from the Papal States in 1569.³⁴ Nevertheless, popes continued to tolerate a small Jewish presence throughout this period, if only for financial reasons. The Jewish community in Rome never disappeared, though it did not flourish either: in 1734 it numbered 4,000, the same as it had in 1656, but papal prohibition on lending money at interest in 1682 had damaged its members' livelihoods and Jewish Romans suffered even more than their Christian counterparts during the city's 18th-century economic turbulence.³⁵

Cardinals shaped papal policy towards Jews and interacted with Rome's Jewish community in a variety of ways in the early modern period. Some advocated varying degrees of enlightened toleration, but many others favoured religious censorship and forced conversion. Roberto Bonfil has identified claims from the Jews of Venice in 1519 that Basilios Bessarion used to permit them to practice usury when he was legate there. However, he also documented Carafa's contempt for Rome's Jewish Community which, in 1553, even before his election as pope in 1555, led him to take a leading role in persuading Julius III to order a burning of all extant copies of the Talmud.³⁶ Later cardinals also censored Hebrew texts heavily: Giulio Antonio Santori did so in his role as president of the short-lived Congregation of Hebrew Books, expurgating both Rabbinical commentaries and also other works of Jewish literature.³⁷ Robert Bellarmine was also strongly implicated in the censorship of Hebrew texts.³⁸ Yet various, even the same, cardinals were also frequently involved in efforts

32 Rebecca Rist, *Popes and Jews, 1095–1291* (Oxford: 2015).

33 Kenneth Stow, "The Papacy and the Jews: Catholic Reformation and Beyond," *Jewish History* 6 (1992), 257–79. See also idem, *Catholic Thought and Papal Jewry Policy, 1555–1593* (New York: 1977) and "The Catholic Church and the Jews," in *The Cambridge History of Judaism, 7: The Early Modern Period, c.1500–1815*, eds. Jonathan Karp and Adam Sutcliffe (Cambridge, Eng.: 2017), 15–49.

34 Pius V, "Hebraeorum gens," 26th February 1569, in Tomassetti, *Bullarium Romanum*, 7:740–42.

35 Wright, *The Early Modern Papacy*, 205. Attilio Milano, *Il ghetto di Roma: Illustrazioni storiche* (Rome: 1988).

36 Roberto Bonfil, *Jewish Life in Renaissance Italy*, trans. Anthony Oldcorn (Berkeley: 1994), 40, 65–66.

37 Piet van Boxel, "Cardinal Santoro and the Expurgation of Hebrew Literature," in *The Roman Inquisition, the Index and the Jews: Contexts, Sources and Perspectives*, ed. Stephan Wendehorst (Leiden: 2004), 19–34.

38 Piet van Boxel, "Robert Bellarmine Reads Rashi: Rabbinic Bible Commentaries and the Burning of the Talmud," in *The Hebrew Book in Early Modern Italy*, eds. Joseph Hacker and Adam Shear (Philadelphia: 2011), 121–32.

towards conversion. Paul III established a House of Catechumens and Neophytes to minister to converts in 1543, bestowing it with its own cardinal protector.³⁹ Gian Domenico de Cupis was a major supporter of Ignatius of Loyola's efforts to proselytize Rome's Jews around this time.⁴⁰ Gregory XIII, who established conversionary preaching to Jews in two bulls *Vices eius nos* (1577) and *Sancta mater ecclesia* (1584), delegated the work of training new preachers from amongst recent converts to cardinals Guglielmo Sirleto (1514–85) and Giulio Antonio Santori (1532–1602). Emily Michelson, who has written in passing about the role cardinals played in later 16th-century conversion efforts, draws attention to the presence of cardinals when clergy preached to Rome's Jews.⁴¹ The English priest Gregory Martin described it thus:

The cheefe of the Christians in this Audience is always a Cardinal, as it were by office deputed to be president of this exercise, as for other causes, so especially to keepe the Jewes in awe, and to rebuke them for absence or slacknesse, ... with him commonly are other cardinals, sometimes eight at once, after them bishops, referendaries, prelates of al degrees, doctors of divinitie and of the Rota, noble citizens and straungers, briefly of al countries and states, flocking hither so thinke as to no other exercise byseides, that to sitte thou must come betimes, yea if you come late there is no place for thee to stand within the doore.⁴²

Cardinals are likewise prominent in Evangelista Marcellino's volume of printed sermons to Jews, *Sermoni quindici*: Guglielmo Sirleto is its dedicatee and Gabriele Paleotti is also mentioned as having attended to listen to them.⁴³

Not all cardinals were entirely enthusiastic about such programmes: Charles Borromeo (1538–84) soon worried about the divine implications of insincere conversions.⁴⁴ Many 18th-century cardinals supported a policy of forcibly baptizing children, which they presumably believed would reduce the likelihood

39 Marina Caffiero, *Forced Baptisms: Histories of Jews, Christians, and Converts in Papal Rome*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Berkeley: 2013), 9–12.

40 Robert Maryks, *The Jesuit Order as a Synagogue of Jews: Jesuits of Jewish Ancestry and Purity-of-Blood Laws in the Early Society of Jesus* (Leiden: 2009), 89.

41 Emily Michelson, "Conversionary Preaching and the Jews of Early Modern Rome," *Past and Present* 235 (2017), 68–104.

42 Gregory Martin, *Roma Sancta* (1581), ed. George Bruner Parks (Rome: 1969), 77.

43 Evangelista Marcellino, *Sermoni quindici sopra il salmo centonoue fatti a gli hebrei di Roma* (Florence: 1583). See also, Emily Michelson, "Evangelista Marcellino: One Preacher, Two Congregations," *Archivio italiano per la storia della piet * 25 (2013), 185–202.

44 Bonfil, *Jewish Life in Renaissance Italy*, 116–17.

of insincerity. On the other hand, the important 17th-century inquisitor Francesco Albizzi (1593–1684) ruled that the Holy Office did not have jurisdiction over Jews on the grounds that they “cannot strictly be said to be heretics” and Lorenzo Ganganelli, before his election as Clement XIV (1769–74), wrote an important report refuting the blood libel.⁴⁵ An on-going interest on the part of some cardinals in Jewish intellectual thought is evident in the fact that the Vatican Library hosts 813 Hebrew manuscripts, several of which arrived there through the initiative of individual cardinals who owned them.⁴⁶

8 Cardinals and “Primal” Religions

Traditionally, anthropologists of religion have placed belief-systems in one of two categories: “world” and “primal” (or “transcendental” and “immanentist”), with the former containing all major world religions. The assumption behind this grouping is that we can identify the former because their adherents make use of written scripture, theorize notions of salvation, and claim their religion to hold a universal mandate; conversely, we know the latter from the fact that their adherents practise only oral transmission, focus merely on mundane existence, come from a specific ethnic group or territory, and make no universalizing claims. This distinction seems neat, because it allows us to place all six major Eurasian belief-systems (Buddhism, Christianity, Confucianism, Hinduism, Islam, and Judaism) in the former category, albeit to varying degrees. Of course, many global historians now argue that such a distinction is misleading and unfair, because any belief system that does not fall into the “world religion” category is branded as “primal” – and, in consequence, is treated as perennially traditional, stuck in time and place, and as unresponsive to the greater currents of world history (to paraphrase a recent survey article on the subject).⁴⁷ Alan Strathern has nevertheless penned an important defence of the distinction between “transcendentalisms,” religions which seek to account for our place in existence, and other religions which do not.⁴⁸

45 Francesco Albizzi, *De inconstantia in iure admittenda vel non* (Rome: 1684) and Cecil Roth (ed.), *The Ritual Murder Libel and the Jew: The Report by Cardinal Lorenzo Ganganelli* (London: 1934).

46 Benjamin Richler (ed.), *Hebrew Manuscripts in the Vatican Library Catalogue* (Vatican City: 2008), xv–xvi.

47 Karin Vélez, Sebastian Prange and Luke Clossey, “Religious Ideas in Motion,” in *A Companion to World History*, ed. Douglas Northrop (Oxford: 2012), 354.

48 Alan Strathern, *Unearthly Powers: Religious and Political Change in World History* (Cambridge, Eng.: 2019), 3–8.

It may be that by privileging only a small number of other “universalizing” or “transcendental” faiths in our discussion thus far we have ignored the most important common aspect to the Catholic hierarchy’s response to non-Christian religions: its desire to interpret them as erroneous or bastardized versions of itself as opposed to distinct belief systems in their own right. Yet even here cardinals exhibited a variety of responses. Cardinals, alongside popes, were amongst some of the most enthusiastic collectors of ancient pagan statues and restorers of Egyptian obelisks (which became an exotic focus within Counter-Reformation intellectual inquiry, especially in the works of Athanasius Kircher).⁴⁹ Quite how much the cardinals who patronized Kircher understood the religious role or connotations of obelisks or other antique items is not clear. Paula Findlen and others have persuasively located their interest in such objects as part of a wider engagement with both the classical past and the natural world.⁵⁰

Research into cardinals’ engagement with the nascent Church in Africa, and with early African missions of conversion, which were initially overseen entirely by the Portuguese crown as part of its *Padroado*, is limited.⁵¹ Leo Africanus, the Berber diplomat and author, resided at the courts of Leo X and Clement VII for a time, feeding doubts about Manuel of Portugal’s claims to have discovered Prester John in Ethiopia to cardinals keen to temper the pope’s enthusiasm for mission there.⁵² Kongolese Catholicism, on the other hand, proved a lesser focus. It was certainly as syncretic as South Asian or Chinese Catholicism at this time and might therefore have been expected to have courted just as much controversy in Rome. However, this was not the case: fulsome support for official Christianity amongst the Kongolese elite mitigated any such risk. As a result – and also because of how jealously the Portuguese authorities guarded their jurisdiction – interactions between cardinals and missions in Africa were limited, often only to reports on the state of the Church there. Adrian Hastings draws attention to one such missive sent by the Franciscan Giacomo Rzimarz to Luis Antonio Belluga in 1742. Rzimarz informed the

49 On cardinals’ roles in the restoration and re-siting of obelisks, see Paula Findlen, *Possessing Nature: Museums, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Berkeley: 1994), 384–90, and Eugenio Lo Sardo, “Kircher’s Rome,” in *Athanasius Kircher: The Last Man Who Knew Everything*, ed. Paula Findlen (New York: 2004), 51–62.

50 Findlen, *Possessing Nature*, 35–36.

51 On these missions see John Thornton, “The development of an African Catholic Church in the Kingdom of Kongo, 1491–1750,” *Journal of African History* 25 (1984), 147–67, and, more recently, Alan Strathern, “Catholic Missions and Local Rulers in Sub-Saharan Africa,” in *A Companion to the Early Modern Global Catholic Missions*, ed. Ronnie Po-chia Hsia (Leiden: 2017), 151–78.

52 Natalie Zemon Davis, *Trickster Travels: A Sixteenth-Century Muslim between Worlds* (New York: 2007), 68.

cardinal that his servant, a Berberine, came from a village on an island of the Nile near Dongola, where there were still Christians. Nubia had gone astray from the Christian faith only because of a lack of pastors, he posited in a subsequent letter.⁵³ The aim of this was, no doubt, to encourage greater Roman support for missionary enterprises in the area but it was not forthcoming, for Belluga died the following year.

A perhaps more important example of cardinals' engagement with primal religions concerns the Americas: specifically, the debates which were held within the 17th-century Church about the acceptability of consuming chocolate, tobacco, and other New World products. Chocolate, because of its associations with Aztec rituals (including human sacrifice), was the product which arguably attracted the closest clerical scrutiny. The Dominican order waged a concerted effort against it and sent a member to approach Gregory XIII in 1577 with a request to rule that drinking chocolate breaks the fast. Gregory and cardinals apparently found the request so trivial that they burst out laughing; the pope would not give an official ruling, only an oral verdict.⁵⁴ Cardinal Francesco Maria Brancaccio (1592–1675) did produce a written treatise on the subject nearly a hundred years later. However, this came at the request of the Jesuits, who were now heavily involved in the cocoa trade. The Society was sufficiently pleased with Brancaccio's ruling that they had it printed five times between 1664 and 1676 accompanied by a rather striking ode to the cocoa tree:

Grown in lands afar, o tree
of Mexico the glory,
Fruitful with your juice you sate
The gods with – purest chocolate.⁵⁵

*O nata terris arbor in ultimis
Et Mexicani Gloria littoris
Fecunda succo, quo superbit
Aethereum Chocolata nectar.*

Marcy Norton has noted how the theological controversy surrounding chocolate in fact reflected important wider currents within the Counter-Reformation – in particular, those for the renewal and revitalization of the

53 Adrian Hastings, *The Church in Africa, 1450–1950* (Oxford: 1994), 69.

54 Marcy Norton, *Sacred Gifts, Profane Pleasures: A History of Chocolate and Tobacco in the Atlantic World* (Ithaca: 2008), 131.

55 Francesco Maria Brancaccio, *De Chocolatis Potu: Diatribe* (Rome: 1664). The Ode is attributed to Aloysio Ferronio, SJ.

clergy and for re-asserting the mystical sanctity of holy places. In the case of chocolate, a narrow question about its material status, which mattered in respect of the fast, also stood as proxy for broader ones about chocolate's social role and its potential preternatural and supernatural qualities.⁵⁶ The same could be said of coffee, which was viewed with suspicion in Rome because of its association with the Muslim world (Clement VIII was said finally to have overcome this with the, no-doubt apocryphal, quip "this devil's drink is delicious. We should cheat the devil by baptizing it.") Tobacco too came under scrutiny, with debate coalescing around whether its consumption interfered with communion and whether its use by holy people or in holy places constituted sacrilege. Once again, cardinals were implicated in the spread of the drug: Castor Durante's *Herbario Nuovo* (1585) credits Prospero Santacroce (1514–89), nuncio in Spain and Portugal under Pius IV, with having first introduced the plant into Italy:

Our forebears once the Holy Cross did bring,
The boon of every Christian nation,
But Cross's house is now the famous dwelling
For our bodies' and our souls' salvation.⁵⁷

*Ut proavi Sanctae lignum crucis ante tulere,
Omnis Christiadum quó nunc Resplubica [sic] gaudet:
Et Sanctae crucis Illustria domus ista vocatur,
Corporis atque Animae notrae studiosa salutis.*

Pier Paolo Crescenzi (1572–1645) was also said to have taught Urban VIII to take snuff for medicinal reasons. Yet Urban VIII and Innocent X prohibited the use of tobacco in churches, in Seville in 1642 and in Rome, in 1650, which rather underlines the substance's still controversial nature.⁵⁸

Only later in 1725 did Benedict XIII repeal Innocent X's edict of 1650, which suggests that, however sound the theology behind it, prohibition of tobacco in church or amongst the clergy was not only resented but also unenforceable.⁵⁹ A similar softening of curial attitudes to chocolate also occurred in the 18th century: Benedict XIII and Clement XII were both known chocolate drinkers,

56 Norton, *Sacred Gifts, Profane Pleasures*, 230–32.

57 Castor Durante, *Herbario Nuovo* (Rome: 1585) 214–15 (poem 214). See also Charles Malcom MacInnes, *The Early English Tobacco Trade* (1926, repr. London: 2006), 20.

58 On Urban VIII's restriction on the use of tobacco, see Pastor, 29:3–4n and on Innocent X's, 30:387n.

59 On Benedict XIII's repeal of Innocent's prohibition see Pastor, 34:160n.

while Benedict XIV drank it daily.⁶⁰ Later restrictions tended to concern specific cases, usually convents, and to come at the behest of the order.⁶¹ In other cases, those who sought to promote consumption of both chocolate and tobacco associated them with cardinals. In the crisis of the Napoleonic era, the Camaldolese order even engaged in chocolate brokerage, in a large-scale enterprise led, ironically enough, by that future scourge of merriment Mauro Cappellari (Gregory XVI, 1831–46).⁶²

60 Pastor, 34:121, 492 and 35:36.

61 M. Mercè Gras Casanovas, "Una peligrosa tentación: La controversia religiosa sobre el chocolate en la España de los siglos XVI al XIX," *Historia y Sociedad* 8 (2002), 129–48.

62 Christopher Korten, "Pope Gregory XVI's Chocolate Enterprise: How Some Italian Clerics Survived Financially During the Napoleonic Era," *Church History* 86 (2017), 63–85.

Cardinals and the Greek and Eastern Churches

Camille Rouxpetel

Studying the cardinals with regard to their relationships with the Greek and Eastern, i.e. non-Chalcedonian, Churches, involves three related issues: 1. the appointment of cardinals of Greek origin in the Roman Church (e.g. Bessarion and Isidore of Kiev); 2. the cardinals from the West who had “fictive positions” such as the Patriarchs (e.g. Bessarion as patriarch of Constantinople in exile); and 3. the Councils and the projects of Union between the Greek, Eastern and Latin Churches. Apart from this, the relations between the cardinals and the Greek and Eastern Churches during the early modern period found their origins in the long and ancient presence of Greek and Eastern populations in southern Italy, dating back to the Byzantine period, and from the acculturation that resulted from it. This chapter discusses the role played by cardinals in forging unions with other Christian faiths in the late medieval and early modern period, and the nomination of cardinals from these faiths. In particular, it deals with the issues raised by the 1439 Union between the Greek and Latin Churches, the appointment of Isidore of Kiev and Bessarion to the cardinalate, and the problems these cardinal converts faced in adopting the Catholic faith and their role in the College.

In order to understand the role played by cardinals in the complex relations between Rome and the Greek and Eastern Churches, it is necessary to understand their position in the papacy’s unionist policies, which *de facto* defined those Churches not in communion with Rome as schismatic. As a publication recently edited by Marie-Hélène Blanchet and Frédéric Gabriel argued, schism, and the ensuing unionist policies, are fundamental to the interpretation of the inter- and intra-community relations “that link and compare spaces and periods.”¹ The scholarly issue of the Union of Churches, and of the role played by cardinals in it, requires students to transcend traditional disciplinary, temporal, and territorial boundaries, as well as the dividing line between Middle Ages and early modernity. A close analysis of Union policies and the numerous contacts between the Latin, Greek, and Eastern Churches, their clergy and communities, brings to the foreground the continuous circulation of texts,

1 Marie-Hélène Blanchet and Frédéric Gabriel (eds.), *Réduire le schisme? Ecclésiologies et politiques de l’Union entre Orient et Occident (XIII^e–XVIII^e siècle)* (Paris: 2013), 1.

men, models, and practices from the Middle Ages onwards. Finally, ecclesiology, which regulates the nexus between the individual and the community, can help in paying renewed attention to the territories and the civil sphere, particularly to the power issues that underpin it. As actors and theoreticians of the government of the Church, the cardinals, and especially cardinal converts, should be seen not as mediators between the Eastern and Western Churches, but as agents of change whose background and training had a significant impact on Latin Christianity and its self-image.

1 Historiography

Discussing the role of the Greek cardinals, notably Bessarion, in the relations between Greeks and Latins during the 15th century, requires a survey of the historiography, which has until recently been characterized by the denominational commitment of its authors and their place in the unionist policies defined by the papacy.² The 15th century was dominated by the project for a crusade against the Turks and the focus on the continuity of the Union of Ferrara-Florence (1438–39) despite the capture of Constantinople by the Ottomans in 1453. However, Western historiography only paid attention to the Councils of Union as being preliminaries for the Council of Trent (1545–63). This already finds its origins in the sources themselves, the absence of a manuscript with the Latin version of the Acts of Ferrara-Florence incited a bishop of Greek origin, Bartholomew Abraham of Crete, to take up the task of translating the original Greek version, which were published in 1521.³ As a result, the Acts of the Council of Ferrara-Florence were integrated within the conciliar collections published in Cologne and Venice as part of the Catholic Reformation (see also Bernward Schmidt's chapter in this volume). These collections were in turn used, in the wake of the victory over the Ottomans at Lepanto (1571), as a basis for the unionist enterprise launched by Gregory XIII (1572–85) for the Greeks under Ottoman rule and also for the Russians. It was Bessarion, the Latin cardinal of Greek origin, who was then put forward as the exemplary figure of Byzantine unionism.

2 Marie-Hélène Blanchet, "La question de l'Union des Églises (13^e-15^e siècle): Historiographie et perspectives," *Revue des études byzantines* 61 (2003), 5–48.

3 *Acta generalis octavae Synodi sub Eugenio quarto Ferrariae inceptae: Florentiae vero peractae, et graeco in latinum nuper traducta interprete Bartholomeo Abramo Cretensi, Praesule Ariensi* (Rome: 1521).

During the 19th century, the impetus for a renewal of the Roman missionary impulse and the simultaneous affirmation of Greek orthodox nationalism – aiming at the political project of a common religious identity – accounts for the subsequent historiography of the councils of Union, determined by the unionist or anti-unionist strategies of particular authors. In response to Protestant historiography, which considered the Union from the angle of political history and blamed the papacy for the persistence of the schism, Pope Leo XIII (1878–1903) promoted a renewed Catholic study of Greek Christianity, from a unionist and apologetic perspective. Ludwig Mohler's biography of Bessarion, which presents the cardinal's Unionism as one of his main virtues, falls into this category.⁴ By contrast, Greek historians such as Constantine Paparrigopoulos, Andronikos K. Dēmētrakopoulos, or Adamantios N. Diamantopoulos, have approached the Council of Florence and the role of the Greek cardinals from a nationalist stance, portraying them, and Bessarion in particular, as traitors.

The second half of the 20th century saw the emergence of two new approaches. One dealt with ecclesiastical issues from a self-proclaimed neutral stance with respect to denominations; the other described itself as secular. Both are linked to a shift in the Roman Church towards a more ecumenical outlook, also allowing for some self-criticism. The general revision of prior interpretations led to the publication of the proceedings of two symposia on the two Councils of Union of Lyon II (1274) and Ferrara-Florence (1438–39), respectively in 1977 and in 1991.⁵ These publications brought about important changes in the Union's historiography: for the first time they focused on the reception of the councils by the Orientals, shifting their attention towards Byzantium, and moving the chronological scope towards the years immediately following these councils. This revisionary historiography is still, however, rooted in pre-existing scholarship and as a result, its account of the encounter between Greeks and Latins at the height of the Italian Renaissance still grants Cardinal Bessarion a central place as a fundamental agent of exchange within the processes that saw the birth of humanism.

Before turning our attention to the unionist policies adopted by the papacy and the role played by the cardinals towards the end of the Middle Ages and the early modern period, it is necessary to take into account the diversity of Christian Churches. This diversity is linked to the Christological debates that had

4 Ludwig Mohler, *Kardinal Bessarion als Theologe, Humanist und Staatsmann*, 3 vols. (Paderborn: 1923–42).

5 1274, *année charnière: Mutations et continuités* (Paris: 1977); Giuseppe Alberigo (ed.), *Christian Unity: The Council of Ferrara-Florence, 1438/39–1989* (Leuven: 1991).

brought about dissension within early Christianity and prompted the first seven ecumenical councils convened at the initiative of the Byzantine emperors.

2 From the Christological Disputes of the First Centuries to the Union Policies of the Papacy

The foundation of the different Churches is linked to their respective positions in the Christological debates of the 5th century. The Diphysites, called “Nestorians,” insisted on the human nature of Christ – His humanity and divinity constituting two separate natures. In contrast, the Miaphysites emphasized Christ’s divine nature – the human and divine natures becoming one single entity in Him. Both Churches were furthermore subdivided into several different communities. The Armenians had formed an autocephalous Church since the beginning of the 7th century, so too did the Western Syrians (called “Jacobites”) in Syria and the Copts in Egypt, while the Nubians and Ethiopians fell under the obedience of the Patriarchate of Alexandria. Finally, Latins, Greeks, Georgians, and Maronites accepted the conclusions of the Council of Chalcedon (451) – that Christ is both fully human and fully God, and the differences and characteristics of each nature are not abolished in the hypostatic union but preserved in one person and one hypostasis.⁶ The destinies of the Greek and Latin Churches started to diverge from the 9th century onwards, when Cyril and Methodius embarked upon their missions among the Slavs. This marked the gradual transition from mere doctrinal diversity among the Christian Churches to institutional competition. There followed a series of quarrels, which nevertheless did not preclude dialogue and exchange between the two Churches. The dispute of 1054, long considered a schism, was however far from presenting an unsurpassable obstacle in the eyes of the Greeks and Latins, as

6 On the Nestorians see Gerrit Jan Reinink, “Tradition and the Formation of the ‘Nestorian’ Identity in Sixth- to Seventh-Century Iraq,” *Church History and Religious Culture* 89 (2009), 217–50; on the Armenians see Nina Garsoïan, “Quelques précisions préliminaires sur le schisme entre les Églises byzantine et arménienne au sujet du concile de Chalcedoine: II. La date et les circonstances de la rupture,” in *Church and Culture in Early Medieval Armenia*, ed. Nina Garsoïan (Aldershot: 1999), 99–112; on Armenians who remained faithful to the conclusions of Chalcedon see Isabelle Augé, “Le choix de la foi chalcédonienne chez les Arméniens,” *Cahiers d’études du religieux. Recherches interdisciplinaires* 9 (2011), <https://journals.openedition.org/cerri/871>; concerning the Maronites, divided into Chalcedonians and Monothelites at the end of the 7th century, see Harald Suermann, *Die Gründungsgeschichte der Maronitischen Kirche* (Wiesbaden: 1998).

evidenced by the *Dialogi* of Anselm of Havelberg, which report on two theological disputes between Anselm and Nechites of Nicomedia in 1136 in Constantinople.⁷

This raises the question why so many historians regarded the events of 1054 as a schism. Within the apologetic perspective of the Roman Church, three authors of the first half of the 20th century, Albin Michel, Martin Jugie and Steven Runciman, imputed the Byzantines with the responsibility for the “schism.”⁸ Their thesis is part of a historiographical trend initiated by Joseph Hergenröhter in 1869.⁹ More recent historiography identifies mutual ignorance and assumed – but not real – disagreement as the causes for the dissension formulated in 1054.¹⁰

The Maronites played a key role in the Latinization of the Eastern Churches started by the Crusaders.¹¹ Probably from 1139 to 1140, the Catholicos of the Maronites formally submitted to Rome under Albericus, the Cardinal Bishop of Ostia. In 1182, the Maronite Church formally renounced its Monothelite doctrine and accepted Roman orthodoxy, entering into communion with the Church of Rome. This Union, however, provoked a serious dispute within Maronite society and Maronite clergy, and by the time of the fall of Acre (1291) had

7 Jay T. Lees, *Anselm of Havelberg: Deeds into Words in the Twelfth Century* (Leiden: 1997) and Sebastian Sigler, *Anselm von Havelberg: Beiträge zum Lebensbild eines Politikers, Theologen und königlichen Gesandten im 12. Jahrhundert* (Aachen: 2005).

8 Anton Michel, *Humbert und Kerullarios* (Paderborn: 1924–30); Martin Jugie, *Le Schisme Byzantin* (Paris: 1941); Steven Runciman, *The Eastern Schism* (Oxford: 1956).

9 Joseph Hergenröhter, *Photius, Patriarch von Konstantinopel: Sein Leben, seine Schriften und das Griechische Schisma nach handschriftlichen und gedruckten Quellen*, 3 vols. (Regensburg: 1869).

10 Axel Bayer, *Spaltung der Christenheit: Das sogenannte Morgenländische Schisma von 1054* (Cologne: 2002); Evangelos Chrysos, “1054: Schism?,” in *Cristianità d'Occidente e d'Oriente (secoli VI–XI)* (Spoleto: 2004), 547–67; Yves Congar, “Quatre siècles de désunion et d'affrontement: Comment Grecs et Latins se sont appréciés réciproquement au point de vue ecclésiologique,” *Istina* 2 (1968), 131–52; Michel Kaplan, “La place du schisme de 1054 dans les relations entre Byzance, Rome et l'Italie,” *Byzantinoslavica* 54 (1993), 29–37; Enzo Petrucci, “Rapporti di Leone IX con Costantinopoli,” *Studi Medievali* ser. 3, 14 (1973), 733–831; Luigi Silvano, “How, Why and When the Italians Were Separated from the Orthodox Christians: A mid-Byzantine Account of the Origins of the Schism and its Reception in the 13th–16th Centuries,” in *Réduire le schisme? Ecclésiologies et politiques de l'Union entre Orient et Occident (XIII^e–XVIII^e siècle)*, eds. Marie-Hélène Blanchet and Frédéric Gabriel (Paris: 2013), 117–50; Franz Tinnefeld, “M.I. Kerullarios, P. von Konstantinopel, Kritische Überlegungen zu einer Biographie,” *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 39 (1989), 95–127.

11 Richard van Leeuwen, “The Crusades and Maronite Historiography,” in *East and West in the Crusader States: Contexts, Contacts, Confrontations*, eds. Krijnie Ciggaar, Adelbert Davids, and Herman Teule (Leuven: 1996), 51–62.

become more nominal than real. On the occasion of the Council of Florence (1438–39), the Maronite Church again adopted Roman obedience. In 1184, the Armenian Church was the second Church to enter into communion with Rome on the initiative of Patriarch Dgha, who sent an Armenian bishop with a profession of faith to Pope Lucius III (1181–85). This Union with Rome also provoked lasting dissension in Armenian society with many monasteries, as well as a large part of the secular clergy, rejecting the union with Rome. The conflict escalated in 1356 with the creation of the Order of Uniters; however, this did not lead to a general opposition to the Union. As a result, the Armenians were present at the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438–39) and joined the Union of 1439.

3 Greek Cardinals in the Policies of Union of the Papacy

The Council of Ferrara-Florence was opened in Ferrara by Pope Eugene IV on 8 January 1438 and concluded in Florence on 5 July 1439 with the signing of the Bull *Laetentur coeli* by the leaders of the Greek and Latin Churches. The following day, Cardinals Basilios Bessarion and Giuliano Cesarini read the Greek and Latin versions respectively of the decree of Union between the Churches.¹² Other Union bulls would follow.¹³ It is not possible to understand the Council of Ferrara-Florence without taking two further issues into consideration: firstly, the presence of a Greek Church in southern Italy which had been under papal jurisdiction since the 11th century; and secondly, an earlier Council of Union which had taken place in Lyon in 1274. Placed under Norman sovereignty from the 11th century, the Byzantinized south of Italy escaped almost any pontifical control until the 13th century.¹⁴

Documents issued by Norman rulers around 1100 show that, despite the efforts of Gregorian reformers, the tendency was towards the integration of the Greek clergy under Roman jurisdiction.¹⁵ At the beginning of the 13th century,

12 Giuseppe L. Coluccia, *Basilio Bessarione: Lo spirito greco e l'Occidente* (Florence: 2009); Claudia Märkl, Christian Kaiser, and Thomas Ricklin, *“Inter graecos latinissimus, inter latinos graecissimus”: Bessarion zwischen den Kulturen* (Berlin: 2013).

13 The Union bull with the Armenians, *Exultate Deo*, is dated 22 November 1439, that with the Copts, *Cantate Domino* 4 February 1442, that with the Syriacs, *Multa and admirabilia* 30 November 1444, that with the Chaldeans, or Nestorians, and the Maronites of Cyprus, *Benedictus sit Deus* 7 August 1443.

14 Annick Peters-Custot, *Les Grecs de l'Italie méridionale post-byzantine, IX^e–XIV^e siècle: Une acculturation en douceur* (Rome: 2009).

15 Julia Becker, *Documenti latini e greci del conte Ruggero I di Calabria e Sicilia* (Rome: 2013).

the minority of Frederick II modified the situation; now the popes, notably Innocent III (1198–1216), faced directly the issue of faithful of the Greek rite in southern Italy.¹⁶ Innocent III sent cardinals and apostolic visitors to manage this unprecedented situation. In the continuity of the Norman governance, compromise was again the rule. In 1215, the delegates of the Council of Lateran IV adopted a rule imposing celibacy on clerics and subjecting them to chastity – the *Constitutio* 14, one of the three rules *De superbia Graecorum contra Latinos*, with the affirmation of the primacy of the Roman patriarch over the four Eastern apostolic patriarchs, and the submission to the same bishop of Christians of different rites and languages residing in the same diocese. But the last sentence of canon 14 (“But if those who according to the practice of their country have not renounced the conjugal bond, fall by the vice of impurity, they are to be punished more severely, since they can use matrimony lawfully”),¹⁷ accompanied by a marginal note specifying *Hoc dicitur propter Graecos* (this is said about the Greeks), indicates how much the Roman Church preferred compromise to outright condemnation, modulating its action in areas where members of the Greek clergy were subjected to its authority – Crusader States, Latin Empire of Constantinople, the Hellenized and Byzantinized part of southern Italy.¹⁸ This experience affected papal policy towards the Greek and Eastern Churches until the modern period and explains the role of southern Italy in the negotiations with the Byzantines as well as the emergence of prelates of the Roman Church among the Greeks of the Byzantinized part of the southern Italy. These were gradually acculturated through contact with the Latins. In the 16th century Cardinal Sirloto (1514–84) is an excellent example of this (see below).

In 1274, Pope Gregory X (1271–76) summoned the Second Council of Lyon at a particularly tense moment: thirteen years after the end of the Latin Empire of the East (1204–61) and as the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem shrank under the pressure of Islamic powers.¹⁹ In 1291, the city of Acre, the last capital of the Frankish kingdom of Jerusalem, would be taken by the Mamluk sultan al-Ašraf

16 Norbert Kamp, *Kirche und Monarchie im Staufischen Königreich Sizilien*, vol. 2: *Apulien und Kalabrien* (Munich: 1975).

17 Giuseppe Alberigo et al. (eds.), *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Generaliumque Decreta*, (Turnhout: 2013), 2,1:175, *Constitutio* 14: “Qui autem secundum regionis suae morem non abdicarunt copulam coniugalem, si lapsi fuerint, gravius puniantur, cum legitimo matrimonio possint uti.”

18 Marc Carrier, *L'autre chrétien pendant les croisades: Les Byzantins vus par les chroniqueurs du monde latin (1096–1261)* (Saarbrück: 2012); Camille Rouxpetel, *L'Occident au miroir de l'Orient chrétien: Cilicie, Syrie, Palestine, Égypte (XI^e–XIV^e siècle)* (Rome: 2015).

19 1274, *année charnière*, *passim*.

Ḥalil. However, the Union concluded at Lyon did not succeed in ending the schism between Rome and the Greek and Eastern Churches, and neither did the Council of Ferrara-Florence. This was partially due to internal tensions in the Eastern Churches; due to growing opposition to the Union with Rome, Gregory Mammias, the Greek Patriarch of Constantinople, was forced to flee in 1451. He found refuge in Rome where, the same year, the Latin patriarch of Constantinople, Giovanni Contarini, died, leaving Gregory Mammias as the only patriarch of Constantinople. In Rome, he met the two newly created Greek cardinals, Basilios Bessarion and Isidore of Kiev, who would succeed him on the Unionist Constantinopolitan see in 1459 and 1463 respectively.

Although the contexts of the two Councils, Lyon II and Ferrara-Florence, differ, they nevertheless have several similarities. One of these involved the legitimacy of the conciliar solution to put an end to a schism. Even more pressing was the Islamic threat to Eastern Christianity and the need to present a united front to defeat it, the necessary prelude to any new crusade. One of the debates of the Great Schism was the issue of the proper government of the Church – rule by a single head or by a collegiate body (see also the chapter by Bernward Schmidt for the continuation of this debate). Bringing about a reform of the mystical body that starts with its very head, trickling down through the different levels of its hierarchy has far-reaching social and political implications. These issues of governance affected the entire institutional fabric of the Church, from single monasteries to the ruling cadres of *Ecclesia* itself. When it came to implementing these reforms, the West saw itself in the mirror of the Eastern Church; the latter provided a model of collegiality that included monasteries that did not adhere to any rule in the Latin sense, and also the Pentarchy, a formal model of joint governance that involved five major sees – Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem.²⁰ This is the context within which we should contemplate the controversies about the power of the cardinals within the framework of the conciliar institution.²¹

Established in the context of the Gregorian reform of the 11th century, the College of Cardinals was intended to assist the Roman pontiff in the government of the Church and to ensure the legality of the papal election. In 1378, the double papal election which led to the Great Schism modified first of all the

20 Camille Rouxpetel (ed.), *Liber dialogorum hierarchie subcoelestis* (forthcoming).

21 Camille Rouxpetel, “Philhellénisme et réforme pendant le Grand Schisme: Guillaume Sagnet et les Grecs,” in *Humanisme et politique en France à la fin du Moyen Âge: Hommage à Nicole Pons*, eds. Carla Bozzolo, Claude Gauvard, and Hélène Millet (Paris: 2018), 123–39.

concept of the power of the council, but also the power of the cardinal.²² Papal authority now entered in competition with the authority emanating from the apostolic succession of cardinals. Cardinals were no longer just created by the pontiff, but their legitimacy and their authority emanated directly from the apostolic community as a whole (see also Barbara Bombi's chapter in this volume). This interpretation threatened to set the authority of the council above that of the pontiff. At the Council of Basel (1431–37/45) Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini and the future Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa defended both the concept of conciliarism and the opening of the council to the Greek Church. At the Council of Ferrara-Florence, having rallied to the Pope, Cesarini and Cusa were among the most active supporters of the triumph of the *unio* on the *reductio Graecorum*, the Union of faith and the respect of the diversity of rites. This is a real revolution compared to the theses previously defended by Eugene IV (1431–47) with respect to the *reductio Graecorum*. The direction of the Roman policy of Union ultimately fell under the jurisdiction of the pope, but the cardinals also played a determining role through their influence on the content of the Union. However, the missions and the legations to conclude the Union largely ignored them. Albericus, Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, submitted the Catholicos of the Maronites to the Church of Rome between 1139 and 1140, more by chance than by any active role he played himself – at the time he was in Syria on a mission to deal with the troubles created by the siege of Antioch and in no situation to work in the Union with the Maronite Church.

In the wake of the Great Western Schism, the relationship between the cardinals and the Orient, both Islamic and Christian, continued to be bedevilled by the debate on the government of the Church, primarily on two issues: submission of the Greeks to the pope, and the crusade, the first being a prerequisite for the success of the second. With the changing nature of the relationship between pope and cardinals during the 15th century, one of the only prerogatives retained by the cardinals was their co-direction of the crusade. But the crusade no longer had the same scope after 1453 when Constantinople replaced Jerusalem as its goal, as reflected in the pontifical commission created for this purpose by Nicholas V (1447–55), which include cardinals Bessarion, Guillaume d'Estouteville, Domenico Capranica, Latino Orsini, Pietro Barbo, and Ludovico Trevisan.²³

22 Robert Norman Swanson, "The Problem of the Cardinalate in the Great Schism," in *Authority and Power: Studies on Medieval Law and Government Presented to Walter Ullmann on his Seventieth Birthday*, eds. Brian Tierney and Peter Linehan (Cambridge, Eng.: 1980), 225–35.

23 Dan Ioan Mureşan, "La croisade en projets: Plans présentés au Grand Quartier Général de la croisade, le Collège des cardinaux," in *Les projets de croisade: Géostratégie et diplomatie*

Dan Mureșan has highlighted two aspects of Bessarion's career which have not received the attention they deserve: his status as patriarch of Constantinople in exile and his role as Dean of the College, which led him to coordinate the anti-Ottoman policy of several 15th-century popes. Mureșan stressed Bessarion's central role in all subsequent crusade initiatives to free Constantinople, Trebizond, and Morea from the influence of Sultan Mehmet II. As Patriarch of Constantinople in exile in the context of the proclamation of the anti-Ottoman crusade decreed by Pius II, he was naturally destined to occupy the see of the ecumenical patriarchate of Constantinople if the crusade were to succeed.

With his bull *De regiminis universalis*, promulgated on 22 October 1463, Pius II entrusted the new patriarch to regulate the status of the Orthodox rite of Crete, a territory that at that time was under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Crete, Girolamo Lando.²⁴ Beyond Crete, it fell to the pontiff to reaffirm the rights of a Byzantine Greek hierarchy in communion with Rome. These are the premises of Uniatism or "missionary apostolate." They already featured in the compromises proposed by Bessarion at the Council of Florence that served as a model for the following Unions, especially that of Brest (1595–96).²⁵ The Union policy defined at the Council of Ferrara-Florence advocated the re-establishment of a Greek hierarchy in former Byzantine territories, populated by Christian communities of Byzantine Greek rite placed under Latin sovereignty. Pope Eugene IV's solution led to the coexistence of these two hierarchies, and although it was in disagreement with Byzantine demands, it also resulted in the restoration of Byzantine Greek hierarchies in territories where they had, sometimes since a long time, disappeared.

The Union has had a turbulent history – Uniatism did not really triumph in Poland until the 18th century, with the progressive marginalization of the

européenne du XIV^e au XVII^e siècle, eds. Jacques Paviot, Daniel Baloup and Benoît Joudiou (Toulouse: 2014), 253.

24 Dan Ioan Mureșan, "Bessarion et l'Église de rite byzantin du royaume de Hongrie (1463–72)," in *Matthias Corvinus und seine Zeit: Europa am Übergang vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit zwischen Wien und Konstantinopel*, eds. Christian Gastgeber, Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, Ekaterini Mitsiou, Ioan-Aurel Pop, Mihailo Popović et al. (Vienna: 2011), 77–92.

25 Oscar Halecki, *From Florence to Brest* (Rome: 1958) and Borys A. Gudziak, *Crisis and Reform* (Cambridge, MA: 1998). On local unions with regional churches see Laurent Tatarenko, "La naissance de l'Union de Brest: La curie romaine et le tournant de l'année 1595," *Cahiers du monde russe* 46 (2005), 345–54; Laurent Tatarenko, "Entre Union universelle et négociation locale: Les projets unionistes dans la métropole de Kiev (fin du XVI^e-milieu du XVII^e siècle)," in *Réduire le schisme? Ecclésiologies et politiques de l'Union entre Orient et Occident (XIII^e–XVIII^e siècle)*, eds. Marie-Hélène Blanchet and Frédéric Gabriel (Paris: 2013), 101–13.

Orthodox Church. Moreover, early modern Unions differed from the *desideratum* as formulated in Florence, which advocated a general return to unity between Latin and Eastern Christians. Although the rhetoric of all successive attempts evoked a revival of the 1439 project, they always resulted in more local unions with regional churches. For example, Calixtus III (1455–58) established a Greek Catholic hierarchy within the Polish-Lithuanian borders with the intention to divide the joint front created by the anti-unionist patriarchs of Kiev and Constantinople – the latter of whom had been appointed by Mehmet II in 1454.

4 Italian Cardinals and Renewed Unionist Policies after Trent

One century after Bessarion's death, the pontificate of Gregory XIII (1572–85) witnessed an important upsurge in the role played by the cardinals with respect to the situation in the Middle East. In 1584, Gregory XIII founded the College of the Maronites in order to exercise greater control over the Maronites, and as part of his Unionist policy towards all the Greek and Eastern Churches. After renouncing his patriarchal office to devote himself to the Union of his Church with Rome, the former Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch, Ignatius Na'matallāh left for Rome.²⁶ He remained there from the winter of 1577–78 until his death, which occurred somewhere between 1586 and 1595. Upon his arrival, he enjoyed the support of Giulio Antonio Santori, cardinal protector of the Eastern Christians, who arranged him an audience with the Pope on 30 January 1578 as well as useful financial support. The attempts at Union of Ignatius Na'matallāh may not have been successful, but his contribution to Western knowledge of the Christian East was considerable. After the deterioration of his relations with Santori, who withdrew his support from the former Jacobite Patriarch to avoid offending the Greeks, Na'matallāh obtained the support of Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici.²⁷ As the latter was far less interested in the ecclesial situation of the former patriarch than in his erudition,

26 Giorgio Levi della Vida, *Documenti intorno alle relazioni delle chiese orientali con la S. Sede durante il pontificato di Gregorio XIII*, Aggiunte a "Studi e Testi" 92 (Vatican City: 1948), 1–113.

27 Na'matallāh claimed the title of Patriarch of Antioch, also claimed by the Melkite and Maronite churches. In order not to upset the Greeks, Santori was reluctant to recognize the Jacobite's claim. On 25 April 1581, the cardinals opted for the title of "Patriarcha of Zaffran [Deyr az-Za'farān, i.e. the place of residence of the Syriac patriarch] Antiochenus Nationis Syrorum Jacobitarum." Na'matallāh appealed to Gregory XIII, and was confirmed as Patriarch of Antioch.

this cardinal in all probability tried to involve him in the *Typographia Medicea*.²⁸ Ferdinando de' Medici was the heir to Na'matallāh's oriental manuscripts, now preserved at the Laurentian library in Florence.²⁹ This episode shows the increasing interest of cardinals for the Eastern Churches in a two-fold perspective: on the one hand, to bring them back to the Roman obedience and thus expand the basis of Roman universality; on the other hand, to increase their knowledge of the Christian East and its cultures.

Among this generation of philhellenic Roman cardinals, Guglielmo Sirleto (1514–84), cardinal protector of the Vatican Library, displayed a particular interest in oriental collections. He was a Calabrian of Greek rite and an accomplished scholar of ancient Greek. His main research focused on St. Basil but he also collaborated in editing works in oriental languages particularly encouraged by Cardinal Santori.³⁰ If Sirleto cannot be described in strict terms as a cardinal convert, in a certain sense he was the outcome of centuries of acculturation of the population of Greek rite in the Byzantinized south of Italy. During the pontificate of Clement VIII, Cardinal Santori composed the first major *Instruction* of Italian Greek rites. The identification of Greek and Eastern Churches according to their rite made it possible to integrate Eastern minorities and their particularities within the Roman Church with its universalistic vocation. This Italian Greek rite, in all its diversity, had already been at the heart of pontifical policy aiming from the Fourth Lateran Council onwards (see above) and was redefined after the Council of Trent (1545–63).³¹ Moreover, the

28 Na'matallāh proposed to acquire manuscripts in Syria and translate into Latin and print the Canon of Avicenna; see Giorgio Levi della Vida, *Documenti*, 39–41. Producing oriental characters is part of Gregory XIII's project of Union of the Churches; the first printing press with Arabic characters was the Jesuit *Tipografia del Collegio Romano* in the 1560s. See Josée Balagna Coustou, *L'imprimerie arabe en Occident (xvi^e, xvii^e et xviii^e siècles)* (Paris: 1984).

29 Guglielmo Enrico Saltiani, "Della stamperia orientale medicea e di Giovan Battista Raimondi," in *Giornale storico degli archivi toscani* 4 (1860), 257–308.

30 Irena Backus and Benoît Gain, "Le cardinal Guglielmo Sirleto (1514–85), sa bibliothèque et ses traductions de saint Basile," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome: Moyen-Âge, Temps modernes* 98, no. 2 (1986), 889–955; Bruno Neveu, "La Bibliothèque Vaticane de Sixte IV à Pie VI," *Journal des savants* 21 (1974), 133–49.

31 Maria Teresa Fattori, "Sacraments for the Faithful of the New World, Jews, and Eastern-Rite Christians: Roman Legislation from Paul III to Benedict XIV (1537–1758)," *The Catholic Historical Review* 102 (2016), 687–711; Vittorio Peri, "Chiesa latina e chiesa greca nell'Italia postridentina (1564–1596)," in *La chiesa greca in Italia dall'VIII al XVI secolo: Atti del convegno storico interecclesiale* (Padua: 1973), 1:271–469; Vittorio Peri, *Chiesa romana e "rito" Greco: G. A. Santoro e la Congregazione dei Greci (1566–96)* (Brescia: 1975); Emmanuel Lanne, "La conception post-tridentine de la Primauté et l'origine des Églises unies," *Irenikon* 52 (1979), 1–16.

definition of Eastern Churches on the basis of their respective liturgy reflected the policy of compromise as applied by the Roman towards the Greek Church and, more broadly, the Eastern Churches, both in the West and in the East. We must be careful not to interpret this policy as ecumenism *avant la lettre* but rather one of the modalities of the policy of Pontifical Union.

5 Conclusion

The Council of Ferrara-Florence thus appears to have been a key moment in the involvement of cardinals in the relations of the papacy with the Greek and Eastern Churches, in more than one respect. First of all, the Union of Florence resulted in part from the approach advocated by the Council of Basel and especially by those cardinals who were hostile to the omnipotence of papal power and thus in favour of Conciliarism. Secondly, this Union policy, while respecting liturgical diversity, constituted one of the foundations for the Brest Union and, beyond that, for Uniatism. Finally, the 15th-century council led to the creation of two cardinals of Greek origin, a situation not repeated until the modern era. Basilios Bessarion and Isidore of Kiev would exert a lasting influence on the articulation between Union and Crusade, despite the change of goal from Jerusalem to Constantinople.

Freeing themselves from a compartmentalized historiography along academic lines, artificially separating the Middle Ages from early modernity, two directions seem particularly promising for a better understanding of the role of the cardinals in the relations between Rome and the Greek and Eastern Churches. On the one hand the philhellenism and the intellectual activity of certain individuals, including the circulation of manuscripts and the creation of libraries, and, on the other hand, the tension between the quest for universal governance by the Roman Church and a more comprehensive definition of Christendom including the Greek and Eastern Churches. Historians studying the relations between Eastern and Western Christendom will certainly obtain more insightful results by combining these different strands of research. Finally, the debates of the early modern period and the role of cardinals in the connections of the papacy with the Eastern Churches must be placed in a long-term perspective, which takes into account the various forms of coexistence between the Churches and their communities, in Italy itself and more broadly in the Mediterranean and in Central and Eastern Europe.

Cardinals and the Creation of the Spanish Americas

Luis Martínez Ferrer

The consequences of Christopher Columbus's arrival on the small island of Huanahaní on 12 October 1492 will always be the object of new investigations. This chapter explains how cardinals contributed to, or interacted with, European activities in the New World. How and when did they become involved in the American conquest? In the first section, I outline the instances of cardinals – nearly all of them Castilian – who were involved in the “discovery,” and the later in the political and spiritual organization of the Spanish Americas. Later, I turn my attention to those cardinals who, in their capacity as the pope's direct subordinates within the Roman Curia, involved themselves with the New World *ex officio*. This material summarizes what is known for the period from 1489 to 1600, considered the foundational period. Later we must also consider the cardinals of the Congregation of the Propaganda Fide (for which see Giovanni Pizzorusso's contribution in this volume).

1 Approval of Columbus' plans

The Spanish presence in the Americas, which began with the governance of a few small islands, gradually grew into a series of extensive territories inhabited by infidels. From the beginning, the Crown of Castile sensed the necessity to seek from the Holy See – which had already granted the same to Portugal – a legitimation to dominate the new lands with the reward of evangelizing them, creating in effect a missionary state. Cardinals, on account of their double loyalty to king and pope, were typically the most suitable figures to put front and centre in these negotiations, although they were not the only actors to participate in them. Moreover, the particular relationship between Church and state in late Trastámara and Habsburg Castile frequently ensured that great governmental responsibility befell individual cardinals in their role as “chief” minister (see Joseph Bergin's contribution to this volume). Several cardinals were thus tasked with important governmental duties in respect of the New World.

In the Hispanic world we must distinguish between Spanish cardinals who resided in Rome and Spanish cardinals who lived in the Iberian peninsula. The former category of cardinals could exert influence in curial congregations (by then mostly temporal) and with the pope himself, directly or through intermediaries. The pope could ask such cardinals if they would defend his interests before the king, especially if they invested the position of national protector (see Bertrand Marceau's chapter in this volume). Furthermore, these cardinals participated in consistories which discussed episcopal affairs and nominations, the concession of tithes, and other subjects which potentially related to the Indies. The cardinals who lived in Spain, on the other hand, occupied themselves more with their priestly offices within Spanish territory, which they also sometimes combined with important services to the monarchy, both on the political and the ecclesiastical level.

It is perhaps not well known that one of the persons who interceded with greatest efficacy in favour of Columbus's plans was the cardinal of Toledo, Pedro González de Mendoza (1428–95).¹ After an initial refusal from the Junta of Salamanca and a second “no” from the court in Lisbon, Columbus grew frustrated with Castile. Then he was embraced by Alonso de Quintanilla, *Contador Mayor* of the Catholic Kings, a great magnate, who presented him to Cardinal Mendoza. The near contemporary chronicler Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo tells the story:

On account of the respect and intercession [of Quintanilla] he made acquaintance with the most reverend and illustrious cardinal of Spain, the archbishop of Toledo, Don Pedro González de Mendoza, who gave audience to Columbus and understood that he was wise and well spoken, and that he provided good reasons for what he said. And taking him for a man of cleverness and great ability, and having decided this, he took him to be of good reputation and decided to favour him. And as he was such an influential figure, by means of the cardinal and Alonso de Quintanilla, he [Columbus] was heard by the king and queen; and soon they began to give some credit to his stories and favour to his requests.²

1 Helen Nader, *The Mendoza Family in the Spanish Renaissance 1350–1550* (New Brunswick, NJ: 1979), 118–25.

2 “Por su respeto e intercesión [de Quintanilla] fué conocido del reverendísimo e ilustre cardenal de España, arzobispo de Toledo, don Pedro González de Mendoza, el cual comenzó a dar audiencia a Colom e conosció dél que era sabio e bien hablado, y que daba buena razón de lo que decía; y tóvole por hombre de ingenio e de grande habilidad; e concebido esto,

That is to say, at the moment in which Columbus's negotiations had reached a dead end, Quintanilla adopted his case and presented him to Cardinal Mendoza, "who held the greatest personal reputation with the queen and with the king," and Mendoza presented him to the monarchs "after having deliberated with him and understood his reasons very well."³ In fact, this was the second time that Columbus had been in the presence of Queen Isabella. During the first negotiations (1485–88) he had not had any support at court to help him press his case. Now in the spring of 1489 the queen began to pay him attention. It is possible that Mendoza had realized the risk that Columbus's plans might fall into the hands of the Portuguese crown, which was Castile's enemy at that time.

2 Legitimate Dominion in the New World

The Catholic Kings, when they heard of the success of Columbus's first voyage, went to the papal court to obtain legitimation of their new dominions with astonishing speed. They appealed to their permanent ambassadors in Rome, Juan Ruiz de Medina (ca. 1440–1507) and Cardinal Bernardino López de Carvajal (1456–1523) – the latter of whom had lived there continuously since 1482 – to obtain recognition of their claims to dominion there from the pope.⁴ Carvajal was a renowned preacher but of a theocratic tendency. On the basis of Henry of Segusio (Hostiensis, ca. 1200–71), he favoured the idea that the pope held political dominion over all infidels and he therefore supported the legitimacy of the Catholic princes' conquests of territories from the hands of infidels only if it was done as a means to evangelize native peoples.⁵

The negotiation of the so-called "Alexandrine Bulls," concerning the legitimate possession of America and the duty to evangelize, was the most important

tomó en buena reputación, e quisolo favorecer. Y como era tanta parte para ello, por medio del cardenal y de Alonso de Quintanilla, fué oído del Rey e della Reina; e luego se principió a dar algún crédito a sus memoriales y peticiones," Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, ed. Juan Pérez de Tudela Bueso (Madrid: 1992), 1:lib. 2, c. 4, 21–22. See also Juan Manzano y Manzano, *Cristóbal Colón: Siete años decisivos de su vida* (Madrid: 1989), 253.

3 López de Gómara, Francisco, *Historia de las Indias*, ed. Dantin Cereceda (Madrid: 1922), 1:c.15, 41.

4 Gigliola Fragnito, "Carvajal, Bernardino López de," in DBI, 21:28–34; Álvaro Fernández de Córdoba Miralles, "López de Carvajal y Sande, Bernardino," in *Diccionario Biográfico Español*, ed. Iciar Gómez Hidalgo (Madrid: 2009), 30:395–401.

5 José Goñi Gaztambide, "Bernardino López de Carvajal y las bulas alejandrinas," *Anuario de Historia de la Iglesia* 1 (1992), 93–112.

diplomatic commission in Carvajal's career. All expedited in 1493, these documents – *Inter caetera* (3 May), *Inter caetera* (4 May), *Eximiae devotionis* (3 May) *Piis fidelium* (25 June), and *Dudum siquidem* (26 September) – are the fundamental theological-juridical texts of the Spanish presence in the Americas. Granted by the Borja pope to balance rights granted earlier to the Portuguese Crown in its African enterprises, they were recognized by both the Catholic monarchy and the Holy See as the safe harbour for securing the good conscience through which the Spanish monarchy exerted its dominion in the Americas. The kings of Spain offered the Church the opportunity to evangelize new lands and the pope granted them in return rights of sovereignty if they sent qualified missionaries there. Especially the contents of the first three bulls has a clear theocratic foundation, framed in a context of a crusade that evolves towards evangelization.

The extraordinary embassy of Diego López de Haro arrived in Rome on 16 June 1493. Before that moment only the first *Inter caetera* had been promulgated. Together with the other Spanish ambassadors, Carvajal made a memorable speech of homage to the pope in the name of the king. In it, he referred to the Catholic Kings' Atlantic designs within the context of the pope's theocratic authority, which granted the pope his *plenitudo potestatis* and placed him as *unicum orbis dominum, orbis pastorem et dominum, unico in terris vices [Christi] gerenti* (the only Lord of the World, Lord and Shepherd of the World, the only One on earth who plays the role of Christ).

Concerning the fourth Alexandrine bull *Dudum siquidem*, Carvajal's participation is well documented, as he had been appointed cardinal just six days before. Indeed, he was invested with the purple while managing important documents for the New World. In a letter of 2 October, the new cardinal refers to the latest bull, in which he had sought to obtain more than what the kings requested, despite opposition from the Italian Antonio de Sangiorgio, Cardinal of Alessandria, and from the pope, who considered the concessions to the Castilian Crown already to be excessive. In effect, the Castilian crown had received from the pontiff an area of action that clearly demarcated a place where it began, but it was without a limit to the West.⁶ The concessions of *Dudum siquidem* were so exaggerated that the crowns of Castile and Portugal met in Tordesillas and in June 1494 signed a new treaty by which the Portuguese line of influence was extended westwards, something which gave rise to colonization of Brazil, in effect annulling the contents of the papal bull.

6 Fernández de Córdoba Miralles, *Alejandro VI y los Reyes Católicos: Relaciones político-eclesiásticas (1492–1503)*, *Dissertationes, Series Theologica* 16 (Rome: 2005), 493.

3 Cardinals and the Civil and Ecclesiastical Organization of the New World

The Catholic Kings made use of several eminent ecclesiastics to organize the spiritual and civil government of the Americas. One of them was Francisco Ximénez de Cisneros (1436–1517). Cisneros was Queen Isabella's confessor from 1492, and three years later he became archbishop of Toledo. In 1496 Cisneros was appointed vicar general of the Spanish Franciscans. From then on, he initiated a plan of reform of the Franciscan order and the clergy, which had Alexander VI's determined support. This did not only apply to the province of Castile; Cisneros also created an autonomous province of the Franciscan Observance in Hispaniola.⁷ Following Isabella's death in 1506, he became a key figure in Castile and Ferdinand managed to obtain for him the promotion to the cardinalate in 1507. Cisneros developed missionary enterprises in North Africa and was appointed regent of the kingdom from January 1516 until his death in November 1517.⁸

During his time as regent of Castile (1506–17), Cisneros took various other actions pertaining to the Americas: on the one hand, he favoured the peaceful missionary work of the Franciscans in Cumaná, which followed closely on previous efforts organized by the Dominicans. Although this enterprise eventually ended in blood and martyrdom, it bore witness to an attempt to evangelize in the manner of the apostles. Perhaps the most important aspect of Cisneros's work was his renewal of the Franciscan order in Spain, which would in due course impact on the spiritual quality of the Observant Friars in America.⁹

After Isabella's death, Ferdinand entrusted the creation of the first episcopal offices in the Americas in November 1504 to the Valencian cardinal Juan Vera (1453–1507), who was archbishop of Salerno and enjoyed close links with the Borja family.¹⁰ Julius II promulgated the bull *Illius fulciti praesidio* (15 November 1504) which created an ecclesiastical province on Hispaniola. However, Ferdinand rejected the bull because it did not refer to the right of presentation. What matters here is that Ferdinand used Cardinal Vera as an intermediary because he lived in Italy and had a wide experience of government. He was a

7 Marion A. Habig, "The Franciscan Provinces of Spanish North America," *The Americas* 1 (1944), 88–96.

8 Juan García Oro, *El cardenal Cisneros: Vida y empresas*, 2 vols. (Madrid: 1993); Joseph Pérez, *Cisneros, el cardenal de España* (Madrid: 2015).

9 Elsa Cecilia Frost, *La historia de Dios en las Indias: Visión franciscana del Nuevo Mundo* (Mexico City: 2002), 159–64.

10 Álvaro Fernández de Córdova Miralles, "Vera, Juan," in *Diccionario Biográfico Español* (Madrid: 2013), 49:669–70.

Spanish cardinal who had been in the orbit of the Borgia family since the 1480s. Vera did not act as Ferdinand's servant, but rather as that of Alexander VI. He was in fact a mediator between both powers and his role negotiating over the seat of the first American diocese is an example of this.

Charles v's accession to the throne of Castile in 1516 and his subsequent election as Holy Roman Emperor in 1519 coincided with a progressive expansion of the Castilian presence in the Americas. Charles v's minister Mercurino Arborio de Gattinara (1465–1530) was an important figure in establishing Spanish policy towards the Americas in the 1520s and he became a cardinal on Charles's recommendation in 1529.¹¹ However, the late date of Gattinara's promotion to the Sacred College means that there was little overlap between his activities in this sphere and his activities as cardinal (except insofar as his desire to become a cardinal may have influenced how he formulated or executed policy). A second figure whose career took a similar trajectory was Francisco de los Ángeles Quiñones (1475–1540). In 1523 Quiñones was elected general of the Franciscan Order, in which role he promoted the movement of Enforcement and Collection Houses and sent the mission of the group of friars known as the "twelve apostles" to Mexico. However, Quiñones was elevated to the purple, because of his work mediating between Clement VII and Charles v, only in 1527.

The long reign of Philip II (1556–98) involved further important changes to the organization of politics and of the Church in the Americas. Cardinal Diego de Espinosa y Arévalo (1512–72) was important in this, not least because he, uniquely, came to occupy the positions of both President of the Council of Castile and General Inquisitor. Pius v made Espinosa a cardinal in 1568 at Philip's request and Espinosa wanted Tridentine reforms to be implemented across Philip's territories. He promoted administrative centralization and, rather than resorting to the regular *Consejos*, (councils of jurists) favoured convening commissions to solve problems. Espinosa created an important clientele network throughout the upper ranks of the Castilian bureaucracy. Moreover, the Inquisition, though conceived chiefly as a weapon to combat heterodoxy, gave him a powerful administrative, legislative, and financial tool for his work.¹²

11 Rebecca Boone, "Empire and Medieval Simulacrum: A Political Project of Mercurino di Gattinara, Grand Chancellor of Charles v," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 42 (2011), 1027–1049 and Peter Rietbergen, "Cardinal-Prime Ministers, ca. 1450–ca. 1750: Careers between Personal Choices and Cultural Life Scripts," *Historical Social Research* 39 (2014), 51.

12 José Luis Orella y Unzué, "El Cardenal Diego de Espinosa consejero de Felipe II, el monasterio de Iranzu y la peste de Pamplona en 1566," *Príncipe de Viana* 36, nos. 140–41 (1975), 565–610; José Martínez Millán, "En busca de la ortodoxia: El Inquisidor General Diego de Espinosa," in *La corte de Felipe II*, ed. José Martínez Millán (Madrid: 1999), 189–228;

Espinosa's influence in the Americas is important, because of the so-called *Junta Magna* of 1568, convened at the peak of his power. The *Junta's* meetings were held in Espinosa's house and under his presidency. Its guidelines were: restoration of royal authority, establishment of the Inquisition in Lima, creation of a criminal court in the Audiencia of Lima, and changes to the *encomienda* system and to the taxation of natives (this was a crucial question, but, due to the great disparities, an agreement was not reached and the notwithstanding the *Junta's* request for a final decision from the king, this never arrived). The *Junta* also discussed the creation of a patriarch of the Indies (who was to be a royal appointment but would also hold the status of a pontifical delegate) and celebration of provincial councils. The Third Councils of Lima and Mexico arose from these discussions. Finally, it considered measures to promote evangelization and permission for the Jesuits to travel to the Americas.¹³

4 Cardinals and the Debates about the Indians

From 1511, when the Dominican Antonio de Montesinos first preached in Hispaniola, the so-called "struggle for justice" and for the rights of the native Amerindian population in the New World began.¹⁴ The most famous representative in this struggle – but far from the only one – was Bartolomé de Las Casas. In several of Las Casas' journeys to Spain he was able to meet with a good number of cardinals, and to explain to them the very serious problems unfolding in the Indies: the oppression and extermination of the natives, the impunity of the *encomenderos*, the administrative anarchy, and the loss of royal authority. Cisneros and the other cardinal regent, Adrian Florenzsoon (the future Pope Adrian VI), welcomed him in 1515. Las Casas wrote a memorial for Adrian in Latin and two for Cisneros in Castilian, based on medieval canonists such as

Martínez Millán, "Espinosa, Diego de," in *Dizionario storico dell'Inquisizione*, ed. Adriano Prosperi (Pisa: 2010), 556–57; Arndt Brendecke, *Imperio e información: Funciones del saber en el dominio colonial español*, trans. Griselda Mársico (Madrid: 2012), 33, 313–20, 323, 327, 338, 449.

13 On the "Junta Magna," see Josep-Ignasi Saranyana, *Breve historia de la teología en América Latina* (Madrid: 2009), 47–50.

14 Emilio Martínez Albesa, "Il sermone di fra' Antonio de Montesinos del 1511: una prima voce in difesa degli amerindi," in *Istituzione e carisma nell'evangelizzazione delle Americhe (1511–2011): Le diocesi antilliane e la prima voce in difesa degli amerindi*, eds. Emilio Martínez Albesa and Oscar Sanguinetti (Rome: 2013), 109–65.

Hostiensis.¹⁵ The cogs of the royal machine were set in motion. Several senior officials were dismissed and the Casa de Contratación was cleaned up. In April a commission was convened at which, apart from the two cardinal regents, the lawyer Juan López de Palacio Rubios and Las Casas himself were present. Indian reform began from the top down, with the two cardinal regents in the vanguard.

In addition, Cisneros gave the green light to sending over to America a group of reformers comprising three Hieronymite friars – Bernardino de Manzanedo, Luis de Figueroa, and Alonso de Santo Domingo – the judge Alonso Zuazo, and Las Casas himself. The reformers' program was quite idealistic. They wanted to civilize the Indians ("to put a policy in place") so that they would live lives like the peasants of Castile. The *encomiendas* were to disappear, but the Indians would be forced to move to the mines every two months to work for the Spaniards. Crown officials were to watch over the good treatment of the Indians, who were to be considered free and vassals. The results were well below expectations due to many factors: a demographic decrease amongst the native populations, the lack of agreement between the Hieronymites and Las Casas, the difficulties of enforcing the new policies by the Spaniards in the New World, etc.

5 Cardinals and the Provincial Councils of Lima (1583) and Mexico (1585)

This final section presents some cardinals of the Roman Curia – all Italians – who, because of their specific work in the service of the universal government of the Catholic Church, had to deal with affairs in the Americas. In some cases, they were influenced by members of the large and diverse Spanish community in Rome.¹⁶ I will mention just two examples of such links. One concerns the cleric Miguel Cabrera (1513–98) and his relations with Cardinal Guglielmo Sirleto (1514–85), cardinal protector of Spaniards in the Americas. Cabrera went to Mexico when very young and came to collaborate with the first bishops of

15 Kenneth J. Pennigton, "Bartolome de Las Casas and the Tradition of Medieval Law," *Church History* 39 (1970), 152–53.

16 Thomas James Dandeleit, *Spanish Rome, 1500–1700* (New Haven: 2001); Maria Antonietta Visceglia, *Roma papale e Spagna: Diplomatici, nobili e religiosi tra due corti* (Rome: 2010), 15–37; Piers Baker-Bates and Miles Pattenden (eds.), *The Spanish Presence in Sixteenth-Century Italy: Images of Iberia* (Farnham: 2015); Antonio J. Díaz Rodríguez, "El sistema de agencias curiales de la Monarquía Hispánica en la Roma pontificia," *Chronica Nova* 42 (2016), 51–78.

Mexico (Juan de Zumárraga) and Michoacán (Vasco de Quiroga). When Cabrera, who had become a humanist, arrived in Rome after 1558, he commended himself to the service of Guglielmo Sirleto, cardinal from 1565, Vatican librarian and one of the most important promoters of post-Tridentine Catholic reform.¹⁷ Also in Sirleto's service was the Franciscan Diego Valadés (1553–ca. 1582), who had been a missionary in Mexico, but was also a humanist, famous for his work *Rhetorica Christiana* (1579). Valadés was part of the commission, presided over by Sirleto, charged with producing a historiographical work that opposed the *Magdeburg Centuries*.¹⁸ That is to say that both persons, Cabrera and Valadés, were received in the cultural orbit of Cardinal Sirleto, although they surely also knew other cardinals.

The Italian cardinals most concerned with the Americas at the end of the 16th century were those involved in the Congregation for the Interpretation of the Council of Trent, more briefly named Congregation of the Council, which Pius IV created in 1564.¹⁹ The Council's objective was to supervise the implementation of the Tridentine decrees. The New World, in particular approval of the Provincial Councils of Lima (1583) and Mexico (1585), was one area this touched on. On 2 December 1587 Philip II signed a letter addressed to his ambassador in Rome, Enrique de Guzmán y Rivera, Count of Olivares, which informed him that, following the directives of Trent, he had convoked two provincial councils in Peru and Mexico and that he wished the pope to approve their decrees.²⁰ This "openness" to Roman jurisdiction followed a precedent set at the Council of Toledo in 1582 and represented a major change of opinion

17 Elisa Ruiz, "Cristóbal Cabrera, apóstol grafómano," *Cuadernos de filosofía clásica* 12 (1977), 59–126; Isaac Vázquez Janeiro, *Caeli nuovi et terra nova: La evangelización del Nuevo Mundo a través de libros y documentos* (Vatican City: 1992), 146–50.

18 Vázquez Janeiro, *Caeli nuovi*, 158–67.

19 Motu proprio *Alias nos nonnullas* (2 August 1564) and Apostolic Constitution *Immensa aeterni Dei* (22 January 1588) in *Bullarum Diplomatum et Privilegiorum Sanctorum Romanorum Pontificum*, ed. Luigi Tomassetti et al. (Turin: 1857–72), 7: 300–01 and 8: 991–92. See also *La Sacra Congregazione del Concilio: Quarto Centenario dalla Fondazione (1564–1964): Studi e ricerche* (Vatican City: 1964); Benedetta Albani, "In universo christiano orbe: la Sacra Congregazione del Concilio e l'amministrazione dei sacramenti nel Nuovo Mondo (secoli XVI–XVII)," *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome: Italie et Méditerranée* 121, no. 1 (2009), 63–73.

20 Letter from Philip II to the Spanish Ambassador in Rome, Conde de Olivares, El Pardo, 2 December 1587, Archivo de la Embajada de España, *legajo* 7, fol. 192; *Diligencias que se hicieron para la confirmación del concilio provincial tercero de Lima del año 1583*, ACML, "Volúmenes Importantes," fol. 115r-v. A summary of the approval process in *Tercer Concilio Limense (1583–1591): Edición bilingüe de los decretos*, ed. Luis Martínez Ferrer, trans. José Luis Gutiérrez (Lima: 2017), 51–58.

within the Catholic monarchy, which had not allowed the Roman Curia to approve the provincial councils until then.²¹ It is not yet clear why Philip condescended to this praxis of *recognitio*, although some suggestions can be made: in the final part of the 1580s Sixtus v's policies favoured Philip's interests in France, for example his decision to excommunicate Henry of Bourbon and to declare him unfit to reign. On the other hand, in 1587 Sixtus, through Cardinal Antonio Carafa, promised an economic subsidy to the Spanish monarch if his proposed invasion of England was put into action. This created a favourable situation that had not arisen before and would not be repeated in the next pontificate.

The arrival of the documents from the two councils was preceded by letters from the nuncio in Spain, Cesare Speciani, bishop of Novara, addressed to two cardinals: Alessandro Peretti di Montalto, the cardinal nephew, and Girolamo Rusticucci, a member of the Congregation of the Council. The first documents which arrived were those of the Council of Lima, which appeared in 1588 just at the moment when Sixtus, through the Apostolic constitution *Immensa aeterni Dei* (22 January 1588) had clearly legislated that the Congregation of the Council was the competent body for revising and approving the work of provincial councils. This meant that some cardinals, under the supervision of the prefect Antonio Carafa, had to study the conciliar texts, drafting a report which the prefect then had to present to the pope to issue a brief of approval.²²

We know more about the approval process of the Council of Lima than about that of Mexico.²³ At least five cardinals were involved in approving this assembly. Two worked directly on the conciliar texts: Girolamo Mattei (1547–1603) and Stefano Bonucci (ca. 1520–89).²⁴ These two cardinals examined an authentic and integral copy of the decrees and took into account the appeals and other declarations in favour of the council. At first, only one agent opposed

21 First Council to be approved in Rome after the Council of Trent. Ángel Fernández Collado, *El concilio provincial toledano de 1582*, Publicaciones del Instituto Español de Historia Eclesiástica, Monografías 36 (Rome: 1995). On the arrival of conciliar documents in Rome, see Ricardo de Hinojosa, *Los despachos de la diplomacia pontificia en España: Memoria de una misión oficial en el archivo secreto de la Santa Sede* (Madrid: 1896), 253; Ignasi Fernández Terricabras, *Felipe II y el clero secular: La aplicación del Concilio de Trento* (Madrid: 2000), 320.

22 Giovanni Papa, "Il cardinale Antonio Carafa prefetto della S. Congregazione del Concilio," in *La Sacra Congregazione del Concilio*, 309–38.

23 Documents dealing with the matter are in a file entitled *Diligencias que se hicieron para la confirmación del concilio provincial tercero de Lima del año 1583* (hereafter *Diligencias*), ACML, "Volúmenes Importantes."

24 Stefano Tabacchi, *Mattei, Girolamo*, in DBI, 72:157–60. Boris Ulianich, *Bonucci, Stefano*, in DBI, 12:457–64.

to the decrees was present in Rome, Francisco de Estrada, who in turn represented Domingo de Almeyda, the official procurator of the Charcas clergy. Estrada presented appeals in Madrid and Rome against decisions of the Council of Lima.²⁵

The situation in March 1588 was very favourable to the interests of the appellants. Cardinal Bonucci studied the appeals and had written a very favourable report about them. As Lima's documentation shows, it is likely that Estrada would have celebrated Bonucci's report, but he would have discussed it with Mattei, the second cardinal commissioned to revise the council's acts. As early as August 1588, Mattei had also given a favourable opinion to the appeals. However, the Prefect Carafa concluded that, given the importance of objections, especially in criminal matters, the council could not be approved. Everything depended on the pope's decision, but this would not arrive until after the stifling Roman summer.

This situation changed radically with the arrival in Rome of a prestigious representative of the archbishop of Lima, the Jesuit scholar José de Acosta. Archbishop Toribio Alfonso Mogrovejo had written to the pope from Peru (specifically from the city of Cajamarca), on 1 January 1586, advising him that he intended to send Acosta; he had also written to the General of the Jesuit Order, Claudio Acquaviva, about this. Acosta was well received in Madrid and in Rome, where he managed to gain approval of the council in a way very favourable to the archbishop's wishes in just one month.²⁶ The learned Jesuit concentrated, perhaps on the advice of General Acquaviva, on the key person of Cardinal Carafa. Acosta convinced Carafa that the regime envisaged at the Council of Lima was completely different from that of Europe and that sanctions had to be tightened up: abuses against the Indians and the lack of discipline of some clergymen were so serious that they deserved extraordinary penalties. Thus, the first American council that came to the Congregation of the Council was approved on 28 October 1589. The letter of approval – later to be called *recognitio* – signed by Carafa and addressed to Mogrovejo, has the flavour of the Holy See's pastoral interest in the Americas.²⁷

25 Luis Martínez Ferrer, "Apelaciones del clero de Charcas al Tercer Concilio de Lima (1583–1584)," *Annuario Historiae Conciliorum* 47, no. 2 (2015), 323–70.

26 See the letter from Francisco de Estrada to Maestro Domingo Almeyda, Rome, 28 November 1588, in *Diligencias*, fol. 137r.

27 The dedication to Cardinal Carafa in José de Acosta, *De Christo Revelato* (Lyon: 1592), s.p. is significant: "Ex ultimis terrae regionibus, id est ex India occidentali, ad ipsum caput orbis Romam appulsus, inveni Illustrissime Domine in te, supra quam sperare ausus essem homo et peregrinus et obscurus, id praesidii atque opis, ad causam salutis in Christo illarum gentium promovendam, quam mihi apud Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum

The three cardinals directly engaged in correcting the Third Council of Lima – Carafa, Bonucci, Mattei – were persons of significance and men of pastoral zeal, the latter two being created by Sixtus v. In addition, the cardinal nephew Alessandro Peretti di Montalto and Cardinal Rusticucci were the principal channels of communication with the nuncio in Madrid and with the archbishop of Lima, both for regular and special instances. Without doubt, Antonio Carafa was the prime policy maker in these affairs, although Mattei retained memory of Mogrovejo's pastoral zeal.²⁸

We have less information on the cardinals involved in approving the Third Council of Mexico, although its approval almost certainly followed the same institutional path as the Council of Lima did. In any case, it is important to note that one of the cardinal correctors – we know that the first of these was Mattei – pointed out the opposition to the prohibition of the ordination of natives to sacred orders.²⁹ The cardinal's hand wrote in the minutes: "potest hoc esse cum causa, sed cum illam ignorem non possum dire quid sentiam" (this may have some cause, but as I ignore it, I do not know what to think). The second cardinal could not be Bonucci because he had already died.³⁰

agendam maiorem auctoritate susceperam, ut paucis diebus ea confecta viderim, ad quae vix credideram multos menses sufficere posse...." (I have travelled from the utmost regions of the earth, that is from the West Indies to Rome, the very head of the world. [T]here I have found, most eminent Lord, in you, that degree of support and influence beyond what I, as a man, a foreigner and a nobody, would have dared to hope for. Your support and influence will work to advance the cause of salvation in Christ of those peoples. This cause I had taken upon myself as one to be promoted in the auspices of our most Holy Lord as being greater with authority. In this way I meant to see achieved in a few days what I had thought many months could hardly be enough to bring about.)

28 This is demonstrated in a letter to Toribio de Mogrovejo of 28 May 1598, which accompanies another letter from Pope Clement VIII from the day before. See ASV, Congr. Concilio, Libri litt., 7, fols. 243–44. Both letters express admiration for the Lima prelate. The pope's letter is published in Vicente Rodríguez Valencia, *El patronato regio Indias y la Santa Sede en Santo Toribio de Mogrovejo*, Publicación del Instituto Español de Estudios Eclesiásticos, Monografías, 3 (Rome: 1942), 167–69. Mattei's letter remains unpublished. In 1591, when Mattei was the Prefect of the Congregation of the Council, a laudatory letter was sent. See Luis Martínez Ferrer, "Un nuevo testimonio (inédito) de la valoración de santo Toribio en la Santa Sede. Carta de la Sagrada Congregación del Concilio (28 mayo 1591)," *Revista Teológica Limense* 52, no. 1 (2018), 99–116.

29 Letter from Francisco de Estrada to Domingo de Almeyda, Rome, 20 March 1589, in *Diligencias*, fol. 127r.

30 On the question of the "Roman openness" to indigenous ordinances in the process of approval of the Third Mexican Council, and the possible personal intervention of Cardinal Mattei, see Ernest J. Burrus, "The Third Mexican Council (1585) in the light of the Vatican Archives," *The Americas* 23 (1967), 390–407; Luis Martínez Ferrer, "La ordenación de

6 Conclusions

In sum, several cardinals were *ex officio* involved in the early phases of the Spanish rule over the Americas; first, as members of the Spanish royal court, where they either promoted the “discovery” or, as resident in Rome, secured papal approval of the project endowing it with theological legitimation; then, as Spanish bishops and/or regents, they organized the ecclesiastical provincial structures, and finally, other cardinals in Rome were occupied with the approval of provincial synods and allowing them a certain autonomy from the Spanish episcopal organization. Furthermore, several cardinals from the Curia were also protectors of the agents, imbued in Renaissance humanism, who arrived from the Americas. Thus, cardinals developed their work in the Congregation of the Council thinking about the Americas not only as a new jurisdictional and administrative zone, but as an enormous field in which they had to cooperate in spreading the word of the Gospel.

Translated from Spanish by the editors

indios, mestizos y ‘mezclas’ en los Terceros Concilios Provinciales de Lima (1582/83) y México (1585),” *Annuario Historiae Conciliorum* 44, no. 1 (2012), 47–64.

Cardinals and the Congregation of the Propaganda Fide

Giovanni Pizzorusso

1 Objectives of the Propaganda Fide and Its Precursors

The pontifical congregation of the Propaganda Fide (which still exists under the name of the Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples) was the jurisdictional organization of the Roman Curia which directed, coordinated, and oversaw the Catholic Church's missionary activities. It was founded on 6 January 1622 by Pope Gregory xv and, like all the other pontifical dicasteries, counted a certain number of cardinals amongst its members, alongside prelates and a secretary. Initially, there were thirteen cardinals in total, but this increased over time. The Propaganda concerned itself with all aspects of the propagation of the faith through missions to the Protestant "heretics," the "schismatic" Orthodox, and to all the other parts of the world inhabited by pagans or infidels. Moreover, the Congregation was further tasked, to defend the faith amongst minority Catholic communities in non-Catholic territories, for example Catholics living in Islamic countries, again by means of the mission and preaching. This obligation held irrespective of whether the Catholics were of the Latin or Orthodox rite and was based only on the question of whether they were united with Rome and thus obedient to papal authority.

The Propaganda Fide's foundation represented the culmination of a broad and continuous project to reinstate the papacy's universal spiritual primacy. This project acquired a much broader scope from the early 17th century onwards, when the papacy's missionary activities expanded on a global scale. In order to achieve its goals, the Propaganda's activities consisted of solving jurisdictional issues, the *negotium propagationis fidei* or the work of the propagation of the faith, coordinated through a bureaucratic practice exercised by its member cardinals and coordinated by the secretary.¹

1 For a general history of the Propaganda, see Josef Metzler (ed.), *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide memoria rerum*, 5 vols. (Rome: 1971–76), esp. vol. 1: 1622–1700, 79–111 (Metzler, "Foundation of the Congregation 'de Propaganda Fide' by Gregory xv") and Giovanni Pizzorusso, *Governare le missioni, conoscere il mondo nel XVII secolo: La Congregazione*

Cardinals' activities in implementing papal missionary politics long preceded the Propaganda's foundation. A number of initiatives to form commissions of cardinals that dealt with either certain aspects or the whole issue of propagating the Catholic faith had already been taken in the 16th century. For example, Pius V created a congregation for the conversion of unbelievers in 1568, which comprised cardinals Alessandro Crivelli, Marcantonio da Mula, Guglielmo Sirleto, and Antonio Carafa. This commission proved short-lived because Philip II of Spain did not appreciate papal interference in his American territories. However, that same year, Pius also established a further congregation for the conversion of heretics: the *Congregazione Germanica*, which brought together Otto Truchsess von Waldburg, Philibert Babou de la Bourdaisière, Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, and Giovanni Francesco Commendone. Gregory XIII later confirmed this congregation and added imperial cardinals such as Mark Sittich von Hohenems, Cristoforo and Ludovico Madruzzo, and Stanislaus Hosius to its ranks (see Bettina Braun's contribution in this volume), as well as members of the Jesuit Order, specifically Peter Canisius. Finally, a congregation for the Greek Rite was founded during Gregory's pontificate, first in Italy and then in the Middle East, aiming at missionary activities in the Orthodox world.

This approach of creating specific congregations to deal with particular geographical regions was typical of this period – at the time of Sixtus V's curial reforms in 1588 a pontifical commission for the broader issue of the mission was not yet envisaged. It was not until 1599, under Clement VIII, that Cardinal Santori formed a congregation *de fide propaganda*. This time no geographical boundaries limited the congregation's remit and, in this respect, it can be seen as a forerunner of the Propaganda Fide. Important cardinals such as Alessandro de' Medici, Robert Bellarmine, Federico Borromeo, Alfonso Visconti, Cinzio Aldobrandini (the pope's nephew), and Giovanni Francesco Biandrate di San Giorgio were now assigned to this commission, which indicates that Clement

Pontificia de Propaganda Fide (Viterbo: 2018). See also Pizzorusso, "The Congregation 'de Propaganda Fide' and Pontifical Jurisdiction over non-Tridentine Church," in *Trent and Beyond: The Council, Other Powers, Other Cultures*, eds. Michela Catto and Adriano Prosperi (Turnhout: 2017), 423–41; monographic studies or inventories of documents on Propaganda are useful for a description of the Congregation and its functioning, e.g. Nicola Kowalsky and Josef Metzler, *Inventory of the Historical Archives of the Sacred Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples or "De Propaganda Fide"* (Rome: 1988); Luca Codignola, *Guide to Documents Relating to French and British North America in the Archives of the Sacred Congregation "de Propaganda Fide" in Rome, 1622–1799* (Ottawa: 1990); Codignola, *The Coldest Harbour of the Land: Simon Stock and Lord Baltimore's Colony in Newfoundland, 1621–1649* (Montreal: 1988) and Tara Alberts, *Conflict and Conversion: Catholicism in Southeast Asia, 1500–1700* (Oxford: 2013).

VIII held high political ambitions for it. Yet, the new congregation did not last long – its activities ceased after a number of years.

2 The Foundation of the Congregation

At the beginning of the 17th century, a growing number of religious orders had joined the papal campaign to convert people to Catholicism and Paul v decided to deal with this issue by reverting to the use of individual orders. Paul favoured in particular the Discalced Carmelites who had published numerous treatises defending the pope's universal jurisdiction in matters of faith (examples include those by Jerónimo Gracián, Juan de Jesús y Maria, and Tomas de Jesús), as well as other reformers such as Juan Bautista Vives and Giovanni Leonardi. It was probably the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War in 1618 that provided the catalyst for further action. Initial Catholic victories fed a hope that the Habsburg armies would open a way to regaining Protestant Europe; this encouraged Gregory xv to indulge a grander project which would expand Catholicism to all four corners of the world. This ambitious goal combined aspects of the various missionary projects of the later 16th century: it required recruitment from the highest echelons of the ecclesiastical hierarchy by means of a congregation, and had clear political and financial investments that would allow it to be consolidated and integrated into the curial bureaucracy. This marked the Propaganda Fide's definitive affirmation as an organization.²

Thus, on 6 January 1622 the Propaganda Fide's foundation was discussed, together with the list of thirteen cardinals who would serve as its first members. These cardinals came predominantly from the various states in the Italian peninsula, as was often the case considering the Italian predominance within the College of Cardinals. Gregory's cardinal nephew, the Bolognese Ludovico Ludovisi, and the Genoese cardinal deacon Antonio Maria Sauli were members. A conspicuous number of Florentines were also nominated: Maffeo Barberini, Ottavio Bandini, Roberto Ubaldini, and Giovanni Garzia Mellini. Other Italian cardinals were Odoardo Farnese from Parma, Francesco Sacrati from Ferrara, Scipione Cobelluzzi from Viterbo, and the Venetian Pietro Valier. The three non-Italians were the Spaniard Gaspar Borja y Velasco, the

² Giovanni Pizzorusso, "La Compagnia di Gesù, gli ordini regolari e il processo di affermazione della giurisdizione pontificia sulle missioni tra fine XVI e inizio XVII secolo: Tracce di una ricerca," in *I gesuiti ai tempi di Claudio Acquaviva: Strategie politiche, religiose e culturali tra Cinque e Seicento*, eds. Paolo Broggio, Francesca Cantù, Pierre-Antoine Fabre, and Antonella Romano (Brescia: 2007), 55–85.

Frenchman François d'Escoubleau de Sourdis, and the German Eitel Friedrich von Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen (also called Cardinal Zollerano). These latter three cardinals and the Venetian could be considered as representatives of their respective states, “national” cardinals inside the Propaganda. Their task was to keep their governments and rulers informed about the Congregation's actions in their respective dominions. Other cardinals such as Sauli, Barberini, Ubaldini, Valier, and Mellini had been selected for their diplomatic experience or their earlier work in other congregations, in the case of Bandini and Mellini specifically the Holy Office. Ludovisi, papal nephew and Secretary of State, was the exception but he had also been member of the Tribunal of the Apostolic Signatura, and the Congregation of the *Buon Governo*. Sacrati had been auditor of the Tribunal of the Rota, while Cobelluzzi had been secretary of Latin correspondence and for that reason had been commissioned to write the Bull of the foundation of the Propaganda, that was issued on 22 June 1622. Some of the members were cardinal protectors of nations (see the contribution by Bertrand Marceau on this subject): Farnese was protector of England, Ireland, Aragon, Switzerland, and Portugal; Valier of Dalmatia; Barberini of Greece (which signified in that period the entire Aegean archipelago) and Scotland.³

3 Financing the Congregation

In the months following the Propaganda Fide's institution and preceding the official bull announcing it, two important events took place during which the cardinals' responsibilities within the Congregation were solemnly ratified. During the second general congregation on 4 February 1622, the cardinals discussed the ways of financing the Congregation. Scipione Cobelluzzi proposed to transfer to the Propaganda the “ring tax” (*tassa sugli anelli*), a sum of around 500 *scudi* which all cardinals traditionally paid upon receiving the sapphire ring given to them during the ritual of the conferral of their titular church (see the contribution in this volume by Jennifer Mara DeSilva).⁴ This proposal met with

3 Metzler, “Foundation,” 86–90. See also Maria Antonietta Visceglia, “The International Policy of the Papacy: Critical Approaches to the Concepts of Universalism and Italianità, Peace and War,” in *Papato e politica internazionale nella prima età moderna*, ed. Maria Antonietta Visceglia (Rome: 2013), 17–62.

4 Moroni, 2:68–69 for the significance of the ring and the taxes levied upon its conferral, and Giovanni Pizzorusso, “Lo ‘Stato temporale’ della Congregazione de Propaganda Fide nel XVII secolo,” in *Ad ultimos usque terrarum terminos in fide propaganda: Roma fra promozione e difesa della fede in età moderna*, eds. Massimiliano Ghilardi, Gaetano Sabatini, Matteo Sanfilippo, and Donatella Strangio (Viterbo: 2014), 51–66.

Gregory XV's favour as it offered him the chance to channel substantial revenue towards his new creation (the College at that time had 68 members).⁵ A papal document drawn up on the same day as the bull proclaiming the Propaganda's foundation formalized this decision, revoking all earlier claims on the *tassa sugli anelli* and confirming that this was to be a perpetual arrangement. Moreover, the whole scheme offered a chance for tax reform: hitherto the ring tax had typically only been paid after the cardinal's death by his heirs (see the contribution by Fausto Nicolai in this volume) and had often been forgotten or at least postponed. Henceforth, it would be payable at the moment of a prelate's elevation to the cardinalate. Gregory also specified that the sums raised for the Propaganda would be invested in the Monte di Pietà or in other non-vacatable bonds, or in any other way deemed suitable by the Congregation.

Many cardinals opposed Gregory's decision – some even refused to pay for political reasons, which highlights how the position of cardinals within the various Roman dicasteries was determined by their national backgrounds. For French cardinals, paying this tax to the pope meant going against the privileges of the Gallican Church, and these cardinals therefore obeyed only with great reluctance. In some cases, it fell to the nuncio as representative of the Holy See to take action: for example, the nuncio in Venice had to force the heirs of Cardinals Francesco Vendramin and Giovanni Dolfin to obey. While Richelieu had paid his tax, no action could be taken against Mazarin and his heirs who refused to pay anything. In Spain, the cardinal *infante* paid the ring tax and increased the amount even though the Duke of Olivares had been opposed even to the very foundation of the Propaganda.⁶ The Polish cardinal John Casimir Wasa never paid his dues, but the Propaganda continued to send him reminders even after he had ascended the Polish throne in 1648. Wasa's ministers protested against his payment stating Poland had more need of Roman money than Rome needed Polish money.

In fact, the most delicate case in obtaining the tax was that of Emilio Altieri, who, upon his elevation to the cardinalate immediately entered the conclave during which he was elected Pope Clement X. He had not yet paid his ring tax and the Propaganda's secretary wondered "whether he should supplicate or not" to the person who had become Christ's Vicar on Earth.⁷ However, the secretary was not even sure of the formulation since the pope "had not received

5 Metzler, "Foundation," 98–102.

6 Esther Jiménez Pablo, "The Church in Spain, the Holy See and the First Propaganda Fide Missionaries in the Indies" in *Il papato e le chiese locali: Studi / The Papacy and the Local Churches: Studies*, eds. Péter Tusor and Matteo Sanfilippo (Viterbo: 2014), 287–300.

7 Pizzorusso, "Lo 'Stato temporale' della Congregazione," 56.

the [cardinal's] hat" and therefore, from a juridical point of view, the request might not even be legally correct.

It soon became clear that the Propaganda could not count too much on the wider body of cardinals for its funding and its members decided that the best approach was to collect its dues at the very moment of each cardinal's nomination to the cardinalate. The requested sum from a cardinal was not very high; nevertheless, the ring tax was by far the highest of the so-called "gifts" a cardinal had to make upon his nomination. Some cardinals, on the other hand, paid even the double amount, thus displaying their support for the Propaganda's activities. In 1632, after ten years, the total sum collected amounted to 66,068 *scudi*, although 18 cardinals had still contributed nothing at all. In 1672, after 50 years, the total contribution from all cardinals stood at 132,980 *scudi*.⁸

The ring tax was not a source of income for the Congregation – it constituted the capital from which annuities were paid – however, it represented the core of the Propaganda's finances, and its very existence carried a strong political message. In fact, all the cardinals in the Sacred College, including non-Romans and non-Italians, were responsible for the mission's political programme. It was probably Gregory xv's aim to turn the missionary project into a responsibility not only of the pope himself but of the College of Cardinals as a whole. This carried a substantial symbolical weight, and the feeling of commitment was clearly expressed in the words of Cardinal Giovanni Doria, Archbishop of Palermo – although not part of the Congregation, paid his tax on 12 September 1622, he stated that the Propaganda Fide "merits to be sustained by the Sacred College of Cardinals as something that belongs to it."⁹ In this way, the cardinals were able to make a clear expression of charity by giving alms to the spiritually needy, those without Faith.

Some cardinals contributed more than just regular donations; many cardinals also bequeathed money to the Propaganda in their wills (examples include Federico Corner, Luigi Capponi, and Orazio Giustiniani).¹⁰ The most lavish legacy came from Antonio I Barberini (1569–1646), Capuchin friar and brother of Urban VIII, who left the Propaganda the sum of 207,000 *scudi* and also funded scholarships at the *Collegio Urbano* for the education of clerics who were sent to Rome from missionary countries all over the world. Bequests to the Propaganda for this latter goal continued to be made, for example that

8 Ibid., 56.

9 APF, Congregazioni Particolari, vol. 1, fol. 510r: "dal Sacro Collegio dei Cardinali merita di essere aiutata come cosa che tanto gl'appartiene."

10 On Cornaro's inheritance see William L. Barcham, *Grand in Design: The Life and the Career of Federico Cornaro, Prince of the Church, Patriarch of Venice and Patron of the Arts* (Venice: 2001).

of Cardinal Ferdinando d'Adda (1650–1719), at the start of the 18th century.¹¹ In particular cardinals close to the reigning pope often contributed to the Propaganda in the form of capital, which was then invested in bonds and other possessions; the annuities from this can be considered the Propaganda Fide's normal budget.

4 The Distribution of Competences and Responsibilities

A second issue that the Propaganda Fide's cardinal members also faced was how to divide tasks and duties within the Congregation. This problem was discussed during the third congregation, on 20 March 1622, and responsibility for demarcating the world into thirteen geographical regions that reflected the political and colonial powers was given to Gregory XV's personal secretary Giovanni Battista Agucchi. Each of these regions was assigned to two dignitaries. On the one hand, an apostolic nuncio was made responsible for the gathering of information and also for peripheral jurisdictional activities – which, for the eastern Mediterranean was delegated to a patriarchal vicar – on the other, a cardinal from the Propaganda was charged with presenting the *ponenza* of his particular region during the general congregations.

Cardinals were specifically assigned to those regions or countries of which they were protectors; regions that did not have a cardinal protector within the Propaganda were then delegated to other members, thus arriving at a fair division. For example, Maffeo Barberini as protector of Scotland and Greece was entrusted with Greece and the Aegean islands but he was not assigned Scotland. Soon however, the number of cardinals in the Propaganda increased and by the mid-17th century, each region (or sometimes two) was entrusted to groups of cardinals, as illustrated in the following table.¹²

We should also remember that not all the Propaganda's cardinal members resided in Rome. Hence, they did not necessarily participate directly in the congregation's government. Amongst the first cardinals appointed who found

11 Maksimilijan Jezernik, "Il Collegio Urbano," in Metzler, *Sacrae Congregationis*, vol. II: 1700–1815, 285–86.

12 For the 1622 division see APF, Acta vol. 3 (1622–25), fols. 3r–6v, partially in Metzler, *Sacrae Congregationis* vol. III:2, 1815–1972, 660–61. For the 1655 division, which also included China and the Far East as fourteenth region, assigned to cardinals Spada and Gabrielli, but soon abolished again, see APF, Acta, vol. 24 (1655), fols. 37r–38r. For the 1657 division see APF, Acta, vol. 26 (1657), fols. 125r–29v and Josef Metzler, "Die Kongregation in der Zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts," in Metzler, *Sacrae Congregationis*, vol. I:1, 1622–1700, 274–76.

TABLE 26.1 The division of territories within the Propaganda Fide

Territory	Entrusted in 1622	Entrusted in 1655	Entrusted in 1657
Italy, Dauphine, Avignon, Geneva	Ludovico Ludovisi	Medici, Ludovisi	Spada, Facchinetti, Ludovisi, Sforza
France, Lorraine	François de Sourdis	Bichi, Grimaldi	Spada, Facchinetti, Ludovisi, Sforza
Spain, Western Indies [America], Philippines	Gaspar de Borja y Velasco	Cesi, Sforza	Melzi, Durazzo, Rospigliosi, Azzolini
Portugal, Eastern Indies	Giovanni Mellini	Pallotta, Orsini	Pallotta, Orsini, Este, Moidalchini
Belgium, United Provinces, British Isles, Denmark, Norway	Odoardo Farnese	Albizzi, Costaguti	Capponi, Gabrielli, Albizzi, Chigi
Northern Germany and the Rhine Valley	Antonio Maria Sauli (substituted by Hohenzollern)	Capponi, Moidalchini	Capponi, Gabrielli, Albizzi, Chigi
Austria, Hungary, Walachia, Moldavia	Eitel Friedrich von Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen (Zollerano)	Brancaccio, Azzolini	Melzi, Rossetti, Costaguti, Vidman
Poland, Russia, Lithuania, Sweden	Ottavio Bandini	Savelli, Astalli	Francesco I Barberini, Brancaccio, Astalli, Orsini
Switzerland, Bourgogne, Alsace, Wittenberg	Scipione Cobelluzzi	Ginetti, Trivulzio	Ginetti, Costaguti, Medici, Grimaldi
Dalmatia, Albania, Venetian Islands	Pietro Valier	Este, Vidman	Medici, Bragadin, Spada, Rospigliosi
Greece, Balkans, Black Sea	Maffeo Barberini	Antonio II Barberini, Cecchini	Medici, Bragadin, Spada, Rospigliosi

Territory	Entrusted in 1622	Entrusted in 1655	Entrusted in 1657
Levant, Caucasus, Persia, India	Roberto Ubaldini	Francesco I Barberini, Durazzo	Antonio II Barberi- ni, Sforza, Astalli, Azzolini
Egypt, Northern Africa, Abyssinia	Francesco Sacrati	Facchinetti, Medici	Pallotta, Harrach, Savelli, Albizzi

themselves in this position were Sourdis, who left Rome for his diocese of Bordeaux after six months, and Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, who left after two years for his diocese of Osnabrück. Gaspar de Borja y Velasco was an especially important figure among the non-Italians, because he was Spain's ambassador at a time of great political tension during the papacy of the Francophile Urban VIII.¹³ As a result, Borja functioned as a defender of the Spanish monarchy's interests within the Congregation (including those of the Portuguese crown). Borja in fact had been one of the opponents of the Propaganda's institution, defending the rights of *Padroado/Patronato* over extra-European missionary activities, an approach upheld further by his successor within the Propaganda Cardinal Alborno.

5 Members of the Propaganda: Nationalities and Curial Experience

The Congregation's Italian members also played a role in the papacy's international politics. For example, many Italian cardinal members had previously been apostolic nuncios and maintained strong ties with the courts to which the pope had sent them. The ties between Maffeo Barberini and France are well-known and they forced the Propaganda into a pro-French course within its missionary politics. The relationship between Giovanni Garzia Mellini and the Spanish monarchy, following his nunciature between 1605 and 1607, permitted him also to function as a real *trait d'union* between Rome and Madrid.¹⁴

13 Metzler, "Foundation," 88–89; Maria Antonietta Visceglia, "Congiurarono nella degradazione del Papa per via di un Concilio: La protesta del cardinale Gaspare Borgia contro la politica papale nella guerra dei Trent'anni," *Roma moderna e contemporanea* 11 (2003), 167–94.

14 Silvano Giordano, "Power Management at the Roman Court at the beginnings of the 17th Century: The case of Cardinal Giovanni Garzia Millini," *Libros de la Corte.es*, Monográfico 2 (2015), 80–94.

In the latter half of the 17th century the system of assigning regions to cardinals gradually came to be disregarded, especially after 1672 during the prefecture of Paluzzo Paluzzi Altieri degli Albertoni. However, it was not entirely forgotten and was, indeed, reinstated in 1698.¹⁵

In the second half of the 17th century, many of the Congregation's members had had diplomatic experience – and all those who had it were Italians (see Alexander Koller's contribution in this volume). The number of foreigners assigned to the Propaganda remained limited to thirteen between 1650 and the mid-18th century: one English cardinal, one Spanish, and one Polish, with the remainder Imperial and French. It is difficult to reconstruct the Congregation's exact list of members because the nominating briefs (*brevi di nomina*) have not been preserved (cardinals themselves kept them in their own private archives). In general, attendance registers during general congregations inform us about which cardinals were in active service.¹⁶ However, they do not inform us about those affiliated to the congregation but not attending, which almost certainly included cardinals not resident in Rome.

The large number of cardinals who were members of this congregation attracted some criticism. One anonymous report, probably written around 1700, stated that the Congregation functioned badly because having 33 cardinals as members led to long discussions and tired participants who postponed decisions (“pro nunc nihil respondendum”). Discussions were not always taken up at the following meeting and often no decision was taken at all, or at least not put into practice. This anonymous document therefore suggested that the Propaganda should be divided into smaller congregations with twelve cardinals each. Although such an approach was not adopted, the activities of its sub-congregations were increased. The critical report also denounced liaisons between cardinals and rulers on the one hand – especially with Spain and Portugal – and between cardinals and the superior generals of regular orders on the other.¹⁷

15 APF, SC Congregazione, 1, fol. 226r-v and Congregazioni Particolari, vol. 105, fol. 336r. The Propaganda's cardinal members also visited Roman missionary colleges, followed by an account of this visit during a general meeting; from 1623 onwards, the Propaganda had become responsible for these seminaries. See APF, SC, Visite e Collegi, and Aurélien Girard, “Teaching and Learning Arabic in Early Modern Rome: Shaping a Missionary Language,” in *The Teaching and Learning of Arabic in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Jan Loop, Alastair Hamilton, and Charles Burnett (Leiden: 2017), 163–88.

16 APF, SC Cardinali, Segretari, vol. 1, passim.

17 APF, SC Congregazione, vol. 1, fols. 141r–42r.

6 The Cardinal Prefect

In the assembly of the cardinals, the prefect was responsible for the Congregation's proceedings, as was also the case in most other dicasteries of the Roman Church. In the first decades of its existence, the Congregation met at the papal residence in general sessions called *coram Sanctissimo*, during which the pope was present, and which were held once a month. From 1660 onwards, this tradition was substituted for weekly audiences for the secretary with the pope, to which the secretary would carry all documents that needed a signature. This development might be seen as a sign of the Congregation's dwindling prestige, but it may also simply have been a more efficient means of organizing its business. In any case, meetings of the Congregation in the pope's presence became rare – they occurred just 18 times in the period between 1678 and 1707 – and some desired a return of the earlier practice.¹⁸

The position of the cardinal prefect acquired much prestige from this development after 1660, but in the first months of 1622, this position was informally invested by the cardinal deacon of the Sacred College, Antonio Maria Sauli, in whose palace the Congregation's meetings were held. Only from November 1622 onwards did the pope officially appoint a prefect, in the person of his nephew Ludovico Ludovisi. From a legal point of view this prefect could sign and provide all decrees, letters, mandates, and other documents with his own seal. The prefect, by custom, or by the Congregation's explicit permission, was also allowed to nominate the dicastery's personnel and he organized the institution's workflow in tandem with the secretary, deciding which issues would be discussed in each session – and whether in the general congregations during which all members, both cardinals and non-cardinals would be present, or during the particular congregations, which were more restricted meetings, or even during meetings held only between the cardinal prefect and the secretary in which the large numbers of supplications, reports, and requests that were sent to the Congregation were routinely dealt.

The briefs of the nomination of the prefect cannot be found in the Propaganda's archive, but the starting dates of each prefecture are known in most cases.¹⁹ The first two prefects were members of papal families. Ludovico Ludovisi remained in office from 1622 to 1632, when Urban VIII forced him to return to his native Bologna of which he was archbishop. Then Antonio II Barberini took his place, supported by his uncle, Antonio I, until the latter's death in 1646. When Antonio II fled to France in 1645 after Urban VIII's death, Innocent

18 Ibid., fols. 210r and 355r–58v.

19 Ibid., fol. 69r-v.

x removed him from his office at the Propaganda but later reinstated him in 1653. During Barberini's absence, the Florentine Luigi Capponi replaced him as pro-prefect. Barberini's successor in 1671 was Paluzzo Paluzzi Altieri degli Albertoni, Clement x's adopted nephew, and he remained in office until 1698. The term of each prefect during the 17th century was therefore quite long. This remained the case in the first half of the 18th century: Giuseppe Sacripante (1704–27), Vincenzo Petra (1727–47) and with Silvio Valenti Gonzaga (1747–56) were the only prefects.²⁰ The one difference with 17th-century practice was that these three prefects no longer came from within the papal family, as nepotism had now been officially prohibited (see Birgit Emich's contribution in this volume). Instead the cardinals selected were those with a juridical background (which reflected wider developments in the College; see the contribution by Maria Antonietta Visceglia in this volume) and those who had invested in positions in the Sacred Rota. One interesting fact is that none of the prefects had previously served as secretary of Propaganda until Stefano Borgia (secretary 1770–89 and prefect 1798–1804), who held the role during the difficult circumstances of the French invasion. Borgia's trajectory was to become a common one during the 19th century.

7 “Special Congregations”

In the 17th century, some of the Propaganda's secretaries were themselves nominated as members of the Propaganda, after a suitable time spent abroad as papal nuncio and a subsequent promotion to the cardinalate. These cardinals unsurprisingly understood well how the Congregation functioned and we can see this in the records of those “special congregations” in which such cardinal members had a particular impact. These commissions consisted of a reduced number of cardinals, in some cases with consultants and/or representatives of religious orders, and were dedicated to specific regions or people (*nationes*), institutions related to the Propaganda (such as colleges for missionaries or the polyglot press), or economic issues (the *stato temporale*) of the Propaganda.

20 Metzler, “Die Kongregation in der Zweiten Hälfte,” 250–56 and Metzler, “Die Kongregation im Zeitalter der Aufklärung,” in Metzler, *Sacrae Congregationis*, vol. II, 1700–1815, 25–28. The prefect was also indicated as “prefetto generale” in order to distinguish this from other positions within the Propaganda which were also called “prefect,” and that were assigned to cardinals; for example, from 1676 the “prefetto dell'Economia” was responsible for the finances, and from 1627 the prefect of the Stamperia was overseeing the polyglot press. These prefects had no decisional rights but proposed issues pertinent to their position at the Congregation's general meetings.

These commissions could be formed *ad hoc* and were often dissolved just as quickly, but could also become permanent. They served the internal division of tasks and duties that recalled the situation before the Propaganda had been formalized as one office in 1622. Commissions became a normal phenomenon during the later 17th century and expanded further during the 18th century. They reflected the breadth of the Propaganda's bureaucratic apparatus, and the need for cardinals "specialised" in a certain subject or geographical region. These latter could be broadly defined, as with "Eastern Indies" (*Indie orientali*) or Africa, but they could also be specific such as "Greece and Venice" or "Ruthenians" or even "Egyptian missions." The meetings of such commissions would normally take place in one of the cardinals' palaces, and their minutes were recorded by the Congregation's secretary. Furthermore, the Propaganda's cardinal prefect could participate in committee meetings – in some periods, this happened frequently, for example during the prefecture of Giuseppe Sacripante (between 1704 and 1727).²¹ Those cardinals who had served as secretary of the Propaganda prior to their elevation to the purple often had a particular impact on these commissions.

A case in point is the commission installed in 1677 to resolve the issue of the missionary role of bishops. In particular, this commission discussed the Propaganda's strategy in nominating bishops outside Europe and making them submit to the Congregation's power, thereby allowing the papacy to resist the episcopal strategies of the various Catholic colonial powers. This confrontation between the Propaganda and the Portuguese *Padroado* (the arrangement between the Portuguese Crown and the Holy See which delegated the administration to the Portuguese kings) had been an issue of primary importance under the Propaganda's first secretary, Francesco Ingoli, and it is not a coincidence that all three cardinals in this commission had been secretaries between 1657 and 1673: Mario Alberizzi, Girolamo Casanate, and Federico Baldeschi Colonna, plus the interim secretary after Ingoli's death, Francesco Albizzi.²²

8 Conclusion

It is not easy to define the political role of the individual cardinals within the Propaganda Fide. As it was a profoundly bureaucratic institution, and part of the Curia, it was expected to obey papal instructions. Moreover, all cardinal members were part of other congregations as well, and therefore their position in the Curia and the College of Cardinals was the result of a complex set

21 APF, SC Congregazione, 1, fols. 346r–47r (1738) and 375r–98v (1748).

22 APF, Congregazioni Particolari, vol. 21, fols. 215r–42v.

of relations and relationships. Certainly, the Propaganda's activities had implications for the papacy's political relations with other states, and a general development can be discerned in this context towards its diminishing international role. However, the failed attempts to develop the Propaganda as an organization with an independent financial structure reveal how the influence of the colonial Catholic powers over the Congregation endured. It is difficult to define the position of individual cardinals within the Propaganda Fide; in the minutes of meetings the positions of the cardinals participating is rarely explained. What is clear, however, is that the Spanish and Portuguese cardinals, for example, invariably resisted the general opposition towards the *Padroado*, and that national affiliations played an important role in their strategies. In general, while the positions of individual cardinals were defined within the Curia, they subsequently had an impact on their various strategies within the Propaganda, and not the other way around. This notwithstanding, the Propaganda was one of the crucial congregations of the papal Curia; becoming a member of it represented an important event in the career of any cardinal in the early modern period.

Translated from Italian by the editors

PART 7

Cardinals and Literature



The Early Modern Historiography of Early Modern Cardinals

Miles Pattenden and Arnold Witte

One irony in compiling a multi-author volume on the early modern cardinal as an archetype is that his historiography began in the opposite format: in the form of biographical compendia, often by a single author, which sought to document all known cardinals in encyclopedic fashion. Early modern cardinals are distinct from their medieval counterparts in that they formed the subjects of such compendia, in many cases within their own lifetimes, which is one reason why we typically have far more reliable information about their names, backgrounds, and accomplishments than we have for their predecessors before 1400. These compendia, the earliest of which began to appear around the mid-16th century, were, on one level, part of that new enterprise of constructing Sacred History, aspects of which scholars such as Anthony Grafton, Simon Ditchfield, and others have excavated in fruitful fashion.¹ But at another, more general, level books about cardinals also reflected wider trends brought about by the proliferation of print: who could access hitherto restricted areas of knowledge and transmit the information it contained simply widened in these years. A fascination with who cardinals were, and what their historical identities might reveal about the Church's legitimate traditions, is surely also an important, but perhaps underacknowledged, feature of early modern Catholicism – a concomitant to, or constituent of, “papalization,” the growing papal role within the image of Catholicism and Catholic identity which John O'Malley has noted in other contexts.²

The following chapter sets out how forms of writing about cardinals – in particular, biographical forms – developed, focusing both on key authors and on what motivated their endeavours. It explains the difference between two kinds of texts which predominate early modern accounts of cardinals' lives: 1.

1 Simon Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History in Tridentine Italy: Pietro Maria Campi and the Preservation of the Particular* (Cambridge, Eng.: 1995); Katherine Van Liere, Simon Ditchfield, and Howard Louthan (eds.), *Sacred History: Uses of the Christian Past in the Renaissance World* (Oxford: 2012).

2 John O'Malley, *Catholic History for Today's Church: How our Past illuminates our Present* (Lanham, MD: 2015), 8.

those which sought comprehensiveness as a means of chronicling and validating the Church's traditions; and 2. those with a more didactic purpose which saw the lives of particular cardinals as especially noteworthy (though not necessarily for entirely positive reasons). The texts of the first category were, for the most part, clearly intended as part of, or an annex to, the greater *Historia Ecclesiastica* which was being compiled in these centuries. Those of the second were more akin to the genre of single-subject hagiographies which Pamela Jones discusses in her chapter below. Nevertheless, the distinction between such texts and others which sought to place cardinals in the context of the Church's traditions is far from clear cut. Texts of all kinds were very much forged within an intellectual culture which sought to identify and promulgate exemplary models for the Christian life, and which also justified them with reference to the same overarching continuum of ideals – a continuum which also gave birth to many other forms of writing, including about cardinals. Treatises on the “ideal cardinal” and hagiographies of specific individuals from within the College are of such historical and historiographical importance that we have accorded them their own chapters within this section. However, other genres that need to be acknowledged and referenced include 1. manuals for how cardinals should conduct themselves in conclave, 2. accounts of the proper rights and responsibilities of the College and its members in particular contexts (a genre which intersects with, but does not completely overlap, treatises on the ideal cardinal), and 3. political discourses about the rights and wrongs of so-called “Crown Cardinals.” All these genres are briefly discussed in the text below.

1 Cardinals within Sacred History

The earliest significant collection of biographies of cardinals from the early modern period was arguably Bartolomeo Platina's *Vitae pontificum*, written between 1471 and 1475, and which saw many revised editions during the 16th century.³ Platina's was the first systematic (or systematized) account of papal history since the *Liber Pontificalis*, a chronicle of papal lives that had been begun around the 5th century and was continued down to the pontificate of Martin v (1417–31). However, unlike the *Liber Pontificalis*, Platina's account famously engaged not only popes' lives but also their profiles and personalities, often in somewhat scurrilous fashion. Hence William, Cardinal Allen's acid quip that

3 Bartolomeo Sacchi (Il Platina), *Vitae Pontificum Platinae historici liber de vita Christi ac omnium pontificum qui hactenus ducenti fuere et xx* (Venice: 1479).

“Platina non vitas, sed vitia scripsit” (he wrote not about the popes’ lives but rather about their vices), made as part of an attempt by the Holy Office to censor the text in 1587 which Stefan Bauer has investigated.⁴ Thus, a work which on first inspection might appear to be some Humanist endeavour towards recording a perfect Christian History in fact crosses over into a potentially moralizing account of a rather different quality entirely. However, Platina’s cardinals were all popes. Only later, and no doubt inspired by his efforts, did other scholars begin to compile lives of cardinals who never ascended to the pontifical throne as a distinct category. When they did, the tension between documenting their existence and commenting on how well their existence lived up to ideals remained.

Girolamo Garimberto’s *La prima parte, delle vite, overo fatti memorabili d’alcuni papi, et di tutti i cardinali passati* (1567) and Alfonso Chacón’s *Vitae, et res gestae pontificum romanorum et S.R.E. Cardinalium* (1601) were the earliest compilations of cardinals’ lives and they set the tone for all later versions.⁵ The humanist, collector, and *letterato* Garimberto structured his biographies explicitly around concepts of character – and the popes’ and cardinals’ inherent virtues or vices. As Garimberto announced in his dedication to Cardinal Cristoforo Madruzzo (1512–78), this was caused by the fact that he had not been able to find enough material on each and every cardinal, and he thus came up with *capita selecta*. As a result, quite a few cardinals were ranked under various headings. More interestingly still, Garimberto never intended his book to offer only positive examples; the final 20 per cent of the volume discusses popes and cardinals under rather innocuous headings such as “Della vecchiezza” (About old age) but also rather critical ones: “Di coloro che hanno sprezzato la religione overo tenuta vita da secolare” (Concerning those who despised religion or led a purely secular lifestyle).⁶ Garimberto’s reflection on the cardinal’s moral and spiritual integrity was no doubt due to the recent discussion (and failed attempt) to reform the cardinalate.⁷ Furthermore, we may find it worthwhile to note that his book appeared just two years after another critical tome, Gonzalo de Illescas’ *Historia pontifical, general y católica* – this book, which gave brief biographies of 20 individual popes and accounts of their times, from Christ

4 On the reception of Platina’s lives, see Stefan Bauer, *The Censorship and Fortuna of Platina’s “Lives of the Popes” in the Sixteenth Century* (Turnhout: 2006).

5 In the remainder of this chapter, publications of which author, title, and date of publication are given in the main text will not be referenced in footnotes for reasons of space. The most important can be found in the consolidated bibliography at the end of this publication.

6 For more detail on Garimberto, see also David S. Chambers’ chapter in this volume.

7 Hubert Jedin, “Vorschläge und Entwürfe zur Kardinalsreform” in idem, *Kirche des Glaubens – Kirche der Geschichte* (Freiburg i.B.: 1966), 2:118–47.

himself down to Pius V, was censored by the Holy Office in both Italy and Spain.⁸ And, most importantly with respect to the volumes discussed below, Garimberto's title announced the discussion of "some popes... and all cardinals." However, in reality, Garimberto set in motion what was to become the established pattern: he mainly discussed cardinals from the 15th and 16th centuries – his near – contemporaries, about whom information could most easily be gathered.

Chacón's book, by contrast, attempted comprehensiveness and started from the beginning (with a life of Christ). Appearing in its first edition in two parts, it recounted a resumé of cardinals' lives, organizing them in the order in which the cardinals had been created, by pope. The book's chronological structure thus remained very close to Platina's example, and also to contemporary fashions and formats in Sacred History.⁹ This served not only an abstract understanding of what (or who) a cardinal was, but it also delineated the political factions within the College of Cardinals at any given moment (because cardinals' political allegiances were most often aligned to which pope had created them). Moreover, Chacón's text underlined ecclesiastical governance's historical roots, presenting the cardinal's function as an integral part of the Early Christian Church. In fact, Chacón discusses the origins of this structure in the pages between the lives of Popes Hyginus and Pius I – in other words, between 138 and 154 A.D. – and he identifies them as having occurred as a result of the developing ecclesiastical organization that was formalized under Hyginus.¹⁰ Since this publication was in Latin, we can probably assume that its intended readership consisted mainly of intellectuals – presumably prelates at the papal court, in many cases – and it likely had a reformist agenda. That would certainly fit with such details as Silvia Grassi Fiorentino has been able to recover about Chacón's life.¹¹

Chacón's text was reprinted throughout the 17th and 18th centuries. In all cases, it was updated and expanded with biographies up to the date of

8 Gonzalo de Illescas, *Historia pontifical y católica*, 2 vols. (Barcelona: 1622). On Illescas' text, see Paolo Broggio, "Una Spagna pontificia: La 'Historia pontifical y católica' e la politica culturale della Monarchia spagnola nell'età della Controriforma," in *Histoires antiromanes II: L'antiromanisme dans l'historiographie ecclésiastique catholique (XVI^e-XX^e siècles)*. *Actes de la journée d'études de Munich (13 septembre 2012)*, eds. François-Xavier Bischof and Sylvio de Franceschi (Lyon: 2014), 39–72.

9 Simon Ditchfield, "What Was Sacred History? (Mostly Roman) Catholic Uses of the Christian Past after Trent," in *Sacred History: Uses of the Christian Past in the Renaissance World*, eds. Ditchfield, Van Liere, and Louthan, 72–98.

10 Alfonso Chacón, *Vitae, et res gestae pontificum romanorum et s.R.E. Cardinalium* (Rome: 1601), 1:41–43.

11 Silvia Grassi Fiorentino, "Chacón, Alonso" in *DBI*, 24:352–56.

publication: first by Francisco Cabrera Morales and Andrea Vittorelli in 1630 (still in two volumes, and now updated to include the early years of Urban VIII's pontificate); then in 1677 by Agostino Oldoini (who expanded it to four volumes and included data on all pontificates up to that of Clement IX).¹² In the 18th century, further editions were prepared by Mario Guarnacci in 1751 (who put together two volumes which continued Oldoini's edition by discussing cardinals elevated to the purple by popes from Clement X to Clement XII);¹³ and by Giovanni Paolo de Cinque and Michele Fabrinio in 1787 (their edition offered a further continuation from Benedict XIV onwards and was planned to comprise more volumes still; however, only the first of these ever came out).¹⁴ Chacón's basic format, consisting of biographies of each pope followed by those of the cardinals he had elevated to the purple, was retained in all cases. So too was his choice of Latin as the language. It may also be relevant that these continuations were clearly made at the express behest of the papal authorities in some cases: for example, Andrea Vittorelli, who belonged to the inner circles of the Barberini court, intended the 1630 re – edition to celebrate Urban VIII's papacy, and the canonist and antiquarian Guarnacci was personally asked to write his two volumes by Benedict XIV himself.¹⁵ From the first edition onwards, each cardinal's coat of arms was also reproduced in the form of a woodcut, which was printed alongside the account of his life. De Cinque and Fabrinio's continuation departed in this last respect from their predecessors, in that it also offered portrait prints of the cardinals whose lives were discussed.

A flurry of further works which were based on Chacón's chronological model emerged in the 17th and 18th centuries. However, unlike Chacón (or Garimberto) the authors of these works were often willing to write about the cardinals independently of the popes who had created them. Felice Contelori's *Elenchus eminentiss. & reverendiss. S.R.E. Cardinalium, ab anno 1294 ad annum*

12 Alain Tallon, "L'histoire 'officielle' de la papauté du xv^e au xvii^e siècle, les *Vitae pontificum romanorum* de Platina, Panvinio, Ciaconius: critique et apologétique," in *Liber, Gesta, histoire: Écrire l'histoire des évêques et des papes, de l'Antiquité au xxi^e siècle*, eds. François Bougard and Michel Sot (Turnhout: 2009), 211–13.

13 Mario Guarnacci, *Vitae, et res gestae pontificum romanorum et S.R.E. cardinalium a Clemente X usque ad Clementem XII*, 2 vols. (Rome: 1751).

14 Giovanni Paolo de Cinque and Michele Fabrinio, *Vitae et res gestae summorum pontificum et S.R.E. cardinalium ad Ciacconii exemplum continuatae quibus accedit appendix quae vitas cardinalium* (Rome: 1787).

15 For Vittorini's position at the Barberini court, see Leone Allacci, *Apes urbanae, sive de viris illustribus qui ab anno 1630 per totum 1632 Romae adfuerunt, ac typis aliquid evulgarunt* (Rome: 1633) 34–36; for Benedict XIV's request, see Fabrizio Vannini, "Guarnacci, Mario" in DBI, 60:403.

1430 (1641) was one of the earliest such texts. Moreover, its introduction indicates its inspiration from Chacón's publication by declaring that it aimed to correct factual errors in the latter's biographical accounts.¹⁶ Contelori claims to have been able to do this on the basis of the material accumulated from Francesco I Barberini's library for which he was responsible, as a librarian (he later also became head custodian of the Vatican Library).¹⁷ Intriguingly, Contelori focuses his discussion on the period from shortly before to immediately after the Western Schism: his intention may have been to prove the unbroken legal succession during the periods before 1309 and after 1417, and the work may thus have been related to another one he compiled: the *Historia Cameralis seu de dominio et iurisdictione Sedis apostolicae Ecclesiaeque romanae in regna, provintias, civitates, castra, terras et alia loca*.¹⁸ This text, which remained in manuscript, probably served the legal interests of the papal court (like many other curialists of his generation Contelori was a lawyer by training and seems to have committed this mentality to heart).¹⁹

On the basis of the material found in Chacón, further authors also put together compilations which highlighted particular aspects of the cardinal's life and/or identity, often adding specific details where they were relevant to the particular context under consideration. An example of this is Francesco Maria Torrigio's *De eminentissimi S.R.E. scriptoribus cardinalibus* of 1641 which documented cardinals who had penned any kind of treatise: Torrigio started from information gathered from Chacón and its sequels and then merely gave a list of publications (and manuscripts) associated with each name. The German theologian, and later canon, Georg Joseph Eggs expanded on Torrigio's work in his *Purpura docta* – a six – volume edition of 1714 which combines biographical

16 Felice Contelori, *Elenchus eminentiss. & Reverendiss. S.R.E. cardinalium Ab anno 1294 ad annum 1430. Ex Bibliotheca Eminentiss. & Reverendiss. Principis DD. Card. Barberini S.R.E. Vicecancellarii* (Rome: 1641), "Lectori": "Nuper producta liber de Vitis Summorum Pontificum, & S.R.E. Cardinalium, Authore Alphonso Ciacconio, idem recusus est eruditorum virorum opera illustratus. irreperant in eo errores tam in numero Eminentissimorum, & Reverendissimorum Cardinalium, quam die & anno creationum ob defectum forte librorum lati sunt. Ex iisdem praesertim electiones Pontificum, & Creationes Cardinalium à Bonifatio Octavo, usque ad Eugenium Quartum proferuntur, Authorum tolluntur dissidia, & rerum gestarum veritas inclarescit; quae, supersunt cum per otium licuerit lucem aspicient."

17 Maria Antonietta Visceglia, "La biblioteca tra Urbano VII e Urbano VIII" in *La Vaticana nel Seicento (1590–1700): Una biblioteca di biblioteche*, Storia della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana 3, ed. Claudia Montuschi (Vatican City: 2014), 107.

18 The five volumes of Contelori's manuscript are located at BAV, Vat. lat. 2704–08.

19 Franca Petrucci, "Contelori, Felice" in *DBI*, 28:337–41. Ditchfield, "What was Sacred History?," 90–91.

material from the various editions of the *Vitae, et res gestae* with each cardinal's publications (the data for this being taken from Torrigio and many other sources). Although the attributions were at times quite far-fetched, the general concept behind them was to illustrate the cardinal's status as an erudite, morally and intellectually superior, functionary; in other words, as a "model" for other high political officials in Rome and elsewhere.²⁰ Louis Doni d'Attichy's *Flores historiae sacri collegii S.R.E. cardinalium* (1660) presented cardinals to the reader in an even more exemplary fashion: the devoutness of certain cardinals was commended to contemporary members of the Sacred College, thereby exemplifying Girolamo Piatti's main praise for any cardinal, namely that he was first and foremost a religious example.²¹

Finally, we should note that the appetite for works offering a comprehensive oversight of all cardinals remained strong well into the 18th century, with new works – and not merely the "updates" to Chacón mentioned before – still appearing more or less every generation. Giovanni Palazzi's *Fasti cardinalium omnium Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae* (1701–03), Lorenzo Cardella's *Memorie storiche de' cardinali della Santa Romana Ecclesia* (1792–97), and Giuseppe de Novaes' *Elementi della storia de' sommi pontefici* (1775–92; 2nd ed. 1802–06; 3rd ed. 1821–23) are the most notable from the *Settecento*. Cardella, in particular, sought to resynthesize all existing published material into a single coherent set of biographies, as Chacón had done, but with the major difference that he adopted rather more stringent historical methods with specific references to his sources. Furthermore, Cardella also began only with the first cardinals whom he believed he could document historically – that is, those from the late 5th and early 6th centuries. His text thus reflects a wider, on-going, push towards documenting the Church's traditions, especially those rooted in Rome, which increasingly also drew from the spirit of antiquarianism. Francesco Cancellieri's *Storia de' solenni possessi de' sommi pontefici detti anticamente processi o processioni dopo la loro coronatione dalla Basilica Vaticana alla Lateranense dedicata alla Santità di N.S. Pio VII* (1802) and his *Notizie Istoriche delle Stagioni e de' Siti Diversi in cui sono stati tenuti i Conclavi* (1823) are notable further

20 Georg Joseph von Eggs, *Pontificium Doctum, Seu Vitae, Res Gestae, Obitus, Aliaque Scitu Ac Memoratu Digna Summorum Pontificum Romanorum, Eorum praecipue, qui Ingenio, Doctrina, Eruditione, Scriptis ...* (Cologne: 1718). Eggs studied philosophy, law, and theology at the Collegio Germanico et Hungarico in Rome in the late 17th century for 7 years and therefore was fully immersed in Counter-Reformation missionary zeal. See A. Schumann, "Eggs, Georg Josef von," in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* (1877), 5:674–75, URL: <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd10018445.html#adbcontent>.

21 Louis Doni d'Attichy, *Flores historiae sacri collegii S.R.E. cardinalium* (Paris: 1660), praefatio XI.

examples of this from the period after the issue had taken on significant political implications in the wake of the Napoleonic invasion.²²

2 Biographical Compilations and Double Loyalties

Another, often quite distinct, set of compendia discussing the lives of cardinals also emerged in this period, originating from interest in their specific geographical affiliations and family allegiances. Such works were meant to highlight the pride of certain states or groups in counting *porporati* amongst their members. Interestingly enough, editions started to appear from the 17th century onwards – at a time of major shifts in international politics and also increasing tensions between the papal court and the French and Spanish crowns. However, this phenomenon surely also coincided with the more generic *campanilismo* (local patriotism) that Ditchfield dubs “the preservation of the particular.” This development lasted well into the 18th century and underscored the early modern cardinal’s multiple loyalties and alliances. It resulted by the end of the 18th century in a great variety of publications, all with their specific group identity projected not only onto the cardinals of the author’s own time but also onto those from prior centuries. Cardella, indeed, noted in 1775:

It is true that many have written biographies of cardinals but restricted themselves to one reign, one nation, a province, or a town; others have applied their learned pen to illustrate the histories of the cardinals of their respective orders, be they monastic or mendicant, and still others can be found that have applied their studies to the cardinals of one particular church, title or family.²³

Ludovico Vedriani’s *Vite, et elogij de’ cardinali Modonesi, cavati da vari autori* (1662), Antonio de Macedo’s *Lusitania infulata et purpurata* (1663) and Angelo Maria Querini’s *Tiara et Purpura Veneta ab Anno MCCCLXXIX ad Annum MDCCLIX* (1761) are examples which select cardinals from particular regions or nations and which were published in parallel to the general biographical

²² On Cancellieri, see Armando Petrucci, “Cancellieri, Francesco,” in *DBI*, 17:736–41.

²³ Lorenzo Cardella, *Memorie storiche de’ cardinali della santa romana Chiesa* (Rome: 1792), I:1,v–vi: “Molti, è vero, hanno scritte le vite de’ Cardinali, ma ristretti si sono tra i limiti chi di un regno, chi di una nazione, chi di una provincia, chi di una città; altri colle dotte loro penne si sono applicati ad illustrare le memorie dei Cardinali de i rispettivi Ordini, o Monacali, o Mendicanti, e alcuni si trovano, che hanno talvolta ai Cardinali di un particolare Chiesa, Titolo, o famiglia, ristretto l’applicazione, e gli studj loro.”

compendia of cardinals' lives coming out of Rome. Often, the authors of such works drew their material primarily from Chacón but combined it with sources they had excavated in local archives.

France, unsurprisingly, produced an impressive number of such publications, which often seem to have been designed to assert the Gallican Church's independence within the Catholic community. Whether this was the case with Pierre Frizon's *Gallia purpurata qua cum summorum pontificum, tum omnium Galliae cardinalium* (1638), which offers an extensive and erudite discussion of French cardinals (and popes, synods, and other ecclesiastical events), is a pertinent question. The *Gallia purpurata* certainly engages the reader in an extensive historical discussion in chronological order, reminiscent in fact of Baronio's *Annales Ecclesiastici* (such that it may have been intended as a Gallican riposte to that work). Frizon's pretense of historical accuracy actually incited an *Anti-Frizonius* by the canonist Étienne Baluze, which claimed to correct the multiple historical errors traced in Frizon's treatise.²⁴ This is surely one of the earliest examples of debate over historical methods and source criticism.

The attention of later 17th-century French authors shifted towards a national cause more openly, with works such as Antoine Aubery's *Histoire generale des Cardinaux*, which appeared in 5 volumes between 1642 and 1649, obtaining a royal privilege. The dedication of Aubery's second volume to Mazarin actually first named his function as "ministre d'état" and only then mentioned his rank as cardinal – no doubt a telling prioritization. Aubery then further underlined this by making plain the services French cardinals had rendered to their royal sovereigns throughout history.²⁵ In 1644 the Jesuit Henri Albi published his *Eloges historiques des cardinaux illustres, françois et étrangers mis en parallele* which combined the lives of French and (mainly) Italian cardinals, but maintained the involvement of cardinals in affairs of state (and thus the double nature of their loyalty) as its main line of reasoning.²⁶ François Du Chesne's *Histoire de tous les cardinaux françois de naissance, ou qui ont esté promeus au cardinalat par l'expresse recommandation de nos roys, pour les grands services qu'ils ont rendus a leur estat, et a leur couronne* (1660), of which the second volume appeared under the title *Preuves de L'Histoire de tous les Cardinaux François...* (with, strangely enough, its main text in Latin), clearly served the French cause, since Du Chesne was (like his father André) in royal service as

24 Étienne Baluze, *Anti-Frizonius hoc est, Animaduersiones historicae in alliam purpuratam Petri Frizonij* (Toulouse: 1652).

25 Antoine Aubery, *Histoire generale des Cardinaux* (Paris: 1643), Aii v.

26 It was even reprinted, without reference to Albi as author, by Gilbert du Verdier as *Histoire des cardinaux illustres, qui ont esté employez dans les affaires d'estat ... Nouvelle edition* (Paris: 1653).

counsellor and historiographer.²⁷ Du Chesne's introduction moreover called attention to the loyalty of these cardinals (and some popes) to the Gallican cause, saying that they belonged to the "highest echelons of the Kingdom through the elevation to the highest ecclesiastic dignity, and because of their involvement as counsellors for the Sovereigns..."²⁸ Finally, we should note Jean Roy's *Nouvelle histoire des cardinaux françois, ornée de leurs portraits*, which came out in no fewer than ten volumes between 1785 and 1788, arguing by means of these biographies that clerics through their education and experience, were better suited to act as statesmen than lay officials.

From the second volume onwards, Jean Roy announced on the title page that these books would be "embellished with their portraits," even though in reality only the sixth volume of 1788 contained visual representations of some, though not all, cardinals. However, the frequent inclusion of portrait prints in the French biographical volumes from Albi's book in 1644 onwards distinguishes them from Italian publications, in which only images of popes were provided and cardinals had to make do with mere coats of arms (the De Cinque and Fabrinio addition to Chacón is an exception to this, noted above). This is all the more surprising because, from 1658 onwards, Giovanni Giacomo De Rossi published series with portrait prints of all living cardinals, which was updated regularly throughout the 18th century.²⁹ None of these representations of cardinals, or any other of the many prints dedicated to the subject of the cardinal, were included in these collective biographies, however – perhaps because the special papal privilege granted for their production discounted their importance.

Cardinals also occasionally featured prominently in the "family histories" which emerged in the Renaissance and proliferated thereafter: Filadelfo Mugnos' *Historia della augustissima famiglia Colonna* (1658) made use of Francesco Cirocco's *Vite d'alcuni eminentissimi sig. cardinali dell'eccellentissima casa Colonna* (1635) – two 17th-century accounts of the cardinals of the same family. Biaggio Aldimari's *Historia genealogica della famiglia Carafa* (1691) also accorded proud place to all the clan's elite clerics, even the still notorious Gian

27 Joseph Thomas, *Universal pronouncing dictionary of biography and mythology* (Aa, van der – Hyperius) (Philadelphia: 1892), 1:797.

28 François Du Chesne's *Histoire de tous les cardinaux françois de naissance, ou qui ont esté promoteus au cardinalat par l'expresse recommandation de nos roys, pour les grands services qu'ils ont rendus a leur estat, et a leur couronne* (Paris: 1660), 'epistre': "un des premiers rangs du Royaume par sa haute elevation dans les Dignitez Ecclesiastiques & par ses occupations dans les Conseils de nos Souverains..."

29 Simona de Crescenzo and Alfredo Diotallevi, *Le "effigies nomina et cognomina S.R.E. Cardinalium" nella Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana* (Vatican City: 2008), 11–17.

Pietro Carafa (Paul IV, 1555–59) and his nephew Cardinal Carlo (1519–61), whom Pius IV had impeached and condemned to death.³⁰ All of these, and similar, cases demonstrate yet another level of cardinals' collective affiliations and obligations.

Histories of religious orders did something similar: they often also highlighted the order's own *porporati* as a sign of its pre – eminent standing within the overall ecclesiastical hierarchy. Dominican cardinals, for example, were listed in Giovanni Michele da Cavalieri's *Galleria de' Sommi Pontefici, patriarchi, arcivescovi, e vescovi dell'ordine de' Predicatori* (1696), which recounts the cardinals' lives last, after those of popes and bishops. Gaspar Jongelincx's multivolume *Purpura Divi Bernardi* (1644) performed a similar function for the Carthusians, discussing cardinals as second category this time, after popes but before bishops. We might well ponder whether the Dominican Order regarded cardinals with less appreciation than the Carthusian Order. However, lists of popes, cardinals, and other ecclesiastical functionaries belonging to the respective religious community were also drawn up for other orders such as the Franciscans and the Benedictines, apparently with no consistent pattern of prioritization.³¹ Annibale Adami's *Seminarii Romani Pallas purpurata* (1659) took a slightly different angle from the others: it discussed all the alumni of this Jesuit institution who had reached the cardinal's rank and thereby advertised the benefits of a Jesuit education *par exemple* – while, at the same time, making manifest the loyalty the Society expected from those whom its members had educated.

3 Cardinals in Other Categories of Early Modern Texts

Cardinals also appeared regularly in other literary genres from the 16th century onwards, and it seems worth saying something about the most prominent amongst them here. A typical form of cardinals' biographies was the report written for consumption at one of Europe's other courts – such documents, which served both a diplomatic and also a political function, were predominantly produced in anticipation of the reigning pope's demise (or else

30 On the Carafa case, see Miles Pattenden, *Pius IV and the Fall of the Carafa: Nepotism and Papal Authority in Counter-Reformation Rome* (Oxford: 2013).

31 Pietro Antonio di Venezia, *Gloriose Memorie delle Vite, e fatti illustri delli Sommi Pontefici, e Cardinali assonti dal serafico ordine di S. Francesco al governo di S. Chiesa Romana* (Treviso: 1703) and Arnould Wion, *Lignum vitae, ornamentum, & decus ecclesiae in quinque libros diuisum, in quibus, totius sanctiss. religionis Diui Benedicti initia*, 2 vols. (Venice: 1595).

immediately after his death).³² Especially during the early modern period these kinds of descriptions of the papal court's chief characters were produced in great quantities, and often in various languages. Such reports may have had little impact on the general reception of cardinals, but they were highly important in the political arena, and some of these were the basis of printed publications. A case in point is the Dutch *Het Hof van Roomen Bestaande in desselfs Paus en Kardinalen* (1724) which describes all living cardinals at the moment of the election of Benedict XIII, according to the pope by whom they had been created, thereby indicating possible factions within the Curia, and highlighting the international alliances within the College of Cardinals. Gregorio Leti's *Il puttanesimo di Roma*, discussed below, partially parodies this genre.

Beyond treatises on the "ideal" cardinal are further kinds of text about the cardinal which discuss either how the cardinal's role *did* work or *should* work in one or more specific contexts. Within the former category, we might mention specifically Girolamo Lunadoro's *Relazione della Corte di Roma* (1611), which was written as an instruction manual for the future cardinal Carlo de' Medici (1595–1666) and which focused on different categories of officials and their ritual roles. Later in the century Gian Battista de Luca (1614–83) wrote various landmark legal analyses, including *Il cardinale della S.R. Chiesa pratico* (1680) and *Relatio romanae curiae forensis eiusque tribunalium et congregationum* (1683), which tried to make sense of the Curia's "Byzantine" structures. Written in a slightly more anticlerical vein was Gregorio Leti's three-volume *Il cardinalismo di Santa Chiesa: Diviso in tre parti* (1668), which scrutinized the cardinals' role within the papal court and even the pope's governance of the Church; it was placed on the Index alongside all Leti's other works.³³ Texts on the Cardinal's powers and their rights and responsibilities during *Sede Vacante* were also common. In Rome, Lunadoro wrote *Della elezione coronazione e possesso de' romani pontefici* – one of many such works to languish there in manuscript form.³⁴ However, such texts could reach print elsewhere if there

32 On such reports, see Miles Pattenden, *Electing the Pope in Early Modern Italy, 1450–1700* (Oxford: 2017), 140–41.

33 On Leti, see Franco Barcia, *Gregorio Leti, informatore politico dei principi italiani* (Milan: 1987).

34 Lunadoro's text was later published in an augmented form, *Della elezione, coronazione e possesso de' Romani Pontefici trattato del cav. Lunadoro, accresciuto e illustrato da Fr. Antonio Zaccaria* (Rome: 1824). For other similar tracts on the papal election, see the bibliographies of Pattenden, *Electing the Pope*, Maria Antonietta Visceglia, *Morte e elezione del papa: Norme, riti e conflitti, L'Età moderna* (Rome: 2013), and Günther Wassilowsky, *Die Konklavereform Gregors xv. (1621/22). Wertekonflikte, symbolische Inszenierung und Verfahrenswandel im posttridentinischen Papsttum* (Stuttgart: 2010).

was political will for them to do so. The *Discurso sobre la elección de sucesor del Pontificado en vida del Pontifice* (1642) by the Jesuit Juan Martínez de Ripalda is a good example of this from Spain which was written in the context of ongoing Franco-Habsburg factional rivalry and Philip IV's desire to insist on the cardinals' collective obligation to accede to the wishes of Christian princes.

Quite a few other manuscripts dwell on the subject of whom the pope should promote as cardinals and what rights secular princes had to nominate candidates. The Council of Basel (1431–49) spoke for many when it insisted that new cardinals be intellectually qualified for their office (see also Bernward Schmidt's chapter in this volume).³⁵ On the other hand, the phenomenon of "crown cardinals," appointed at the recommendation of secular sovereigns with little or no papal input, was already well-established by this date. Tracts and treatises debating the merits of such "crown cardinals" were produced regularly into the 18th century, though often only in manuscript form, and with as many in favour as against. Jean-François-Paul de Gondi, the Cardinal de Retz, who wrote one such work in 1666, justified "crown cardinals" by lamenting how popes would never appoint non-Italians if left to their own devices.³⁶ Another anonymous author counselled royal agents and ambassadors to "fix the number and the timing of any promotions at the Crown's instigation" to protect against papal attempts to alter their traditional agreements.³⁷ Of course, Italian texts tended to take a different view, emphasizing the abusive nature of such demands and softening the tone of the discourse to one less of papal obligations than of princely "recommendations." Maria Antonietta Visceglia has studied these texts as part of her more general discussions about the papal election and the papacy's role in international affairs at this time.³⁸

A final group of texts to mention here are treatises on how cardinals should conduct themselves in the conclave – these texts are distinct from juridical tracts, like those De Luca or Martínez de Ripalda, and also from those like Lunadoro, which primarily describe the rituals and ceremonies of the court, in that they are explicitly political. Both Maria Antonietta Visceglia and Miles Pattenden have studied these writings, detecting in them a certain language of

35 Jedin, "Vorschläge und Entwürfe zur Kardinalsreform," 118–21.

36 Jean-François-Paul de Gondi, "Mémoire sur la promotion," in François Régis Chantelauze, *Le Cardinal de Retz et ses missions diplomatiques à Rome* (Paris: 1879), 401–16.

37 BAV, Ottob. lat. 3185, 68r–73r, quotation at 71v.

38 Visceglia, *Morte e elezione*, 313–439 and "The International Policy of the Papacy: Critical Approaches to Concepts of Universalism and Italianità, Peace and War," in Maria Antonietta Visceglia (ed.), *Papato e politica internazionale nella prima età moderna* (Rome: 2013), 17–62.

prudenza civile which did not always match up with the practice in conclave negotiations.³⁹ Only two texts of this kind actually made it into print in this period: Giovanfrancesco Lottini's "Discorso sopra l'attioni del conclave" and Gregorio Leti's "Aforismi politici per li Cardinali del Conclave di questo anno 1667 fatti dal Cardinale Azzolini."⁴⁰ The publication of Lottini's text, within the "anonymous" *Thesoro politico*, a compendium of controversial and subversive writings, has itself attracted scholarly interest.⁴¹ Other important manuscript works in this genre include Felice Gualtieri's *Il conclavista* and Andrea Morelli's *Trattato sopra i conclavi*, the *Apparato alli conclavi de' sommi pontefici*, and the *Avvertimenti per un cardinale papabile per facilitarli la strada al Pontificato*, which can be dated from internal textual evidence to the reign of Paul v.⁴² It may be worth noting that these treatises offered a range of advice to cardinals (whether they saw themselves as potential papal candidates, or otherwise) from the downright anodyne to the impressively cynical. Thus while the *Apparato* instructed members of the College about "how to converse with friends to show you value them" and "how to win the willingness of neutral parties," Lottini and Leti advised on when and how to lie, when to know you are defeated, and how to undermine opponents. Whether any cardinals who took part in early modern conclaves actually read any of these texts is an unanswerable question. In any case, they would not have enjoyed Lottini's opening remarks if they had have done:

I can testify to having seen with my own eyes that the papal election arises exclusively from the will of God, for I have been involved in several conclaves ... and have had the chance to learn the minds of nearly all the cardinals. And I can say clearly that most of them eventually elect a pope contrary to their own will. This is neither through force, nor because they

39 Pattenden, *Electing the Pope*, 159–67 and Visceglia, *Morte e elezione*, 253–60.

40 Giovanfrancesco Lottini, "Discorso sopra l'attioni del conclave," in *Thesoro politico* (Cologne: 1589), 444–64. Leti's text is included as an appendix to his *Cardinalismo di Santa Chiesa*, 3:366–91 in the 1668 edition.

41 Simone Testa, "Did Giovanni Maria Manelli publish the 'Thesoro politico' (1589)?" *Renaissance Studies* 19 (2005), 380–93.

42 "Il Conclavista di Mgr Felice Gualterio a Mgr Cipriano Saracinello," BAV, Urb. Lat. 845, 148r–200v, Andrea Morelli, "Trattato di Andrea Morelli sopra i conclavi," ASV, Fondo Borghese 1.400. Michelangelo Bussoni[?], *Apparato alli conclavi de' sommi pontefici*, BAV, Ferraioli 70–71. "Avvertimenti per un cardinale papabile per facilitarli la strada al pontificato," BAV, Vat. lat. 12175, 85–91r. Further texts in this category include "Theorica del Conclave," BAV, Boncompagni C.20, 65r–90r (which may be by Lottini) and "Trattato de Conclavi et Creatione de Sommi Pontefici all'Ill.mo e Rev.mo Sig.re Cardinal' Ludovisio," BAV, Barb. lat. 4646.

are guided by any reason, but because in that moment the cardinals seem to go out of their minds (one driven by fear of the other, they act until together they go where each individually would not want to go alone).⁴³

4 The Effects of This Historiography

What then were the effects of this focus in the early modern period on compiling lists of cardinals and their lives? Garimberti, Chacón, Cardella, and all the others who wrote this Sacred History arguably enhanced the figure of the cardinal in Catholicism by providing an important stimulus towards associating the cardinal with papal power in both Catholic and Protestant culture. Garimberti's mirror of cardinalial morals and Leti's framing both led to negative interpretations that had an impact on other cultural contexts. The cardinal in Webster's *Duchess of Malfi* (1612) is perhaps the most notorious tragic villain amongst the College's fictional members, but Cardinal Pandulph in Shakespeare's *King John* (ca. 1596) exemplifies the distrust of (Catholic) foreigners in Elizabethan England. Gavin Schwartz-Leeper has analysed the "literary lives" of that most famous of non-fictional English cardinals, Thomas Wolsey, and similar studies on other prominent *porporati*, especially in national context, would no doubt be welcome.⁴⁴ In Rome the Pasquinades which graced the city's "talking statues" often poked fun at the College collectively, or at individual cardinals as particular or stock characters who represented the pope's authority. Valerio Marucci has curated a substantial number of these poems in modern editions and a variety of earlier collections are also extant, including Leti's own *Il Vaticano languente* (1676).⁴⁵ Gregorio Leti also penned a waspish parody premised on the conceit that the cardinals were whores fighting for

43 Lottini, *Thesoro Politico*, 444: "Io posso testificare come di cosa veduta con gli occhi, che l'elettione del Papa procede solamente da Dio, percioche mi son trovato in molti Conclavi e hò havuto l'occasione di sapere la mente posso dire quasi di tutti li cardinali et hò conosciuto chiaramente come la maggior parte di loro alla fine elege il Papa contra ogni sua voglia, senza che vi sia nè forza nè ragione alcuna, se non che in qual punto pare che li cardinali si trovino fuori di sè, e che uno sia tirato dalla paura dell'altro."

44 Gavin Schwartz-Leeper, *From Princes to Pages: The Literary Lives of Cardinal Wolsey, Tudor England's "Other King"* (Leiden: 2016).

45 Valerio Marucci, Antonio Marzo, and Angelo Romano (eds), *Pasquinate romane del Cinquecento*, 2 vols. (Rome: 1983); Valerio Marucci (ed.), *Pasquinate del Cinque e Seicento* (Rome: 1988); Gregorio Leti, *Il Vaticano languente. Dopo la morte di Clemente X. Con i rimedij preparati da Pasquino, e Marforio per guarirlo* 3 vols. ([Rome]: 1677). See also, Gladys Dickinson, *Du Bellay in Rome* (Leiden: 1960), 165–211, which contains a further interesting collection from the mid-16th century.

control of a bordello, which was highly popular and ran to multiple editions with translations into several European languages.⁴⁶ A new drama entitled *The Conclave* offended the Governor of Rome's sensibilities as late as 1774.⁴⁷

Yet a further effect of this emphasis on biographical entries about cardinals has surely been to stimulate its continuance into the modern era. Indeed, the rise of "professional" history in the 19th century ushered in a further spate of such publications: Charles Berton's *Dictionnaire des Cardinaux* (1857), Nicola Bernabei's *Vita del Cardinale Giovanni Morone, vescovo di Modena e biografie dei cardinali modenesi e di Casa d'Este, dei cardinali vescovi di Modena e di quelli educati in questo Collegio di San Carlo* (1885), Konrad Eubel's *Hierarchia Catholica* (first volume, 1898), and Salvador Miranda's website of all known cardinals hosted by Florida International University are all important examples. These biographical compendia have proved important for placing cardinals in new and, in some cases, broader contexts. Indeed, we might even say that Ranke's and Pastor's *Histories of the Popes*, for instance, contextualized cardinals within overarching narratives with the help, for the first time, of sources from the Vatican Archives (although it must be stressed here that authors such as Chacón, Vittorelli, and Contelori had already had access to sources kept within the Vatican). The source editions of men like Ignaz von Döllinger and August von Druffel likewise also placed both cardinals and the histories written about them within the discussion of wider developments in European diplomacy and statecraft. Ferdinando Petrucelli della Gattina's four-volume *Histoire diplomatique des conclaves* (1864–66) did something similar as well in a more specifically targeted enterprise.

Only in the 20th century was the focus on the lives of all cardinals decisively supplanted by one on the lives of individual cardinals – typically now the subjects of scholarly monographs which engage their careers or contexts as case studies for illustrating or exemplifying engaging themes. The range of such studies is very large: Paolo Prodi on Gabriele Paleotti, Georg Lutz on Giovan Francesco Guidi di Bagno, K.J.P. Lowe on Francesco Soderini, Helen Hyde on

46 "Il Conclave delle donne nella pericolosa infermità di Papa Alessandro Settimo seguita il mese d'Agosto 1665," BAV, Barb. lat. 4709, later published as *Il puttanesimo romano o vero conclave generale delle puttane della corte, per l'elezione del nuovo pontefice* (Cologne: 1668) and in a modern edition, Emanuela Bufacchi (ed.), *Il puttanesimo romano o della dissimulazione disonesta* (Rome: 2004). On Leti's career, see Marion Brétéché, "La plume européenne de Gregorio Leti (1630–1701)," *Revue d'histoire diplomatique* 3 (2006), 227–49, and Barcia, *Gregorio Leti*.

47 Bando, 19 November 1774, Archivo General de Simancas, Estado 5076. Pastor, 39:10 writes at length about this drama.

Bendinello Sauli, Joseph Bergin on Richelieu and Mazarin, Saverio Ricci on Giulio Antonio Santori, David S. Chambers on Christopher Bainbridge and Francesco Gonzaga, Marco Pellegrini on Ascanio Sforza, Peter Godman on Robert Bellarmine, Peter Gwyn on Thomas Wolsey, Volker Reinhardt on Scipione Borghese, and Agostino Lauro on Gian Battista de Luca, etc., are just a few amongst dozens of examples we could cite. This historiography has arguably affected current understandings of the College and its members in a number of specific ways – diverting attention from the earlier emphasis on number and variety which the compendia of cardinals' lives tended to generate. Besides a somewhat straightforward point about continuities within scholarly preoccupations, other features also seem to us to be prominent in the historiography of early modern cardinals: perhaps the most obvious is the extreme disparity we now have between what we know about some cardinals compared to others. The best-studied cardinals – Baronio, Bellarmine, Bessarion, Charles Borromeo, for instance – are referenced in thousands of scholarly articles and editions. Many others, however, remain painfully obscure. Perhaps this should not matter, but it surely affects our conception of who cardinals were, what they did, and what power they had. Studies of individual cardinals are also strongly biased towards the 16th century (at the expense of the 17th and, especially, the 18th), which may make us more inclined to stereotype all cardinals either as the rather worldly figures of the Renaissance or as zealous reformers in the decades immediately after Trent. It may be worth noting that, surprisingly, Italian cardinals are in fact rather under-represented within the biographical study of cardinals overall, especially after the 16th and early 17th century. Less astonishingly, Richelieu and Mazarin would seem to be the most biographized cardinals of the whole period.

What holds for historical studies also holds for art history – here, the trend has been to study single cardinals as examples of successful patronage (see also the chapter by Baker-Bates, Hollingsworth, and Witte in this volume). Some cardinals, like Richelieu, and Wolsey, have become iconic cultural figures within popular culture; others leave behind no surviving image at all. In her chapter Clare Robertson discusses the genre of cardinals' portraits but that discussion, in general, has been framed by the same hyper-selection of examples as the biographical studies have been – and often on similar grounds (including the perceived political importance of the subject and/or simply aesthetic tastes). Yet recent research underscores just how ubiquitous portrait production of cardinals was in this period: Arnold Witte emphasizes just how many organizations within the Church acquired portraits of “their” cardinals; they also typically pursued the ideal of maintaining a comprehensive series of such

portraits.⁴⁸ Thinking about cardinals in the collective may therefore have a useful impact on this line of scholarship too and the ubiquity of biographical compendia about cardinals ought to serve as a useful point of departure for that. As yet there is no comprehensive scholarly work of reference pertaining to cardinals which might equate to the *Acta Sanctorum*, Treccani's *Enciclopedia dei Papi*, or the various dictionaries of national biography popular across Europe. Perhaps there should be, and it could be worth reflecting further on what we might all gain from the generation of such an investigative resource.

48 See Arnold Witte, "Portraits as a Sign of Possession: Cardinals and their Protectorships in Early Modern Rome," in *Portrait Cultures of the Early Modern Cardinal: Studies in Scarlet*, eds. Piers Baker-Bates and Irene Brooks (Amsterdam: forthcoming).

Treatises on the Ideal Cardinal

David S. Chambers

The notion of an “ideal” cardinal may never have been expressed as such, but discussion about the office, what membership of the Sacred College stood for, was certainly a live topic by the 13th century, that great age of legal compilations and definitions, and soon became part of the repertoire of canon law treatises about papal authority. Many jurists pronounced opinions, using various figurative and historical arguments. They often expressed the idea that the College represented a senate of the Church, but opinions differed about its members’ duties: whether these senators were obliged just to give counsel, remaining wholly subordinate to the pope once they had elected him, or whether they rightfully possessed some ultimate powers of restraint and control. The latter alternative reached a climax of expression during the period of the Great Schism and General Councils in the early 15th century comprising an oligarchical challenge to papal monarchy. Although this challenge failed, the debates in the Great Councils of Constance (1414–18) and Basel (1431–49) nevertheless introduced for the first time some enactments, never enforced, about the qualities intended to ensure *exemplary* cardinals (see Bernward Schmidt’s chapter in this volume). These included high standards of learning, moral comportment, and administrative efficiency (Constance), plus, more specifically, a minimum age (30) and a doctorate in either canon law or theology (Basel).¹

1 15th-Century Legal Authors

Following the triumph of papal monarchy by 1450 and on into the 16th and 17th centuries, discussion remained mainly in the hands of the lawyers and concerned the constitutional status and obligations of cardinals. Some of these jurists were themselves cardinals or would-be cardinals (it is remarkable how many cardinals wrote prescriptively about their own office, rather as if they felt in need of assurance) and almost invariably dedicated their treatises to fellow cardinals. Some cardinals also drafted renewed reform agenda wide in range,

¹ Hubert Jedin, “Vorschläge und Entwürfe zur Kardinals-reform,” in *Kirche des Glaubens – Kirche der Geschichte* (Freiburg i.Br.: 1966), 2:118–21. Jedin goes on to discuss later proposals.

such as the proposals of several more ascetic *porporati* included in a reform bull drafted by Pius II (1458–64), which envisaged households limited in numbers, a total ban on hunting or lavish banquets accompanied by entertainment (only three courses, and serious readings allowed), while interior decorations (paintings and tapestries) should be confined to sacred or virtuous subjects and libraries consist mainly of law books.² Learnedness was essential, though for prince cardinals representing ruling powers some flexibility might be permitted. Provided that the total membership of the College remained relatively low – a maximum of twenty-four was usually prescribed, evoking the Apocalyptic “senators” (Apocalypse/Revelation 4:4) – it may have been hoped that uniform standards could be realized, but there were problems with steadily rising numbers by the later 15th century, and unequal levels of income. During Alexander VI’s period of remorse in 1497, reforms were again proposed by a commission of cardinals – Carafa, Costa, Piccolomini, Pallavicino, Sangiorgio and Riario (only the first two of whom were notable for their austerity) – advised by a distinguished auditor of the Rota court, Felino Sandei.³

In the first decades after 1450 at least two cardinals had contributed independently to the subject. One was Jean Jouffroy (ca. 1412–73), a Burgundian French canonist appointed cardinal in 1461, who in spite of his Gallican politics professed extreme papalist opinions, but maintained in an unpublished dialogue about poverty that great wealth was appropriate for cardinals because of their heavy, although subordinate responsibilities.⁴ The other was Jacopo Ammannati (1422–79), whose intellectual formation was humanistic rather than legal, but who also professed strong if rather more reformist views about the office he held. Some of these he expressed in a letter of advice in 1468 to the young cardinal Francesco I Gonzaga (1444–83), one of the growing category of ruler’s relatives appointed for political reasons.⁵ Ammannati emphasized that to give counsel to the pope was a solemn and arduous obligation, but the

2 Rudolf Haubst, “Der Reformentwurf Pius des Zweiten,” *Römische Quartalschrift* 49 (1954), 211–14.

3 L. Celier, “Alexandre VI et la réforme de l’Eglise,” *Mélanges d’archéologie et d’histoire* 27 (1907), 83–102. On Carafa see Diana Norman, “Cardinal of Naples and Cardinal in Rome: The Patronage of Oliviero Carafa,” in *The Possessions of a Cardinal*, eds. Mary Hollingsworth and Carol M. Richardson (University Park, PA: 2010), 77–79; on Costa see David S. Chambers, “What made a Renaissance Cardinal respectable? The case of Cardinal Costa of Portugal,” *Renaissance Studies* 12 (1998), 87–108.

4 Claudia Märtil, *Kardinal Jean Jouffroy († 1473)* (Sigmaringen: 1996), 194–207.

5 Jacopo Ammannati, *Iacopo Ammannati Piccolomini, Lettere 1444–1479*, ed. Paolo Cherubini (Rome: 1997), vol. 2 no. 363, 190–1202; see also Marco Pellegrini, “Da Iacopo Ammannati Piccolomini a Paolo Cortesi: lineamenti dell’ethos cardinalizia in età rinascimentale,” *Roma nel Rinascimento* (1998), 23–44.

cardinal must never be overbearing or lose his self-control (apparently one of Ammannati's own shortcomings). Cardinals, he continued, should not indulge in pomp or ornamentation and should be learned in law, theology and history; they should have an efficient chancery to keep them well informed. Ammannati's harangue may have been the basis of a more extensive treatise he wrote on the cardinalate which does not survive; however, in any case, the letter's impact may have been lasting since it was printed in the posthumous edition of his correspondence.⁶

Meanwhile some distinguished laymen also wrote about the proper role of cardinals. Martino Garati of Lodi, a law professor at Pavia, dedicated his treatise *De cardinalibus* (ca. 1448–51) to Cardinal Astorgio Agnesi (1391–1451), tending to support the cardinals' wider claims of authority. He used some poetic metaphors when briefly discussing how they should behave: doves in simplicity and purity, whiter than snow, more robust than ancient oak trees in charity and religion, eschewing pride and vainglory. Andrea Barbazza, a leading law professor at Bologna, despite his reputation for overturning traditional opinions, wrote a wholly conservative pro-papal treatise ("the pope alone shall be head of the Church and rule it alone without the cardinals") which he dedicated to the Greek cardinal Bessarion sometime before the latter's death in 1471. Both treatises appear in early printed editions.⁷ A secular political notability, Lorenzo de' Medici, also made a contribution, rather like Ammannati's, writing a letter (ca. 1490) to his son Giovanni, soon after Giovanni's appointment as a cardinal, advising him to be deferential and live modestly. This letter may not have circulated much, however, and was only printed three centuries later.⁸

2 Paolo Cortesi's Treatise

The most remarkable work of all time on the subject of cardinals, which touched on the moral and material aspects of their role, was the *De cardinalatu* of Paolo Cortesi (1465–1510), printed at his home, near San Gimignano, shortly

6 Jacopo Ammannati, *Epistolae et Commentarii* (Milan: 1506), 156–59.

7 Martino Garati, *De cardinalibus* (Pavia: 1512); Andrea Barbati, *De praestantia cardinalium* (Bologna: 1487). On Garati see Gigliola Soldi Rondinini, "Per la storia del cardinalato nel secolo xv (con l'edizione del trattato *De cardinalibus* di Martino Garati da Lodi)," *Memorie dell'Istituto lombardo Accademia di scienze e lettere: classe di lettere, scienze morali e storiche* 33, no. 1 (1973), 43–49 and 65–66; see also DBI, 52: 250–54. On "Barbazza" see P. Liotta in DBI, 6: 146–48.

8 Angelo Fabroni, *Laurentii Medicis Magnifici vita* (Pisa: 1784), 2: 308–12.

after his death.⁹ The author had retired there in 1503, after spending most of his life in Rome, where – like his father and brother Alessandro – he had long personal experience of the papal court. He had become an apostolic scriptor in 1481, later a protonotary, and presided over a humanist academy of poets and *eruditi*, a successor to the Roman academy of Pomponio Leto, and contemporary with the academy of Giovanni Pontano in Naples. Cortesi fancied himself as a Ciceronian Latinist and a *letterato*, the author of a dialogue “On the Lives of Famous Men of Learning” in which his friend Cardinal Alessandro II Farnese (1520–89) was a participant. Probably he aspired to become a cardinal himself and there is even a passage hinting at this in *De cardinalatu*,¹⁰ he may have hoped that such an exhaustive book on all aspects of the office, unprecedented in scale and scope, would help to earn him this reward. The sort of courtly, cultivated figure who emerges in the book was one to which he may have thought he could fairly easily conform; as Carlo Dionisotti pointed out, it corresponds to the versatile aristocratic type already fitting as easily in to the Sacred College as into princely secular courts.¹¹ No wonder that friends of Cortesi such as Cardinals Alessandro I Farnese and Federico Sanseverino (ca. 1462–1516) to whom he showed drafts of the work were encouraging; other cardinals who knew about its progress included Isvalies, Soderini, Trivulzio and Vigerio.¹²

Paolo Cortesi’s book, completed for the press by his younger brother Lattanzio, seems never have to have been much appreciated or consulted until recently,¹³ and this revival of interest has been accompanied by attention to subsequent treatises on the subject.¹⁴ Although embedded in Cortesi’s

9 Paolo Cortesi, *De cardinalatu libri tres* (Castro Cortesio: 1510).

10 Giacomo Ferraù, “Politica e cardinalato in un’età di transizione: Il *De cardinalatu* di Paolo Cortesi,” in *Roma capitale*, ed. S. Gensini (Pisa: 1994), 522.

11 Carlo Dionisotti, “Chierici e laici nella letteratura italiana del primo Cinquecento,” *Geografia e storia della letteratura* (Turin: 1967), 47–73.

12 Paolo Cortesi, *De hominibus doctis dialogus*, ed. Maria Teresa Graziosi (Rome: 1973), xii; Kathleen Weil-Garris and John D’Amico, “The Renaissance Cardinal’s Ideal Palace: A Chapter from Cortesi’s *De Cardinalatu*,” *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 35 (Cambridge, MA: 1980), 65–66. See also Paolo Cortesi, *De hominibus doctis*, ed. Giacomo Ferraù (Palermo: 1979).

13 As well as the studies already cited by Pellegrini, “Da Iacopo Ammannati,” and Ferraù, “Politica e cardinalato,” and R. Ricciardi, *DBI*, 29: 766–71 (for earlier bibliography), see Weil-Garris and D’Amico, “The Renaissance Cardinal’s Ideal Palace,” 45–124.

14 Pellegrino, “Nascita di una ‘burocrazia’: Il cardinale nella trattatistica del XVI secolo,” in *Famiglia del Principe e Famiglia Aristocratica*, ed. Cesare Mozarelli (Rome: 1988), 633–41; Gigliola Fragnito, “La trattatistica cinque e seicentesca sulla corte cardinalizia,” *Annali dell’Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento* 17 (1991), 135–85; also her 1991 conference paper “Le corti cardinalizie nella prima metà del Cinquecento: Da Paolo Cortesi a Francesco Priscianese,” finally published in *Memorie storiche della Val d’Elsa* 108 (Castelfiorentino:

De cardinalatu was the valid portrayal of a contemporary type of cardinal, the work was no humanistic masterpiece of clarity and rhetorical skill, nor a witty dialogue like Castiglione's *Il cortegiano*, to which it has been misleadingly compared. With some pretensions to be a serious work of philosophical exposition, it was curiously organized almost as a parody of the traditional, long-winded scholarly *summa*, printed in folio format with numerous abbreviations, marginal glosses and faulty pagination; moreover it was composed in the author's eccentric Latin, with some vocabulary so weird that Lattanzio felt obliged to insert a glossary. As well as tedious philosophical digressions, Cortesi's method was to cite recent and historical examples to illustrate his points, drawing upon what must have been an enormous accumulation of notes, reminiscences and gossip; not all his examples are of popes and cardinals, some are of secular rulers or characters from literature, perhaps because he had meant originally to write about princes in general, but was persuaded by Cardinal Ascanio Sforza (1455–1505, who, notwithstanding the fact that he had already died by the time of writing, is mentioned in the text probably more often than any other cardinal) to concentrate on princes of the Church or "senators" as Cortesi consistently calls them. It is divided into three books with rather grandiloquent headings, each containing various chapters.

Book One addresses "Ethical and Contemplative" requirements. First are listed desirable moral qualities, prudence, memory, intelligence, temperance, magnanimity, affability and liberality, then undesirable ones: prodigality, avarice, anger, and pusillanimity. Next Cortesi expounds on desirable branches of learning: natural science, rhetoric, philosophy, canon law, and one to be avoided: astrology. In Chapter Seven he lists 75 titles of books written by cardinals, to demonstrate the importance of possessing – and rewarding – scholarship (Cardinal Bessarion is named as a model). Cortesi does not overlap much with the jurists' treatises (none are acknowledged) until Book Three, the "Political" dimension, where he pronounces that the pope's authority is more perfect in conjunction with the cardinals, succinctly expressed as PMSQ (*Pontifex Maximus Senatusque*). This reveals him as a protagonist of the old oligarchical pretensions of the Sacred College in contrast to the reality of papal monarchy;¹⁵

2003), 49–62, with papers on Cortesi by several other participants; Rosa Tamponi, "Il *De cardinalatu dignitate et officio* del Milanese Girolamo Piatti e la trattatistica cinquecentesca del cardinale," *Annali di Storia moderna e contemporanea* 2 (1996), 79–129.

15 See Jennifer Mara DeSilva, "Senators or Courtiers: Negotiating Models for the College of Cardinals under Julius II and Leo X," *Renaissance Studies* 22 (2008), 159–62. DeSilva interprets the role of the papal master of ceremonies Paride Grassi (a pedant seemingly most concerned with enforcing traditional regulations) as a proponent of papal monarchy, using the cardinals to enforce it through ceremony.

indeed, had he lived, one suspects Cortesi might have aligned himself in 1511 with the rebel cardinals of the *Conciliabulum* of Pisa, who included his friend Sanseverino and were led by Bernardino Carvajal, a cardinal to whom he often refers respectfully.¹⁶ He continues with a summary of the cardinals' role in papal ceremonies, elections and decision-making in consistory.

It is Book Two of *De cardinalatu*, under the catch-all title "Economics," which makes the most novel contribution. Here Cortesi's scope in dealing with desirable lifestyle and living conditions suggests he had knowledge of previous reform proposals (he no doubt knew the individuals responsible for the agenda of 1497) although his own were generally less severe, as for instance concerning equal annual salaries (12,000 ducats). In the famous second chapter *De domo* (the only part translated and edited in English), he considers in detail a cardinal's place of residence, its site and even the subject matter for frescoes on the walls.¹⁷ In following chapters he discusses the composition of the household (one hundred persons maximum; see also Mary Hollingsworth's chapter in this volume), and treats himself to a pseudo-Ciceronian discourse on friendship, remaining vague about what sort of friendships would be suitable for cardinals, except that they should not be libidinous, and that cardinals ought to be friendly with each other; discussing daily routines, Cortesi recommends one main meal, with readings, mainly theological (he approved of Cardinal Bernardino Carvajal's practice of holding debates and lectures after his banquets). The sixth chapter concerns the cardinal's physical health (Cardinal Alessandro I Farnese and Ascanio Sforza are praised for taking energetic walks, and Ascanio also for hunting); the seventh discusses the cardinal's control of his passions, for which music and singing are recommended (see Franco Piperno's chapter in this volume). After two chapters about conducting audiences and preaching sermons – surprising subjects to find in the "economic" context, but Cortesi indulges himself again as a humanist by discussing rhetorical technique – the final chapter deals with expenditure. Here he follows Giovanni Pontano (whose neo-Aristotelian treatise *De magnificentia* was first printed in 1498), thus liberality and moderate magnificence must always be the goal of a cardinal; like any ruling or social elite, cardinals needed to be relatively rich in order to fulfil their role with dignity. Avarice (as he exemplifies in the case of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa) must be avoided; a cardinal should spend money on

16 See Bernhard Schirg, "Cortese's Ideal Cardinal? Praising Splendour and Magnificence in Bernardo Carvajal's Roman Residence," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 80 (2017), 61–82.

17 Weil-Garris and D'Amico, "Ideal Palace." An edition was promised by G. Ferrà (Ferrà, "Politica e cardinalato," 521, n. 7).

hospitality, on his title church, on pilgrims' hospices in Rome, on mendicant friars, widows and poor nobles, and on his library (to which scholars should have access; see Donato's chapter in this volume), and possibly on an academy or college; thus Cortesi again stresses the importance of supporting education and scholarship. Probably an advanced level of learning had always been expected of cardinals; the iconographical tradition whereby the Early Church Father St. Jerome is anachronistically shown with a cardinal's *galero* (the tasselled red hat; see Carol Richardson's chapter in this volume) makes the point, even if the frequent setting of the great scholar and translator of the Bible as an ascetic in the wilderness rather than a scholar in his study limited his relevance. By the early 16th century, Jerome seems to disappear as a role model, though he may have survived longer north of the Alps; for instance, ca. 1535 Lucas Cranach portrayed Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg (1490–1545) as Jerome (Gemäldegalerie, Berlin; a different version is in the Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt). Cardinals are, however, usually portrayed seated at ease, but seldom at work in a study or library, though possibly with a book or two in sight. Exceptionally, the Jesuit theologian Cardinal Bellarmine (1542–1621) was portrayed reading and surrounded by many books, at the same time concentrating attention on a crucifix (see Clare Robertson's chapter in this volume).¹⁸

Cortesi's coverage of lifestyle and domestic environment is without precedent in any treatise about the cardinal's office and dignity, but despite the book's originality, it is probable that, just as the edition was small, so was its readership. The book was unacceptable by humanist standards, and by ecclesiastical standards disrespectful and irreverent. It must have dated rapidly, and perhaps was even hard to take seriously, not least when its author seems to be indulging in humorous fantasy, such as the idea (taken from Alberti) that the cardinal might have listening tubes (*auscultatorii tubi*) installed in his night study and on the staircase to the library reading-room in order to overhear discussions, and paintings in his chapel depicting scenes of humility such as St. Louis of Toulouse washing-up dirty pots.¹⁹ Just as there was never a second edition, the book – unlike the jurists' treatises – was seldom cited by later writers; "very few copies of it can be found," Cardinal Ferdinando Gonzaga was told in January 1609, when he acquired for his collection of rare books the very example which ended up in the British Library. It is doubtful whether it had a

18 Hugh Hudson, "Giovanni Battista Gaulli: Remaking the Image of a Cardinal Saint in Seventeenth-Century Rome," *Master Drawings* 47 (2009), 70–78. I am grateful to Elizabeth McGrath for this reference and for her thoughts on the subject.

19 Weil-Garris and D'Amico, "Ideal Palace," 82–83, 92–93.

place in more than a handful of cardinals' libraries, valued more as a bibliographical curiosity than a serious manual.²⁰

3 16th-Century Authors: Towards a New Ideal

That is not to suggest that aspects of the subject first introduced by Cortesi were not discussed again or overlooked by later authors. The palace household, its proper size and character, was first addressed in great detail by Francesco Priscianese, *maestro di casa* of Cardinal Niccolò Ridolfi (1501–50), in a book printed by himself in 1543.²¹ It reads as though it is about the household of any Roman grandee, lay or clerical, but in a letter Priscianese affirmed that it refers to cardinals.²² It differs of course from Cortesi's *De cardinalatu* in many respects, not least by being in Italian, but principally in its rejection of moderation; lavishness is imperative to create a visual effect of dignity and grandeur which will enhance the overall magnificence not just of the *Signore*, but of Rome itself. A significant point is that although the secretary and some attendant *letterati* are deemed important, there is no stress upon the library and intellectual activity or upon elegant furnishings; more important are the stables and the visual splendour of horses and carriages. A chamber in a palace is a dead thing, Priscianese declares, however beautifully adorned with golden brocades, whereas a beautiful stable with well-groomed horses and fine carriages is alive and mobile, bringing much greater honour to the owner and splendour to the city of Rome and the papacy.²³

A very different work of the mid-16th century, which may be related in at least one respect to Cortesi's book, though written in Italian, was by Girolamo Garimberto. Son of a minor Roman nobleman, and patronized by a succession of cardinals, he was primarily an antiquarian and collector of sculpture, a *letterato* and friend of Pietro Aretino, dignified as nominal bishop of Gallese (a tiny diocese near Viterbo soon to be abolished). His quasi-historical work, entitled "The First Part [there was never a sequel] of the Lives or Memorable Deeds of Some Popes and All Past Cardinals," appeared at a strange moment

20 David S. Chambers, "The 'bellissimo ingegno' of Ferdinando Gonzaga (1587–1626), Cardinal and Duke of Mantua," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 50 (1987), 132; see also my chapter "The Renaissance Cardinalate from Paolo Cortesi to the Present," in *The Possessions of a Cardinal*, eds. Hollingsworth and Richardson, 23.

21 Francesco Priscianese, *Del governo della corte d'un signore in Roma* (Rome: 1543), ed. Lorenzo Bartolucci (Città di Castello: 1883).

22 Priscianese, *Del governo*, 51.

23 Fragnito, "Le corti cardinalizie," 58.

for a somewhat disrespectful book, even if Venice, not Rome, was the place of publication. It was just one year after the election of Pius v, the fanatical Cardinal Michele Ghislieri (about whom and other would-be Catholic reformers Garimberto was ironical) and four years after the closure of the Council of Trent, to whose host, Cardinal Madruzzo, the book was dedicated.²⁴ Despite the title, it was no proto-Biographical Dictionary of Popes and Cardinals, this was yet to come in the work of his fellow antiquarian the Spaniard Alfonso Chacón (d. 1599), who rather heedlessly used Garimberto's book as a primary source (see the Introduction). Instead of listing names, Garimberto employed ethical or moral headings and an anecdotal method rather reminiscent of Cortesi, citing individual popes and cardinals to illustrate desirable (or undesirable) features of their careers. He divided the book into six numbered parts, each containing five chapters under different headings. The first twenty-three chapter headings are of benign virtues, such as sanctity, clemency, prudence, diligence, erudition, and liberality, which presumably represent Garimberto's conception of an exemplary cardinal. The last seven chapters, however, do the opposite, listing various vices: ingratitude, vaulting ambition, incontinence (Cardinals Giacomo Ammannati and Francesco I Gonzaga are faulted together for excessive love of hunting; Francesco Gonzaga was also censured for gambling and other indulgences), cruelty (of which Garimberto's prime example is the English cardinal Bainbridge, who allegedly thrashed his servants in public), and even feeble-mindedness and ineptitude (Cardinals Francesco Condulmer and Maffeo Gherardi). Garimberto also casts a shadow on some of Cortesi's more serious-minded cardinals, such as Bernardino Carvajal, condemning him for excessive ambition.

The contributions to the subject of Cortesi and Garimberto were exceptional; in the meantime, legalistic treatises about the cardinal's office and dignity continued to dominate. One, which even bore the title *De cardinalatu* (without acknowledgements), was by the jurist and well to-do married nobleman Gian Girolamo Albani of Bergamo (1509–91).²⁵ Published in 1541, the book was dedicated to Paul III, that first Cardinal Alessandro Farnese who years before had been friend and consultant to Paolo Cortesi, and who was still appointing some cardinals – Pietro Bembo for example – of the type Cortesi had envisaged. Remarkable about Albani's work is his precocious insistence on severe

24 Girolamo Garimberto, *La prima parte delle vite, ovvero fatti memorabili d'alcuni papi e di tutti cardinali passati* (Venice: 1567). On Garimberto see Giampero Brunelli, *DBI*, 52: 349–51; Clifford Malcolm Brown with Anna Maria Lorenzoni, "Our accustomed discourse on the antique": *Cesare Gonzaga and Gerolamo Garimberto* (New York: 1993), 39–60.

25 On Albani see Giovanni Cremaschi in *DBI*, 1: 606–07; Pellegrino, "Nascita di una 'burocrazia,'" 641–45.

standards of religiosity and gravity in the greater interests of the Church; he was reactionary enough even to write a defense of the Donation of Constantine. Later – unlike Garimberto – Albani became an admirer of the fanatical Cardinal Michele Ghislieri whom he met as Inquisitor at Bergamo in 1550; as Pius V (1566–72), Ghislieri appointed him to administrative posts and finally made him a cardinal in 1570. Not surprisingly, Albani's *De cardinalatu* had an afterlife, being reprinted in 1598.

Another layman and jurist, Girolamo Manfredi (1526–98), produced a treatise *De cardinalibus* just after the closure of the Council of Trent;²⁶ it was dedicated to the whole Sacred College but in particular to one of its most extravagant members, Ippolito II d'Este (1509–72), whose long span as a cardinal extended from 1538 to 1572. Manfredi, like Albani, became a favoured administrator in the papal state under Pius V, a eulogistic life of whom he later wrote, even though his treatise on the cardinalate had not envisaged a figure quite so narrow-minded, for Manfredi still recommended humanistic as well as theological learning, while stressing the need for holiness, competence and the benevolent use of wealth. Reformed standards appropriate for cardinals had not been much discussed at Trent, apart from a resolution recommending frugality; greater attention was devoted to the office of bishop. Some ambassadors reporting from post-Tridentine Rome thought they could perceive overall a more serious tone, but the lifestyle of most cardinals seems not to have changed appreciably, despite the multiple crises of the Church in the earlier 16th century, and huge disparities of income also remained.²⁷

The subject of the cardinalate again became prominent in the later decades of the century, not least owing to Ugo Boncompagni, the Bolognese aristocrat and jurist who became Pope Gregory XIII (1572–85). It must have been in response to his reforming wishes that a Venetian publisher, Francesco Ziletti, undertook, in collaboration with two canon law professors at Padua, Giacomo Menocchi and Guido Panciroli, to collect and publish or republish all past and recent treatises on ecclesiastical authority. The project filled eighteen enormous volumes published in 1584, with Gregory XIII as dedicatee; some of the contents, Ziletti wrote in his Prologue to Readers, were extremely rare or

26 On Manfredi see Vincenzo Lavenia, *DBI*, 68:700–03; Pellegrino, "Nascita di una 'burocrazia,'" 646–51; Maria Teresa Fattori, *Clemente VIII e il Sacro Collegio (1598–1605): Meccanismi istituzionali ed accentramento di governo* (Stuttgart: 2004), 265–67, which also discusses the other later 16th-century writers to whom the present study refers.

27 Atis V. Antonovics, "Counter-Reformation Cardinals: 1534–90," *European Studies Review* 2 (1972), 301–28.

inaccessible.²⁸ At least seven titles of works on the office and dignity of the cardinalate were included, including the recent one by Manfredi, who anticipated revived attention to the subject by publishing in 1584 a new treatise, under the title *De perfecto cardinale*. Dedicated to the resolutely severe Cardinal Girolamo Rusticucci (1537–1603), another disciple of Pius v, Manfredi now concentrated on cardinals as functionaries, mirrors of holiness and prudence, practising liberality mainly as charitable almsgiving.

Further contributions to the subject soon followed, stimulated perhaps by the new accessibility of earlier treatises, but also by actual developments under the overbearing Felice Peretti, Pope Sixtus v (1585–90), and his immediate successors. For thenceforth, particularly since Sixtus v's enactment in 1586 and increase to a maximum membership of 70 in the Sacred College, cardinals came in practice to be distanced from papal headship and decision making, a phenomenon observed famously in 1595 by the Venetian Paolo Paruta; they were regarded no more as the pontiff's closest advisers much less as his ultimate controllers, not personifying the apostolic colleagues of St. Peter, but functioning merely as departmental heads and subordinates (see Miles Pattenden's chapter in this volume). Labelled, perhaps anachronistically, a "bureaucratisation" of the College of Cardinals, this development virtually renewed a longstanding division of views amongst canonists and the cardinals themselves.²⁹

Some of the canonists and cardinals who took up their pens were guardedly ambiguous on the point in dispute, merely repeating that the cardinals' duty was to assist the pope, but they also extended previous boundaries. The Jesuit Girolamo Piatti, an auditor of the papal court of the Rota, dedicated a long treatise to his brother Flaminio (1552–1613), probably intending it as a letter of advice, upon the latter's appointment as cardinal in 1591.³⁰ Girolamo, who expired a few months after Flaminio's promotion, emphasized the moral characteristics of prudence, restraint in anger, fortitude, erudition (including knowledge of history), oratory, temperance, moderation – one might suspect echoes of Cortesi here – and insisted that a certain level of magnificence was needed to ensure public respect although the overall aim must be a Christian life of

28 *Tractatus universi iuris* (Venice: 1584), vol. 1; vol. 13 includes the treatises of Garati, Barbazza, Albani and Manfredi.

29 Pellegrino, "Nascita di una 'burocrazia,'" 664–67; see also Paolo Prodi, *Il cardinale Gabriele Paleotti 1522–1597* (Rome: 1967), 2:481 and 525; Fattori, *Clemente VIII*, 10–11, 147–53 etc. For a cautionary note, see Miles Pattenden, *Pius IV and the Fall of the Carafa* (Oxford: 2013), 134–35.

30 On Piatti and his treatise see Rosa Tamponi, "Il *De cardinalatu*"; Fattori, *Clemente VIII*, 280–82; Paolo Broggio, *DBI*, 83:80–82.

perfection. Amongst striking features of Piatti's work are acknowledgements to earlier authors, and this even includes one explicit reference to Paolo Cortesi, for in two Chapters (15–16) on the use of riches, Piatti quotes his recommendations that cardinals should have equal incomes of a set figure and households limited in total number;³¹ in later chapters he also recommended the founding of colleges and building of churches (Cardinal Alessandro II Farnese earning praise, obviously, for the Gesù, the Jesuit basilica in Rome). Piatti's treatise was not printed until 1602 (long after his death), but it was many times reprinted over the following centuries; the 1836 edition even had a historical introduction including the letters of advice of Cardinal Ammannati and Lorenzo de' Medici. Perhaps it became the classic manual on which cardinals were supposed to model themselves; maybe cardinals still read it today.

Meanwhile Agostino Valier (1531–1606), formerly bishop of Verona and created cardinal at the same time as Flaminio Piatti, wrote his own treatise entitled *De dignitate et officio cardinalis*, also published in 1602. Valier had written previously on the office of bishop and also a biography of Cardinal Charles Borromeo, as resident archbishop of Milan the model reformed prelate (although an absentee from Rome; see Pamela Jones' chapter in this volume). Although Valier approved of the aristocratic Borromeo, he explicitly disapproved of prince cardinals in the sense of nominees or relatives of secular rulers, many of whom went on being admitted into the Sacred College for political reasons; these could not be good senators Valier declared, but allowed relatively high living standards, if combined with erudition, moral uprightness, prudence, fortitude, chastity, charity, and temperate spending of wealth.³²

Another cardinal's contribution more insistently defined the meaning of assistance to the pope, stressing the cardinals' role as counsellors and right of near parity as participants in papal authority. This was Cardinal Gabriele Paleotti (1522–97), a distinguished canon lawyer and auditor of the Rota, who had received the red hat in 1566 but insisted on remaining resident in his archbishopric of Bologna, only coming to Rome in 1584, having resigned Bologna.³³ Paleotti did not write a treatise specifically about the cardinalate, but about consistory, traditionally the central consultative body which in recent years had been much downgraded.³⁴ In this work, copies of which he sent to every cardinal resident in the Curia, Paleotti expressed some of his thinking about a

31 Girolamo Piatti, *De cardinalis dignitate, et officio* (Rome: 1602), 101–02; Fattori, *Clemente VIII*, 281, 283.

32 Agostino Valier, *Vita Caroli Borromei: Episcopi, Cardinalis* (Verona: 1586), 22. On Valier see Fattori, *Clemente VIII*, 267–68.

33 On Paleotti see Prodi, *Paleotti*, esp. 2:441, 480–83, and 525.

34 Gabriele Paleotti, *De sacri consistorii consultationibus* (Rome: 1592).

cardinal's office and duties, including his reflections about the desirable life-style. He even mentions Paolo Cortesi's book, but does not quote from it.³⁵

Remarkable also at end of the 16th century were two works in the vernacular not by cardinals. One was a small book by the ex-Jesuit Giovanni Botero (1540–1617), whose *Del cardinale*, dedicated to the Cardinal Inquisitor Fernando Niño de Guevara (1541–1609), accepted uncompromisingly the line that the pope was master but offered little about life-style, except that a cardinal's main preoccupation should be the increase of religion, a universal pastoral capacity including the support of missions to convert the heathens.³⁶ Also notable was a work by Fabio Albergati (1538–1606), a married layman from minor Bolognese nobility and former courtier at Urbino.³⁷ His treatise bears the same title as Botero's but instead deals at some length with the moral and more material qualities desirable in a cardinal. Some earlier thoughts on the subject he had dedicated to Filippo Boncompagni, a nephew of Gregory XIII, whose service he entered in Rome in 1572, but the final version of his book was not published until 1591, having been long delayed by censorship, though it would later be reprinted. In contrast to Valier, Albergati was concerned almost exclusively with cardinals of princely birth. He emphasized above all affability, urbanity, hospitality, and splendour of setting, and dedicated his book to the newly created cardinal Odoardo Farnese, "in the hope that Odoardo would bring about a renewal of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese's *virtu* and glory"³⁸ (Cardinal Alessandro Farnese II, the nephew of Paul III, was like Ippolito d'Este II, a conspicuously lavish and princely cardinal, with a long span in the Sacred College, from 1534 to 1589, though allegedly he became more ascetic in his final years). In the light of Albergati's background, career and social prejudices, together with his probable but vain aspirations for a red hat, he is one of the few writers who, like Garimberto, perhaps has something in common with Paolo Cortesi; he even proposed that normal cardinals should be content with a limited number of servants, though for the prince cardinal he makes no such demand for moderation.

On the issue of appropriate servants for the cardinal's household, their numbers and their deportment, a sub-genre of literature had also developed, following the precedent set by Priscianese, referring to superior and mainly

35 Prodi, *Paleotti*, 2:486–87 n. 19.

36 Giovanni Botero, *Dell'ufficio del cardinale* (Rome: 1599); on Botero see Pellegrino, "Nascita di una 'burocrazia,'" 658–64; Fattori, *Clemente VIII*, 277–79.

37 On Albergati, see E. Fasano Guarini, *DBI*, 1:617–19; Pellegrino, "Nascita di una 'burocrazia,'" 651–58; Fattori, *Clemente VIII*, 270–77.

38 Fabio Albergati, *Del cardinale* (Bologna: 1589; Rome: 1598, 1664). See esp. lib. 3 "Della disposizione."

ecclesiastical households in Rome. The authors of these practical manuals – notably Fusoritto and Evitascandalo – had themselves been employed by a succession of prominent cardinals and their works went into many editions.³⁹ All underwrote a lavish life-style, of magnificence rather than austerity, though not approving inflated numbers of staff; the usual, rather Cortesian figure recommended was one hundred. Emphasis was on decorum, sobriety and courtesy; the overall purpose should be to enhance the cardinal's honour and reputation.

4 Gregorio Leti: The Counter-ideal

The late 16th century stream of new literature about the exemplary cardinal and his entourage did not persist, however; the most lasting – if not the last – words on the subject seem to have remained those expressed by Girolamo Piatti; no other work ran into so many editions. No new voices arose during the 17th century, with the exception of a treatise in Italian by the canon law luminary and would-be reformer of the Papal States, Giovanni Battista De Luca (1614–83), published in 1680, a year before he became a cardinal himself.⁴⁰ As he declares, he wrote this as a jurist but although he takes the reader eruditely over familiar ground it is with a certain lightness of touch. His main contribution is to outline for cardinals their role as administrators and he details in turn all the congregations and major offices; on desirable lifestyle he has little to add; though there is emphasis on dignity, seemly forms of recreation are approved, particularly for cardinals when away from Rome, where appearances are less demanding.

There was however in the 17th century one other, rather different sort of voice reflecting on desirable standards for cardinals, apparently satirical but with a trace of ambiguity about the intended message, not so straightforwardly

39 Reale Fusoritto, *Il maestro di casa* (Narni: 1593); Cesare Evitascandalo, *Dialogo del maestro di casa* (Rome: 1598; updated 1603); Antonio Adami, *Il novitiate del maestro di casa* (Rome: 1636). See Laurie Nussdorfer, "Masculine Hierarchies in Roman Ecclesiastical Households," *European Review of History* 22 (2015) 620–42; see also her "Managing Cardinals' Households for Dummies," in *For the Sake of Learning: Essays in Honour of Anthony Grafton*, eds. Ann Blair and Anja-Silvia Goeing (Leiden: 2016), 173–94.

40 Giovanni Battista De Luca, *Il cardinale di Santa Romana Chiesa pratico* (Rome: 1680); see Tamponi, "Il *De cardinalatu*," 125–28, A. Mazzacane, DBI, 38: 344; Agostino Lauro, *Il Cardinale Giambattista De Luca: Diritto e riforme nello Stato della Chiesa 1676–1683* (Naples: 1991) does not mention De Luca's treatise.

defamatory as Protestant caricatures and broadsides or Roman pasquinades. This was the work of the maverick dropout, Gregorio Leti (1630–1701).⁴¹ Educated by Jesuits, Leti claimed to have spent five years of his youth in Rome, but, he wrote, “while others were visiting the Gardens and the Courtizans, I was at home still, making my annotations ... about the affairs of the Court.”⁴² Subsequently he fled from Italy and became a Calvinist, living in Geneva until expelled, and eventually dying in Amsterdam. He was a prolific author, most famous for works which exposed and mocked the corruption and decadence of the papacy. Written in Italian, they were presumably intended for a wide Italian readership, though it is not clear where they were published or how they were marketed. One of the most scandalous (recently reprinted), was a salacious satire on papal elections,⁴³ but the most interesting in the present context is *Il cardinalismo di Santa Chiesa*, published in 1668 with an English translation two years later.⁴⁴ The book is divided into three parts, enlivened by polemical digressions; in the first Leti attempted a historical account of the rise and development of the Sacred College, and in the second and third adopted a biographical mode covering his own times. From the pontificate of Urban VIII (1623–43) to the accession of Clement IX (1667), he reviewed the character of each cardinal in turn, from which we can infer his idea of what a cardinal ought to be like. “When I first took a resolution of publishing this work,” he declared, “I wrote several letters to my friends in Rome that they should give me a relation of the several cardinals and of their virtues and vices ... all replied there was little learning and most of the cardinals looked upon learning as Pedantique and beneath them.” Another friend even told him that “there are many ignorant to be found, few that understand Latin.”⁴⁵ Learning, together with liberality, charity, and civility, also a certain degree of modesty, were high in Leti’s ratings; although one suspects that irony is seldom far away, he admitted some few points in favour of various cardinals individually. Even Urban VIII’s nephew Francesco I Barberini (1597–1679), though no role model, emerges with limited credit; despite a poor start (“at first a great enemy to learning”) and still faulted for irresolution and feeble judgment, he is

41 On Leti, see Emanuela Bufacchi, DBI, 64:717–23; Marion Brétéché, “La plume européenne de Gregorio Leti (1630–1701),” *Revue d’histoire diplomatique* 20 (2006), 227–49.

42 Gregorio Leti, *Il cardinalismo di Santa Chiesa; Or, the history of the cardinals of the Roman Church* (London: 1670), 73.

43 Gregorio Leti, *Il puttanismo romano*, ed. Emanuela Bufacchi (Rome: 2004).

44 Leti, *Il cardinalismo*.

45 Leti, *Il cardinalismo*, 168, 172–73.

nevertheless praised for piety and generosity to widows, orphans and impoverished gentry.⁴⁶

Leti nevertheless did not spare ridicule for the showy magnificence of mid-17th century cardinals, dominated by Roman aristocrats, with their elaborate processions in scarlet finery, card parties and theatrical entertainments. Such phenomena were arguably in consequence of the reduction in cardinals' corporate powers which Cardinal Piatti had complained about, so that cardinals seemed to exist just to magnify the splendour of Rome and papal majesty rather than directly participate in authority. Leti makes the point, writing in his preface that the book will please neither Catholics nor Protestants: "Neither have the Cardinals more reason to complain, the whole drift of this Cardinalismo being ... too much depressed by the popes: and although they perhaps will despise such advertisements as satirical, yet have their Eminences no reason to be offended if they be made acquainted with what the world says of them." Like Piatti, Leti lays much blame on Sixtus v, of whom he wrote a scathing biography, and issues a challenge "[w]hy do not the Cardinals ... exalt themselves to the condition of Senators in the Christian Commonwealth, subvert their monarchy and re-establish the Republic of Christ?"⁴⁷

5 Conclusion

It seems in conclusion that some consensus emerges from the literature about the character of an exemplary – if not "ideal" – cardinal, from the 15th to the 17th centuries. Despite wide differences of emphasis, there was a fairly consistent preference for cardinals to be aristocratic or socially superior in a variety of ways, perhaps even by blood, but certainly by high levels of learning, decorum, munificence and charity, sustained by a moderately high income; to maintain some degree of magnificence should be regarded as a duty, however austere the cardinal's private life preferably might be. It is notable, nevertheless, how soon the stress had shifted from Paolo Cortesi's relatively liberal culture and style of life to prescription of more rigorous standards and religious commitment. The dominant influence of Pius v's admirers, of leading Jesuits and prominent fanatics, is clear in the post-Tridentine period, typically that of Pius iv's nephew Cardinal Charles Borromeo (though no writer went so far as insisting that his extremes of self-mortification should become the general rule). Clearly there was widespread fear that the Church was in serious danger,

46 Ibid., 139.

47 Ibid., 123.

particularly from politically sponsored heresies; discipline was part of its defence. There seems nevertheless to have been a corresponding lessening of tension by the turn of the century; one might even infer some reversion to pre-Tridentine criteria of acceptability and complaisance as the 17th century proceeded, a resignation perhaps over the inevitable diversity of standards amongst inflated numbers of cardinals.

Life-Writing and the Sainly Cardinal

Pamela M. Jones

This chapter centres on lives written about a distinctive group of cardinals – those dedicated to institutional and personal reform during the Council of Trent (1545–63) and for roughly fifty years thereafter: Michele Ghislieri (1504–72; as Pius v, 1566–72), Charles Borromeo (1538–84), Cesare Baronio (1538–1607), and Robert Bellarmine (1542–1621). Each book is hundreds of pages long and treats a single life; there are no collected lives of this group. It is noteworthy that all the authors consistently emphasize that the individual's exemplarity rested partly on his desire *not* to be elevated to the cardinalate. What gave rise to the published lives, therefore, was not the subject's rank as a cardinal *per se*, but instead another facet (or facets) to their identity: their affiliation with a specific religious order, their pastoral position within a diocese, or the usefulness of their example to a given pontiff at a specific historical moment. These men, who rejected the normative persona of the princely cardinal, may be termed “sainly cardinals.” The new sainly image that they enacted was lauded in the representative *vitae* and is analysed in detail toward the end of this study. However, only Borromeo and Pius v were canonized, the former in 1610 and the latter a century later, in 1712.¹

Remarkably little scholarship has been devoted to early modern Catholic *vitae* in general, let alone to the phenomenon of published lives of individual cardinals.² By focusing on six representative lives of sainly cardinals from 1586

1 A canonized person is deemed a “saint,” the highest level of sanctity in the Catholic Church, and worthy of a universal cult. A beatified person, a “blessed,” is worthy of a local cult. Borromeo was beatified *equipollente* (by decree; in 1602) and canonized (1610), Pius v was beatified (1672) and canonized (1712), Bellarmine was beatified (1923) and canonized (1931). The Procurator General of the Oratorians reopened Baronio's cause in 2007. On developing beatification procedures, see Simon Ditchfield, “Coping with the *Beati Moderni*: Canonization Procedure in the Aftermath of the Council of Trent,” in *Ite Inflammate Omnia: Selected Historical Papers from Conferences Held at Loyola and Rome in 2006*, ed. Thomas M. McCoog (Rome: 2010), 413–39; Pamela M. Jones, “Celebrating New Saints in Rome and Across the World,” in *A Companion to Early Modern Rome, 1492–1692*, eds. Jones, Wisch, Ditchfield (Leiden: 2019), 148–66.

2 Still less attention has been paid to manuscript *vitae* of early modern cardinals, but examples include: for Cardinal Ghislieri (Pius v): Miguel Gotor, “Le vite di san Pio v dal 1572 al 1712 tra censura, agiografia e storia,” in *Pio v nella società e nella politica del suo tempo*, eds. Maurizio

to 1712 (Table 29.1), I examine the contexts in which these volumes arose, the overall structures and contents of the imprints, and the publication histories of three of them, concluding with suggestions for further study.³

1 Life-Writing on Saintly Cardinals and the Field of Sacred History

As was typical for the period, the authors of lives of saintly cardinals, in presenting their protagonists as exemplary men, followed the principles of epideictic oratory. As clarified by Thomas F. Mayer and Daniel R. Woolf:

Early modern life-writers were not engaged in the study of past and present persons for the sake of advancing “pure” historical scholarship and its methods, nor were they intent on establishing biography as a kind of master genre. In virtually every case, the artist or author came to his or her subject with a mind far from neutral or uncommitted, with some fixed ideas both as to what should be written about the subject and the points to be derived therein by the reader or spectator.⁴

These lives, I argue, must also be understood in two more specific contexts, the practice of sacred history and the standardization of canonization procedure.

The lives of saintly cardinals fell under the broad rubric of “sacred history” (or “history of the Church”), which included, for example, topographical descriptions, civic chronicles, episcopal calendars, liturgical texts, decrees of councils, and collected lives of saints (*vitae sanctorum*).⁵ Protestants and

Guasco and Angelo Torre (Bologna: 2005), 207–49; for Cardinal Gian Pietro Carafa (Paul IV, 1555–59): Alberto Aubert, *Paolo IV: Politica, inquisizione e storiografia*, 2nd ed. (Florence: 1999).

3 Further examples of this kind of life-writing include Giovanni Battista Possevino's *Discorsi della Vita, et attioni di Carlo Borromeo...* (Rome: 1591); Antonio Fuenmayor's *Vida y Hechos de Pio V: Pontefice Romano* (Madrid: 1595), on which see Miles Pattenden, “Antonio de Fuenmayor's Life of Pius V: A pope in early modern Spanish historiography,” *Renaissance Studies* 32 (2018), 183–200; and Marcello Cervini's life of Bellarmine, titled *Imago virtutum* (Rome: 1625).

4 Thomas F. Mayer and D.R. Woolf (eds.), *The Rhetorics of Life-Writing in Early Modern Europe: Forms of Biography from Cassandra Fedele to Louis XIV* (Ann Arbor: 1995), 4. I use “life-writing” and “vitae” to avoid the anachronistic terms “biography” and “hagiography.”

5 See Simon Ditchfield, “*Historia Magistra Sanctitatis?* The Relationship between Historiography and Hagiography in Italy after the Council of Trent (ca. 1564–1742),” *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, 3rd Series, 3 (2006), 159; also his “What Was Sacred History? (Mostly Roman) Catholic Uses of the Christian Past after Trent,” in *Sacred History: Uses of the Christian*

Catholics alike articulated their confessional identities through works of sacred history.

Catholic sacred history was based on a broad range of written and visual sources from early Christian times onwards, combining both conservative and innovative tendencies. Simon Ditchfield examined sacred historians' conservative endeavour to record the history and deeds of the institutional Church so that the present could be reformed in its image. Anthony Grafton considered their simultaneous move beyond the traditional concerns of history by "encompassing what today might be called the 'intellectual' and the 'cultural,' as well as the institutional, development of Christianity."⁶ Works such as Baronio's *Annales ecclesiastici* (Annals of the Church, 1588–1607) and Alfonso Chacón's *Vitae, et res gestae pontificum romanorum et S.R.E. Cardinalium* (Lives and Deeds of the Roman Popes and Their Most Reverend Eminences, the Cardinals, 1601), the latter an update of Platina's collected lives of the pontiffs (1479), became fountains of information and inspiration for their contemporaries and successive generations of scholars (see the chapter by Pattenden and Witte for more detail on compendia of cardinals' lives).

The lives of individual saintly cardinals employed the same kinds of sources, often quoted at length, to record and praise the cardinals' exemplary deeds and virtues, their attainment of personal and institutional reform, and the inspiration they found in earlier models of Christian holiness, beginning with Christ's own paradigmatic example. Giovanni Pietro Giussano, for instance, treats Charles Borromeo's performance of Christ-like miracles.

2 The Lives and the Canonization *vita*

The purpose for which the lives of our saintly cardinals were written places them in a distinctive category of life-writing connected with developing canonization procedures, which Alison Knowles Frazier has called "the canonization *vita*."⁷ Two of the lives discussed here are canonization *vitae*, and the rest follow the organization and content of this genre to a greater or lesser degree. In a classic study of 1948, Eric Waldram Kemp addressed the use of lives of

Past in the Renaissance World, eds. Katherine Van Liere, Simon Ditchfield, and Howard Louthan (Oxford: 2012), 72–97.

6 Ditchfield, "Sacred History." Anthony Grafton, "Church History in Early Modern Europe: Tradition and Innovation," in Van Liere, Ditchfield, and Louthan, *Sacred History*, 25.

7 Alison Knowles Frazier, *Possible Lives: Authors and Saints in Renaissance Italy* (New York: 2005), 23–24.

candidates as evidence over the course of the Middle Ages.⁸ The canonization *vita* arose in the context of the growing role of the papacy, as opposed to bishops, in determining official holiness.⁹ From the late 10th century onwards, lives of candidates were increasingly used as evidence of their worthiness in canonization deliberations. Sometimes they were commissioned for the express reason of advancing causes of canonization, whereas at other times pre-existing lives were put to use.¹⁰

Over time, accounts of candidates' miracles also acquired importance. They were considered so crucial that, for example, in 1083 Pope Urban II refused to canonize Ulroux of Brittany (d.1057), abbot of a monastery in Quimperlé, due to a lack of eyewitness testimony regarding his miracles.¹¹ Ulroux, therefore, remained a "local saint," a holy man whose cult was recognized only in his own region.

Papal control over saint-making was systematically reasserted in 1234 with the publication of the decretals of Gregory IX (1227–41) which gave the papacy the exclusive right of canonization.¹² In his commentary on Gregory's decretals, Innocent IV (1243–54) noted that because an essential criterion for elevation to sainthood was the candidate's worthiness of a universal cult (i.e. public veneration throughout the world), only the pontiff whose jurisdiction was worldwide had the authority to canonize.¹³ Innocent also indicated that canonization depended on proving the faith, excellence of life, and miracles of the candidate.

The next major watershed in the cult of saints and canonization procedure extended from the confessional turbulence of the early 16th century to the mid-17th century. The Council of Trent issued a decree in 1563 on "the invocation, veneration, and relics of saints" that forcefully asserted the benefit of saints to the faithful.¹⁴ During the council and for several decades afterward, canonizations were put on hold, and yet during the same unsettled period, 14 holy men and women received "papal recognition of non-universal cults."¹⁵

8 Eric Waldram Kemp, *Canonization and Authority in the Western Church* (Oxford: 1948). For greater detail on the early modern era, see Ronald C. Finucane, *Contested Canonizations: The Last Medieval Saints, 1482–1523* (Washington, D.C.: 2011); Ditchfield, "Beati Moderni."

9 Kemp, *Canonization*, 3–55.

10 *Ibid.*, 56–81.

11 *Ibid.*, 67–68.

12 On canon law, see Kemp, *Canonization*; Ditchfield, "Beati Moderni."

13 Kemp, *Canonization*, 107.

14 *The Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, trans. and ed. H.J. Schroeder (Rockford, IL: 1978), 215–17.

15 Ditchfield, "Beati Moderni," 419.

Then in 1588, Sixtus V (1585–90) instituted the Congregation of Rites, a curial committee charged with overseeing saints' causes.¹⁶ In the same year, the 65-year hiatus in canonizations ended with the elevation of Diego of Alcalá (1400–63) to sainthood. The year 1588 also marked the publication of the first volume of Baronio's monumental *Annales ecclesiastici* in which Christian history was recorded year by year according to up-to-date standards of sacred history.

With the resumption of canonization in 1588 came concerns about tighter regulation. Although canon law stated that only persons worthy of a universal cult merited elevation to sainthood, a thorny question remained: what should be done about the numerous centuries-old cults of holy persons who were called saints but whose feast days were celebrated only locally?

Most vexing at the turn of the 17th century, however, was the rise of new cults around recently deceased potential candidates for sainthood. Pope Clement VIII (1592–1605) designated them "*beati moderni*" (new blessed). In 1602 he created a temporary committee called the Congregation of Blessed to assess how to respond to pressures to canonize persons, such as Charles Borromeo, who were already enjoying public cults without pontifical mandate.¹⁷

3 The Lives and Canonization Procedure

By the 16th century, the process, or trial, for canonization had developed into a two-tier model.¹⁸ The first process, often initiated by the candidate's bishop who thereby exercised his ordinary (as opposed to delegated) authority, was often called the *processus ordinarius*, although kings and other authorities

16 Vittorio Casale, *L'arte per le canonizzazioni: L'attività artistica intorno alle canonizzazioni e alle beatificazioni del Seicento* (Turin: 2011), 30; 29–47 for an overview of beatification and canonization.

17 Ditchfield, "Beati Moderni," 424–29; Miguel Gotor, *I beati del papa* (Florence: 2002); Ruth Noyes, "On the Fringes of the Center: Disputed Hagiographic Imagery and the Crisis Over the Beati Moderni in Rome ca. 1600," *Renaissance Quarterly* 64 (2011), 800–46. The regulations of Urban VIII (1623–44) standardizing canonization and beatification post-date all but two of our lives. Barnabeo's life of Baronio (1651) was intended to forward his beatification, which Urban had distinguished from canonization in 1634, and in 1712 Maffei showed that Pope Pius V had met Urban's requirements of doctrinal purity, heroic virtue, and posthumous miracles. See Ditchfield, "Beati Moderni," 434–37; Casale, *L'Arte*, 29–33.

18 This overview is based on Ditchfield, "Beati Moderni," 419–20, with my own additions.

could also set this first stage in motion. Alternatively, it was termed the *processus inquisitionis et informationis*, which described its function of questioning witnesses and gathering information concerning the candidate's reputation for holiness. Because such processes often took place in multiple cities and lands, they were exceedingly time-consuming and expensive.

If the first process met with success, a second would be undertaken. It was called the *processus apostolicus*, emphasizing its ties to centralized pontifical authority, or the *processus remissorialis et compulsorialis*, after the name of required letters of instruction from Rome. This process gave further scrutiny to existing documents and augmented them with witnesses' answers to specific questions devised by the Congregation of Rites and enumerated in the instructional letters. Questioning witnesses and recording their answers took years.

Once submitted to Rome the documentation had to be given a canonical ruling and be summarized before being presented to the pontiff for his final approval. Auditors of the Rota (the most senior Vatican tribunal) ruled on it in accordance with canon law, and members of the Congregation of Rites summarized the material. The resulting report (the *relatio*) had a tripartite structure: a brief overview of the candidate's life and a history of her/his cult; a list of the candidate's virtues; and a detailed report on evidence of miracles the holy person had performed during life, at the time of death, and posthumously. If the pope gave his official imprimatur, he would issue a bull of canonization drawing material from the *relatio*. This crucial document affected the structure of lives of saintly cardinals, while the sheer amount and kinds of material collected during the apostolic process influenced the lives' length and content.

4 Four Saintly Cardinals Presented in Six Representative Lives

Our four saintly cardinals were prominent reformers inspired by the decrees of the Council of Trent. The oldest, Michele Ghislieri, was born in 1504, while Charles Borromeo, Cesare Baronio, and Robert Bellarmine were all born between 1538 and 1542. Ghislieri was a Dominican (and Inquisitor); Baronio and Bellarmine belonged to new reform orders, the Congregation of the Oratory (the Oratorians) and the Jesuits respectively; and Borromeo was a member of the secular (or diocesan) clergy. All but Baronio served as bishops for at least part of their careers, most notably Borromeo, who, as archbishop of Milan, systematically reformed his diocese following his own interpretation of Trent's decrees. When reading the lives of our cardinals as a group, a chain of

exemplarity emerges, with Ghislieri, the only pope amongst them, and Borromeo, the earliest to be canonized, serving as models for the others.¹⁹

5 Structure and Content of the Six Lives

The representative lives our four cardinals (Table 29.1) average over 400 pages each, and near the beginning each author briefly states his aims.²⁰ For example, at the start of Book 1 of his 1592 life, Carlo Bascapè writes that he is recording Borromeo's deeds and examples of religious virtue "for the glory of God and the utility of pious persons," and in his 1651 dedication to Innocent x, Girolamo indicates that he wants to bring Baronio's life to light and make him well known.²¹ The core of each of the six books is a chronological account of the cardinal's life. The differences in their structures and contents (Table 29.2) depended in part on how far along a canonization process for the given cardinal had proceeded.

The earliest volume, that of Girolamo Catena on Pius v (1586), is the least similar to the canonization *vita*, having been published before the resumption of saint-making and its increasing standardization, and before a process for Pius v had begun. Catena devotes 240 pages to the life of Michele Ghislieri, interspersing an account of his deeds with comments about his personal habits, virtues, and a few miracles; he does not discuss veneration of Pope Pius. There follow 23 pages of documents relating to the victory of Pius's Holy League over the Turks at Lepanto in 1571.

Bascapè's life of Borromeo (1592) and Barnabeo's life of Baronio (1651) were also written before the initiation of official *processi*. Bascapè mentions miracles, but not the recipients' names. Nonetheless, Borromeo's unofficial cult had

19 Examples of other cardinals who were the subjects of life-writing within this model include Gregorio Barbarigo (1625–97), whose cause for beatification originated in 1699, and who was beatified in 1761 and canonized only in 1960. During Barbarigo's processes, discussion centered in part on his service as bishop of Padua. See Pierluigi Giovannucci, *Il processo di canonizzazione del Car. Gregorio Barbarigo* (Rome: 2001). Early *vitae* include: Tommaso Agostino Ricchini, *Vita del beato Gregorio Barbarigo cardinale della S. Romana Chiesa vescovo di Padova* (Rome: 1761); *Ragguaglio della vita, virtù, e miracoli del B. Gregorio Barbarigo vescovo di Padova e della Santa Romana Chiesa Cardinale* (Rome: 1761).

20 Table 29.1 provides full citations of these lives, which are cited in the notes by author's surname only, except in the case of a later edition of Bascapè, on which see n. 21 below.

21 For readers' convenience, I cite both the original Latin and the facing Italian translation in this edition: Carlo Bascapè, *Vita e opera di Carlo, arcivescovo di Milano, cardinale di S. Prassede*, trans. G. Fassi, notes E. Cattaneo (Milan: 1965); Bascapè, *Vita e opera*, 6–7; Barnabeo, *Vita Caesaris Baroni*, 2.

already begun, and Bascapè refers to “veneration of Charles’s sanctity.”²² By the time Barnabeo wrote his life of Baronio, however, the processes for sainthood had been standardized and the veneration of unofficial holy persons forbidden. Barnabeo treated the Oratorian’s life and virtues, but not his cult or miracles.

TABLE 29.1 Six representative lives of saintly cardinals

Catena, Girolamo 1586	<p>Michele Ghislieri/Pius v <i>Vita del Gloriosissimo Papa Pio Quinto Scritta da Girolamo Catena Dedicata al Santissimo Signor Nostro Sisto Quinto. Con una raccolta di lettere di Pio v. à diversi Principi, & le risposte, con altri particolar. E I Nomi delle Galee, Et di Capitani, così Christiani, come Turchi, che si trovarono alla battaglia navale.</i> In Roma, Con Licenza et Privilegi. M.D.LXXXVI. Nella Stamperia de Vincenzo Accolti. <i>Dedication:</i> Pope Sixtus v; <i>Stated purposes:</i> to spread the truth publically; for benefit of all Christians; Sixtus said that Pius should “be glorious on earth.”</p>
Bascapè, Carlo 1592	<p>Charles Borromeo <i>De Vita et rebus gestis Caroli s. R. E. Cardinalis, tituli S. Praxedis, Archiepiscopi Mediolani. Libri septem. Carolo A Basilica Petri Praepos. General. Congreg. Cleric. Regul. S. Pauli. Auctore. Cum Gratia & Privilegio Caesarea Maiestatis.</i> Ingolstadii Ex Officina Typographica Davidis Sartorii. Anno Domini M.D.XCII. <i>Dedication:</i> William [v], Duke of Bavaria; <i>Stated purposes:</i> to record Carlo’s deeds and examples of religious virtue for the glory of God and utility of pious persons</p>
Giussano, Giovanni Pietro 1610	<p><i>Vita di S. Carlo Borromeo Prete Cardinale del titolo di Santa Prassede Arcivescovo di Milano. Scritta dal Dottore Gio. Pietro Giussano Nobile Milanese. Et dalla Congregatione delli Oblati di S. Ambrogio dedicata alla Santità di N.S. Papa Paolo Quinto.</i> In 1610 Roma Nella Stamperia della Camera Apostolica. 1610. Con Privilegi, & Autorità de’ SS. Superiori. <i>Dedication:</i> Pope Paul v; <i>Stated purposes:</i> to present Carlo’s life, saintly deeds, and marvelous virtues</p>

22 Bascapè, *Vita e opera*, 624–45; quotation on 644–45.

TABLE 29.1 Six representative lives of saintly cardinals (*cont.*)

	Robert Bellarmine
Fuligatti, Giacomo 1624	<i>Vita del Cardinale Roberto Bellarmino Della Compagnia di Giesù. Composta dal P. Giacomo Fuligatti della medesima Compagnia.</i> In Roma, Appresso l'Herede di Bartolomeo Zannetti. M.DC.XXIV. Con Privilegio, e Licenza De' Superiori. <i>Dedication:</i> Pope Urban VIII; <i>Stated purposes:</i> to make known publically Bellarmino's life and reputation for "eminence of virtue, sublimity of wisdom, [and for being a] very clear mirror of [i.e. model for] Ecclesiastical Prelates"
	Cesare Baronio
Barnabeo, Girolamo 1651	<i>Vita Caesaris Baronii Ex Congregatione Oratorij S.R.E. Presbyteri Cardinalis Et Apostolicae Sedis Bibliotecarij Auctore Hieronymo Barnabeo Perusino Eiusdem Congregationis Presbytero.</i> Romae, Apud Vitalem Mascardum, MDCLI. Superiorum Auctoritate. Sumptibus Ioannis Casonij. <i>Dedication:</i> Pope Innocent X; <i>Stated purposes:</i> to bring the life of Baronio to light; hopes his book will make Baronio well known
	Michele Ghislieri/Pius v
Maffei, Paolo Alessandro 1712	<i>Vita di S. Pio Quinto Sommo Pontefice, Dell'Ordine de' Predicatori, Scritta Da Paolo Alessandro Maffei Patrizio Volterrano, Cavaliere dell'Ordine di S. Stefano, e della Guardia Pontificia, Pubblicata Sotti i gloriosi Auspicj Della Santità di Nostro Signore Papa Clemente XI.</i> In Roma, presso Francesco Gonzaga. MDCCXII. Con licenza de' Superiori. <i>Dedication:</i> Pope Clement XI; <i>Stated purposes:</i> to present the saint's heroic actions

Fuligatti published his life of Bellarmine in 1624, two years after the *processus ordinarius* had begun. The author notes that he was able to use documents compiled in three cities to tell Bellarmine's life and record the beginnings of his cult.²³ Because the apostolic process had not yet begun, however, Fuligatti mentions Bellarmine's virtues in various parts of the narrative, but does not address miracles.

²³ Fuligatti, "To the Reader," s.p.

TABLE 29.2 Structure and contents of the six representative lives of saintly cardinals

	Michele Ghislieri/Pius v
Catena, Girolamo 1586	<i>Vita del Gloriosissimo Papa Pio Quinto</i> Dedication, Privileges, Table of Contents (all unpaginated). The Life (pp. 1–240; chronological; not divided into books; contains unnumbered, titled subheadings). Epitaphs (pp. 240–41); Pius's letters (pp. 241–313); Pius's promotions to cardinalate (pp. 314–18). Galleys and Captains who won the Battle of Lepanto (pp. 319–25); composition of the Turkish armada (pp. 324–29).
	Charles Borromeo
Bascapè, Carlo 1592	<i>De Vita et rebus gestis Caroli S.R.E. Cardinalis, tituli S. Praxedis, Archiepiscopi Mediolani.</i> Dedication, Table of Contents (all unpaginated); The Life (pp. 1–371; chronological; divided into 7 books, each with separate numbered, titled, chapters).
	Robert Bellarmine
Giussano, Giovanni Pietro 1610	<i>Vita di S. Carlo Borromeo</i> Dedication, Letter to Pious Readers (all unpaginated). The Life (pp. 1–716; chronological; divided into 9 books, each with separate numbered, titled chapters. Book 8 concerns Carlo's virtues; Book 9 his miracles and a brief account of his canonization.) Table of Chapters, Table of Notable Things (all unpaginated).
	Robert Bellarmine
Fuligatti, Giacomo 1624	<i>Vita del Cardinale Roberto Bellarmino Della Compagnia di Giesù</i> Dedication, Letter to the Reader, Table of Contents (all unpaginated). The life (pp. 1–356; chronological; not divided into books; separate numbered, titled chapters.)
	Cesare Baronio
Barnabeo, Girolamo 1651	<i>Vita Caesaris Baronii Ex Congregatione Oratorij S.R.E. Presbyteri Cardinalis</i> Dedication, Letter to the Reader, Table of Contents (all unpaginated). The Life (pp. 1–199; chronological; divided into 3 books with separate numbered, titled chapters). Indices of Chapters & of Notable Things (unpaginated).

TABLE 29.2 Structure and contents of the six representative lives of saintly cardinals (*cont.*)

Michele Ghislieri/Pius v	
Maffei, Paolo	<i>Vita di S. Pio Quinto Sommo Pontefice</i>
Alessandro 1712	Dedication, Table of Contents, Preface (pp. iii–xxiv). The Life (pp. 1–667; chronological; divided into 8 books, each with separate numbered, titled chapters. Book 6 concerns Pius's virtues; Book 7 his miracles; Book 8 the pope's burial and reburial, his beatification and canonization).

By contrast, Giovanni Pietro Giussano's life of Charles Borromeo (1610) and that of Paolo Alessandro Maffei on Pius v (1712) are canonization *vitae* dedicated to the pontiffs who raised them to sainthood. In his dedication Giussano states that by "universal judgment," St. Charles's "life, saintly deeds, and marvellous virtues" deserve to be recorded, and adds in his letter to pious readers that it has always been considered praiseworthy to record "the actions and heroic virtues of saintly men." Maffei indicates in his dedication an intention to present "the saint's heroic actions."²⁴ Giussano's is amongst the era's earliest references to "heroic virtues," whereas by Maffei's time the demonstration of heroic virtues had long been a requirement for elevation to sainthood.²⁵

The shared structure of these lives bespeaks the influence of the tripartite *relatio* drafted at the end of the apostolic process. A chronological treatment of the saint's life remains the heart of the volumes. Yet, as seen in Table 29.2, these are the longest of the six lives because each contains additional sections: an entire book devoted to the saint's virtues, followed by another on his miracles.

It is striking that despite our life-writers' goal of forwarding (or celebrating) the individual cardinals' official sanctity, only Borromeo and Pius were canonized in the early modern era. The factors leading to a candidate's successful elevation to sainthood were intricately tied to changing politico-religious developments, equally complex and historically specific. This chapter highlights some of these issues, beginning with a brief examination of perceptions of holiness.

Peter Burke, who demonstrated that most persons raised to sainthood from 1588 to 1767 were members of religious orders rather than the diocesan clergy or laity, singled out five routes of official sanctity during that era: founding a

24 Giussano, *Vita di S. Carlo Borromeo*, dedication and letter to pious readers, s.p.; Maffei, *Vita di S. Pio Quinto*, dedication, s.p.

25 Ditchfield, "Beati Moderni," 432–33, without reference to Giussano's example.

religious order, missionary work, pastoral ministry, charitable service, and mystical spirituality. The exercise of humility might be added to this list, because it was a noteworthy component of the official personas of many early modern saints, for example Filippo Neri (canonized 1622, but not a cardinal) and Borromeo. Our four cardinals, despite being pious reformers, do not closely fit most of Burke's criteria. However, the lives of Borromeo and Pius v place noteworthy emphasis on their pastoral service, and contain separate chapters on the saints' individual virtues, such as charity and humility. Thus, to some degree the official personas of Borromeo and Pius resembled those of other men and women raised to official sanctity during the era.²⁶

6 The Lives' Publication Histories and the Politics of Sainthood

The fraught publication histories of the life of Pius v by Catena, and those of Borromeo by Bascapè and Giussano reveal the high stakes involved when authors sought to shape a saintly persona, and the kinds of obstacles that had to be overcome for a candidate's cause for sainthood to be successful.²⁷ In an era that witnessed the consolidation of papal authority, including the standardization of official sanctity, which required curial oversight by the Congregation of Rites and Sacra Rota – and ultimately the pontiff's approval – it is not surprising that the written lives of saintly cardinals were subject to scrutiny by the Congregation of the Index. Authors also faced the possibility of prohibitions by secular authorities.

The Spanish Inquisition's censure of Catena's life of Pius v demonstrates how difficult it was to write the life of a saintly pope (or cardinal) acceptable to both secular and ecclesiastical authorities.²⁸ Catena's book, published in Rome in 1586 with the approval and financial backing of Sixtus v, was promptly censored by the Spanish Inquisition, which forbade its sale and circulation in Spain's dominions on the Italian peninsula. Spain took umbrage at Catena's presentation of the ecclesiastical, military, and fiscal relations between Pius v and Philip II because he showed the pope shifting the balance of power in his own favour. Miguel Gotor called Catena's life "the most Roman [amongst early lives of Pius], the one that more than any other explained the grafting of the

26 Peter Burke, "How to be a Counter-Reformation Saint," in *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge, Eng.: 1987), 54–56. Burke did not consider the degree to which these perceptions evolved throughout the early modern era, a crucial problem that begs more research.

27 There are no comparable studies of the other lives.

28 My discussion is indebted to Gotor, "Vite di san Pio v."

[Congregation of the] Holy Office [or Inquisition] onto the trunk of papal sovereignty, disseminating amongst readers the sovereign pope's new authority, simultaneously pastoral and inquisitorial."²⁹ This is one reason why Pius v was not a viable candidate for canonization in the late 16th century. In addition, after Sixtus v's death in 1590, the cardinals of the Congregation of Rites may have been disinclined to consider the inquisitorial pontiff's cause.

Heated disagreements between Church and state together with a lack of consensus within the Church affected the publication histories of the two lives of Borromeo. In 1592, Bascapè, a Barnabite father and close associate of Borromeo in Milan, saw his life of the cardinal published in Ingolstadt. Bascapè's desire to present Borromeo as "the paradigm of the Tridentine bishop" embroiled him in a struggle over the exact terms of the cardinal's holiness.³⁰ Like Catena before him, Bascapè faced the challenge of recounting the life of a man whose deep involvement in controversial politico-religious events of his day had earned him both supporters and hostile critics. According to Bascapè's account, as cardinal archbishop and reformer of his diocese, Borromeo asserted his independence from the papacy's increasingly centralized authority, while also upholding both pontifical authority and his own archiepiscopal authority over that of secular rulers.

The ramifications of articulating this image of Borromeo emerged when Bascapè tried to find a dedicatee and a publisher.³¹ Because Milan was Spanish territory, a dedication to Philip II was considered, but given Bascapè's treatment of Borromeo's relationship with the crown, Spanish censorship was likely. Nor could a pontiff be expected to favour a book promoting the image of a rigorously independent archbishop, and, in fact, the papal censors rejected Bascapè's life.³² Ultimately, Cardinal Federico I Borromeo, Charles's cousin, solved the problem by suggesting that Bascapè's life be published in Ingolstadt under the aegis of Duke William v of Bavaria, Count Palatine, who could defend it north of the Alps.

By the time Giussano's life of Borromeo was published in Rome in 1610, the political climate in Milan had changed significantly. Under Federico I Borromeo,

29 Gotor, "Vite di san Pio v," 247–48.

30 My synopsis relies on Sergio Pagano, "La tribolata redazione della 'Vita' di S. Carlo del Bascapè," *Studia Borromaica* 6 (1992), 9–67; quotation on 43. From the start, Latin was the chosen language.

31 Pagano, "Tribolata redazione," 35–38.

32 Ibid., 37; Miguel Gotor, "Agiografia e censura libraria: la Vita di san Carlo Borromeo di G.P. Giussani (1610)," in *Il pubblico dei santi: Forme e livelli di ricensione dei messaggi agiografici*, ed. Paolo Golinelli (Rome: 2000), 204.

archbishop since 1595, Milan's secular and ecclesiastical authorities, Spanish and Italian alike, had united in promoting Charles's canonization. The disagreements over Giussano's construction of Borromeo's official persona centred not on tensions between Church and state, but on conflicts between two Milanese religious orders – Giussano's Oblates and Bascape's Barnabites – and between those orders and the papacy.³³ Most important for us, however, is that Curial oversight of Giussano's text, undertaken while Charles's process was well underway, affected the life's structure and the saint's official image. The Index subjected Giussano's text to revisions to ensure that it was based on the apostolic process, which focused on the candidate's deeds, cult, virtues, and miracles. Giussano's portrayal of Charles's deeds was of utmost concern to the Index, which aimed at defending the papal conception of the office of bishop. The cardinals and bureaucrats on the Index were primarily Lombards and other friends of Cardinal Federico I Borromeo, and Gotor demonstrated that the personal ties amongst the cardinals strongly influenced Giussano's text.³⁴ Because he realized that only apostolic approval of the life would ensure its protection and Charles's canonization, Federico Borromeo was willing to have Borromeo's image as an intransigent, independent bishop softened in Giussano's life to create an official saintly persona acceptable to the Holy See. As a result, Giussano's life presented Borromeo as a cardinal and prince of the Roman Church, subject to pontifical authority. And the Congregation of Rites insisted that Borromeo be depicted in his cardinalatial – not episcopal – vestments.³⁵ Having been officially sanctioned, Giussano's life of the saint enjoyed wide circulation in various editions.³⁶

Many interested parties were involved in the successful promotion of candidates for sainthood, and Gotor's study is noteworthy for revealing the influence that cardinals exerted by serving on the Congregation of Rites, Index, and Holy Office, sometimes simultaneously. Cardinals also had the opportunity to discuss the worthiness of their former colleagues being considered for canonization when the pontiff presented a case to them in consistory. For a range of religious, political, or even personal reasons, cardinals might be supporters or detractors of a given candidate, circumstances that help explain why so few cardinals were canonized in this era.

33 This summary is based on Gotor, "Agiografia e censura."

34 *Ibid.*, 206–07.

35 *Ibid.*, 218.

36 *Ibid.*, 218, on the various editions. Because many Milanese preferred Bascape's image of Carlo, Giussano's life was not published in Milan.

7 The Cardinal Saint as Miracle-Worker

“Proven” miracles were (and remain) a requirement for official sainthood, and both Giussano and Maffei recount those of their protagonists according to the standard categorizations of the canonical processes – during life, at the time of death, and posthumously. Giussano begins his section on Borromeo’s miracles by explicitly stating that his account was based on the ordinary and apostolic processes.³⁷

Saints’ miracles are a form of *imitatio Christi*. Miracles entailing the cure of bodies (e.g. lameness and blindness) and souls (such as demonic possession) resemble those of Christ and the apostles, and those associated with saints’ deaths typically involve either Christ-like martyrdom or incorruptibility of the body. Posthumous miracles, also conceptualized in light of Jesus’s salvific power, centre on prayers addressed to the holy intercessor (sometimes before paintings of him/her), or physical proximity to the saint’s relics.³⁸

Giussano’s chapters on Borromeo as miracle-worker highlight his powers of exorcism and healing diseases by his touch or by means of his “clothing, or other things that he used.”³⁹ He portrays Borromeo as an effective saintly intercessor for devotees praying at his sepulchre, or before his portraits. These miracles reify Trent’s decrees on the invocation of saints and the efficacy of relics and visual images. To analyse just one of Borromeo’s miraculous cures, Giovanni Battista Berreta of Milan had long suffered from continual bleeding from his nose, and was assumed to be dying, when

[U]pon reading in the Gospel about the miracle that Christ our Lord performed in healing the woman who had suffered from a flow of blood for twelve years by touching the hem of his garment, he became hopeful of being cured himself if he could touch the Cardinal’s clothing since he was a Saintly man. And filled with this faith, he touched Charles’s clothing reverently ... and in that same hour he was cured...⁴⁰

37 Giussano, *Vita di S. Carlo Borromeo*, 651. Also see Maurizio Sangalli, *Miracoli a Milano: I processi informativi per eventi miracolosi in età spagnola* (Milan: 1993).

38 On miracles, see: Matthew M. Mesley and Louise E. Wilson (eds.), *Contextualizing Miracles in the Christian West, 1100–1500* (Oxford: 2014); Jacalyn Duffin, *Medical Miracles: Doctors, Saints and Healing in the Modern World* (New York: 2009); Fernando Vidal, “Miracles, Science and Testimony in post-Tridentine Saint-Making,” *Science in Context* 20 (2007), 481–508.

39 Giussano, *Vita di S. Carlo Borromeo*, 651.

40 *Ibid.*, 653. Borromeo was leading a church procession when this occurred. The biblical passage is Luke 8:43.

In this account, Berreta made the connection between Borromeo and Jesus, and it was a combination of Berreta's agency – motivated by faith and familiarity with the Bible – and Charles's thaumaturgic powers that resulted in the cure. By 1581, when the miracle reputedly occurred, Charles had been living in a Christ-like way for decades, and this surely contributed to pious Catholics' ability to envision his miracles. This story, like all miracle accounts, exhorted pious readers to invoke saints' efficacious assistance.

Maffei's treatment of one of Pius v's miracles suggests their utility in projecting magisterial images of the pontiffs who canonized them, in this case that of Clement XI.⁴¹ The papacy's clout in European politics had long been waning when Clement ascended the papal throne in 1700, and he was widely perceived as weak and ineffectual. In the face of struggles with secular rulers, he sought to harness his pontifical predecessor's power, as conveyed by Maffei's statement that, by canonizing Pius,

[C]lement XI intended not only to add new and very clear splendour to the said order of St. Dominic, such a worthy personage of the Catholic Church, but to promote the greater glory of the Apostolic See, by imploring – in such calamitous times – the special, suitable, and necessary protection of a pope saint...⁴²

Maffei did not ignore Pius's roles as inquisitor par excellence and triumphant Christian warrior at Lepanto, but gave greater emphasis than had Catena to Pius v's pastoral side in uniting Christendom and caring for souls.⁴³ Pius v's miracle of the crucifix is given special prominence in Maffei's life. The book's only illustration, a full-page engraving facing the title page, reproduces a painting on this theme by Domenico Muratori, who helped design the decorations for Pius's canonization celebration in St. Peter's.⁴⁴ Of this miracle Maffei writes:

Saint Pius customarily prayed before an image of the crucifix [carved] in relief. It happened one evening that when he tried to kiss its feet according to his usual custom, the holy figure [the sculpture] withdrew them

41 For further analysis, see Pamela M. Jones, "The Pope as Saint: Pius v in the Eyes of Sixtus v and Clement XI," in *The Papacy since 1500: From Italian Prince to Universal Pastor*, eds. James Corkery and Thomas Worcester (Cambridge, Eng.: 2010), 47–68.

42 Maffei, *Vita di S. Pio Quinto*, 659–60.

43 Jones, "The Pope as Saint," esp. 66–68 on Pius's vision of the victory of the Battle of Lepanto.

44 *Ibid.*, 63–65; Fig. 3.3.

from him more than once. The pontiff was surprised by this miraculous event...⁴⁵

Afterward, suspecting that the crucifix had been poisoned, it was wiped with a piece of bread, which was fed to a dog that immediately died.

That the miracle underscores Pius's ministry to the faithful through prayer emerges in Maffei's text and an inscription on the engraving. The words derive from St. Paul's letter to the Galatians 6:14: "But God forbid that I should glory, save in the Cross [of the Lord Jesus Christ, by whom the world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world]." This miracle conveys that like Pius V, Clement XI resembles St. Paul, an ideal minister of the faith who in his pastoral letter imitated Jesus by being crucified metaphorically in the service of his flock.

In the early 18th century, Pius V's persona as inquisitor-pastor was supported by Clement XI and by Prospero Lambertini, who had a noteworthy role in this and other canonizations.⁴⁶ Before being raised to the cardinalate in 1728, Lambertini served for decades as the Congregation of Rites's Promoter of the Faith (1708–28). This office involved playing devil's advocate during both the informative and apostolic processes by systematically pointing out weaknesses in arguments and evidence. During the 1720s, at Clement XI's request, Lambertini wrote *De servorum Dei beatificatione et beatorum canonizatione* (On the Beatification and Canonization of Blessed Servants of God), a treatise examining legislation, doctrine, and specific causes for official sanctity. When the definitive edition appeared (1747–51), Cardinal Lambertini had already been elected as Benedict XIV (1740–58).

In an analysis of *De servorum Dei*, Roberto Rusconi noted that, according to Lambertini, popes who were worthy of sainthood vigorously defended doctrine, repressed heretics, and maintained ecclesiastical discipline.⁴⁷ Lambertini also indicated that the ideal saintly pontiff should lead a spotless life, and mentioned that in a decree of 1710, Clement XI beseeched Pius's heavenly protection in "calamitous times," a statement also cited by Maffei. Subsequently, as Benedict XIV, Lambertini presided over five canonizations and six beatifications of men and women who were members of religious orders, and it is remarkable that not one of them was a cardinal or pope.⁴⁸ This underscores the crucial impact that even one highly-placed prelate's ideal of sanctity could

45 Ibid., 569–70.

46 My overview is based on Roberto Rusconi, "Benedict XIV and the Holiness of the Popes in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century," in *Benedict XIV and the Enlightenment*, eds. Rebecca Messbarger, Christopher M.S. Johns, and Philip Gavitt (Toronto: 2016), 276–96.

47 Rusconi, "Benedict XIV," quotation on p. 284.

48 Ibid., 285.

have on cases for official holiness throughout a long career, and further elucidates the difficulty of achieving sainthood for early modern popes or cardinals.

8 The Ideal of the Saintly Cardinal Envisioned in the Lives

Our authors were not uniformly successful in promoting the cardinals and pope to sainthood. One cardinal and one pope were canonized in the early modern period, and an analysis of their lives has demonstrated that the construction of their sanctified personas was dependent on a plethora of complex factors. When the six lives are read as a group, however, certain leitmotifs emerge that project a vision of a particular ideal shared and enacted by all four cardinals. Setting aside such questions as the degree to which these accounts of the ideal corresponded to historical fact or rhetorical tropes, I conclude this chapter by examining the ideal and reflecting on why so few of its exponents were elevated to sainthood.

The ideal of the saintly cardinal articulated by our authors entailed adhering to Trent's decrees. Prior to the council most cardinals – even bishops with responsibilities in their dioceses – resided in Rome in luxury as princes in accordance with the standards of decorum codified in treatises on the ideal cardinal (the topic of David S. Chambers's chapter in this volume). These cardinals must have been shocked by Trent's 1547 decree requiring the diocesan clergy to live in their areas of jurisdiction and tend to their flocks in person.⁴⁹ But our authors insist that none of our saintly cardinals sought the position of cardinal with its princely trappings. Therefore, they eagerly took up Trent's call for reform, both personal – through prayer and by living far simpler, more abstemious lives than was typical for the time – and institutional, by reforming their dioceses and defending the Church of Rome.

The authors agree that as cardinal, Michele Ghislieri, several decades older than the others, helped create the new ideal. In 1586 Catena writes:

In the Cardinalate Fra Michele carried himself in such a way that rather than altering his soul in any way, [he allowed] the dignity residing in him to be the splendour of his goodness, so that he followed the same humility and purity as before. He even wished to retain always the same customs of [the office of] Friar...⁵⁰

⁴⁹ *Canons and Decrees*, 46–50.

⁵⁰ Catena, *Vita del Gloriosissimo Papa Pio Quinto*, 13.

When selecting men for his household in Rome, where the cardinal was obliged to live while carrying out duties for the pope, Catena adds, “he warned them not to think they were entering a Court, but [rather] a monastery.”⁵¹ During this time the cardinal, who was also bishop of Mondovì in Piedmont, travelled to his diocese to make pastoral visitations, a duty mandated by Trent.⁵² Maffei, writing 126 years later, recounts that Michele Ghislieri maintained his austere ways after being raised to the cardinalate, an elevation in rank that made him aware only of “having been put in a position to be useful and to serve everyone.”⁵³ Ghislieri’s example is made explicit by Fuligatti, who writes in 1624 that Clement VIII forced the cardinalate on Bellarmine, who later “turned himself to adhering to imitation of Pius v.”⁵⁴

In 1651, Barnabeo remarks that Baronio prayed he would not be made a cardinal, undertook the penitential Seven Churches pilgrimage barefoot in hopes of being spared, but ultimately accepted God’s will. Continuing the now familiar theme, Barnabeo adds that Cardinal Baronio lived in a sparsely furnished cell and ate and slept sparingly. His vestments changed, but his soul did not.⁵⁵

Borromeo, unlike the others, was an exceedingly wealthy nobleman whose youthful embrace of the saintly ideal therefore set a more complex precedent. A key feature of the authors’ presentation of Borromeo’s embodiment of the saintly ideal is his humility, and their accounts presuppose an understanding of it in light of Bernard of Clairvaux’s distinction between the humility of truth or necessity, which derived from human baseness (that is, from being born poor), and the more praiseworthy humility of love, which required deliberate self-abasement on the part of noble and virtuous persons.⁵⁶

Bascapè reports that initially young Cardinal Borromeo lived in “almost regal splendour, in opposition to the exigencies of his nature and habits,” creating a household of men “famous for culture, renown, and titles.”⁵⁷ He adds, “although beguiled by so many attractions of riches, he turned his eyes to a more perfect discipline of life, and frequently exhorted himself to hold all

51 Ibid., 14.

52 Ibid., 14–15; *Canons and Decrees*, 199.

53 Maffei, *Vita di S. Pio Quinto*, 50–51.

54 Fuligatti, *Vita del Cardinale Roberto Bellarmino*, 122, 140.

55 Barnabeo, *Vita Caesaris Baronii*, 74–83.

56 Pamela M. Jones, “The Court of Humility: Carlo Borromeo and the Ritual of Reform,” in *The Possessions of a Cardinal, Politics, Piety and Art 1450–1700*, eds. Mary Hollingsworth and Carol M. Richardson (University Park, PA: 2010), 166–84; and her *Altarpieces and Their Viewers in the Churches of Rome* (Burlington, VT: 2008), 161–91.

57 Bascapè, *Vita e opera*, 26–27.

things in contempt.”⁵⁸ At the death of his older brother in 1562, the family urged the cardinal to give up the religious life to succeed his brother as secular head of the dynasty. Giussano states that when his brother died, Cardinal Borromeo “began a reform of his whole life,” adding: “[f]rom then on, he began to demonstrate a greater austerity of life, and with great fervour, and frequency, he devoted himself to the exercise of prayer, and holy virtues.”⁵⁹

A year later, Borromeo was appointed archbishop of Milan and took up residence in his diocese in accordance with Trent’s regulations. Bascapè reports that Borromeo removed many of the archiepiscopal palace’s expensive furnishings to donate them to churches or sell them to raise money for the poor. Both Bascapè and Giussano note that under Borromeo the palace acquired a modest appearance.⁶⁰ Giussano reports that of his income of 100,000 *scudi*, Borromeo gave away all but 20,000, which he used to cover expenses required by his office of archbishop, that is, the duties of maintaining his household of 100 clergymen, entertaining dignitaries, and giving alms.⁶¹ If today these acts of self-abasement seem rather paltry, by early modern standards they were regarded as extraordinary – in fact, Borromeo’s detractors considered them excessive.⁶²

Both Bascapè and Giussano address Borromeo’s attitude toward his duties as cardinal and archbishop as indicative of the saintly ideal. Bascapè writes that as both a cardinal and an archbishop, “Charles took exquisite care to preserve ecclesiastical decorum in everything.” In public areas of the archiepiscopal palace he always wore a *rochet* and *mozzetta*, but when alone in his private rooms he put on a “rough, dark-coloured robe.”⁶³ Giussano elaborates:

The upper layers of his [Borromeo’s] garments served the decorum of his cardinalatial dignity, [and] he used them according to his rank, but he regarded them on the other hand as vain ornaments and decorations. Taking pleasure in simplicity, he wore underneath them very poor clothes [including a coarse hairshirt], showing his most humble feeling ... he wanted no other garment than that [poor] one, which was his own

58 Ibid.

59 Giussano, *Vita di S. Carlo Borromeo*, 20–21.

60 Bascapè, *Vita e opera*, 668–75; Giussano, *Vita di S. Carlo Borromeo*, 54.

61 Giussano, *Vita di S. Carlo Borromeo*, 54, on income; Bascapè, *Vita e opera*, 672–73, on size of household.

62 Bascapè, *Vita e opera*, 672–73.

63 Ibid., 668–69. The *rochet*, an episcopal jurisdictional vestment, is a tight-sleeved white linen garment worn over the tunic; the *mozzetta* is a short cape. See also Carol M. Richardson’s contribution in this volume.

possession, because the others were not his, but those of his cardinalatial dignity.⁶⁴

Borromeo's association of the cardinal's office with luxury should be understood in the context of Trent's reform decree of 1563:

Those who assume the episcopal office [must] know what their duties are, and must understand that they have been called not for ... riches or luxury, but to labors and cares for the glory of God.⁶⁵

Because Bascapè asserts Borromeo's image as a strong archbishop, an emphasis on his humility as linked to his privileging of the office of bishop comes as no surprise. But it is remarkable that the Index allowed Giussano to state in his life that Borromeo was ready to renounce the office of cardinal should it interfere with his residence in Milan as archbishop because he valued the cure of souls above "all dignities and worldly greatness."⁶⁶

The newly revised cardinalatial ideal that Pius and Borromeo embodied also extended to institutional reform and defence of the Church. The devotion and tireless energy with which all our cardinals carried out reforms and promoted the faith is recorded throughout their lives. Fuligatti explicitly praises Bellarmine's reforms as cardinal archbishop of Capua as consonant with the reform ideal:

To his [diocesan] visitations, he [Bellarmine] added the Synods recommended by the holy Canons [and Decrees of the Council of Trent], following in the footsteps of Saint Charles [Borromeo], true idea of the holy Prelates....⁶⁷

By comparing his deeds to those of an official saint, Fuligatti aimed to maximize Bellarmine's chances of being canonized.

Baronio, who was never a bishop, was known primarily for his publications. In the chapter titled "He defended with zeal and ardour the Catholic faith & Ecclesiastical power," Barnabeo quotes from Baronio's *Annales* and *De monarchia Siciliae* (*Sicilian Monarchy*, 1609), noting, for instance, that the former records the inspirational history of early martyrs and evidence of the Church's

64 Giussano, *Vita di S. Carlo Borromeo*, 590.

65 *Canons and Decrees*, 232. I have refined Schroeder's stilted translation.

66 Giussano, *Vita di S. Carlo Borromeo*, 51–52.

67 Fuligatti, *Vita del Cardinale Roberto Bellarmino*, 172–81; quotation on p. 175.

authority while the latter defends papal sovereignty.⁶⁸ Although in the two papal conclaves of 1605 Baronio was considered a serious candidate, he was unelectable due to Spanish opposition, partly because of his support of Henry IV of France, partly because in the *Annales* he indicated that Santiago (St. James) never lived in Spain. The Spanish crown also objected to Baronio's *De monarchia Siciliae*, which upheld the papacy's right to rule the Spanish dominions of Sicily and Naples.⁶⁹ Although Barnabeo's life was published much later, in 1651, similar issues are likely to have prevented Baronio's cause from gaining momentum at that time.

Although, in hopes of strengthening their causes (or celebrating their canonizations) our life-writers showed that the cardinals or pope embodied the reform ideal, our brief overview indicates the problematic nature of this strategy. Even during Pius's and Borromeo's lifetimes, few cardinals emulated their asceticism and self-abnegation. For most cardinals – who lacked either Borromeo's exalted pedigree or his boundless financial resources – the ideal of giving away a large portion of one's money and elegant belongings to lead a humble, austere life held little attraction. Also sensitive in politico-religious terms were the institutional reforms and scholarly endeavours carried out by the proponents of the saintly ideal. Dissenting secular powers, prelates, and cardinals exerted their considerable influence during canonization processes, as did the reigning pope, whose imprimatur was the sine qua non of official sainthood.

9 Conclusion: New Directions for Study

Life-writing on saintly cardinals is a fruitful area for new research. Each of the representative books in question – and others not treated here – deserves sustained critical analysis in the contexts of changing attitudes toward holiness and geopolitical and ecclesiological developments. Additional questions include: how many copies of the individual books were printed, and what reception did they enjoy? What were the authors' specific agendas? How innovative or *retardataire* were their scholarly methods? To what extent was life-writing about saintly cardinals based on earlier lives of saints, especially those of the patristic era who so inspired them? How much of that similarity or difference was due to the cardinal's own self-fashioning? To what degree do the lives of

68 Barnabeo, *Vita Caesaris Baronii*, 150–54.

69 A. Pincherly, "Baronio, Cesare," in DBI, 6: 474 and Fabrizio D'Avenia, *La Chiesa del re. Monarchia e Papato nella Sicilia spagnola (secc. XVI–XVII)* (Rome: 2016), 29–30.

the cardinals, as told in these and other books of this kind, resemble lives written about coeval holy women and men? Investigation of these and other questions can help advance understanding of life-writing, sacred history, the perception and performance of sanctity, papal aspirations, and changing attitudes toward the office of cardinal.

Cardinals and the Culture of Libraries and Learning

Maria Pia Donato

In his influential book *De cardinalatu*, Paolo Cortesi (see David S. Chambers's chapter in this volume) depicts the ideal portrait of the cardinal as a learned and wise man, and a liberal patron of both learning and the learned. In Book II, Chapter XI, *De erogatione pecuniarum*, Cortesi posits that the cardinal should possess a library in his residence “quae pateat omnibus” (open to all).¹

This chapter considers the role of cardinals as patrons of culture as seen through their role as book-collectors and founders of libraries. What did books represent for a cardinal? Was there any specificity in cardinals' libraries in respect to early modern princely and aristocratic book collections? What was the meaning and function of a cardinal's library, particularly in Rome?

Possessing a library, a collection of works of arts and antiques and a cabinet of *naturalia* was, of course, common among the social elites of early modern Europe, a mark of rank, wealth, and taste. Cardinals and prelates promoted themselves as an aristocracy of learning and virtue; therefore, libraries were their best adornment.² Furthermore, since the Middle Ages, cardinals were generous patrons of universities and colleges, and their liberality had often taken the form of libraries.

The culture of collecting was especially strong in Rome. Indeed, the Catholic (Counter-) “reformation of knowledge” was meant to reinforce the exemplarity of the city. The arts and sciences at display were to extol the Church and the papacy's universal message, which the city of Rome had at once to express, symbolize, and make visible.³ Patronage of culture and the arts was consubstantial with affirming the authority of religion and the pope, while crafting individual and collective identities in that highly competitive arena that was the papal court. Cardinals were at the forefront of this endeavour, and they worked alongside myriad institutions that combined to the greater glory of, yet

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- 1 Paolo Cortesi, *De cardinalatu libri tres* (Castro Cortesi: 1510), 15. See Giorgio Montecchi, “Cardinali e biblioteche,” *Società e storia* 12 (1989), 729–39.
 - 2 Gigliola Fragnito, “Cardinals' Courts in Sixteenth-Century Rome,” *Journal of Modern History* 65 (1993), 26–56; Armando Petrucci, “I libri della porpora,” in *I luoghi della memoria scritta*, ed. Guglielmo Cavallo (Bari: 1994), 303–09.
 - 3 Simon Ditchfield, “Reading Rome as a Sacred Landscape, c. 1586–1635,” in *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Will Coster and Andrew Spicer (Cambridge, Eng.: 2005), 167–92.

at the same time competed with each other to define, God's message. This generated a competitive ethos of display, especially among cardinals, which invariably included possessing a library rich in manuscripts and printed materials.⁴

Libraries hence offer a good vantage point to investigate the part that cardinals played in the dissemination of culture as well as in the development of a Roman, papal ideology. Looking at libraries also enables historians to shed light on how cardinals operated as patrons according to their education, interests, and spirituality as well as to address changes in the cultural life of the papal court in the aftermath of the Council of Trent and in the following two centuries.

This chapter will focus mainly, though not exclusively, on Rome in the 17th and 18th centuries. By the early 17th century, assembling a library was considered almost a necessity. Indeed, as Gabriel Naudé (1600–53) – librarian to two cardinals, Giovanni Francesco Guidi di Bagno (1578–1641) and Jules Mazarin (1602–61) – wrote, there was “not a more decent and surer way to gain oneself a name among the peoples than to form beautiful and magnificent libraries for ... the use of the public.”⁵ The founding of both private and public libraries continued throughout the 18th century.

From a Roman standpoint too, such a chronology is meaningful. Clearly, in protecting the arts and sciences, all popes aimed to affirm Rome's centrality – a centrality that was meant to be political, religious, and cultural at once. Libraries were significant assets in this regard. In the second half of the 17th century, however, the Counter-Reformation's triumphant phase gave way to a new era in which the Holy See's place in European politics fell back after Westphalia. The papacy's reaction was to emphasize propaganda and persuasion. Library culture was thus part of the competition between Rome and Europe in the age of *raison d'état* and the secularization of politics.

1 Theatres of Virtue and Learning, Mirrors of Prestige

“Here you shall see an abundance of books as great as the elegance and admirable order in which they are arranged in five classes.” This is how, in his *Aedes*

4 I borrow this expression from Paula Findlen, “Athanasius Kircher and the Roman College Museum,” *Roma moderna e contemporanea* 3 (1995), 627; see further Gail Feigenbaum (ed.), *The Display of Art in the Roman Palace 1550–1750* (Los Angeles: 2014), and Renata Ago, *Il gusto delle cose: Una storia degli oggetti nella Roma del Seicento* (Rome: 2006).

5 Gabriel Naudé, *Advis pour dresser une bibliothèque* (Paris: 1627), 17–18: “aucun moyen plus honest et asseuré pour s'acquérir une grande renommé parmy les peuples que de dresser de belles et magnifiques pour ... l'usage du public.”

Barberinae of 1647, Girolamo Teti begins the description of Cardinal Francesco I Barberini's (1597–1679) library in the new family palace on the Quirinal Hill.⁶ This was situated in several rooms on the top floor of the right wing of the building, with (at the time) 59 chestnut wood armoires designed by Giovanni Battista Soria, decorated with the cardinal's coat of arms and elegant little columns, the portraits of illustrious men, and, unsurprisingly, a bust of Pope Urban VIII.

Although the Barberini family went so far as to publish a description of their magnificent residence, they were certainly not the only ones to possess a library worth of praise. At that time, the palaces of the most powerful and richest cardinals in Rome and elsewhere made room for large libraries and/or collections of antiquities.

In this volume, Patricia Waddy discusses the evolution of the cardinals' palace into sumptuous residences of the 16th and 17th centuries and shows how the decoration of their interiors was dictated by the rituals associated with a cardinal's lifestyle and public persona. As Cortesi had already asserted in *De cardinalatu*, the library was to be the intersection of the house's private and public parts.⁷ Libraries were instruments for work for the cardinal, his household, and entourage (like secretaries, *sommisti*, *aiutanti di studio*, younger relatives still in their study years); however, they were also spaces where the cardinal could hold conversations and host meetings of literary academies. Smaller, secret chambers might preserve the most precious manuscripts or prohibited books as well as gems and coins; these were usually kept in special drawers and were the supplements of any good book collection. In fact, the 17th century witnessed the transformation of libraries from the Renaissance *studioli* to theatres of knowledge.⁸ Like the Barberiniana, other libraries in cardinalatial palaces were lavishly furnished in order to give public expression to their owner's learning and power, though the cardinal would normally also have his own "private" library in his study or cabinet.

In 1664, for instance, Carlo Camillo Massimo (1620–77) bought a new residence at the Quattro Fontane to mark his comeback at court after a four-year "disgrace" in Roccasecca. According to Giovanni Pietro Bellori's description of Rome's *mirabilia*, the cardinal's library was "not only the most chosen in every art, but also decorated with herms of philosophers, ancient paintings,

6 Girolamo Teti, *Aedes barberinae ad Quirinalem ... descriptae* (Rome: 1647), 19: "Hic tu vides non minus maximam librorum copiam, quam elegantiam, atque admirabilem ordinem, quo sunt, suis quinque classibus ... dispositi."

7 Cortesi, *De cardinalatu*, LIII.

8 André Masson, *Le décor des bibliothèques du Moyen Âge à la Révolution* (Geneva: 1972); Edgar Lehmann, *Die Bibliotheksräume der deutschen Klöster in der Zeit des Barock* (Berlin: 1996).

mosaics ... learned inscriptions.”⁹ Benedetto Pamphilj (1653–1730) had architect Carlo Fontana design his “*libraria nova*” in the building he inhabited at Santa Marta within the Pamphilj complex; it was decorated with maps and equipped with chairs to host academies and music concerts.¹⁰ In Paris, Richelieu’s (1585–1642) library in the Palais Cardinal was directly accessible from the street (today’s Rue de Richelieu) and visitors could admire 74 meters of shelves embellished with green silk and 58 portraits of illustrious men. Richelieu’s successor Mazarin commissioned the architect Pierre Le Muet to design his library which opened to the public on Thursdays.¹¹

Obviously, although forming a library was one of the hallmarks of a cultured nobleman and especially of a Prince of the Church, much depended on who the cardinal was. Many essays in this volume (such as that by Maria Antonietta Visceglia) delve into the Sacred College’s sociology and how it changed over time, so that the cardinals were at once a coherent whole and a most fragmented group. A cardinal’s personal background, status, wealth, age, career, and personality made a wide difference in how he fulfilled his role as patron of culture. Accordingly, not only the size, value, and – in a much less straightforward way which we shall discuss later – the character of cardinals’ libraries varied widely, but the very notion of a “cardinal’s library” takes on rather different meanings over time and circumstances.

There is a macroscopic difference between the 600 books of the eminent Counter-Reformation historian Cesare Baronio (1538–1607), and the 40,000 credited to Mazarin before the Fronde (after returning to power, Mazarin was still able to piece together 20,000 volumes). Camillo Pamphilj (1622–66), Innocent X’s nephew and a fine art connoisseur, possessed a library of approximately 3,000 titles before he renounced his red hat to marry Olimpia Aldobrandini.¹² Likewise, Stefano Borgia (1731–1804) owned some 3,000 titles. Maffeo Barberini seemingly owned some 2,500 books, but, thanks to the princely revenues of his nephew Francesco I, by 1681 the Barberini library amounted

9 Giovanni Pietro Bellori, *Nota delli musei, librerie, gallerie, et ornamenti di statue e pitture ne’ palazzi, nelle case, e ne’ giardini di Roma* (Rome: 1664), 33: “non meno eletissima in ogni disciplina, che ornate di herme di filosofi, di antiche pitture, musaici ... iscrizioni erudite.” Roberto Marzocchi, *Facere bibliothecam in domo: La biblioteca del cardinale Carlo Camillo II Massimo (1620–1677)* (Verona: 2008).

10 Lina Montalto, *Un mecenate in Roma barocca: Il cardinale Benedetto Pamphilj, 1653–1730* (Florence: 1955), 160–68.

11 Jacqueline Artier, “La bibliothèque du cardinal de Richelieu,” in *Histoire des bibliothèques françaises*, ed. Claude Jolly (Paris: 1988), 2:127–34 and Pierre Gasnault, “De la bibliothèque de Mazarin à la bibliothèque Mazarine,” in Jolly (ed.), *Histoire des bibliothèques* 2:135–46.

12 Benedetta Borello, “I libri di Camillo Pamphilj al Palazzo al Corso,” <http://www.enbach.eu/content/camillo-pamphilj>.

to 25,000 titles.¹³ In 1643, Richelieu kept 6,536 books in Paris (12 per cent of which were manuscripts) and 250 in the Chateau de Rueil. During his life, Filippo Antonio Gualtieri (1660–1728) formed no less than three libraries, each with several thousand books. But Paolo Francesco Antamori's (1712–95) post-mortem inventory only lists 1,150 books.¹⁴

Generally speaking, the *cardinali poveri* (see Lucinda Byatt's chapter in this volume), especially those from the regular clergy, often rented their residences or lived in their order's premises. The libraries of these cardinals are somewhat nearer to the modern notion of a personal library, although the cardinal's library commonly overlapped with the order's library, to which the cardinal often eventually bequeathed his own books. Baronio's library was small, but he could use the whole Vallicelliana as if it was his own; he eventually bequeathed his books to it.¹⁵ The "libreria di scienze et di lettere sacre, morali et di filologia" of the Jesuit cardinal Sforza Pallavicino is listed in Bellori's *Nota delle musei*; Pallavicino left it to the Collegio Romano, as his predecessors Francisco de Toledo (1532–96) and Robert Bellarmine (1542–1620) had done.¹⁶ In Spain, a solid tradition of cardinalatial libraries in convents continued throughout the 18th century: examples include Gaspar da Molina's (1679–1744) library in the Augustinian convent of San Acacio in Seville and Juan Tomás de Boxador's (1703–80) in the Dominican convent of Santa Catalina in Barcelona.¹⁷

Great barons like Ascanio Colonna and papal nephews like Alessandro II Farnese, Francesco I Barberini, and Flavio I Chigi, could amass books, paintings, and antiquities nearly limitlessly. The richly decorated palaces of the Renaissance were designed to express such cardinals' personal prestige, and that of their families, next to whom the cardinals often continued to live. Libraries were but an element of this entanglement. The Barberini palace on the Quirinal Hill was originally built for Taddeo Barberini and Anna Colonna, but the couple only lived there for two years before cardinal Carlo rented it from his brother; eventually, in 1670, Francesco took it over. Tellingly, however, Francesco always kept the library wing to himself.¹⁸

13 *Index Bibliothecae qua F. Barberinus magnificentissimas suae Familiae ad Quirinalem aedes magnificentiores reddidit* (Rome: 1681).

14 Massimo Pautrier, *Altri libri delle case romane alla fine del Settecento: Una ricerca negli archivi notarili* (Manziana: 2010), 99–100.

15 Giuseppe Finocchiaro (ed.), *I libri di Cesare Baronio in Vallicelliana* (Rome: 2008).

16 Bellori, *Nota delli musei*, 42.

17 Ofelia Rey Castelao, "El poder de las bibliotecas institucionales," in *El poder y sus manifestaciones / Il potere e le sue manifestazioni* (Madrid: 2016), 11–72.

18 Giuseppina Magnanimi, *Palazzo Barberini* (Rome: 1983).

When dealing with the great Roman nobility, it is in fact difficult to trace a clear dividing line between cardinals' libraries and those of their families. Books might well be transmitted as a nepotistic asset from a cardinal to nephew(s) who were entering a curial career. Maffeo Barberini, for instance, donated his properties to his brother Carlo, but allotted the library to his nephew Francesco. Nevertheless, books could also pass from ecclesiastics to lay relatives and vice versa, eventually becoming part of the family heritage. Bernardino Spada's (1597–1661) beautiful palace (once owned by Cardinal Girolamo Capodiferro), including his rich library and art collections, were inherited by his brother *monsignor* Virgilio, with the stipulation that he would then transmit them to the heirs to the family's title.¹⁹ Around 1650, Cardinal Girolamo Colonna (1604–66) promoted the restyling of the buildings owned by his powerful family at the bottom of the Quirinal Hill, the edification of the gallery and the refurbishment of the library, which his nephew, prince Lorenzo Onofrio, continued. By the mid-18th century the library was an integral part of the palace, which foreigners visited.²⁰

A century later, after his uncle Lorenzo's election as Clement XII, Neri Maria Corsini (1685–1770) moved to Rome to be ordained a priest and a cardinal, and together with his brother Bartolomeo he acquired the Riario palace. In the right wing, a magnificent library in eight rooms offered shelter to the so-called *Corsinia vetus*, that is, the library initiated by Neri *seniore*, first cardinal for this family of Florentine bankers, and Lorenzo.²¹ Upon Neri Maria's death, the palace and library remained in the family possession until sold to the Italian State.

In a nutshell, being a cardinal offered many reasons and even more opportunities for forming a distinguished collection of manuscripts and rare books. It was not only a matter of money and prestige. Be they secular or regular clergy, rich or poor, cardinals could appropriate ancient manuscripts and codices in the abbeys and convents and missions under their jurisdiction. Cardinal Bessarion (1403–72) is certainly the most obvious and illustrious example of a cardinal who did this.²² However, further examples of manuscripts purloined

19 Arne Karsten, *Kardinal Bernardino Spada: Eine Karriere im barocken Rom* (Göttingen: 2001).

20 Natalia Gozzano, "Il principe e i libertini: La biblioteca di Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna," *Aprosiana* 11–12 (2003–04), 111–26.

21 Olga Pinto, *Storia della biblioteca Corsiniana e della biblioteca dell'Accademia dei Lincei* (Florence: 1956); Panfilia Orzi Smeriglio, *I Corsini a Roma e le origini della Biblioteca Corsiniana* (Rome: 1958).

22 Lorre Labowsky, *Bessarion's Library and the Biblioteca Marciana: Six Early Inventories* (Rome: 1979); Elpidio Mioni, *Bibliothecae divi Marci Venetiarum codices graeci manuscript: Thesaurus antiquus* (Rome: 1981–85).

in this way include those from Santa Sofia in Benevento in Ascanio Colonna's library and from San Giovanni in Carbonara in Francesco I Barberini's. Stefano Borgia was Prefect of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide and was thus able to assemble a spectacular collection of Coptic manuscripts. Furthermore, in addition to their personal fortunes and privileges, both Cardinals Barberini and Chigi significantly increased their possessions thanks to their uncles' liberality, which allowed them to retrieve second copies from the Vatican Library and later Propaganda Fide.

In reality, it should be noted that the Vatican Library offered a model for any cardinal and was a pivot of Rome's intellectual and court life. The fact that Paul V, Urban VIII, and Alexander VII all appointed their nephews as Cardinal Librarian was at once a manifestation of nepotism and an indication of the importance they attached to the Vatican Library. Its supervision provided a highly honorific charge, the more so since it was neither a source of revenues nor a position of great political power. The office of Cardinal Librarian could be the apex of the career of scholars and theologians. Some such cardinals were appointed Librarian immediately after their promotion to the College (examples include nobles and papal relatives like Antonio Carafa and Ascanio Colonna, and men of lower social origin like Guglielmo Sirleto, Baronio, and later Casanate), but others climbed their way up within the ranks of the institution, like the Augustinian Enrico Noris or the Franciscan Lorenzo Brancati (see Jean-Pascal Gay's chapter in this volume).²³

Most of the Cardinal Librarians were themselves remarkable book collectors and earned reputations as generous patrons of learning as well as experts on bibliography and facilitators of the circulation of books (they also regularly sat as censors in the Congregations of the Holy Office and the Index of Prohibited Books). In fact, possessing a rich library seems to have been a tacit criterion in the appointment of the Cardinal Librarians. In the 18th century, all of them – Benedetto Pamphilj, Angelo M. Querini, Domenico Passionei, Alessandro Albani, Francisco de Zelada, and, at the beginning of the following century, Luigi Valenti Gonzaga – owned conspicuous libraries. Unsurprisingly, many of them introduced their own librarians into the Vatican. Alessandro Albani even had his librarian and antiquarian Winckelmann appointed *scriptor* without actually working there; conversely, Flavio II Chigi (1711–71) entrusted Stefano Evodio Assemani, Arabic scriptor and then *prefectus* in the Vatican, with the catalogue of Chigi's library.²⁴

23 For an overview, see Claudia Montuschi (ed.), *La Vaticana nel Seicento (1590–1700): una biblioteca di biblioteche*, Storia della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana 3 (Vatican City: 2014).

24 Stefano Evodio Assemani, *Catalogo della biblioteca Chigiana giusta i cognomi degli autori ed i titoli degli anonimi coll'ordine alfabetico disposto* (Rome: 1764).

2 Birth, Growth, and Death of a Cardinal's Library

In October 1698, Cardinal Girolamo Casanate (1620–1700), theologian and canonist, member of the Inquisition and the Index, and Cardinal Librarian, in his last will and testament left properties worth 160,000 *scudi* to the convent of Santa Maria sopra Minerva in Rome for the funding of two lectureships in Thomist theology and the transformation of his library into a public institution “that would be for the common benefit of all those who will study and make themselves able to defend and serve the Catholic Religion and the Holy See” (for cardinals’ wills, see Fausto Nicolai’s chapter in this volume).²⁵ Two friars were to be appointed for opening the library for three hours in the morning and three in the afternoon, and for cataloguing and incrementing the collection. By then, the library, which Casanate initially inherited from his father, held some 25,000 volumes and was beautifully designed “in a large airy oval theatre with high and elegant shelves in eleven levels all around, and the divisions of books so well disposed and orderly that it is very easy to find them, with the help of easy catalogues.”²⁶

At that time, cardinals usually made their books available to a public of men of letters and scholars of different ages and positions; some had even turned – or tried to turn – them into public institutions, not only in Rome. Cardinal Federico Borromeo (1564–1631), Archbishop of Milan, and himself a prolific writer, founded the Ambrosian library and gallery in 1609 as the premises for a new college for the liberal arts and theology. I have already mentioned Richelieu: in his last testament and will, he left the tidy sum of 2,000 *livres* for the care of his library, which nonetheless was eventually merged with that of the Sorbonne. Two decades later, Mazarin succeeded in securing his possessions for a new grandiose public library and a college “des quatre nations.” The Mazarine opened in 1689 in a (still extant) building designed by Louis Le Vau, and together with the Ambrosiana, arguably offered a model for Casanate.

Indeed, by the end of the 17th century, libraries and the patronage of scholarship took up an ever greater importance in cardinals’ activities. Apart from the obvious fact that the production and availability of books steadily

25 Angela Adriana Cavarra (ed.), *La biblioteca Casanatense* (Florence: 1993), 11: “Che sia a beneficio commune di tutti quelli che vorranno approfittarsi nelle lettere e rendersi habili alla difesa e servizio della Religione cattolica e di questa Santa Sede.”

26 Carlo Bartolomeo Piazza, *Euseuologio romano, ouero Delle opere pie di Roma, accresciuto, & ampliato secondo lo stato presente. Con due trattati delle accademie, e librerie celebri di Roma* (Rome: 1698), CXXLI: “in un spazioso teatro bislongo e ampio alte et eleganti scanzie d’ogn’intorno con undici alzate, ripartimenti di libri così ben disposti et ordinati, che rendono commodissimo il loro ritrovamento, et aiutato da facilissimi indici.”

increased, the reasons for such developments were numerous. Book culture was part of the symbolic competition among the European powers and a *topos* for propaganda. Furthermore, the intertwining of politics, confessionality, and erudition fuelled historical research.

In Rome, such developments occurred, on the one hand, against the backdrop of the papacy's reduced role in European politics after Westphalia, and, on the other hand, in the sociology of the Sacred College and the evolution of the ideal of a Roman cardinal in the age of "Neo-Tridentinism," aiming to resume clerical reform along the lines sketched out at Trent. The abolition of venality, the condemnation of nepotism (see Birgit Emich's chapter in this volume), a greater emphasis on learning and piety of the exemplary cardinal (see Pamela Jones's chapter), and the promotion of a higher number of ecclesiastics from the regular clergy – usually more familiar with bookish studies, of lower social origin and personal incomes, and less entangled in family logics (hence freer to leave their belongings to institutions such as convents) – all conspired to encourage the creation of libraries as the paramount expression of the cardinal's patronage of culture. As Bartolomeo Piazza put it in his *Euseuologia romano* of 1698, libraries were a "theatre of the volumes by dead authors which are meant to teach the living" for future generations of prelates and ecclesiastics.²⁷

Publications like Piazza's and city-guides enumerated the libraries adorning the city, including those of cardinals.²⁸ Praising libraries and collections was instrumental in extolling Rome the norm-giver, as the competition with the monarchies and their capital cities escalated. In reality though, cardinals' libraries, just like art and antique collections – possibly even more, because of their lesser financial value – remained fragile and transient. Thus, many cardinals bequeathed their collections to larger libraries while others, spending many years in Rome, donated them to their native or episcopal cities. Famous precedents for such liberality were Bessarion and Borromeo – and yet the 18th century, against the background of the Enlightenment ideology of public usefulness, witnessed a significant increase in such practices.²⁹ Benedict XIV, archbishop of his native Bologna for many years, donated his personal books

27 Piazza, *Euseuologia romano*, CXXVIII–CXXX: "teatro de' volumi de' morti scrittori, che servono ad ammaestrare i vivi."

28 Valentino Romani, *Biblioteche romane del Sei e Settecento* (Manziana: 1996); Alfredo Serai, "La Vaticana e le altre biblioteche romane," in Montuschi (ed.), *La Vaticana nel Seicento*, 47–72.

29 Emmanuelle Chapron, *Ad utilità pubblica: Politique des bibliothèques et pratiques du livre à Florence au XVIIIe siècle* (Geneva: 2009); Luis Garcia Ejarque, *Historia de la lectura pública en España* (Gijón: 2000).

to the local Istituto delle Scienze and his fellow-citizen Cardinal Filippo M. Monti (1674–1754) did the same. Although he spent all his life in Rome, where he became a leading anti-Jesuit figure, Mario Compagnoni Marefoschi (1714–80) left his theological library to his native Macerata, to foster the creation of an academy for the defence of Augustinianism.³⁰ Luis Antonio Belluga y Moncada (1662–1743), Spanish crown cardinal, put together a beautiful library in Rome with the assistance of the erudite Jesuit Gaetano Cenni – and then bequeathed it to the college of Santa María de Jesús in Seville.³¹

Still, many other libraries did not outlive their owner and collections fed one another incessantly. Cardinals often purchased other cardinals' books – sometimes, untrustworthy heirs contributed to this by feeding the market against their relatives' dispositions. Ascanio Colonna bought Sirleto's library, famous for its Oriental manuscripts, then left it to the chapter of San Giovanni in Laterano, which in turn sold it to the Altemps family. Carlo Camillo II Massimo's heir, Fabio Camillo, put antiquities and paintings on sale immediately after his brother's death but left part of the books in the palace on the Quirinal Hill; this was later acquired by Cardinal Francesco Nerli. Christina of Sweden left her remarkable library to her mentor Decio Azzolini who died just a few weeks later; within months, his heirs sold it on to Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni (1667–1740).³² Lorenzo Corsini purchased one of Cardinal Gualtieri's libraries for 11,000 *scudi*. In the 18th century, the libraries of Álvaro Cienfuegos (1657–1739), Alberico Archinto (1698–1758), Giuseppe Garampi (1725–92), Francisco Xavier de Zelada (1717–1801), and many others all ended up on the market.³³

To summarize, few cardinals had the means, foresight, or descendants necessary to transform their libraries into public facilities, despite their best efforts. This is well exemplified by the birth, growth, and death of Cardinal

30 *Catalogo della maggior parte della biblioteca della chiara memoria dell'eminantissimo cardinale Mario Compagnoni Marefoschi* (Rome: 1787); Filippo M. Giochi, *Un eminente bibliofilo maceratese del 18. secolo: Il Cardinale Mario Compagnoni Marefoschi e la sua biblioteca* (Loreto: 1999).

31 Klaus Wagner, "Orden en las bibliotecas: La librería romana del cardinal Luis Belluga," in *La memoria de los libros: Estudio sobre la historia del escrito y de la lectura en Europa y América*, eds. Pedro Catedra and Maria Luisa Lopez Vidriero (Salamanca: 2002), 2:161–76.

32 Eva Nilsson Nylander, "Ingens est codicum numerus: I fondi reginensi," in Montuschi (ed.), *La Vaticana nel Seicento*, 395–426.

33 *Catalogus Bibliothecae Cl. Mem. Eminentissimi cardinalis Cienfuegos, quae prostat Romae in domo Caroli Giannini librorum Sanctitatis Suae provisoris* (Rome: 1740); *Bibliothecae Alberici cardinalis Archinti catalogus* (Rome: 1760); Mariano De Romanis, *Bibliothecae Iosephi Garampi cardinalis catalogus materiarum ordine digestus et notis bibliographicis instructus* (Rome: 1795–96); Giovanni Mercati, *Note per una storia delle biblioteche romane nei secoli XVI–XIX* (Vatican City: 1952), 58–86.

Imperiali's library, in its heyday one of the most celebrated in Rome. Giuseppe Renato Imperiali (1651–1737), of the Altavilla branch of a rich and noble Genoese family with feudal possessions in southern Italy, was Treasurer General of the Apostolic Chamber and, as a cardinal, legate of Ferrara (see Irene Fosi's chapter in this volume) and the prefect of the Congregation of Buon Governo. He inherited the 3,000 books his great-uncle and tutor Cardinal Lorenzo (1606–73) had collected in his palace in Campo Marzio. However, immediately after Giuseppe Renato's elevation to the purple in 1690, he augmented his uncle's collection into a library worthy of his ambitions. He purchased the remarkable collection of Cardinal Jean Gautier de Sluse from Liège (1628–87), which amounted to 20,000 volumes and hundreds of manuscripts, mainly legal and juridical in content. A second major collection entered the library around 1710, that of Marcello Severoli (1644–1707), a lawyer and man of letters.

By the late 1710s, the *Libreria Imperialense* had acquired a distinct place in Rome's intellectual life, and the cardinal began to make provisions for its future. In his will he left the library to the "family prelate," with 120 *scudi* annually for the librarian, and devised a trust to protect the library's integrity so that it would continue to offer "the commodity of studying there to others in the way We used."³⁴ Imperiali's nephews, both cardinals, Giuseppe Spinelli (1694–1763) and Cosimo Imperiali (1685–1764), did in fact take care of their uncle's legacy, in spite of their difficulties in finding a convenient location. However, their deaths, the complications of administering the trust across several agnates, and the extinction of the Altavilla branch of the Imperiali family eventually endangered the library. In 1790 Giuseppe Renato's *fideicommissum* was terminated by Pius VI, and the books were auctioned.

3 Portrait of the Cardinal as Book-Collector and Patron (His Librarian Next to Him)

Given the complexities discussed so far, it is not easy to characterize cardinals' libraries thematically. If possessing a library and hosting scholars and young prelates was a quintessential feature of the early modern cardinal, there was not, in fact, a quintessential cardinalatial library, except in that – obviously – books on canon law and sacred history represented a significant feature. It is tempting to retrace a cardinal's taste and personality through his books, but

34 Flavia Cancedda, *Figure e fatti intorno alla biblioteca del cardinale Imperiali, mecenate del '700* (Rome: 1995), 107: "la comodità ad altri di potervi studiare nel modo che facevamo Noi."

that would be partly misleading. As historians of the book have argued, inventories and catalogues tell us more about what was considered to be desirable and commendable, than about what was actually read. Cardinals' libraries clearly responded to what the Jesuit Antonio Possevino indicated were the goals of any Catholic ecclesiastic in choosing books, that is, to combine learning with piety.³⁵

Maffeo Barberini, the "poet pope," owned a remarkable selection of ancient and modern poetry.³⁶ But big libraries like the Barberiniana, Chigiana, Corsiniana, and Casanatense were general collections aiming at covering all fields of the humanities, especially sacred and profane history (and to a lesser extent, the natural sciences and medicine). The Casanatense also served as working space for the Dominicans and was particularly well endowed in theology, whereas the Corsiniana was rich in Tuscan literature and art history – unsurprisingly so, given the Corsini's Florentine origins. Benedetto Pamphilj had two libraries, one predominantly relating to canon and civil law, and the other to the humanities and erudition.³⁷

Historians of the book argue that the 18th century witnessed a diversification of ecclesiastic libraries throughout Europe. Nevertheless, few cardinals' libraries can be singled out against the backdrop of their common humanist and historical culture; most tended to exhibit a (slightly) stronger religious dimension usually leaving little room for *belles-lettres* and profane poetry and theatre.

Passionei was a fine connoisseur of rare and prohibited books.³⁸ Ignazio Boncompagni Ludovisi's library, some 1200 titles, was exceptionally rich in English books, ranging from the *Foedera* to Adam Smith (and a few novels), and may be considered the typical fashionable Enlightenment collection for a man who nevertheless basically remained a canonist.³⁹ Stefano Borgia mainly collected manuscripts and books that were related to his missionary activity and antiquarian interests, and books were meant as a working complement for

35 Antonio Possevino, *Bibliotheca selecta, quo agitur de ratione studiorum* (Rome: 1693).

36 Sebastian Schütze, *Kardinal Maffeo Barberini später Papst Urban VIII. und die Entstehung des römischen Hochbarock* (Munich: 2007), 294–331.

37 Alessandra Mercantini, "Fioriscono di splendore le due cospicue librerie del signor cardinal Benedetto Pamfilio: Studi e ricerche sugli inventari inediti di una perduta biblioteca," in *The Pamphilj and the Arts. Patronage and Consumption in Baroque Rome*, ed. Stephanie C. Leone (Boston: 2011), 211–303.

38 Alfredo Serrai, *Domenico Passionei e la sua biblioteca* (Milan: 2004).

39 Daniel Benvenuti, *Il cardinale Ignazio Boncompagni Ludovisi (1743–1790) e la sua biblioteca: Contributo alla definizione di un profilo intellettuale, bibliografico e documentario* (Maziana: 2014).

his museum.⁴⁰ His Coptic manuscripts were catalogued by the Danish antiquarian Georg Zoega, whom the cardinal employed after he converted a Catholic.⁴¹

As Zoega's case indicates, in order to gain an insight into how cardinals operated as patrons and intellectuals, it is more rewarding to look at their librarians than to scrutinize their book collections. A long tradition of patronage dating back at least to the Renaissance encouraged cardinals to employ celebrated men of letters: Fulvio Orsini (Alessandro Farnese's librarian and curator), Aquiles Estaço (who, after serving Cardinal Guido Ascanio Sforza, left his own books to create a library in the Oratorio, the future Vallicelliana at Chiesa Nuova), Gabriel Naudé, and the German convert Lucas Holstenius were all full-fledged intellectuals who combined their role as librarians and agents for their patrons with that of scholars in the Republic of Letters.

Although the position of librarian remained fairly unstable, and cardinals' librarians often acted as secretary, curator, or even *maestro di casa* (see Mary Hollingsworth's chapter in this volume), the librarianship was a much sought-after position for those who had neither the birth nor money to begin a career in the papal offices – but hoped to have one. Thus, in the 17th and 18th centuries, a career pattern emerged.⁴² The archetypical cardinal's librarian was relatively young, had given proof of his erudition, and found employment in Rome through a fellow-citizen or relative, very commonly in the household of a “national” or otherwise-related cardinal. Sometimes, the prospective librarian was a cleric in a church or abbey under the protection of his future cardinal employer (see Arnold Witte's chapter on the cardinal protector in this volume). The librarian usually lived in his patron's palace, was paid a salary, and often obtained ecclesiastical benefices (optimally *sine cura*). Sometimes he kept a position as lecturer, *scriptor*, or the like. In time, he would seek a better position in a more prestigious institution, possibly the Vatican Library, or in ecclesiastical or curial office. The most able, and those with the best connections, could rise as far as a bishopric. For instance, Leo Allatius (1586–1668), lecturer in the Greek college, Vatican Greek *scriptor* and theologian and librarian to Cardinal Lelio Biscia, and also a cleric of the Basilian abbey of Grottaferrata under the jurisdiction of Francesco I Barberini, was eventually employed by

40 Giovanna Granata and Maria Enrica Lanfranchi, *La biblioteca del cardinale Stefano Borgia, 1731–1804* (Rome: 2008).

41 Georg Zoega, *Catalogus codicum Copticorum manu scriptorum qui in Museo Borgiano Velitris adservantur ... Opus posthumum cum 7. tabulis aeneis* (Rome: 1810).

42 Maria Pia Donato, “Honneur, service, savoir: Les bibliothécaires romains (XVII^e–XVIII^e siècles),” in *Histoire des bibliothécaires*, eds. Dominique Varry and Frédéric Barbier (Lyon: 2003), 65–79.

the latter, and granted a canonicate in San Lorenzo in Damaso and San Nicola in Carcere. Allatius authored several dozen scholarly books and pamphlets which drew on both Vatican and Barberini manuscripts; only in 1661, however, did Allatius succeed in becoming *custode* of the Vatican.⁴³

Because libraries were both physical spaces and symbolic hubs in the “Republic of Letters” and at the interface of different publics (Rome’s, the Catholic nations’, the multi-confessional world), working in a cardinal’s library was a multifold task. It implied getting information on recent publications, purchasing books, “chasing” manuscripts in remote convents, supervising binding, cataloguing manuscript and printed materials, exchanging scholarly expertise, welcoming visitors, providing copies and excerpts of manuscripts or rare books to scholars abroad, preparing materials for publication and printing the catalogue of one’s patron’s library in order to magnify his liberality and learning. Working in a cardinal’s library also presupposed the ability to respond to the requests for scholarly works as well as laudatory and polemical texts from his patron and his allies, and even the pope. In turn, the *cardinal padrone*’s library (and money) enabled the cardinal’s librarian to pursue his personal research and publications – thus promoting his scholarly identity. Only in the late 18th century, the mechanisms of promotion and self-promotion that had shaped the interplay between the scholarly and the curial world through libraries began to fade, and the cardinal’s librarian gradually became a semi-professional figure, though still generally a cleric engaged in scholarly and literary activities.

Once again, Cardinals Imperiali and Corsini provide good examples of how scholarly “dynasties” operated in cardinalatial libraries. Imperiali was still legate in Ferrara when his auditor, Filippo del Torre, introduced his younger compatriot Giusto Fontanini (1666–1736), who had made himself noted with a scholarly piece on *Della masnade ed altri servi secondo l’uso dei Longobardi* (1689). Fontanini hence moved to Rome to take care of the cardinal’s (rapidly expanding) library. Here he worked at his *L’Aminta di Torquato Tasso difeso e illustrato* (1700) and the erudite *Vindiciae antiquorum diplomatum* (1705), which granted him a high reputation at court. Hence Clement XI appointed Fontanini lecturer of eloquence at the Sapienza and later entrusted him with the defence of Rome’s temporal dominions against the Emperor. Fontanini would later become a canon, domestic prelate, and bishop of Ancyra, while pursuing his work as an historian, hagiographer, antiquarian, and polemist. In 1711, however, he arranged his patron’s library and printed the catalogue, which greatly enhanced Imperiali’s reputation as a learned and liberal cardinal.⁴⁴

43 Domenico Musti, “Allacci, Leone,” in *DBI*, 2:467–71.

44 Giusto Fontanini, *Bibliothecae Iosephi Imperialis catalogus* (Rome: 1711).

Fontanini was replaced by a Neapolitan abbot, Giuseppe di Capoa. However, Fontanini also introduced another erudite priest from the Republic of Venice, Domenico Giorgi (1690–1747) into Imperiali's circle; Giorgi eventually moved to Rome as the cardinal's librarian and sacristan. Working in such a capacity, Giorgi prepared his first solid historical works. In 1726, came his *De origine metropolis Ecclesiae Beneventanae* dissertation, which Giorgi dedicated to his patron Imperiali, earning him the rich abbey of Saccolongo from Pope Benedict XIII (himself a native of Puglia, like Imperiali, and former bishop of Benevento). Giorgi then left his position as librarian to embrace a curial career.⁴⁵

As for the Corsiniana, its librarians were part of a Tuscan network, and yet they had much in common with their Venetian colleagues in Imperiali's service both socially and intellectually.⁴⁶ The Dominican friar Malachie d'Inguibert from Carpentras (1683–1757) was an admirer of Abbé de Rance and the Trappist reform; as such, he was close to Cosimo III de' Medici, and was hence appreciated by the Florentine Lorenzo Corsini who called him to Rome as his secretary and librarian for the *Corsina vetus*. Upon Corsini's election as Pope Clement XII, d'Inguibert was appointed bishop and returned to his native city where he founded a public library (still extant). Meanwhile, as indicated above, Lorenzo's nephew, Cardinal Neri Maria started forming a much larger library and had Giovanni Gaetano Bottari (1689–1775), a Florentine theologian and man of letters, move to Rome. Lecturer of sacred history at the Sapienza and secretary to Cardinal Neri Maria, Bottari oversaw the moving of the books in the new palace on the Lungara and drafted the first catalogue of manuscripts, while working on several books on antiquarianism and the fine arts – namely the beautifully engraved catalogue of the Capitoline Museum, one of the most important achievements of Clement XII's reign. Neri Maria Corsini secured for his protégé the posts of *secondo custode* in the Vatican Library, member of the papal private Chapel, and canon of Santa Maria in Trastevere.

Bottari was replaced around 1750 by another Florentine man of letters, Giuseppe Querci, who oversaw the transformation of the library in a semi-public institution before he returned to Florence to work in the grand-ducal gallery. Querci was replaced by Niccolò Foggini, once again a Florentine and nephew of a protégé of the Corsini, the pro-Jansenist theologian Pier Francesco. Foggini was entrusted with the continuation of *Museo Capitolino*, but mainly devoted his time to the library. Once the turbulent period of the Roman

45 Maria Pia Donato, "Giorgi, Domenico," in *DBI*, 55:311–13.

46 Armando Petrucci, "I bibliotecari corsiniani tra Settecento e Ottocento," in *Studi offerti a Giovanni Incisa della Rocchetta* (Rome: 1973), 401–24.

Republic had passed, Foggini retired in 1802, the first man to have spent his entire career as a librarian. His successors, two former Jesuits Ferdinando Giovannucci and Luigi Maria Razzi, are representative of the shift from the librarian-scholar-prelate to the professional librarian-man of letters which occurred in 19th-century Rome as elsewhere – arguably the end of an era.

PART 8

Cardinals and the Visual Arts



Cardinals as Patrons of the Visual Arts

Piers Baker-Bates, Mary Hollingsworth and Arnold Witte

Five decades of research on the patronage of cardinals should suggest that the commissioning of art by members of the Sacred College during the early modern period is well understood.¹ However, the traditional interpretation of patronage as a sign of personal taste and conspicuous consumption – or to phrase it in an early modern term, *magnificenza* – which cardinals shared with other wealthy nobles and sovereigns, has had a negative impact on an assessment of how cardinals from the Renaissance until the late *Settecento* commissioned art in relation to their ecclesiastical positions.² It was this latter aspect that distinguished cardinals from other categories of patron, and this chapter thus aims to flesh out the ways in which cardinals' patronage in the context of the institutional Catholic Church was distinct from that of other dignitaries and sovereigns in the period 1420 to ca. 1750.

1 Terminology and Historiography

Patronage is clearly a separate concept to collecting. First, as a concept, it links the social side of patronage to the artistic results – through the fact that networks and connections are an integral part of this phenomenon.³ Second, patronage allows for a focus on those works of art that were commissioned specifically with an eye to public visibility, reflecting back on the patron's social and institutional position.⁴ Patrons were not simply customers; they often determined the iconographical contents of the work of art. Collecting, on the

1 The authors would like to thank Patrizia Cavazzini and Lydia Hansell for their critical reading and suggestions for improvement.

2 Matthias Oberli, *"Magnificentia Principis": Das Mäzenatentum des Prinzen und Kardinals Maurizio von Savoyen (1593–1657)* (Weimar: 1999), 21–39.

3 Bernd Roeck, *Kunstpatronage in der frühen Neuzeit: Studien zu Kunstmarkt, Künstlern und ihre Auftraggebern in Italien und im Heiligen Römischen Reich (15.–17. Jahrhundert)* (Göttingen: 1999), 13–14.

4 Alfredo Cirinei, "Conflitti artistici, rivalità cardinalizie e patronage a Roma fra Cinque e Seicento: Il caso del processo criminale contro il Cavalier d'Arpino," in *La nobiltà Romana in età moderna*, ed. Maria Antonietta Visceglia (Rome: 2001), 255–305.

other hand, signifies buying works on the open market and as a result, the iconographic meaning of the work disappears behind other, more mundane, values. For the same reason, the terminology frequently used in Italian, French, and German publications (*mecenatismo*, *mécénat* and *Mäzenatentum* respectively) is circumvented here, as this strand of interpretation highlights disinterested generosity out of a love for the arts.⁵ This essentially modern concept was unknown to early modern cardinals for whom artistic patronage was very much related to their public persona.⁶

The study of cardinals' patronage started with Lina Montalto's 1955 study on cardinal Benedetto Pamphilj (1653–1730) and was followed some years later by Francis Haskell's 1963 fundamental study *Patrons and Painters*, in which cardinals played a significant role. Montalto, however, adopted a wider perspective on patronage than Haskell by also including music, literature, and opera. Both books set the tone for a long series of more specific studies on individual cardinals, both as monographs and as articles or chapters. Amongst the monographs, those by Clare Robertson on Alessandro II Farnese (1992), Pamela M. Jones on Federico I Borromeo (1993), Zygmunt Ważbiński on Francesco Maria Bourbon del Monte (1994), Matthias Oberli on Maurizio of Savoy (1999), William Lee Barcham on Federico Corner (2001), Lisa Beaven on Camillo Massimo (2011), and Belinda Granata on Alessandro Peretti di Montalto (2012) (to name but a few) are important examples.⁷ It is significant that the majority of these studies focus on cardinals from around 1600, with a preference for those living between the period of the Council of Trent and the mid-17th century. This is related to the art historical issue of the Tridentine Council and the arts, which dates back to the 1920s and in particular to the discussion between Pevsner and Weisbach on Mannerism versus Baroque as the typical Counter-Reformation style, but also to the more recent discussion following Federico Zeri's 1957 *Pittura e controriforma*.⁸ This focus on the post-Tridentine era must be one of the reasons why comparatively few studies have been dedicated to

5 Ernst H. Gombrich, "The Early Medici as Patrons of Art," in idem, *Norm and Form* (London: 1966), 35–57.

6 Francesca Cappelletti, "An Eye on the Main Chance: Cardinals, Cardinal-Nephews, and Aristocratic Collectors," in *Display of Art in the Roman Palace 1550–1750*, ed. Gail Feigenbaum (Los Angeles: 2014), 77–88 for the display of collections in cardinals' residences in the 17th century.

7 See the bibliography at the end of this volume for details on the titles mentioned here.

8 See John W. O'Malley, *Trent and All That: Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era* (London: 2000), 35 and Ute Engel, *Stil und Nation: Barockforschung und die deutsche Kunstgeschichte, ca. 1830–1930* (Paderborn: 2018), 641–47 for the Pevsner-Weisbach debate, and Elisabeth Cropper and Charles Dempsey, "Italian Painting of the Seventeenth Century," *The Art Bulletin* 69/4 (1987), 505 for Zeri.

the (early) Renaissance – and those which have been tend to reconfirm the worldly side of these figures.⁹ The same goes for the cardinals of the 18th century, of whom only a minority have received serious scholarly attention but quite a few of whom, such as Giulio Alberoni (1674–1752), offer interesting perspectives on how patronage (and collecting) were intimately related to ecclesiastical and political roles.¹⁰

In 2003, Arne Karsten's *Künstler und Kardinäle* critically assessed Haskell's focus on taste as the main motive for their interest in art, pointing out that cardinals' artistic patronage was very much the result of dynastic, political, and social obligations – but as both Haskell and Karsten focused on cardinal nephews, whose role was the exception to the rule thanks to their family interests and their unique social and political standing (see Birgit Emich's chapter in this volume), such discussions are less informative about the average cardinal's patronage.¹¹ Since cardinal nephews functioned as papal “prime ministers” (so to speak), contemporaries regarded their involvement with the arts as an expression of papal patronage, not as a sign of their cardinalatial status.¹² But, indeed, Montalto's study on Benedetto Pamphilj was followed by both comprehensive and detailed studies on art commissioned by Alessandro II Farnese, Scipione Borghese, Francesco I Barberini, Pietro Ottoboni, and Annibale Albani, thereby presenting only the most spectacular examples of cardinalatial patronage.¹³ Other *nipoti* such as Ludovico Ludovisi and Flavio I Chigi, and

9 For exceptions to the rule, see Carol M. Richardson, *Reclaiming Rome: Cardinals in the Fifteenth Century* (Leiden: 2009) and Pio Francesco Pistilli, “Patronato artistico al principio del Quattrocento: Il ruolo dei cardinali nella rinascita della Roma cristiana,” in *Die Kardinäle des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Jürgen Dendorfer and Ralf Lützel-schwab (Florence: 2013), 301–20.

10 Giancarla Periti, “La quadreria romana del Cardinale Alberoni: Contributo per la storia della sua formazione,” in *Alessandro Albani patrono delle arti: Architettura, pittura e collezionismo nella Roma del '700*, ed. Elisa Debenedetti (Rome: 1993), 227–47.

11 Francis Haskell, *Patrons and Painters: A Study in the Relations between Italian art and Society in the Age of the Baroque* (London: 1963) and Arne Karsten, *Künstler und Kardinäle: vom Mäzenatentum römischer Kardinalnepoten im 17. Jahrhundert* (Cologne: 2003).

12 Martin Colp Abromson, *Painting in Rome during the Papacy of Clement VIII (1592–1605): A Documented Study* (New York: 1976), 34–102 discussed Pietro Aldobrandini's patronage as part of papal patronage.

13 Examples are Clare Robertson, “Il Gran Cardinale” *Alessandro Farnese, Patron of the Arts* (New Haven: 1992); Volker Reinhardt, “Le Mécénat des Cardinaux-Neveux au XVII^e siècle et Scipione Caffarelli Borghese,” in *Gli aspetti economici del Meccenatismo in Europa secc. XIV–XVIII*, ed. Simonetta Cavaciocchi (Prato: 1999), n.p.; Birgit Emich, “Kardinal Francesco Barberini: Ein Papstneffe zwischen Kunst und Politik,” in *I Barberini e la cultura europea del Seicento*, eds. Lorenza Mochi Onori, Sebastian Schütze, and Francesco Solinas (Rome: 2007), 111–16; Flavia Mattiti, “Il Cardinale Pietro Ottoboni mecenate delle arti:

later unofficial cardinal nephews such as Carlo Rezzonico and Neri Maria Corsini, have been dealt with only in smaller studies.¹⁴

Another point to underline is the fact that the majority of these publications are based on post-mortem inventories, elucidated with information from account books and, where possible, other archival documents.¹⁵ This goes to show on the one hand that the issue of collecting often occupies centre stage, and that the dynamics of patronage and collecting were just as valid for cardinals as they were for other dignitaries, both ecclesiastical and secular. However, it leaves open the question if, and in which respects, it differed from the latter group. Publications dealing with ecclesiastical patronage often remained limited to a discussion of religious paintings in a cardinal's collection or commissions to certain painters for altarpieces.¹⁶

Some studies have paid particular attention to the cardinal as a patron from the point of view of his function; Pamela Jones's study on Federico I Borromeo (1564–1631) and Clare Robertson's on Alessandro II Farnese (1520–89) are both examples of this. The latter concludes that in the first decade of his cardinalate, Alessandro's predilection was for small precious objects for the private sphere; from 1555 to 1565 he strove for the display of opulence through secular building projects; and that from 1565 onwards, under the pressure of Trent, Farnese moved towards religious commissions.¹⁷ A similar approach can be

Cronache e documenti (1689–1740)," *Storia dell'Arte* 84 (1995), 156–243; Elisa Debenedetti (ed.), *Alessandro Albani Patrono delle arti: Architettura, pittura e collezionismo nella Roma del '700* (Rome: 1993).

- 14 See Eva-Bettina Krems, "Die 'magnifica modestia' der Ludovisi auf dem Monte Pincio in Rom: Von der Hermathena zu Berninis Marmorbüste Gregors xv," *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 29 (2002), 105–63 and Enzo Borsellini, "Il Cardinale Neri Corsini mecenate e committente: Guglielmi, Parrocel, Conca e Meucci nella Biblioteca Corsiniana," *Bollettino d'arte* 66, no. 10 (1981), 49–66.
- 15 David S. Chambers, *A Renaissance Cardinal and His Worldly Goods: The Will and Inventory of Francesco Gonzaga (1444–1483)* (London: 1992); Mattiti, "Il cardinale Pietro Ottoboni"; Oberli, "Magnificentia Principis"; Edward J. Olzewski, *The Inventory of Paintings of Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni (1667–1740)* (New York: 2004); Loredana Lorizzo, *La collezione del cardinale Ascanio Filomarino: Pittura, scultura e mercato dell'arte tra Roma e Napoli nel Seicento* (Naples: 2006); Fiorenza Rangoni Gál, *Fra' Desiderio Scaglia, Cardinale di Cremona: Un collezionista inquisitore nella Roma del Seicento* (Gravedona: 2008); Lisa Beaven and Karin Lloyd, "Cardinal Paluzzo Paluzzi degli Albertoni Altieri and his picture collection in the Palazzo Altieri: The evidence of the 1698 death inventory: Part 1," *Journal for the History of Collections* 28, no. 2 (2016), 175–90. See also Marco Gallo (ed.), *Principi di Santa Romana Chiesa: I cardinali e l'arte. Quaderni delle Giornate di Studio*, 2 vols. (Rome: 2013).
- 16 For example, Isabelle Richefort, "L'iconographie religieuse de Richelieu," in *Richelieu, patron des arts*, eds. Jean-Claude Boyer, Barbara Gaehtgens, Bénédicte Gady (Paris: 2009), 315–36 and Rangoni Gál, *Fra Desiderio*, 118.
- 17 Robertson, "Il Gran Cardinale," 233–34.

found in Lilian Zirpolo's discussion of the Sacchetti family, where the patronage of Cardinal Giulio Sacchetti (1587–1663) is discussed as part of a family strategy with the exception of his religious patronage which is considered only in the context of his final years when he was very much a *cardinale papabile*.¹⁸ Jones focuses on Borromeo's patronage, explicit in its support of post-Tridentine religious culture, but primarily considers it through Borromeo's status as archbishop of Milan. Indeed, Jones maintains that after Borromeo's move to his diocese in 1601, his patronage of religious art intensified.¹⁹ Arnold Witte has looked at the patronage of Cardinal Odoardo Farnese (1573–1626) through the particular lens of his position as a protector of religious orders and confraternities, and considering how the Tridentine norms and his belonging to a particular faction of the College – together with cardinals such as Federico I Borromeo and Robert Bellarmine – impacted his use of the arts to confirm a specific religious identity.²⁰

Architectural patronage of cardinals concerned either the construction of palaces (see Patricia Waddy's contribution to this volume) or the building of churches and convents. Research into the latter domain, which is religious in character and, moreover, was more explicitly related to a cardinal's function, has mostly taken the form of publications on individual buildings. Again, exceptions to this include Clare Robertson's study on Alessandro Farnese, in which Farnese's architectural projects play a major role, and monographs such as Aloisio Antinori's discussion of Scipione Borghese's (1577–1633) architectural projects such as San Sebastiano fuori le mura in Rome, the Villa Mondragone in Frascati, and San Petronio in Bologna.²¹ Edward Olsziewski's discussion of Pietro Ottoboni (1667–1740) focused on that cardinal's numerous interventions in the Palazzo della Cancelleria and on the relations between him and the various architects he employed. Essentially, Olsziewski discussed only the secular side of Ottoboni's patronage, highlighting his personal

18 Lilian Zirpolo, *Ave Papa, Ave Papabile: The Sacchetti Family, their Art Patronage, and Political Aspiration* (Toronto: 2005), 107–15.

19 Pamela M. Jones, "Federico Borromeo as a Patron of Landscapes and Still Lifes," *Art Bulletin* 70 (1988), 261.

20 Arnold Witte, *The Artful Hermitage: The Palazzetto Farnese as a Counter-Reformation "diaeta"* (Rome: 2008).

21 Aloisio Antinori, *Scipione Borghese e l'architettura: Programmi, progetti, cantieri alle soglie dell'età barocca* (Rome: 1995) and Michael Hill, "The Patronage of a Disenfranchised Nephew: Cardinal Scipione Borghese and the Restoration of San Crisogono in Rome, 1618–1628," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 60 (2001), 432–49.

preferences over his institutional context (thus very much following in Haskell's footsteps).²²

Finally, a prosopographical approach has been proposed in studies on medieval cardinals, for example in those by Julian Gardner; however, this approach has had far less purchase in studies of the early modern period.²³ It has been applied in Andrea Spiriti's discussion of Lombard cardinals and their patronage in Rome from ca. 1550 to 1650.²⁴ Spiriti's article investigates the strategy of this "national" group in commissioning works of art in order to see whether a specific identity issue informed their artistic patronage. However, the main objects in his study are funerary monuments, which most often indicate the patronage of heirs and not of the cardinal himself (see Philipp Zitzlsperger's chapter in this volume) and the broader issue of institutional and religious patronage of cardinals therefore remains still unanswered.

2 From 1420 to the Mid-Cinquecento

In June 1462 Pius II celebrated the Feast of Corpus Christi in Viterbo, escaping the plague in Rome. His memoirs include a vivid description of the elaborate festivities arranged by his cardinals.²⁵ Each cardinal decorated a section of the processional route at his own expense with tapestries, gilded altars, sacred vessels and holy relics, arches of flowers, musicians, and so on. The Spanish cardinal, Juan de Torquemada (1388–1468) devised a representation of the Last Supper and the institution of the Eucharist, an appropriate theme for the feast. Vice-chancellor Rodrigo Borgia (1431–1503; later Pope Alexander VI 1492–1503) celebrated the pope's supreme authority over secular rulers with a tableau showing five kings who refused to open their gates to Pius II, but then changed their minds when angels informed them that the pope was "the lord of the

22 Edward J. Olszewski, *Dynamics of Architecture in Late Baroque Rome: Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni at the Cancelleria* (Berlin: 2015).

23 Julian Gardner, "The Long Goodbye: The Artistic Patronage of the Italian Cardinals in Avignon, c. 1305–1345," in *Court and Courty Cultures in Early Modern Italy and Europe: Models and Languages*, eds. Simone Albonico and Serena Romano (Rome: 2016), 343–58 and idem, "Italy, England and Avignon: The Artistic Patronage of Spanish Cardinals c. 1200 c. 1350," in *Domus Hispanica: El Real Colegio de España y el cardenal Gil de Albornoz en la historia del arte*, ed. Manuel Parada López de Corselas (Bologna: 2018), 3–16.

24 Andrea Spiriti, "Committenza e strategie artistiche a architettoniche dei cardinali lombardi nella Roma nel Seicento," in *I Rapporti tra Roma e Madrid nei secoli XVI e XVII*, ed. Alessandra Anselmi (Rome: 2014), 460–87.

25 Pius II, *Secret Memoirs of a Renaissance Pope*, trans. F.A. Gragg (London: 1988), 255–61; see also Richardson, *Reclaiming Rome*, 311–12 for translation.

world” while, in the square in front of the cathedral Borgia’s cousin, Lluís Joan de Milà i Borja (1432/33–1510), erected a chapel “like that in the Apostolic palace” for the papal throne. These ephemeral decorations were a regular feature of a cardinal’s artistic patronage and Pius II’s description illustrates the central role cardinals played in the ostentatious ritual with which the papal court testified to the power of the Church.

When Martin V returned to Rome in 1420, he found a derelict city: churches were dilapidated, St. Peter’s had large cracks in its walls, bridges were broken, streets unpaved. Improving the fabric of the city was a major priority for the

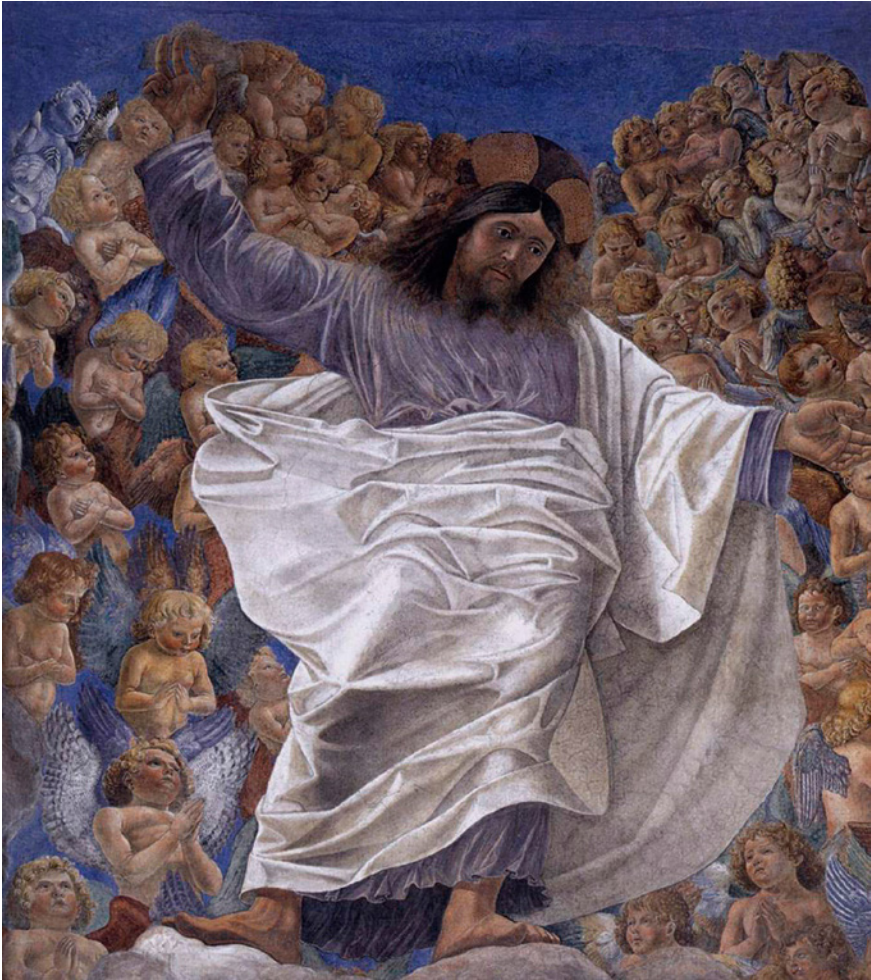


FIGURE 31.1 Melozzo da Forlì, *Christ in Glory*, 1472. Detached fresco, Rome, Palazzo del Quirinale

PHOTO: ART COLLECTION 2 / ALAMY STOCK PHOTO

early modern papacy and was undertaken with particular enthusiasm by Pope Nicholas V (1447–55).²⁶ Just as the cardinals were expected to provide temporary decorations for specific feasts and events, so too did they provide more concrete evidence that Rome was, once again, the undisputed centre of the Christian world. These Princes of the Church were conspicuous spenders, the cardinal nephews above all of them. One of the difficulties of examining these projects – and one that conversely provides evidence not only of changing fashions but also of the competitive nature of display – is that many of the earlier works were destroyed, or covered up, to provide space for later schemes, notably for the grandiose commissions that transformed Rome's churches in the 17th century. A case in point here are Antoniazzo Romano's frescoes in Santi Apostoli, commissioned by Cardinal Basilios Bessarion (1403–72), which were subsequently hidden behind 18th-century decorations, and later detached (Fig. 31.1).²⁷

Paolo Cortesi's *De cardinalatu* (1510; see David S. Chambers's chapter in this volume) set out broad guidelines for a cardinal's patronal obligations: he was expected to spend on charitable projects, such as building hospitals and hospices, endowing monasteries or seminaries, and helping the needy, such as women who wanted to enter religious orders or those in need of financial support to marry.²⁸ Amongst the 15th-century cardinals who financed charitable projects was Domenico Capranica (1400–58) who endowed a college for teaching clerics, leaving it his palace in his will. The Portuguese Cardinal Antonio Martins de Chaves (d. 1447) built Sant'Antonio dei Portoghesi with its attached hospice for that nation's pilgrims.²⁹ Torquemada, a Spanish Dominican, founded the Confraternity of the Annunciation at Santa Maria sopra Minerva, the order's main church in Rome, to supply poor girls with dowries, and the altarpiece in his chapel there shows him presenting some of these girls to the Virgin.³⁰ Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini (1439–1503) built a library attached to Siena cathedral, decorated with a cycle of scenes from the life of his uncle,

26 Charles Burroughs, *From Signs to Design: Environmental Process and Reform in Early Renaissance Rome* (Cambridge, MA: 1990), 20ff.

27 Meredith Jane Gill, "Antoniazzo Romano and the Recovery of Jerusalem in Late Fifteenth-Century Rome," *Storia dell'Arte* 83 (1995), 28–47.

28 John F. D'Amico, *Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome* (Baltimore: 1983), 231–32.

29 Günther Urban, "Die Kirchenbaukunst des Quattrocento in Rom," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 9–10 (1961–62), 264.

30 Gail L. Geiger, "Filippino Lippi's Carafa Annunciation: Theology, Artistic Conventions and Patronage," *Art Bulletin* 63 (1981), 69.

Pius II, a project perhaps more resonant of familial pride than of charitable obligation.³¹

Above all, Cortesi was concerned with the cardinal's palace as the prime setting for the display of his prestige in Rome. Certainly at the beginning of the early modern era these palaces were not statements of family status but should be seen within a religious context (see Waddy's chapter in this volume). Many 15th-century palaces were tied to the Church, either attached to a cardinal's title (see Witte's chapter in this volume) or to his position – and they passed on to the next incumbent. Thus, the palace at San Lorenzo in Lucina, built by its titular cardinal, Jean de la Rochetaillée (ca. 1365–1437), was inherited by his successors, Filippo Calandrini, Jorge da Costa, and Fazio Santorio, who all added extensions and embellishments. Equally, the Cancelleria Vecchia (now Palazzo Sforza-Cesarini), built by Rodrigo Borgia, passed on to Borgia's successors as vice-chancellor (Ascanio Sforza, Galeotto della Rovere, and Sisto della Rovere).

Cortesi insisted that the painted decoration of such palaces should be Christian in subject, not pagan mythology.³² Despite this, Giordano Orsini (ca. 1360–1438), a patron of humanists and collector of ancient texts, decorated his palace at Montegiordano (now Palazzo Taverna) with a cycle depicting hundreds of famous men – Biblical characters, heroes of the ancient pagan world, early Christian fathers, medieval emperors and popes, founders of religious orders, and illustrious men of his own age, ending with Tamerlane who had died in 1405.³³ Domenico della Rovere (1442–1501), who built his own palace near St. Peter's (now Palazzo dei Penitenzieri), decorated its interior with frescoes by Pinturicchio including the famous *all'antica* coffered ceiling, the "Soffitto dei Semidei" (ca. 1485), which was covered with images of demigods, dragons, and monsters inspired by classical mythology, which goes to show that by the end of the century, the culture of antiquity had been absorbed into that of

31 On the family context of his patronage, see Carol M. Richardson, "Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini (1439–1503), Sant'Eustachio, and the Consorteria Piccolomini," in *The Possessions of a Cardinal: Politics, Piety, and Art 1450–1700*, eds. Mary Hollingsworth and Carol M. Richardson (University Park, PA: 2010), 46–60.

32 On the decoration recommended by Cortesi for a cardinal's palace, see Kathleen Weil-Garris and John d'Amico, "The Renaissance Cardinal's Ideal Palace: A Chapter from Cortesi's *De Cardinalatu*," in *Studies in Italian Art and Architecture: 15th through 18th Centuries*, ed. Henry A. Millon (Cambridge, MA: 1980), 91–97.

33 W.A. Simpson, "Cardinal Giordano Orsini (+1438) as a Prince of the Church and a Patron of the Arts," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 29 (1966), 135–59; on Palazzo Monte Giordano, see Kristin Triff, *The Orsini Palace at Monte Giordano: Patronage and Public Image in Renaissance Rome* (Turnhout: forthcoming).

Renaissance Rome.³⁴ But the cardinal was also careful to point out, using the inscription *SOLI DEO* carved on its windows, that the palace had been built for the glory of God, rather than his own.³⁵

Importantly, cardinals rather than popes took the lead in ornamenting Rome's numerous churches, mostly with chapels, which they endowed and embellished with frescoes, altarpieces and tombs (see Zitzlsperger's chapter in this volume). Many cardinals chose to focus on their titular churches.³⁶ One of the grandest chapels in early 15th-century Rome was Branda Castiglione's in San Clemente, lavishly decorated with frescoes of scenes from the life of St. Catherine of Alexandria by Masolino (late 1420s).³⁷ Strikingly – a sign of the debate over the validity of using pagan imagery in a Christian context – the statue in the scene of the saint protesting against the worship of idols was clearly classically inspired.

Other cardinals chose to display their association with one of the many religious orders, their patriotism in churches with national affiliations, or their other positions within the Church hierarchy. The wealthy French Cardinal Guillaume d'Estouteville (ca. 1412–83) opted to show his support for all three: he built a new church for the Augustinians at Sant'Agostino, situated behind his palace at Sant'Apollinare, and played a leading role in establishing the nearby parish of San Luigi dei Francesi as the focus of the French community in the city.³⁸ To underline his rank as archpriest of Santa Maria Maggiore, d'Estouteville also commissioned a ciborium from Mino da Fiesole for the basilica as well as an extensive project of restoration for its decaying fabric.³⁹ Another French cardinal, Jean de Bilhères-Lagraulas (1434–99), who served as protector of San Luigi dei Francesi and its national confraternity, commissioned Michelangelo's *Pietà* for his tomb in St. Peter's, in the chapel of the king

34 Anna Cavallaro, "Draghi, mostri e semidei: Una rivisitazione fiabesca dell'Antico nel soffitto Pinturicchiesco del palazzo di Domenico della Rovere," in *Roma, centro ideale della cultura dell'Antico nei secoli XV e XVI*, ed. Silvia Danesi Squarzina (Milan: 1989), 143–59.

35 John Onians, *Bearers of Meaning* (Princeton, NJ: 1988), 128.

36 For a list of 15th-century projects, see Urban, "Die Kirchenbaukunst," 263–86.

37 Marilyn Jane Bradshaw-Nishi, *Masolino's St Catherine Chapel, San Clemente, Rome: Style, Iconography, Patron and Date* (Ann Arbor: 1988).

38 Meredith J. Gill, "Guillaume d'Estouteville's Italian Journey," in Hollingsworth and Richardson (eds.), *The Possessions of a Cardinal*, 25–45; Urban, "Die Kirchenbaukunst," 273, 274–77.

39 Shelley Zuraw, "Mino da Fiesole's First Roman Sojourn," in *Verrocchio and Late Quattrocento Italian Sculpture*, eds. Steven Bule, Alan Phipps Darr, and Fiorella Superbi Giofredi (Florence: 1992), 302–19; on the renovations, see Urban, "Die Kirchenbaukunst," 267–68.

of France, dedicated to St Petronilla.⁴⁰ Even relatively poor cardinals were able to make their mark on the religious fabric of Rome. Gabriele Rangone (1410–86), an Observant Franciscan, did some work at his titular church of Santi Sergio e Bacco but he concentrated his attention on the church of his order, Santa Maria in Aracoeli, where he built a chapel dedicated to St. Bonaventure, a Franciscan canonized by Sixtus IV in 1482, five years after Rangone was made a cardinal.⁴¹

Arguably the most important amongst 15th-century cardinals in the context of the arts was Giuliano della Rovere (1443–1513) who, as Julius II (1503–13), became one of the greatest papal patrons ever. Giuliano and his cousin, Pietro Riario, had been made cardinals in 1471 soon after the election of their uncle, Sixtus IV, with the titles of San Pietro in Vincoli and San Sisto respectively. In 1472, after Bessarion's death, Riario received the additional title of Santi Apostoli and he moved into the palace attached to the church, spending liberally on both buildings. When he died unexpectedly in 1474 the title passed to Giuliano, who also moved into the palace, although he retained the title of San Pietro in Vincoli, the name by which he was generally known.⁴²

From a very modest background, Giuliano spent conspicuously on projects in Rome and elsewhere that deliberately displayed his new status. The prime objects of his patronage were his two titular churches, where he undertook extensive renovations and repairs.⁴³ At Santi Apostoli he built new vaults, a choir which he decorated with Melozzo da Forlì's fresco of *Christ in Glory*, two cloisters as well as tombs for his father and his cousin, Pietro. Giuliano also built a new two-storey portico across the façade of the church which, according to Platina, Sixtus IV's librarian, was built to the cardinal's own design.⁴⁴ The portico at Santi Apostoli was inspired by early Christian architecture (which agreed with his uncle's policy of reviving the culture of early Christianity).⁴⁵ Giuliano also paid for extensive restorations to the 7th-century basilica of

40 Gill, "Guillaume d'Estouteville," 38; Kathleen Weil-Garris Brandt, "Michelangelo's Pietà for the Cappella del Re di Francia," in *Il se rendit en Italie: Etudes offertes à André Chastel* (Paris: 1987), 77–119.

41 Roberto Cobiانchi, "Gabriele Rangone (d. 1486): The First Observant Franciscan Cardinal and his Chapel in Santa Maria in Aracoeli, Rome," in Hollingsworth and Richardson (eds.), *The Possessions of a Cardinal*, 61–76.

42 Egmont Lee, *Sixtus IV and Men of Letters* (Rome: 1978), 33 and Georg Schelbert, *Der Palast von SS. Apostoli und die Kardinalsresidenzen des 15. Jahrhunderts in Rom* (Norderstedt: 2007), 113–15 and 167–69.

43 Urban, "Die Kirchenbaukunst," 269,

44 Bartolomeo Sacchi (Il Platina), *Liber de vita Christi ac omnium pontificum*, in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, ed. G. Gaida (Città di Castello: 1913–15 and Bologna: 1917–33), III:1, 418.

45 Mary Hollingsworth, *Patronage in Renaissance Italy* (London: 1994) 261–70.

Sant'Agnese fuori le mura, which also involved reinstating the porphyry sarcophagus of Constantia, the daughter of Emperor Constantine, previously requisitioned by Paul II for the Palazzo Venezia.⁴⁶ And after his promotion to cardinal bishop of Ostia in 1483, he boasted of his rank as the senior cardinal in the College by building the Basilica of Sant'Aurea and the imposing fortress guarding the mouth of the Tiber.

By the end of the 15th century, the Augustinian church and convent of Santa Maria del Popolo, built by Sixtus IV to provide a fitting setting for the reception of important visitors arriving at the Porta del Popolo, had become a popular site for cardinals' chapels and tombs. Two of the chapels were endowed by Sixtus IV's relatives, Girolamo Basso della Rovere (ca. 1450–1507) and Domenico della Rovere; a third, initially bought by Domenico, was sold to Jorge da Costa in 1488 for 200 ducats.⁴⁷ Rodrigo Borgia took over patronage of the high altar which he ornamented with a large, costly marble relief of the Virgin and Child, set in an ornate triumphal arch decorated with statues of saints and with the Borgia bulls prominently displayed.⁴⁸ A total of eleven cardinals of various nationalities who died between 1478 and 1508 were buried in the church – the brothers Cristoforo and Domenico della Rovere, Girolamo Basso della Rovere, Ferry de Cluny, Jorge da Costa, Giovanni Garzia Mellini, and Ascanio Sforza were all created by Sixtus IV; Lorenzo Cibo by Innocent VIII; Bernardo Lovati, Juan Castro, and Alvise Podocatharo by Alexander VI. Lorenzo Cibo's tomb was moved to San Cosimato when his chapel was remodeled in the 17th century by another cardinal of the family, Alderano Cibo.⁴⁹

Although the material at hand suggests a close relation between a cardinal's artistic patronage and the site of burial, this was quite often not the case. This is demonstrated by Oliviero Carafa (1430–1511), who commissioned restoration work at San Lorenzo fuori le mura, built an expensive set of cloisters for the convent of the Lateran Canons at Santa Maria della Pace designed by Donato Bramante, with his involvement recorded in an inscription around the frieze, and decorated a lavish chapel in Santa Maria sopra Minerva (he was cardinal protector of the Dominicans) with frescoes and an altarpiece by Filippino

46 Urban, "Die Kirchenbaukunst," 274.

47 Anna Cavallaro, "Introduzione alle cappelle maggiori," in *Umanesimo e Primo Rinascimento in S. Maria del Popolo*, eds. Roberto Cannatà, Anna Cavallaro, and Claudio Strinati (Rome: 1981), 79.

48 Pico Cellini, "Un'architettura del Bregno: L'altare maggiore di S. Maria del Popolo," in *Umanesimo e Primo Rinascimento*, eds. Cannatà, Cavallaro, Strinati, 99–108.

49 Cavallaro, "Introduzione alle cappelle," 78; see also the various essays in Ilaria Miarelli Mariani and Maria Richiello (eds.), *Santa Maria del Popolo*, 2 vols (Rome: 2009).



FIGURE 31.2 Filippino Lippi, *Carafa Chapel*, 1489–93. Rome, Santa Maria Sopra Minerva
PHOTO: ANDREA JEMOLO

Lippi (Fig. 31.2). However, this chapel was not destined to house his tomb – he preferred instead to be buried in his home city of Naples, of which he had been archbishop, where he erected the extraordinary *Succorpo* in the crypt of cathedral.

3 Non-Italian Cardinals

So far discussion has been almost exclusively of the activities as patrons of Italian cardinals at Rome. Non-Italian cardinals in contrast formed a distinct group in relation to those of Italian birth in terms of their patronage – although after Trent they usually, albeit not without exceptions, resided either at their respective royal courts or in their dioceses. The term non-Italian is used here as a shorthand since contemporary notions of identity bore little relation to our own – indeed some cardinals came to identify more strongly with Rome than their own birthplaces. A shared national origin did not always mean that cardinals acted in concert. Nonetheless, after the papacy's return to Rome in 1420, the number of such cardinals began to rise, even though the percentage of Italians remained at a dominating high until the end of the 18th century (see Maria Antonietta Visceglia's contribution to this volume).

Spanish cardinals, for instance, played a major role not only in the fields of politics and religion but also in patronage around Rome in the later 15th and 16th centuries. We have already mentioned Torquemada, but the Borgia family were particularly important, especially during Alexander VI's pontificate. Issues of motivation are complex but Spanish cardinals' patronage in their titular churches, such as the extensive rebuilding of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, was often a public action that might have been directed to establishing a specifically Spanish religious identity at Rome.⁵⁰ The same logic applies with certainty to their patronage of chapels in the church of the Spanish nation, such as that of Cardinal Jaime Serra in San Giacomo degli Spagnoli (Fig. 31.3).⁵¹ Even in the period preceding Trent there was a sense of a corporate religious identity; as in the example of Cardinal Serra, subject matter and style often reflected the very specific concerns of one group within the College.

National cardinals also often patronised the same artists and architects as a group – quite often favouring co-nationals, although this was not always the

50 Felipe Pereda, "Pedro González de Mendoza, de Toledo a Roma. El patronazgo de Santa Croce in Gerusalemme: Entre la arqueología y la filología," in *Les Cardinaux de la Renaissance et la Modernité Artistique*, eds. Frédérique Lemerle, Yves Pauwels, and Gennaro Toscano (Villeneuve d'Ascq: 2009), 217–38; Vitaliano Tiberia, "La Pittura del Rinascimento," in *Gerusalemme a Roma. La Basilica di Santa Croce e le reliquie della Passione*, eds. Roberto Cassanelli and Emilia Stolfi (Milan: 2012), 69–83.

51 Rose Marie May, "The Church of San Giacomo degli Spagnoli and the Formation of Spanish Identity in Sixteenth-Century Rome," Ph.D. dissertation (Temple University: 2011); Alexander Koller and Suzanne Kubersky-Piredda (eds.), *Identità e rappresentazione: Le chiese nazionali a Roma 1450–1650* (Rome: 2016).



FIGURE 31.3 Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, *Cappella Serra*, 1517–23. Rome, San Giacomo ed Ildefonso degli Spagnoli
 PHOTO: BIBLIOTHECA HERTZIANA – MAX PLANCK
 INSTITUT FÜR KUNSTGESCHICHTE ROM

leading criterion. In the case of Spanish cardinals again, the architect Bramante received quite a number of commissions.⁵² Some Spanish cardinals such as Pedro González de Mendoza (1428–95) played a role as cultural brokers both at Rome and in Spain while others, such as Bernardino Carvajal (1456–1523), had focused their patronage concerns firmly on Rome.⁵³ A further group, including (for example) Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, never left Spain, however, and

52 Ximo Company i Climent, *Bramante, mito y realidad: La importancia del mecenazgo español en la promoción romana de Bramante* (Lleida: 2012); Jack Freiberg, *Bramante's Tempietto, the Roman Renaissance and the Spanish Crown* (New York: 2014).

53 Helen Nader, *The Mendoza Family in the Spanish Renaissance* (New Brunswick: 1979); Lynette M.F. Bosch, *Art, Liturgy, and Legend in Renaissance Toledo: The Mendoza and the Iglesia Primada* (University Park, PA: 2000); Christa Gardner von Teuffel, “New Light on the Cross: Cardinal Pedro González de Mendoza and Antoniazio Romano in Santa Croce in Gerusalemme,” in *Coming About: Festschrift for John Shearman*, ed. Lars R. Jones (Cambridge, MA: 2001), 49–55.

confined their patronage to the monarchy and its territories.⁵⁴ After Trent, however, this dual model changed and Spanish cardinals concentrated their patronage much more within Spain itself – specifically on their dioceses – in those cases where the cardinal was also invested with the position of bishop.

An experience of Rome often influenced a cardinal's patronage at home, and therefore cardinals are also important as cultural intermediaries who exported the Roman Renaissance throughout Europe. More than just a Renaissance devotional practice, but also a specifically Roman one, connected with these works of art can be seen in the many copies that were made of the *Madonna del Popolo* in this period.⁵⁵ And Spain is just one European example, France is another; recently, several conferences and exhibitions have been dedicated to the important transnational patronage of French cardinals and their families through the 15th and 16th centuries, both secular and religious, and both in Rome and at home.⁵⁶

As an addendum, we should note that both German and Hungarian cardinals used their patronage to diffuse a Roman model throughout the territories of the Holy Roman Empire; a good example of this at work is the Bakócz Chapel in the Basilica at Esztergom, Hungary's ecclesiastical capital (Fig. 31.4), which was probably made by Italian artists.⁵⁷ The Hungarian Cardinal Tamás Bakócz (1442–1521) had risen from a humble background and his patronage at home not only glorified his family but also Rome itself; the activities of Thomas Wolsey in England might well be seen as another example of this same phenomenon.⁵⁸

54 Judith Ostermann, "Ein Königreich für einen Kardinal: Das Grabmal Francisco Ximenez de Cisneros (1436–1517) in Alcalá de Henares," in *Vom Nachleben der Kardinäle: Römische Kardinalsgrabmäler der frühen Neuzeit*, eds. Arne Karsten und Philipp Zitzlsperger (Berlin: 2010), 131–64.

55 Giovanni Russo, "Un contributo per l'attività di Antoniazio Romano copista sacro: Alcuni casi ignoti o poco conosciuti di copie della 'Madonna del Popolo,'" *Bollettino d'Arte* 100/27 (2015), 19–47.

56 Jacqueline Brunet and Gennaro Toscano (eds.), *Les Granvelle et l'Italie au XVI siècle. Le mécénat d'une famille* (Besançon: 1996); Florence Calame Levert, Maxence Hermant, and Gennaro Toscano (eds.), *Une Renaissance en Normandie: Le cardinal Georges d'Amboise bibliophile et mécène* (Montreuil: 2017); Laurence Reibel and Lisa Mucciarelli-Régnier (eds.), *Antoine de Granvelle, l'Éminence pourpre: Images d'un homme de pouvoir de la Renaissance* (Milan: 2017).

57 Miklos Horler, *Die Bakócz-Kapelle im Dom zu Esztergom* (Budapest: 1990).

58 Steven J. Gunn and Phillip G. Lindley (eds.), *Cardinal Wolsey: Church, State and Art* (Cambridge, Eng.: 1991); Simon Thurley, "The Cardinal of King Henry VIII of England Thomas Wolsey," in *Les Cardinaux de la Renaissance*, eds. Lemerle, Pauwels, and Toscano, 39–50.



FIGURE 31.4 Andrea Ferrucci and workshop (attr.), *Bakócz Chapel*, 1506–07.
Esztergom Basilica, Esztergom
PHOTO: PUBLIC DOMAIN

4 After Trent

The role of cardinals shifted during the early modern period from papal “senators” towards “ministers” in a bureaucratic system (see Miles Pattenden’s chapter in this volume) and the post-Tridentine ideal of the cardinal as an exemplary devout became an important issue (see Pamela Jones’s chapter in this volume). At the same time the status of cardinals vis-à-vis bishops changed (see Bernward Schmidt’s chapter in this volume) and the question of religious patronage therefore also became pertinent for cardinals in the period after 1563. Our perspective on this is complicated by the state of research on the Council’s impact on the visual arts – a vast subject with many diverging interpretations.⁵⁹ The current consensus is that the application of the Tridentine

59 Hubert Jedin, “Das Tridentinum und die bildenden Künste: Bemerkungen zu Paolo Prodi, *Ricerche sulla teorica delle arti figurative nella Riforma Cattolica* (1962),” *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 12 (1963), 321–39; Federico Zeri, *Pittura e Controriforma: L’arte senza*

decrees depended on the diocese (thus on its (arch)bishop), which means that cardinals residing in Rome encountered a different context for their religious patronage from those resident elsewhere. This was certainly the case with, for example, Federico I Borromeo and Gabriele Paleotti, who took charge in their respective dioceses of Milan and Bologna.⁶⁰ However, the issues at stake in dioceses found an echo in Rome early on, for example in Giovanni Andrea Gilio's 1564 discussion on Michelangelo's *Last Judgement* and its suitability for the papal chapel – this text was probably not well-known amongst the general public, but its dedication to Alessandro II Farnese probably secured it a certain renown within the College of Cardinals.⁶¹ Gabriele Paleotti circulated his ideas amongst fellow cardinals by means of his *De tollendis imaginum abusibus novissima consideratio* (1596), a text which was not without influence.⁶² On the other hand, some scholars, such as Roberto Zapperi, have upheld that a cardinal's dynastic ties could lead to purely secular patronage, suggesting that religious identity could be totally irrelevant to their artistic interests as well as their social position even at this moment in time.⁶³

Cardinals' patronage thus changed after 1563 but the issues are to what extent and how. Studies have argued that papal admonitions combined with an increasing control over the use of art in the Roman diocese – through visitations and the surveillance of the cardinal vicar – led to an increase in religious patronage. Cardinals were regularly pressed by subsequent popes to pay attention to their titular churches.⁶⁴ Early examples of cardinals following this advice include Charles Borromeo, who restored his successive titular churches of San Martino ai Monti and Santa Prassede.⁶⁵ During the pontificate of Sixtus v,

tempo di Scipione de Gaeta (Turin: 1970); Marcia Hall, *The Sacred Image in the Age of Art: Titian, Tintoretto, Barocci, El Greco, Caravaggio* (New Haven: 2011) 126–29; Iris Krick, *Römische Altarbildmalerei zwischen 1563 und 1605: Ikonographische Analyse anhand ausgewählter Beispiele* (Tausenstein: 2002), 468–69; Christian Hecht, *Katholische Bildertheologie der frühen Neuzeit: Studien zu Traktaten von Johannes Molanus, Gabriele Paleotti und anderen Autoren* (Berlin: 2012).

60 Pamela M. Jones, *Federico Borromeo and the Ambrosiana: Art Patronage and Reform in Seventeenth-Century Milan* (Cambridge, MA: 1993) and Paolo Prodi, *Il cardinale Gabriele Paleotti (1522–1597)* (Rome: 1967), 2:527–62.

61 Giovanni Andrea Gilio, *Dialogue on the Errors and Abuses of Painters*, eds. Michael Bury, Lucinda Byatt, and Carol M. Richardson (Los Angeles: 2018).

62 Prodi, *Il cardinale Gabriele Paleotti*, 2:555.

63 Roberto Zapperi, *Eros e Controriforma: Preistoria della galleria Farnese* (Turin: 1994).

64 Abromson, *Painting in Rome*, 103–04 and Krick, *Römische Altarbildmalerei*, 57, citing Gregory XIII's admonition during the consistory of 8 January 1574, from BAV, Vat. lat. 2886, fol. 54.

65 Robert Sénécal, "Carlo Borromeo's *Instructiones Fabricae et Suppellectilis Ecclesiasticae* and Its Origins in the Rome of His Time," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 68 (2000), 244.

cardinals generally paid attention to their titular churches and other projects, as the new decorations at Sant'Adriano al Foro, Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, Santi Giovanni e Paolo, San Lorenzo in Damaso, and Santa Pudenziana show.⁶⁶

However, in the context of the broader artistic interventions of the Sistine era, the contribution of cardinals as primary patrons was modest if compared to interventions by private citizens. Cardinals could also participate in larger projects, for example as members and/or protectors of confraternities, but the fact remains that for the average visitor to Rome, cardinals' artistic patronage was ubiquitous (and also obvious, because they nearly always had their coat of arms applied to commissions). However, paradoxically, it was at the same time not always very prominent. On the other hand, the exemplarity of religious patronage seems to have had an effect on the dynamics within the College of Cardinals – in similar fashion to the evolution of the image of the saintly cardinal. In fact, Girolamo Garimberti's *La prima parte delle vite overo fatti memorabili d'alcuni papi e di tutti i cardinali passati* of 1567, underlined, in the lives of the cardinals in the first book "Della religione e del culto divino," that religiously inspired cardinals restored and embellished their titular churches, built chapels, and furnished these religious institutions with liturgical utensils, prebends, and other sources of income.⁶⁷

During the pontificate of Clement VIII (1592–1605), the activity of cardinals as patrons of art increased.⁶⁸ This was likely related to the approaching Jubilee of 1600. Apart from work on their titular churches or deaconries, cardinals chose other projects which owed their impetus to their wider networks of relations with religious institutions. For example, Domenico Pinelli (1541–1611) ordered the restoration of the clerestory of Santa Maria Maggiore because he held the position of archpriest of this papal basilica.⁶⁹ A similar motivation also led to the expansion of confraternity churches and hospitals; San Giacomo degli Incurabili was completely rebuilt, paid for entirely by Antonio Maria Salviati (1537–1602) who was cardinal protector of this religious institution.⁷⁰ Odoardo Farnese commissioned Domenichino to build and decorate an entire chapel at the Basilian convent at Grottaferrata, of which he was commendatory

66 Maria Luisa Madonna (ed), *Roma di Sisto v: Le arti e la cultura* (Rome: 1993), 168–283.

67 For example, Girolamo Garimberti, *La prima parte delle vite overo fatti memorabili d'alcuni papi e di tutti i cardinali passati* (Venice: 1567), 9–15, in the lives of Guillaume d'Estouteville, Latino Orsini, Oliviero Carafa, Giulio della Rovere, and Ludovico Prodocator.

68 Abromson, *Painting in Rome*, 103.

69 *Ibid.*, 105.

70 Paolino Arnolfini, *Narratione della morte et solenni essequie dell'illustriss. et reverendiss. signor cardinale Antonio Maria Salviati* (Rome: 1603), 6–7.



FIGURE 31.5 Santa Cecilia in Trastevere, view of the apse
PHOTO: VITO ARCOMANO / ALAMY STOCK PHOTO



FIGURE 31.6 Antonio Sasso and Orazio Grassi, *Façade of Sant' Ignazio*, 1626–46
 PHOTO: BIBLIOTHECA HERTZIANA – MAX PLANCK INSTITUT FÜR
 KUNSTGESCHICHTE ROM

abbot, in order to visualize the new liturgical and administrative relations between the monks and himself.⁷¹ Most cardinals, however, followed the example of their predecessors and focused on having their titular churches restored.

71 Arnold Witte, "Liturgy, History and Art: Domenichino's Cappella dei Santi Fondatori," *The Burlington Magazine* 145 (2003), 777–86.

This applied to Santa Prassede, Santi Nereo ed Achilleo, Santa Susanna, and Santa Prisca and was done most sumptuously at Santa Cecilia in Trastevere, where Paolo Emilio Sfondrati (1560–1618; see Fig. 34.5) had an entirely new high altar and crypt constructed (Fig. 31.5); he also ordered a complete refurbishing of the site of the female saint's martyrdom in which important artists such as Stefano Maderno, Guido Reni, and Paul Bril were involved. The original position of Sfondrati's tomb, facing this ensemble, again underlined his patronage as an act of devotion.⁷²

During the later 16th and 17th centuries the most conspicuous part of cardinals' religious patronage was directed towards the building of churches (and convents) for the new religious orders. The premier example for this is provided by the rebuilding of the Gesù, designed by Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola and Giacomo della Porta, and paid for by Cardinal Alessandro II Farnese. It was followed by the construction of Sant'Andrea della Valle (begun in 1590 for the Theatines and paid for mainly by Cardinal Peretti Montalto) and of Sant'Ignazio, built to house the tomb of the sanctified Ignatius of Loyola. Sant'Ignazio was started in 1626 with an initial budget of 100,000 *scudi* furnished by Ludovico Ludovisi (1595–1632), Gregory xv's cardinal nephew, whose name therefore was commemorated in the inscription on the façade (Fig. 31.6). Ludovisi left the Jesuits another 100,000 *scudi* for the completion of the edifice in his will; however, it was only inaugurated in the Jubilee of 1650.⁷³ The complete rebuilding of the Jesuit church of Sant'Andrea al Quirinale was also the work of a single patron, in this case Camillo Pamphilj (1622–66), another papal nephew. However, it is worth noting that Pamphilj had renounced his cardinal's hat in 1657 before commissioning Bernini for the new church (see Jennifer Mara DeSilva's chapter in this volume).

5 The Later *Seicento* and *Settecento*

The religious patronage of cardinals in the later 17th and 18th centuries consisted, just as it had done in the 15th and 16th centuries, mainly of chapels and altarpieces on the one hand, and the restoration of the titular churches on the other. The grand patronage of church buildings in conjunction with the new religious orders largely disappeared after 1650. This was due to the fact that religious communities attempted to reduce the impact of patrons on the

72 Tobias Kämpf, *Archäologie offenbart: Cäciliens römisches Kultild im Blick einer Epoche* (Leiden: 2015).

73 Walther Buchowiecki, *Handbuch der Kirchen Roms* (Vienna: 1970), 2:201.

iconography and overall design of such buildings, so that they would be visually coherent.⁷⁴ As a result, the artistic commissions by cardinals such as Federico Corner (1579–1653), who commissioned Bernini with his family chapel in Santa Maria della Vittoria with its famous statue of St Theresa, and Luigi Alessandro Omodei (1608–85), who paid for the façade of San Carlo al Corso, the church in which he also had his funeral monument erected, were only the highly conspicuous examples.

For the major churches in Rome, there was another way in which the patronage of cardinals functioned, however. This was by means of congregations or commissions which occupied themselves with the upkeep and embellishment of papal basilicas. The Congregazione della Reverenda Fabbrica di San Pietro was one such body which during the 16th century decided upon the architects, and later, after 1626, when the building had been inaugurated, chose the commissions given to painters and sculptors for the altars in the new building.⁷⁵ This, for example, led to a position of influence for cardinals such as Francesco Maria Bourbon del Monte (1549–1626), Francesco I Barberini (1597–1679), and Giacomo Franzoni (1612–97) who decided on the selection of artists, and so were in a position to promote certain stylistic currents and artistic movements.⁷⁶ This kind of arrangement was also applied in other instances, for example in the execution of the statues in the Lateran nave, in the 1720s – Benedetto Pamphilj (1653–1730) was instrumental in the guiding Congregation in this case.⁷⁷

With respect to the artistic patronage of 18th-century cardinals, studies are mainly limited to isolated cases. The presence of art collections amongst cardinals certainly did not diminish – indeed, the opposite was probably the case, as collecting became so widespread as a phenomenon that cardinals no longer stood out much amongst the crowds of noblemen who also acquired large collections. Apart from figures such as Alessandro Albani (1692–1779), whose collecting of antiquities and patronage of contemporary artists, but especially his employment of Johann Joachim Winckelmann has made him a crucial figure

74 Arnold Witte, "Scale, Space and Spectacle: Church Decoration in Rome, 1500–1700," in *A Companion to Early Modern Rome, 1492–1712*, eds. Pamela M. Jones, Barbara Wisch and Simon Ditchfield (Leiden: 2019), 473–81.

75 Renata Sabene, *La Fabbrica di San Pietro in Vaticano: Dinamiche internazionali e dimensione locale* (Rome: 2012), 71–75.

76 Virgilio Noè, *I Santi Fondatori nella Basilica Vaticana* (Modena: 1996), 20 and Louise Rice, *The Altars and Altarpieces of new St. Peter's: Outfitting the Basilica, 1621–1666* (Cambridge, Eng.: 1997), 7–12.

77 Michael Conforti, "Planning the Lateran Apostles," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 35 (1980), 243–60.

in 18th-century Europe, and some cardinal nephews, we lack good studies and so have little general idea of the dynamics of cardinals' art patronage in this period, whether religious or institutional in nature. Again, the religious patronage seems to have focused mainly on the preparations of churches and other religious edifices in Rome for the Jubilee years.⁷⁸ But, in general, the ways in which cardinals underlined (or did not) the institutional and religious aspects of their function – which was surely of importance given the many theological discussions taking place inside the Catholic Church and between various Christian denominations during the 18th century, and the certainly not decreasing importance of a theological education for cardinals (see Jean-Pascal Gay's contribution to this volume) – offers a rich ground for further research.

78 Elisa Debenedetti (ed.), *L'arte per i giubilei e tra i giubilei del Settecento: Arciconfraternite, chiese, artisti*, 2 vols. (Rome: 1999–2000).

The Cardinal's Wardrobe

Carol M. Richardson

By the end of the 17th century, the papal master of ceremonies, Francesco Sestini da Bibbiena, could report that cardinals' dress consisted of the soutane (a long, sleeved cassock, buttoned down the front), *rochet* (a linen overgarment or surplice), *manteletta* (short shoulder cape worn only in Rome), *mozzetta* (short cape usually buttoned in front) and *cappa magna* (voluminous cloak with a hood). The hat was always red, whereas the cassock and cloak could be in one of three qualities of the colour: *pavonazzo* (peacock-coloured), *rosso* (red) or *rose secche* (old rose), depending on the occasion.¹

Although red is the colour worn by cardinals, it is not the cardinals' colour but the popes'. The colour is significant precisely because it binds the pope and his cardinals, as head and members of the papal body: "in capite et in membris" (see also Barbara Bombi's chapter in this volume).² William Durandus explained in his *Rationale* of 1286:

the Sovereign Pontiff always appears dressed with a red cape on the outside while underneath it he is dressed with white vestments; for within, he ought to shine through innocence and charity; and on the outside, he ought to be red through compassion, so that he might show himself to be always ready to lay down his life for his sheep; for he stands in the place of Him who made red His garments for all the sheep in the world.³

Papal garb seems to have been established relatively early on, though its first formal record is in the late 13th-century *ordo*, or ceremonial book, of Gregory X.⁴ How the cardinals' costume evolved was a long, often contentious process, that

¹ Francesco Sestini, *Il moderno maestro di camera* (Rome: 1697), 9–10.

² Marc Dykmans, *Le cérémonial papal: De la fin du Moyen Âge à la Renaissance*, vol. 2: *De Rome en Avignon ou le Cérémonial de Jacques Stefaneschi* (Brussels: 1981), 472.

³ Guillaume Durand, *William Durand on the Clergy and their Vestments: A New Translation of Books 2 and 3 of The Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, trans. and ed. Timothy Thibodeau (Scranton: 2010), 236; idem, *Rationale divinorum officiorum* (Venice: 1568), § 1286, 3:19.18. See also Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, *The Pope's Body*, trans. David S. Peterson (Chicago: 2000), 89.

⁴ Paravicini Bagliani, *The Pope's Body*, 83–85.

began in the middle of the 13th century.⁵ It is only from the 16th century that the portrayal of cardinals in portraits is more or less consistent, as Clare Robertson demonstrates in her chapter.

In the middle of the 15th century, the canon lawyer Martino Garati da Lodi could give no clear answer to the question of what cardinals wore in his short treatise *De cardinalibus* (1453; see also David S. Chambers's chapter in this volume): they were permitted to wear the white and red vestments and gold spurs reserved to the pope but only with express permission.⁶ Here I will deal with the form and significance of the most distinctive aspects of cardinals' dress, namely the hat and the colour which set them apart on formal occasions. There were other signals of their status: cardinal bishops are distinguished on tomb monuments, for example, by the cope (*pluviale*, from the Latin for a rain cloak) and mitre, cardinal priests by the chasuble, and deacons by the dalmatic. These vestments, however, were worn during the liturgy, as Philipp Zitzlsperger discusses in his chapter, and refer to their order as clergy rather than to their dignity as cardinals.⁷ Moreover, as well as the colour and the form of what they wore, the material quality of cardinals' dress was also codified so that, in fact, texture was more important than tailoring. The very fact that what the cardinals wore was puzzled over and regulated demonstrated an awareness that their costume had a history. That history embodied cardinals' political and legal status as integral to the longevity and continuity of the papacy.

1 Cloaks and Hats

In his treatise *De cardinalatu* (1510), Paolo Cortesi discusses cardinals' dress in the chapter on their authority (*potestate*). They have a uniform because they are individuals fulfilling a role that derives from their "collective authority." That status is also signified by the colour and physical presence of their weighty cloaks:

5 Bernard Berthod, "From Papal Red to Cardinal Purple: Evolution and Change of Robes at the Papal Court from Innocent III to Leo X 1216–1521," in *Robes and Honor: The Medieval World of Investiture*, ed. Stewart Gordon (New York: 2001), 315–31.

6 Martino Garati, *De cardinalibus* (1453), in *Per la storia del Cardinalato nel secolo xv*, ed. Gigliola Soldi Rondinini (Milan: 1973), 85; question 98. Johann Baptist Sägmüller, *Die Thätigkeit und Stellung der Cardinäle bis Papst Bonifaz VIII. historisch-canonistisch untersucht und dargestellt* (Freiburg i.Br.: 1896), 165.

7 Carol M. Richardson, *Reclaiming Rome: Cardinals in the Fifteenth Century* (Leiden: 2009), 98–100.

the power of the College of Cardinals must be understood as twofold: partly applying to each of them personally, partly residing in the College's collective authority ... The same can be said of the manner of dress, whereby those of cardinalatial rank have the customary privilege of stately clothing: as we see, they are entitled to wear not only a red cap but also a linen tunic, making this dress special and different from that of other clerics. Similarly, we see them wearing a scarlet hooded cloak [*coccinea toga calyptra*] so clearly made for stately display as to be the heaviest piece of clothing imaginable and reaching so far below the ankles as to make it hard for them to walk without a train-bearer.⁸

Inventories and paintings demonstrate that cardinals wore long cloaks and gowns, with or without sleeves, open or closed in front, and with or without hoods. Jan van Eyck may have depicted Niccolò Albergati around 1431, in a portrait now in Vienna, when the cardinal was participating in a peace congress at Antwerp as a papal legate.⁹ Albergati is shown in a red garment, probably the long clerical *vestis talaris* or secular *lucco*, lined with white fur, with a *mantello* or cloak over his shoulders with its characteristic slits instead of sleeves, which would have been just as appropriate for officials or academics as for cardinals.¹⁰ In 1423 in Venice, for example, the Great Council decreed that the doge's council, and members of the Forty, should adopt bright red robes (*vestes de colore*) to mark them out from the other members of the Signoria, who usually wore black.¹¹

Like Albergati, Ludovico Trevisan, in his 1459 portrait by Mantegna now in Berlin, is represented as papal legate, which entitled him to wear the papal colours as he was acting in the stead of the pope. In this case, Trevisan wears a fine white linen rochet and red cape (*cappa* or *ferraiolo*). Towards the end of the 15th century, the contrast between papal and cardinalatial dress became more obvious, as is evident in Melozzo da Forlì's fresco for the founding of the

8 Paolo Cortesi, *De cardinalatu libri tres* (Castro Cortesio: 1510), fol. CXIIIr-v.

9 There is some controversy over the portrait because of the costume, though this may be explained by the cardinal's status as a papal legate: John Hunter, "Who is Jan van Eyck's 'Cardinal Nicolo Albergati'?", *Art Bulletin* 75 (1993), 207–18.

10 See Jacqueline Herald, *Renaissance Dress in Italy 1400–1500* (London: 1981), 209–31, for a glossary of Renaissance dress and textile terms. Philipp Zitzlsperger, in "Der Papst und sein Kardinal oder: Staatsportät und Krisenmanagement im barocken Rom," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 66 (2001), 553–55, proposes that cardinals' dress derived from that of the judges of the Sacra Rota.

11 Dennis Romano, *The Likeness of Venice: A Life of Doge Francesco Foscari, 1373–1457* (New Haven: 2007), 60.

Vatican library (Fig. 32.1). While Giuliano della Rovere, Sixtus IV's cardinal nephew, wears the voluminous *cappa rubea* with fur-lined hood, the pope himself wears the Roman white cassock, a slightly shorter white *rochet* and a red mantle or *mozzetta*. A shoulder-cape was worn by cardinals on occasions when the *cappa* or cloak was not necessary, though the addition of a small hood seems to have distinguished it from the papal *mozzetta*. The voluminous cloak worn by cardinals (*cappa*) usually incorporated a hood (*caputium* or



FIGURE 32.1 Melozzo da Forlì, *Foundation of the Library*, 1477. Fresco, Pinacoteca, Vatican Museums

PHOTO: BRIDGEMAN IMAGES

capotum) that set it apart from secular clothes. Laypersons had been forbidden the use of cloaks (*mantelli*) with hoods (*capae*), in the 11th century, thereby reserving the *cappa* as a cloak and hood combined for clergy and monastics. This was also known as the *cappa magna*, and its use was only abolished in Rome in 1967 (though it has reappeared in recent years).¹²

The cardinals' adoption of the *cappa* had not been uncontroversial, reflecting their encroachment upon papal power in the period of the Avignon exile, schism, and conciliar crisis.¹³ In his *Tractatus de reformationibus Romanae curiae* (1458), Domenico de' Domenichi referred the issue to the pope of the time: it was for Nicholas V to decide whether or not it was "permitted, useful, or in actual fact offensive" for cardinals to wear the red cloak (*cappa*), particularly those made of luxurious fabrics such as red camlet, a costly cloth of wool mixed with soft goat- or camel-hair, in addition to other precious accoutrements.¹⁴ Domenichi's, reform treatise, which influenced the reform bull he drafted for Pius II, went further, declaring that "cardinals are forbidden to wear the *cappa rubea*."¹⁵ Popes and reformers in the mid-15th century presumably tried to restrict the use of the *cappa rubea* due to its ancient associations with imperial authority and with martyrdom, as described for example by Peter Damian and Gregory VII (1073–85) in the 11th century.¹⁶

Pius II's successor, Paul II (1464–71), a Venetian pope particularly alert to the propaganda value of ceremonial and display, had different ideas, preferring his cardinals to appear in colours and fabrics appropriate for their supporting role in the display of the papal monarchy.¹⁷ From the first year of his reign, Paul also allowed cardinals to use scarlet cloths to cover their mules or horses when they rode in procession. Previously, only the pope had this privilege, covering his white horse with a red cloth, while the cardinals and bishops used white cloths

12 After 1967, the presentation of the red hat (*galerum rubrum*) ended and the cardinal's ring simplified (from sapphire-encrusted to simple gold band). Paul VI also abolished the use in Rome of the *cappa magna*: see Francis A. Burkle-Young, *Passing the Keys: Cardinals, Conclaves and the Election of the Next Pope* (Lanham, MD: 1999), 189.

13 Pastor, 3:400.

14 Domenico de' Domenichi, "Tractatus de Reformationibus Roman. Curie," BAV, Barb. lat. 1487, fol. 293r.

15 According to Pastor, a copy of the bull is in Barberini Library (now incorporated into the Vatican Library), Rome, Cod. 27, fols. 1–53; part of it translated in Pastor, 3:397–403; see also 270–72; Rudolf Haubst, "Reformentwurf Pius des Zweiten," *Römisches Quartalschrift* 49 (1954), 188–242. Also Pius II, *Pii II. Commentarii rerum memorabilium que temporibus suis contigerunt*, ed. Adrian van Heck (Vatican City: 1984), 770–71.

16 Peter Damian, *Epist.*, book 1, 20 (1073), 365 in Paravicini Bagliani, *The Pope's Body*, 85–88.

17 Bartolomeo Sacchi (Il Platina), *Liber de vita Christi ac omnium pontificum* (AA. 1–1474), ed. Giacinto Gaida (Città di Castello: 1913–32), 3,1:392.

and lesser clergy were not permitted to use them at all.¹⁸ It was believed that Emperor Constantine had granted the Roman clergy the use of these horse-cloths when he made them equivalents of the Imperial Senate, as Cortesi also later noted.¹⁹

The word used by Domenichi for the cardinals' distinctive dress is *cappa*, which in the context of ecclesiastical dress refers to a cloak, mantle or cape.²⁰ The *cappa* is distinct from the cope, a liturgical vestment, often circular or semi-circular, worn over the shoulders and fastened across the chest. Cardinals are often referred to wearing the cope for ceremonies, regardless of their holy orders as deacon, priest or bishops. The cope was the standard liturgical garb for processions or benedictions, but it was not used at the mass when the chasuble was adopted by the officiating cleric, accompanied by deacon and subdeacon in dalmatic and tunicle respectively. Thus, the 1493 will of Cardinal Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini (who died in 1503 as Pius III) lists two copes as part of his gift to Siena Cathedral, one of white damask decorated with gold flowers, and one of blue velvet with gold stars and the Piccolomini *stemma* of the crescent moons.²¹ But both copes came with their *caputio*, which is the little hood, either detachable or integrated into the neckline, related to the Italian *cappuccio*. This same hood is evident on the choir dress of cardinals as a gathering of extra fabric over the rear neck of a *mozzetta* which serves the same purpose as, and probably derives from, the *amice*, a square of linen tied round the neck to protect precious vestments from sweat and dirt.

It is easy then to see how the *cappa* might be misunderstood on occasion as the head-covering of a cardinal not least because the voluminous hood was used to cover the head during penitential acts. New cardinals took to wearing the red *cappa* and a black hat, according to Patrizi Piccolomini, until such time as they had been formally received by the pope, with the exception of monks

18 Marc Dykmans, *L'oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini ou le cérémonial papal de la première Renaissance* (Vatican City: 1980), 1:181–87, 2:553, 554; for processions during the pontificates of Eugene IV and Pius II, see Sible de Blaauw, “Contrasts in Processional Liturgy: A Typology of Outdoor Processions in Twelfth-Century Rome,” in *Art, cérémonial et liturgie au Moyen Âge*, eds. Nicolas Bock, Peter Kurman, Serena Romano, and Jean-Michel Spieser (Rome: 2002), 362–63.

19 Lorenzo Valla, *On the Donation of Constantine*, trans. G.W. Bowersock (Cambridge, MA: 2007), xi, 178–79; Paolo Cortesi, *De cardinalatu libri tres* (Castro Cortesio: 1510), fols. CXIIIIr-v.

20 <http://logeion.uchicago.edu/index.html#cappa>. Dykmans translates “cappa” as the French “chapeau”: Dykmans, *L'oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini*, 1:161.

21 Carol M. Richardson, “The Lost Will and Testament of Cardinal Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini,” *Papers of the British School at Rome* 68 (1998), 204.

and friars who continued to use the black hat.²² The red hat had been the distinguishing feature of the cardinals' garb since Innocent IV reserved it for them at his first creation of cardinals at the Council of Lyons in 1245.²³ Inventories, however, distinguish between different kinds of hat, namely the brimless cap (Lat. *pileus* or *birretum*/ It. *biretta*) and the large, brimmed cardinal's hat (Lat. *galerum*/ It. *galero*). Platina records in his life of Paul II that the pope reserved the scarlet biretta (*biretta coccinea*) and brimmed hats of red silk for the cardinals, introducing strict penalties for rule-breakers. When existing cardinals met a new appointee to accompany him to his first consistory, they wore both their hoods and their hats on their heads.²⁴ Particularly in the earlier 15th century, cardinals were also depicted wearing both the hooded cloak (*cappa*) and the hat (*galerum*). The *Belles Heures* of Jean de France, duc de Berry includes a representation of the creation of St. Jerome as cardinal (Fig. 32.2). Dressed in a hooded grey cloak, Jerome kneels before Pope Damasus who holds the cardinal's hat in his hand, but, significantly, as will be discussed shortly, does not place it on his head. The other cardinals witness the elevation, each wearing the hood of their cloaks, as well as their hats, over their heads. Patrizi Piccolomini, in his description of the investiture of a new cardinal to whom the hat has been sent care of a nuncio, describes the officiating archbishop placing the hat (*capellum rubeum*) on top of both the skullcap (*birretum*) and hood (*cappa*).²⁵

The red hat was probably still being worn in the early 15th century, but representations of cardinals wearing the red hat become increasingly rare.²⁶ Writing in the early 1560s, Giovanni Andrea Gilio, a priest of the diocese of Camerino, has one of the interlocutors in his *Dialogue on the Errors and Abuses of Painters* draw attention to the anachronism inherent in Jerome's representation with a red hat:

22 Dykmans, *L'oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini*, 2:504 § 1598.

23 Alonso Chacón, *Vitae, et res gestae Pontificum Romanorum et S. R. E. Cardinalium ab initio nascentis Ecclesiae usque ad Urbanum VIII. Pont. Max.* (Rome: 1677), 2:col. 114. Following 1244 the illustrations of cardinals' coats of arms in Chacón are surmounted by *galeri* (2,col. 115 onwards). See also Paul Maria Baumgarten, "Die Übersendung des Roten Hutes," *Historisches Jahrbuch* 25 (1905), 99–103; Stephan Kuttner, "Die Konstitutionen des ersten allgemeinen Konzils von Lyon," *Studia et Documenta Historiae et Iuris* 6 (1940), 120–24.

24 Sestini, *Il moderno maestro*, 31.

25 Dykmans, *L'oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini*, 1:154 § 407.

26 For example Giovanni Dominici, envoy of Gregory XII, entered Constance for the council in 1415 wearing his hat: "The Council as Seen by a Papal Notary [Jacob Cerretano]," in John Hine Munday and Kennerly M. Woody, *The Council of Constance: The Unification of the Church*, trans. Louise Ropes Loomis (New York: 1961), 481.



FIGURE 32.2 Limbourg Brothers, *St. Jerome created cardinal*, from the *Belles Heures of Jean de France, duc de Berry*, ca. 1405–09, fol. 184r. Ink, tempera, and gold leaf on vellum, 23.8 × 16.8 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Cloisters Collection

PHOTO: METROPOLITAN MUSEUM

Should we not call it an abuse to paint St. Jerome with a red hat, like the one worn by cardinals today? Because, although he was a cardinal, he did not wear such garments, given that Pope Innocent IV, who lived 700 years later, introduced the red robes and hats for cardinals, and before then no hats were worn, and nor were any such robes! Yet it seems that the art of painting loses prestige if it does not show the ostentation and conceit of the world, whereas it should show the opposite, to provide a model for people to imitate...²⁷

By the middle of the 15th century cardinals generally seem to have had only one official hat (*galerum*), given to them by the pope at their investiture. At this ceremony, the pope placed the red hat on the new cardinal's head, but immediately removed it and it was returned to the designated hat-bearer.²⁸ This key moment is depicted in the scene of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini's investiture as a cardinal by Calixtus III in the Piccolomini library in Siena Cathedral. While the cardinals are dressed in the *cappa magna*, its hood visible across their shoulders, the brimmed hat has been replaced with the biretta (Fig. 32.3). The only *galero* evident is not worn, but held by the pope over the head of the new cardinal, stressing his dependence on the pope.²⁹ It is repeated in later frescoes in which the complicity of pope and cardinals is significant, including Giorgio Vasari's 1546 fresco, "Paul III distributing honours" in the Sala dei Cento Giorni in the Palazzo della Cancelleria in Rome and Taddeo Zuccari's Anticamera del Concilio (1560–66) at the Villa Farnese, Caprarola – an image in which Paul III is depicted holding the red hat over a new cardinal's head, while others cardinals look on, wearing *birettas*. In the ceremonial for taking the hat to a cardinal absent from Rome, Patrizi Piccolomini specified that the nuncio should make it as visible as possible by bearing it aloft on a stick or baton (*baculum*), and papal cavalcades often depict cardinals' hats being borne in this way (Fig. 32.4).³⁰

Cardinals' hats were a rare commodity that had to be imported to Rome. In 1460 six hats were brought into the city, passing through the customs house "for the cardinals just created."³¹ Pius II had created six new cardinals in March

27 Giovanni Andrea Gilio, *Dialogue on the Errors and Abuses of Painters 1564*, eds. Michael Bury, Lucinda Byatt, and Carol M. Richardson (Los Angeles: 2018), 124–25; Eugene F. Rice, *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance* (Baltimore: 1985), 10–14, 23, and 35–37.

28 Dykmans, *L'oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini*, 1:147 § 383.

29 *Ibid.*, 1:147.

30 *Ibid.*, 1:152 § 400.

31 Arnold Esch, "Le importazione nella Roma del primo rinascimento (Il loro volume secondo i registri doganali romani degli anni 1452–1462)," in *Aspetti della vita economica e culturale a Roma nel Quattrocento* (Rome: 1981), 39–40.



FIGURE 32.3 Pinturicchio, *Enea Silvio is Elevated to Cardinal*, ca. 1502–08. Fresco, Piccolomini Library, Duomo, Siena
 PHOTO: BRIDGEMAN IMAGES



FIGURE 32.4 Antonio Tempesta, *Vero disegno dell'ordine tenuto da N.ro S.re Clemente VIII pontefice massimo nel felicis.mo ingresso di S.S.ta nella città di Ferrara l'anno 1598*. Etching, 40.4 × 54.9 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB-37.937
PHOTO: RIJKSMUSEUM AMSTERDAM

1460, and each would have to be given his hat at his investiture.³² They were valued at 16 ducats each, one and a half times the monthly salary of the renowned papal librarian, Platina, in 1477.³³ The cardinals' hats were among the large numbers of finished items, particularly *birettas* and other kinds of hat, that came to Rome from Bruges and from Florence, the latter producing the best quality items. Indeed, Rome absorbed 10 per cent of the products of the Florentine cloth industry.³⁴

By the last decades of the 15th century, there is evidence to suggest that the *galero* was indeed more regalia than garment. The inventory made on Cardinal

32 The new cardinals were Angelo Capranica, Berardo Erolì, Niccolò Fortiguerra, Alessandro Oliva, Francesco Todeschini-Piccolomini, and Burkhard Weisbrich.

33 In 1477 Platina was paid 10 ducats a month as papal librarian: Eugène Müntz and Paul Fabre, *La Bibliothèque du Vatican au xve Siècle d'après des Documents Inédits* (Paris: 1887), 150.

34 Esch, "Le importazione nella Roma," 33.

Francesco Gonzaga's death included 17 *birettas* in *rosato* but no red hat.³⁵ Gonzaga's hat was probably kept with the cardinal's body, which had to be transported from Bologna, where he died, to Mantua, where he was buried. When the procession that accompanied the cardinal's remains entered Mantua on the evening of 26 October 1483, it was led by Francesco Godini, the cardinal's mace bearer, followed by a hat-bearing steward, the *portatore del capello*.³⁶ Similarly, when Cardinal Giovanni Battista Zen, Paul II's nephew, died in 1501, his inventory included one hat and eight birettas, suggesting that Paul II's official adoption of the *biretta* had been effective.³⁷ Wolsey, on the other hand, ordered additional hats (*galeri*) from Rome in 1517, because those already sent were too big for him.³⁸ A hat was carried before the cardinal in processions, alongside the great seal which signalled his secular power as English Lord Chancellor, whether he moved between rooms inside or travelled outside riding a mule (Fig. 32.5).³⁹

The *galero* was an important part of the cardinal's regalia because it was a reminder that the cardinal's jurisdiction came direct from the pope.⁴⁰ A cardinal was not properly a cardinal unless he had travelled to Rome to receive his commission directly from the hands of the pontiff, as Jennifer Mara DeSilva discusses in her chapter on the creation of cardinals. Although Nicholas of Cusa had been created cardinal in December 1448, he remained in Kues, committed to the reform of his local clergy. In 1456, ten days after his own elevation, Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini wrote to Cusa that "he should either refuse the hat or secure a welcome in Rome."⁴¹ Cardinals from northern nations in particular

35 David S. Chambers, *A Renaissance Cardinal and his Worldly Goods: The Will and Inventory of Francesco Gonzaga (1444–1483)* (London: 1992), 150 n. 196.

36 Chambers, *Worldly Goods*, 97 and 192. The mace-bearer was usually the cardinal's barber, or equivalent intimate servant. The mace, according to Sestini, represents the cardinal's pre-eminence rather than his dignity, as such: Sestini, *Il moderno maestro*, 25.

37 Maria Giuseppina Muzzarelli, *Guardaroba medievale: Vesti e società dal XI al XVI secolo* (Bologna: 1999), 50–51; the inventory is in Pompeo Gherardo Molmenti, *La storia di Venezia nella vita privata dalle origini alla caduta della Repubblica* (Trieste: 1973), 2:475–77.

38 George Cavendish, *Thomas Wolsey, Late Cardinal, His Life and Death Written by George Cavendish His Gentleman Usher* (London: 1962), 51–52; *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, 1509–47*, eds. J.S. Brewer, J. Gardner, and R.H. Brodie (London: 1862–1920), Cardinal Wolsey to Bishop of Worcester, 24 March 1517, 2.1.2:975–76.

39 For example, Cavendish, *Thomas Wolsey*, "Mi Lorde Rides to Westminster house" (Bodleian Library MS Douce 363).

40 Sägmüller, *Die Thätigkeit und Stellung der Cardinäle*, 164.

41 Letter of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini to Nicholas of Cusa, 27 December 1456, see Erich Meuthen, *Die letzten Jahre des Nikolaus von Kues: Bibliographische Untersuchungen nach neuen Quellen* (Cologne: 1958), 133.



FIGURE 32.5 George Cavendish, *Wolsey's Cavalcade*, ca. 1557. Drawing on paper, Bodleian, Oxford, Douce 363, roll 214.5
PHOTO: BODLEIAN LIBRARY

risked having their position at home usurped as soon as they set foot out of their realms. The *galero* therefore took on additional meaning when the cardinal was at a distance from Rome. When John Kemp, archbishop of York, was created cardinal *in absentia* from the papal court in December 1439 by Eugene IV his promotion was resisted by his fellow English bishops.⁴² As a cardinal, Kemp took precedence over all the other bishops, and even the archbishop of Canterbury, Henry Chichele. Chichele argued that Kemp had to be in Rome to enjoy the status of a cardinal whereas in England he could only be recognised according to the status of his diocese. In August 1440, Pietro da Monte, papal collector in England, wrote to the pope and to the cardinals warning them that Chichele's resistance to Kemp's position was an attack on papal authority itself.⁴³ Even though the pope held on to Kemp's hat, hoping to entice him to travel to Rome for it, and urged Henry VI to release Kemp from England, the

42 See Walter Ullmann, "Eugenius IV, Cardinal Kemp, and Archbishop Chichele," in *Medieval Studies Presented to Aubrey Gwynn SJ*, eds. John Andrew Watt, John B. Morrall, and Francis x. Martin (Dublin: 1961), 359–83 and Margaret M. Harvey, "Eugenius IV, Cardinal Kemp and Archbishop Chichele: A Reconsideration of the Role of Antonio Caffarelli," in *The Church and Sovereignty*, ed. Diana Wood, *Studies in Church History*, Subsidia 9 (Oxford: 1991), 334–35. On this incident, see also Miles Pattenden's chapter.

43 Pietro da Monte's letter to the pope is in Johannes Haller, *Piero da Monte: Ein gelehrter und päpstlicher Beamter des 15. Jahrhunderts. Seine Briefsammlung herausgegeben und erläutert von Johannes Haller* (Rome: 1941), no. 150, 168–69. The letter to the cardinals is at BAV Vat. Lat. 2694, fols. 234v–235r; quoted in Ullmann, "Eugenius IV, Cardinal Kemp, and Archbishop Chichele," 363 n. 22.

king refused. The cardinal's regalia should be sent to England, the king argued, so that Kemp could carry the hat with him and therefore enjoy the protection and safeguard that it represented. Eugene IV eventually conceded, and the hat was sent to Kemp in England to bolster his position. The implications of the dispute were still alive at the start of the 16th century when Domenico Jacobazzi made notes on the episode, concluding that a cardinal separated from Rome and the pope was like a fish out of water.⁴⁴

Cardinals' red hats took on additional significance on the relatively rare occasions when they were sent out to new cardinals precisely because of their symbolic value. Shortly after the Scottish prelate David Beaton was created cardinal by Paul III in December 1538, Sir Ralph Sadler wrote to King James IV of Scotland on behalf of Henry VIII that having a cardinal wearing "the red hat of pride" among his subjects was problematic.⁴⁵ Noting the departure of the papal representative, Latino Juvenale, bearing Beaton's hat from Rome early in January 1539, the pope's grandson, Cardinal Alessandro II Farnese wrote to Cardinal Girolamo Aleandro, that

I do not think he will carry it as far as Scotland, but will send to the Cardinal to come and receive it at Rouen or Antwerp, this privilege being granted to him which is not to others, to whom only the *birette* are sent, while for the hat (*cappello*) they come to Rome.⁴⁶

Political expedience exempted Beaton from having to travel to Rome, but nevertheless he still needed to journey from Scotland to France in the spring of 1539 to receive his red hat covertly from Juvenale which probably took place at Chantilly, near Paris, around Easter.

Henry VIII's warning to James IV no doubt derived from his experience with Thomas Wolsey whose dramatic fall a decade before had been symptomatic of the impending separation of England from Rome. Wolsey deliberately advertised his creation as cardinal by exploiting the propagandistic opportunity afforded by the arrival of his hat in England.⁴⁷ His promotion completed the meteoric rise from butcher's son to a position superior to that of the English nobility and monarchy, and second only in status to the pope. News of Wolsey's elevation had reached Henry VIII's court late in September 1515, and on

44 Domenico Jacobazzi, *Tractatus illustrium jurisconsultium* (Venice: 1584), fol. 203, no. 246.

45 *Letters and Papers*, Cardinal Pole to Cardinal Beaton, 1 Jan 1539, 1:8; 1:773.

46 *Letters and Papers*, Cardinal Farnese to Aleander Cardinal of Brindisi, 8 Jan 1539, 1:36; Patrizi Piccolomini nevertheless includes details on sending the hat to "absent" cardinals: Dykmans, *L'oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini*, 1:152–55.

47 Charles Ferguson, *Naked to Mine Enemies: The Life of Cardinal Wolsey* (London: 1958), 135.

Thursday 15 November the cardinal's hat arrived in London, along with a gift of a ring from Leo X, borne by the secretary to Silvestro Gigli, ambassador for England at the Curia.⁴⁸ The ring almost certainly marked Wolsey's incardination in the Roman diocese by means of his assignment to the titular church of Santa Cecilia in Trastevere, as Arnold Witte discusses in his chapter.⁴⁹ Carried in procession to Westminster Abbey, the hat was placed on the high altar. Surrounded by lighted tapers in a three-day exposition, even nobles had to bow before it until the installation, which took place on Sunday 18 November.⁵⁰ In the sermon delivered by John Colet, dean of St. Paul's Cathedral, "the high and great power of a cardinal" was even compared to that of the ranks of angels who were closest to God: cardinals "representeth the order of Seraphim, which continually burneth in the love of the glorious Trinity" which is why they are "metely apparelled with red, which colour only betokeneth nobleness."⁵¹

2 Colour and Texture

Of all the dye colours, red provided the widest possible range of hues.⁵² It is for this reason that, while cardinals' hats were always red, representations in the *Belles Heures* and Piccolomini library, for example, show cloaks and hoods in shades from white and pink to purple and blue. This range can, in part, be explained by the fact that members of monastic orders who became cardinals were not absolved from their orders.⁵³ Niccolò Albergati (1373–1443), a Carthusian monk, continued to wear the white habit of his order.⁵⁴ Among Calixtus III's College of Cardinals depicted by Pinturicchio were Juan de Torquemada, who wore his Dominican habit even when he was participating in official

48 Ferguson, *Naked to Mine Enemies*, 136.

49 That Wolsey would be assigned Santa Cecilia was established in September 1515; *Letters and Papers*, 2.1:259; the ring is mentioned in a letter from Gigli, 7 October 1515, *Letters and Papers* 2.1:266.

50 The installation is described in J.H. Lupton, *A Life of John Colet* (London: 1887), 193–98; *Letters and Papers*, 2.1:303–04; Peter Gwyn, *The King's Cardinal: The Rise and Fall of Thomas Wolsey* (London: 1992), 56–57.

51 Lupton, *Colet*, 197–98; Gwyn, *The King's Cardinal*, 57: "Treatise on the celestial Hierarchy of Dionysius," c. 7: "first after the Trinity come the Seraphic Spirits, all flaming and on fire, full of the Deity they have received, and perfect."

52 Paul Hills, *Venetian Colour: Marble, Mosaic, Painting and Glass 1250–1550* (New Haven: 1999), 174.

53 Martino Garati, *De cardinalibus*, question 60, 75: "Utrum monachus effectus cardinalis absolvatur a substancialibus regule. Respondi non absolvitur..."

54 Hunter, "Who is Jan van Eyck's 'Cardinal Nicolo Albergati.'"

ceremonial; Jean Jouffroy who maintained the black *cappa magna* as abbot of a Benedictine monastery; and Bessarion, who always wore black as he belonged to the order of St. Basil (Fig. 32.3).⁵⁵ Similarly, Cortesi explained that “understandably, the dress-code forbids any avowed religious elected to the College to wear clothes of that [red] colour” which was why the Benedictine Cosimo Orsini, one of Sixtus IV’s cardinals wore black, and why Marco Vigerio della Rovere of Savona, a Franciscan Conventual and cardinal created by Julius II, wore grey.⁵⁶ Whatever colour they donned, the *cappa magna* of these cardinals was always in woollen cloth, with its more restrained matt appearance, and “senza onde,” without waves or the sheen of shimmering silks.⁵⁷

Even the idea that red was the colour worn by popes and cardinals is rather more complicated than it first seems. Durandus explained that

[f]or the most part, these vestments were woven with the work of a great many threads, that is, with variety on account of the variety of virtues... and they were made with four precious colours: purple, scarlet, fine linen and hyacinth. Through the purple of kingly dignity is signified the pontifical power, which ought to walk along a royal road, not deviating to the right or the left ...⁵⁸ The scarlet, being the colour of fire, signifies pontifical doctrine, which must burn and gleam like fire, which is why we read that it was twice dyed. It must also gleam in the promise, that everyone who has given up a house, a father or mother etc., will receive a hundred times as much and shall possess eternal life [cf. Matt. 19:29]. It ought to burn with the threat that every tree that does not produce good fruit will be cut down and thrown into the fire [cf. Matt. 3:10] ... By the fine linen of extraordinary whiteness is signified the excellence of a good reputation which must be finely woven ... By the hyacinth, which is the colour of the sky, is signified the serenity of conscience that the pontiff ought to have.⁵⁹

55 Chacon, *Vitae, et res gestae*, 2:col. 916; Dykmans, *L'Oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini*, 2:504.

56 Cortesi, *De cardinalatu*, fol. cxiiiir-v; Girolamo Lunadoro, *Relazione della Corte di Roma e de'Ritti, che si osservano in essa, suoi Officii, Dignità, e Magistrati* (Rome: 1697), 233–34: Gregory XIV gave religious cardinals the right to wear the shorter *cotta* with its wide sleeves rather than the longer *rochet*, both of which are types of surplice worn over the cassock.

57 Lunadoro, *Relazione*, 234.

58 The dye used to create Imperial purple prized since antiquity came from marine molluscs, the recipe for which was lost as a result of the Fall of Constantinople in 1453 and not “rediscovered” until 1684: John Edmonds, *The Mystery of Imperial Purple Dye*, Historic Dyes Series 7 (Little Chalfont: 2000), 9.

59 Thibodeau, *William Durand on the Clergy*, 235–36.

Durandus's explanation of the symbolic connotations of different papal colours and his precise reference to their "great many threads" is redolent of the production of a highly skilled and costly process. There were different ways of achieving sufficiently luxurious red fabric through the interaction of the dye-stuff with the fabric itself, and new cardinals were certainly alert to the possibilities. Learning of his promotion in September 1515, Thomas Wolsey immediately sent to Rome for "the habit and hat of a [cardinal] whereas there be none here that can make the said habit" along with details of the colours and cloths normally worn by the cardinals in Rome.⁶⁰ That is to say, he did not concern himself with colour alone, but also hue, depth of colour, the dye used and the quality of the fabric that carried it.

Violet, scarlet, carmine, and *pavonazzo* are all colours linked with cardinals' dress in inventories, wills and paintings. These colour terms suggest specific shades but equally, if not more so, the value communicated by the combination of dye-stuff with fabric: *rosato*, for example, could refer to colour and/or quality of woollen cloth.⁶¹ Red clothes of the cardinals are often divided into two grades: the cheaper *grano* suggested everyday wear, while *cremesino* (crimson) was used for special sets of clothes woven in more luxurious fabrics.⁶² When he died in 1483, Francesco Gonzaga had cloaks, hoods, and tunics in *cremesino*, *pavonazzo*, and *rosa*, as well as a few other clothes in colours such as white and green.⁶³

Crimson – the word derives from *kermes*, the most expensive dye – indicated a costly silk fabric, whether woven as damask, velvet or satin, as much as the shade of red it carried.⁶⁴ *Kermes* became known as a dye from the eastern Mediterranean and Black Sea areas by the late 14th century, produced by the *Porphyrophora* species of a parasitic scale insect.⁶⁵ As a result it was a rare commodity between 1453 (when Constantinople fell to the Ottoman Turks) and the middle of the 16th century with the introduction of an alternative from

60 Letter of 30 September or November 1515, Wolsey to Worcester (Silvestro Gigli), *Letters and Papers*, 2.1.1:245; also Ethelred L. Taunton, *Thomas Wolsey: Legate and Reformer* (London: 1902), 19.

61 Herald, *Renaissance Dress* (see n. 10), 119–20; Sestini, *Il moderno maestro*, 17–18 and 22–23.

62 Herald, *Renaissance Dress*, 91.

63 Chambers, *Worldly Goods*, 148–49.

64 Hills, *Venetian Colour*, 176.

65 Luca Molà, *The Silk Industry of Renaissance Venice* (Baltimore: 2007), 110–11; Amy Butler Greenfield, *A Perfect Red: Empire, Espionage and the Quest for the Colour of Desire* (London: 2005), 47–49.

the New World.⁶⁶ This may be the reason why Paul II wanted to reserve *kermes* as the colour worn by the cardinals (the *purpura cardinalizia*). Cochineal dye, produced from the parasitic insect *Dactylopius coccus*, arrived in Italy from Mexico around 1540.⁶⁷ The colour produced by cochineal was very close to *kermes* as in each case the chemical colouring agent is the same, namely carminic acid, whereas grain scarlet was the result of chermesic acid (hence the common use of the words for red: crimson or carmine). *Kermes*, however, offered advantages of lustre and durability, particularly when combined with silks.⁶⁸

Other, slightly cheaper, but nevertheless luxurious, red shades included *scarlatta* or *grana* (also referred to as “grain,” an orange-red derived confusingly from *kermes* insects common around the Mediterranean basin which the Romans had called “seeds”) which was used to colour heavy woollen cloth, the best of which was woven from English wool.⁶⁹ In mid-15th-century Florence, *kermes* cost 40 *soldi* a pound, whereas *grana* was only 12 *soldi* a pound.⁷⁰ In Venice, and other dye-producing centres, *kermes* and *grana* (grain) were legally protected and not to be mixed with the cheaper, vegetal-derived red dyes, Brazil wood and madder.⁷¹

Durandus’ mention of purple, scarlet and even blue threads supports the idea that a College of Cardinals had about it the same shimmering, iridescent hues as an ostentation of peacocks. In fact, Patrizi Piccolomini suggests that they rarely wore red unless they were legates, instead sporting a variety of violet shades which ranged from almost pink through red to blue.⁷² Nevertheless, generally there was at least some expectation of uniformity, as Domenico de’ Domenichi noted when observing that the members of cardinals’ households were often decked out in all sorts of colours when they should all have been

66 See Elena Phipps, “Cochineal Red: The Art History of a Color,” *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 67 (2010), 8–9, 12–14, and 26–31.

67 Molà, *Silk Industry*, 120–21.

68 Greenfield, *A Perfect Red*, 105–06.

69 Stella Mary Newton, *The Dress of the Venetians 1495–1525* (Aldershot: 1988), 18.

70 Girolamo Gargioli, *L'Arte della Seta in Firenze* (Florence: 1868) in Herald, *Renaissance Dress*, 92; the cause of the etymological confusion for *Kermes* is explained in Dominique Cardon, *Natural Dyes: Sources, Tradition, Technology and Science* (London: 2007), 608–09.

71 Molà, *Silk Industry*, 112.

72 Dykmans, *L'oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini*, 2:502–03: “Reverendissimi domini cardinales, cuiuscumque sint ordinis, utuntur semper in capella et in publico cappa ampla supra rochetum, coloris violacei, plus vel ‘minus’ clari, aut obscuri indici sive aerei, et aliquando rubei, sed rarius. Nam rubeus color proprie ad papam pertinet et ad legatos qui mittuntur de latere extra Italiam vel ad aliquod magnum negotium, nam in istis casibus pontifex solebat donare legato mantum rubeum cum caputio, et in illo habitu dabat audientiam legatus in sua provincia.”

wearing violet.⁷³ When the cardinals entered into conclave, those created by the deceased pope were distinguished by their more solemn “*cappis obscuris*,” mantles of a dark or violet hue, presumably *pavonazzo*, appropriate to the gravity of their responsibility.⁷⁴

The *pavonazzo* (often spelled *paonazzo* in Italian and derived from *pavone* or peacock) shade was appropriate for solemn occasions including the feast of All Souls and funerals. According to the inventory made on his death in 1483, a significant proportion of Francesco Gonzaga's clothes were in the highly fashionable *pavonazzo*. As Luca Molà explains in his book on the silk trade in Venice, *pavonazzo* was the result of multiple dye baths, first rich red followed by blue *vagello*, a combination of indigo and madder.⁷⁵ The result was a deep violet hue. The effect would not have been dull, because only the best fabrics (velvet, damask, or silk) were dyed in *kermes*, which lent them a subtle iridescence. While red shades were worn throughout the year, from vespers on Christmas Eve until Lent, and from Easter to Advent, *pavonazzo* was worn during penitential seasons of Advent and Lent. The only exception to red and *pavonazzo* was *rosa seccha*, or old rose, which was worn on the third Sunday of Advent (Gaudete) and the fourth Sunday of Lent (Laetare).⁷⁶

Curiously, however, Paul II's plans to enrich the quality of the *galero* through the relationship of dye to fabric was seen, according to Platina, Sixtus IV's librarian, as a step too far:

...he made a decree that none but cardinals should, under a penalty, wear red caps [*birette*]; ... He was also about to order that Cardinals' caps [*galeri*] should be of silk scarlet; but some persons hindered it by telling him well, that the ecclesiastical pomp was rather to be diminished than increased to the detriment of the Christian religion.⁷⁷

The cardinals' hats seem to have continued to be made of wool felt, most likely dyed in grain-crimson and, later, in Mexican cochineal. Pius IV's cardinal, Alvise Pisani, created in 1565, owned a cardinal's hat (*cappello da cardinale*)

73 Domenico de' Domenichi, “Tractatus de reformationibus Curie,” BAV, Barb. lat. 1487, fol. 292r.

74 Dykmans, *Loeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini*, 1:37 and 41; Sestini, *Il moderno maestro*, 15.

75 Molà, *Silk Industry*, 111–12.

76 Sestini, *Il moderno maestro*, 11; Newton, *Dress of the Venetians*, 29; Hills, *Venetian Colour*, 178.

77 Bartolomeo Sacchi (Il Platina), *The Lives of the Popes, from the time of our Saviour Jesus Christ to the reign of Sixtus IV: Written originally in Latine and translated into English*, trans. William Benham (London: 1888), 293–94.



FIGURE 32.6 Raphael, *Portrait of Leo X with Giulio de' Medici and Luigi de' Rossi*, ca. 1518. Tempera on panel, 155.5 × 119.5 cm. Uffizi, Florence

PHOTO: BRIDGEMAN IMAGES

described as made of felted wool and lined with ermine fur and trim, along with two *birettas*, one in crimson satin and the other rose coloured.⁷⁸

78 Stefania Mason, "Le vanità di un cardinale: Alvise Pisani e il suo inventario (1570)," *Artibus et Historiae* 34 (2013), 181–82.

Paolo Cortesi in *De cardinalatu* described cardinals “wearing a scarlet rochet so clearly made for stately display as to be the heaviest piece of clothing imaginable, and reaching so far below the ankles as to make it hard for them to walk without a train-bearer.”⁷⁹ Indeed, it was the interaction of colour and fabric that mattered as much as either shade or texture in themselves, as is evident in the luxurious depictions of fabrics by artists who painted cardinals’ portraits: compare, for instance, the watered silk damasks worn by Cardinals Giulio de’ Medici and Luigi de’ Rossi with Leo X’s deep ermine-lined velvet *mozzetta* in Raphael’s group portrait (ca. 1517), now in Florence’s Uffizi (Fig. 32.6).⁸⁰ Folds and creases included in painted or sculptural rendering of the fabrics provided an additional strategy whereby artists could express quality, movement, and weight: a creased silk damask results in a crisper fold than the soft undulations of a piled fabric such as velvet.⁸¹ The different dyes for achieving red hues communicated different values, like the fabrics that held them, and this hierarchical relationship of hue combined with texture was clearly understood by early modern cardinals and those who saw them.

3 Conclusion

Cardinals had a number of options for head coverings. Wolsey was sent a *pileus* from Rome in October 1515, but, in addition, a *galerum* arrived in London with the papal nuncio a month later.⁸² At his installation on 18 November, Wolsey was enrobed in the *cappa magna*, so that during his obeisance before the high altar he lay prostrate, “grovelling, his hood over his head.”⁸³ Only then did the archbishop of Canterbury, William Warham, set the hat on his head, and then only very briefly.

In 1532 Giorgio Vasari wrote to Bishop Paolo Giovio describing an allegorical drawing he made to record a fevered vision he experienced during a period of illness. This vision was of “a tree full of strange fruits: papal mitres, imperial crowns, hats of cardinals, berets of dukes and counts, hoods of monks, veils of

79 Cortesi, *De cardinalatu*, fol. cxiiiiir-v.

80 Hills, *Venetian Colour*, 178 on the “hierarchy of colours and their ‘host’ fabrics.”

81 See, however, Cecily Boles, “The Folded Mozzetta: An Overlooked Motif in the Portraits of Gian Lorenzo Bernini,” *The Sculpture Journal* 20 (2011), 251–63 and 287, for a discussion of details of folds in relation to the Eucharistic symbolism of corporals and other liturgical linens.

82 For Wolsey’s *pileus* (confusingly translated as “cardinal’s hat”) see Silvestro Gigli to Cardinal Wolsey, 7 October 151, *Letters and Papers*, 2.1:266.

83 Lupton, *Colet*, 198.

nuns, helmets of soldiers. In short it was a Hat Tree.”⁸⁴ The allegorical figure of Blind Fortune stood at the top of the tree, knocking off this “strange fruit” with a stick, so that it fell on a variety of wild beasts below: the papal mitre on a wolf, the crown on a bear, representing the pride and rage of the monarch, cardinals’ hats fell on asses, bishops’ mitres on oxen, ducal berets on foxes, priests hats on sheep and mules, nun’s veils on cats, soldier’s helmets on woodpeckers and parrots. The hats therefore signified the estates of man, and the animals their character. Even though cardinals rarely wore the large-brimmed *galerum*, just as kings rarely wear their crowns, it is cardinals’ hats that continue to be their most obvious signifier.

84 Paul Barolsky, “*The Burlington Magazine and the Death of Vasari’s Lives*,” *Arion: A Journal of Humanities and the Classics* 20, no. 2 (2010), 64.

Portraits of Early Modern Cardinals

Clare Robertson

There has been a huge amount of general scholarship on portraits of the early modern period, in which portraits have been interpreted either as historical likenesses or as reflections of personality (a kind of interpretation that risks subjectivity). Such studies discussed portrait types, poses, costume and attributes, as well as the functions and social uses of portraits. Cardinal portraits as a group have received rather less attention, although most of the issues raised in more general studies of portraiture apply to a considerable degree. Numerous studies of major individual cardinals as patrons (see the chapter by Piers Baker-Bates, Mary Hollingsworth and Arnold Witte in this volume) have generally dealt with portraits of their subjects as a minor aspect. There is, however, an increasing interest in cardinal portraiture as a subject or genre in itself. Cristina Bragaglia Venuti especially discussed Venetian cardinals and the iconography of their portraits.¹ Cardinal portraits from the 16th to the 20th centuries were the subject of an exhibition at Palazzo Braschi in Rome, which made possible comparisons of change across the ages in the depiction of cardinals, but also continuity, though many issues, such as the development of the full-figure portrait and the issue of precedence, and the way portraits functioned as signifiers of political and familial networks, still remain relatively unexplored.²

Portraits of cardinals form a significant subset of Renaissance and Baroque portraiture. They were made for a number of patrons, intended for a range of locations, and had several different purposes. It is important to stress from the outset that, like portraits of aristocratic secular sitters, cardinals' portraits were not intended merely as true likenesses, in the manner of a modern photograph. Rather, they would often idealize the subject's features, not merely to flatter him and present a self-fashioned image that the cardinal would wish to present to the world, but also because not least of the portrait's functions was to convey a symbolic message about the cardinal's elevated social status. This was

1 Cristina Bragaglia Venuti, "I volti dei cardinali veneziani del Cinquecento: Forme e storia di una tradizione iconografica," in *I cardinali della Serenissima: Arte e committenza tra Venezia e Roma (1523–1605)*, eds. Caterina Furlan and Patrizia Tosini (Cinisello Balsamo: 2014), 163–84.

2 Francesco Petrucci and Maria Elisa Tittoni (eds.), *La Porpora Romana: Ritrattistica cardinalizia dal Rinascimento al Novecento* (Rome: 2006).

especially the case, since so many wealthy cardinals came from aristocratic families, or were papal nephews (see Birgit Emich's chapter in this volume) and were fabulously rich and powerful (usually thanks to the resources of the papal coffers; see Lucinda Byatt's chapter in this volume). They thus had to be depicted in an appropriately sumptuous manner.³

Typically, the commission for a cardinal portrait would be made by the sitter himself, often to be hung in his own palace, or in another belonging to the family. For wealthy cardinals, from families that produced several cardinals down the generations, such as the Medici, portraits might be displayed as part of a dynastic sequence, which aimed to reinforce family prestige and long-standing relations with the Church. When a cardinal took the *possesso* of a new protectorate, for example of a nation, or religious institution, he would often donate painted or sculpted portraits for their official buildings to establish his authority (see Arnold Witte's chapter on cardinal protectors in this volume).⁴ Portraits might also be sent by their sitters as diplomatic gifts to reinforce political affiliations. Less commonly, a work might be commissioned by an associate, for example a secretary or political ally, who might be included in order to emphasize his own prestige by association. Copies might also be made, for example to be sent to friends or family, or to be included in collections of famous men, which became common from the early 16th century onwards. Collectors might even commission entire series of contemporary cardinals.⁵ This chapter will examine thematically, rather than chronologically, the various types of cardinal portraits made during the period roughly from 1500 to 1700, such as individual portraits, group portraits, donor portraits, and those included in narrative cycles, together with a consideration of their functions and their patrons' motivations.

3 A good example is Ottavio Leoni's portrait of Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini, nephew of Clement VIII (Frascati, Villa Aldobrandini, ca. 1605). Contemporary descriptions of his appearance are less flattering: Clare Robertson, *Rome 1600: The City and the Visual Arts under Clement VIII* (New Haven: 2015), 58.

4 Moroni, 55:320 and Arnold Witte, "Portraits as a Sign of Possession: Cardinals and their Protectorships in Early Modern Rome," in *Portrait Cultures of the Early Modern Cardinal: Studies in Scarlet*, eds. Piers Baker-Bates and Irene Brooks (Amsterdam: forthcoming).

5 See for example, Leopold Joseph, Count von Lamberg, imperial ambassador in Rome in the late 17th century: Friedrich B. Polleross, *Die Kunst der Diplomatie: Auf den Spuren des kaiserlichen Botschafters Leopold Joseph Graf von Lamberg* (Petersberg: 2010), 12. I thank Arnold Witte for this and the previous reference.



FIGURE 33.1
 Raphael, *Cardinal Bernardo
 Dovizi da Bibbiena*, ca. 1516.
 Oil on canvas, 86.3 × 65.9 cm.
 Florence, Galleria Palatina
 PHOTO: GALLERIE DEGLI
 UFFIZI

1 Formulae for Cardinals' Portraits

By the early 16th century, there was essentially a formula for cardinals' portraits, although of course many variations were possible.⁶ The cardinal was almost always depicted in his ceremonial robes, usually seated and in three-quarter view. He would be wearing a red *biretta*, a white linen shirt and surplice (the latter might be elaborately embroidered with gold or silver thread), and a red cassock of silk or taffeta. On top of all this was a *mozzetta*, a short cape, frequently in watered silk. Various shades of red were the dominant colour for cardinals' clothes, and indeed many of their furnishings (see also Carol Richardson's chapter in this volume).⁷ Often the sitter was holding some symbol of office such as a document. Sometimes he might hold a handkerchief, and he

6 Francesco Petrucci, "Tipologie della ritrattistica cardinalizia tra '500 e '600," in *La Porpora Romana: Ritrattistica cardinalizia dal Rinascimento al Novecento*, eds. Francesco Petrucci and Maria Elisa Tittoni (Rome: 2006), 19.

7 Kate J.P. Lowe, *Church and Politics in Renaissance Italy: The Life and Career of Cardinal Francesco Soderini (1453–1524)* (Cambridge, Eng.: 1993), 230–31.



FIGURE 33.2 Titian, *Cardinal Pietro Bembo*, ca. 1540. Oil on canvas 94.5 × 76.5 cm, Washington, DC, Samuel H. Kress Collection, National Gallery of Art
PHOTO: COURTESY NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART, WASHINGTON

might also be wearing elaborate rings – one of which would typically be his cardinal's ring.

The format of such portraits could vary from bust-length to three-quarters. Good examples of the magnificence of effect created by artists in the earlier part of the 16th century are portraits by Raphael, such as that of Cardinal Bernardo Dovizi da Bibbiena (1470–1520), who was the papal treasurer and one of the wealthiest men in Rome (ca. 1516; Fig. 33.1), and Titian's portrait of

Bibbiena's friend, Pietro Bembo (1470–1547), the famous poet and literary scholar (1539–40; Fig. 33.2).⁸ The format for such portraits owed much to contemporary images of popes, notably Raphael's celebrated depiction of the elderly Julius II (ca. 1512, London, National Gallery).⁹

Only rarely were cardinals depicted standing. This was a pose usually accorded to royalty. A notable example is that by Scipione Pulzone, one of the most accomplished portraitists in Rome of the second half of the century and very prolific in the genre of cardinals' portraits, of Cardinal Enrico Caetani (1550–99), titular cardinal of Santa Pudenziana, where he built a richly endowed chapel. Caetani is depicted in a particularly splendid outfit (Ninfa, Monumento Naturale Giardino di Ninfa, Fondazione Roffredo Caetani, ca. 1586).¹⁰ He was a descendant of one of Rome's oldest noble families, and his status is implied by his pose. As so often in cardinal portraits, a dark background is used to increase the impact of the sitter's red clothing. This is further enhanced by the red tablecloth and the red upholstered chair. As well as the document and handkerchief that Caetani holds, there is an ornate bell on the table, and the coat of arms of Sixtus V (1585–90), who had raised Enrico to the purple on 18 December 1585, appears at the upper left. The portrait must have been painted shortly after. Over the course of the 17th century cardinals were increasingly depicted in a standing pose, perhaps as a result of Urban VIII's prerogative of 1630 to use the title of *Eminentissimo*, which gave them precedence over many secular princes.¹¹ An example showing the full magnificence of a cardinal standing is Pietro da Cortona's portrait of Cardinal Giulio Sacchetti (1626–27; Fig. 33.3). Here the wealthy cardinal is depicted dressed in rich fabrics, standing by a table with an ornate inkwell and a book, and holding a handkerchief.¹²

8 For Bibbiena, see Roger Jones and Nicholas Penny, *Raphael* (New Haven: 1983), 132; *Raffaello a Firenze* (Milan: 1984), 183–88; Angelica Pediconi, "Cardinal Bernardo Dovizi da Bibbiena (1470–1520): a Palatine Cardinal," in *The Possessions of a Cardinal: Politics, Piety and Art, 1450–1700*, eds. Mary Hollingsworth and Carol M. Richardson (University Park, PA: 2010), 92–112. For Bembo, see Harold E. Wethey, *The Paintings of Titian* (London: 1971), 2:82–83; Marsel Grosso, "6.1. Tiziano Vecellio, *Ritratto del cardinale Pietro Bembo*," in *Pietro Bembo e l'invenzione del Rinascimento*, eds. Guido Beltramini, Davide Gasparotto, and Adolfo Tura (Padua: 2013), 368–69.

9 Carol Plazzotta, "Portrait of Pope Julius II," in *Raphael from Urbino to Rome*, eds. Hugo Chapman, Tom Henry, and Carol Plazzotta (London: 2004), 272–77.

10 Antonio Vannugli, "Scipione Pulzone ritrattista: Traccia per un catalogo ragionato," in *Scipione Pulzone: Da Gaeta a Roma alle Corti europee*, eds. Alessandra Acconci and Alessandro Zuccari (Rome: 2013), 43, and 314–17.

11 Moroni, 21: 264–65.

12 Sergio Guarino, "Ritratto del cardinale Giulio Sacchetti," in *Pietro da Cortona, 1597–1669*, ed. Anna Lo Bianco (Milan: 1997), 318–19.



FIGURE 33.3
Pietro da Cortona, *Portrait of
Cardinal Giulio Sacchetti*, 1626–27.
Oil on canvas, 130 × 98 cm. Rome,
Galleria Borghese
PHOTO: PUBLIC DOMAIN

Occasionally, cardinals were depicted in the robes of their orders: Cardinal Michele Bonelli, also known as Cardinal Alessandrino (1541–98), is shown in his Dominican robes in another of Pulzone's portraits from 1572 (Gaeta, Museo Diocesano).¹³ Bonelli, who was cardinal nephew of Pius v (1566–72), is seated at a table covered in red cloth, on which stands a fine reliquary inlaid with ebony and ivory. As with many of Pulzone's cardinal portraits, there are several replicas, of which the finest, painted fourteen years later in 1586, is in the Fogg Museum at Cambridge, MA.¹⁴ Bonelli's fellow Dominican Cardinal Girolamo Bernerio (1540–1611) had himself painted in a similar manner by the obscure Alfonso Catena around 1600.¹⁵

In the earlier part of the 16th century, it was apparently acceptable for a cardinal to be depicted in the secular dress that he almost certainly wore in

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- 13 Maria Celeste Cola, "Scipione Pulzone, Ritratto del cardinal Michele Bonelli," in Acconci and Zuccari (eds.), *Scipione Pulzone*, 256–59.
- 14 Vannugli, "Scipione Pulzone," 32 and 43. The painting probably had belonged to Cardinal Girolamo Bernerio.
- 15 Sivigliano Alloisi (ed.), *Personaggi e interpreti. Ritratti della collezione Corsini* (Rome: 2001), 46–48; Vannugli, "Scipione Pulzone," 57, n. 51.

everyday life.¹⁶ A good example is Titian's portrait of Ippolito de' Medici (discussed below). However, after the Council of Trent (1545–63) (see Bernward Schmidt's contribution in this volume), this would have become inconceivable on grounds of decorum, as cardinals were encouraged to present a greater image of ceremonial formality as ecclesiastical functionaries, as well as piety. Indeed, it is striking that a number of prominent cardinals of long standing were finally ordained in the aftermath of Trent, decades after receiving their red hat, including Alessandro II Farnese (1520–89) and Ippolito II d'Este. A surprised commentator of 1564 noted of Farnese that he seemed to have become "tutto spirituale," and this appears to be confirmed by his subsequent religious patronage.¹⁷ Farnese, who had been appointed cardinal at the age of fourteen by his grandfather Paul III, had enjoyed hunting and the company of beautiful women, until he took holy orders.¹⁸ He appears with a certain gravitas in Scipione Pulzone's post-Tridentine portrait of him at the age of fifty-nine (1579, Rome, Galleria Nazionale di Arte Antica).¹⁹

Sculpted portraits of cardinals were also common, whether as free-standing busts or as parts of tombs (see also Philipp Zitzlsperger's chapter in this volume).²⁰ Of these, the most celebrated are, of course, those of Bernini, which are characterized by their extraordinary vividness, and which indeed seem to be "speaking likenesses." Amongst the best examples of the free-standing busts are the two 1632 versions of Paul V's cardinal nephew Scipione Borghese (1576–1633; Rome, Villa Borghese).²¹ One contemporary described the second bust as "truly living and breathing."²² One of the reasons for this sense of the real presence lies in Bernini's preparatory methods: he would watch and sketch his sitters going about their daily business, rather than holding a formal sitting, producing quick and lively sketches, and even on occasion caricatures.²³

16 This kind of lifestyle seems to be encouraged in Paolo Cortesi's *De cardinalatu libri tres* (Castro Cortesio: 1510).

17 Clare Robertson, "Il gran cardinale": *Alessandro Farnese, Patron of the Arts* (New Haven: 1992), 158–61 and 297, doc. 42.

18 Two favourite courtesans, Settimia and Faustina Mancina, were depicted in Farnese's Book of Hours, decorated by Giulio Clovio, and in the *Marriage of Ottavio Farnese to Margherita d'Austria in 1539* in the Sala dei Fasti Farnesiani at Caprarola: Robertson, "Gran cardinale," 33–34. Titian's *Danaë* also included a portrait of one Angela: Robertson, "Gran cardinale," 72.

19 Acconci and Zuccari (eds.), *Scipione Pulzone*, 285–87.

20 For tombs, see Cristina Ruggiero, "Magnificenza cardinalizia nella ritrattistica funebre," in Petrucci and Tittoni, *Porpora*, 41–52.

21 Anna Coliva, "Scipione Borghese," in *Bernini Scultore: La nascita del Barocco in Casa Borghese*, eds. Anna Coliva and Sebastian Schütze (Rome: 1998), 276–89.

22 Coliva, "Scipione Borghese," 279.

23 Howard Hibbard, *Bernini* (Harmondsworth: 1965) 92–96, and Figs. 46 and 51.



FIGURE 33.4 Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *Bust of Cardinal Robert Bellarmine*, ca. 1622. Marble, life-size. Rome, Chiesa del Gesù
PHOTO: ICCD, ROME

A good example of Bernini's early busts for tombs is that of Cardinal Robert Bellarmine (1542–1621; Fig. 33.4). The tomb itself, designed by Girolamo Rainaldi, and commissioned by Cardinal Odoardo Farnese in 1622, no longer exists, though we can gain some idea of its appearance from a drawing and from its major precedent, the tomb of Cardinal Paolo Emilio Sfondrati (1561–1618) at Santa Cecilia (See Fig 34.5).²⁴ Bellarmine appears half-length, gazing piously outwards, with his hands clasped in prayer. The effect is extraordinarily lifelike. Bernini noted that a real problem for the sculptor, unlike the painter, in producing portraits was the lack of colour in marble. In a famous remark made during his visit to France he noted that if a person became completely white,

24 Robertson, *Rome 1600*, 228–30.

they would be unrecognizable, and suggested that to compensate the sculptor had to hollow out parts in order to create contrasts of light and shade.²⁵ This certainly applies to the image of Bellarmine.

Painted busts of cardinals might also be included on tomb monuments. Thus Domenichino was responsible for the image of his protector, Cardinal Girolamo Agucchi (1555–1605), on his tomb monument of 1605–06 in San Pietro in Vincoli, his titular church, which is based on the monumental portrait of the cardinal seated, which Domenichino had produced the previous year (Florence, Uffizi).²⁶

2 Group Portraits

Dynastic ambitions were the main theme expressed through group portraits; these more often than not combined it with a depiction of the reigning pope. As a result, these were almost exclusively of cardinal nephews. This tradition seems to have begun with Melozzo da Forlì's famous fresco painted for the Vatican Library (1476–77, now Vatican, Pinacoteca; see Fig 32.1) showing Sixtus IV (1471–84) seated in the presence of his nephews, Giovanni della Rovere, Girolamo Riario, Giuliano della Rovere, and Raffaele Sansoni Riario, together with the Vatican librarian Platina.²⁷ Giuliano, whose titular church was San Pietro in Vincoli, is highly prominent in his red cardinal's robes, standing before Sixtus, and he would indeed succeed his uncle as Julius II in 1503. Leo X, the first Medici pope and Julius's successor (1513–21), had Raphael express his hopes for his nephew Giulio de' Medici in the sumptuous triple portrait (1518, Florence, Uffizi; see Fig. 32.6). The pope is shown, magnificently dressed, seated at a table on which are an illuminated manuscript and an ornate bell, and holding a magnifying glass.²⁸ Behind Leo stand two cardinals, his nephew Giulio de' Medici, and Luigi de' Rossi. Giulio would become Clement VII after the brief interlude of the pontificate of Adrian VI (1522–23). Significantly, several

25 Paul Fréart de Chantelou, *Diary of the Cavaliere Bernini's Visit to France*, eds. Anthony Blunt, George C. Bauer, and Margery Corbett (Princeton: 1985), 16.

26 Richard E. Spear, *Domenichino* (New Haven: 1982), 1:88–89, 137, and 143. For the seated portrait, see also Richard E. Spear (ed.), *Domenichino 1581–1641* (Milan: 1996), 386.

27 Nicholas Clark, *Melozzo da Forlì: Pictor Papalis* (London: 1990), 27–41; Mauro Minardi, "Melozzo da Forlì, Bartolomeo Platina rende omaggio a papa Sisto IV," in *Melozzo da Forlì: L'umana bellezza tra Piero della Francesca e Raffaello*, eds. Daniele Benati, Mauro Natale, and Antonio Paolucci (Cinisello Balsamo: 2011), 218–21.

28 Jones and Penny, *Raphael*, 164–66; *Raffaello a Firenze*, 189–98; Roberto Zapperi, "Il ritratto di Leone X di Raffaello: Roma, Firenze e la politica medicea," *Bollettino d'arte* 139 (2007), 59–68.



FIGURE 33.5 Titian, *Paul III and his Grandsons Cardinal Alessandro Farnese and Ottavio Farnese*, 1545. Oil on canvas, 210 × 176 cm. Naples, Museo di Capodimonte
 PHOTO: LUCIANO PEDICINI

copies were made of this work, including one by Vasari, and another by Andrea del Sarto.²⁹

Similar dynastic ambitions lie behind Titian's triple portrait of *Paul III and his grandsons Cardinal Alessandro Farnese and Ottavio Farnese* (Fig. 33.5). Titian came to Rome for the only time in his life in 1545. It was reported that he was willing to paint all the members of the family, "even the cats," partly

²⁹ Luitpold Dussler, *Raphael: A Critical Catalogue of his Pictures, Wall-Paintings and Tapestries* (London: 1971), 46; *Raffaello a Firenze*, 196.

because he was hoping to gain a benefice for his son Pomponio.³⁰ He, and his workshop, did indeed paint a number of Farnese portraits while in Rome. In the triple portrait, the 77-year-old pontiff is seated in fur-lined robes, while Alessandro II stands holding onto the throne, gazing directly out at the viewer, and Ottavio makes a conventional act of obeisance to his grandfather. The group portrait remained unfinished, though, probably because this was intended to be a diplomatic gift for the Emperor Charles v to reinforce the Farnese family's claims to join the European aristocracy, which was one of Paul III's major goals (Ottavio was married to Charles's illegitimate daughter Margaret of Austria). While the portrait was being painted relations between Paul and Charles deteriorated badly after the pope switched his allegiance to France, and the work was abandoned, left unframed for many years in the Farnese palace.³¹ Alessandro was a reluctant cardinal: as the first-born of Paul's grandsons he was apparently angry at being forced into an ecclesiastical career so young in 1534. Indeed, he continued to live the life of a secular prince until the Council of Trent. Thereafter, he seems to have become more pious, and to have had high hopes of being *papabile*, though he never succeeded in becoming the second Farnese pope. Nonetheless, those ambitions seem to be expressed early on in Titian's portrait.³² Since the cardinal nephew continued to be an important institution until the end of the 17th century, this type of portrait continued to flourish, even into the 18th century. Examples are the double portrait of Gregory xv with his nephew, Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi, painted by Domenichino in 1621–23 (Béziers, Musée des Beaux Arts), and Agostino Masucci's double portrait of Clement xii and Cardinal Neri Maria Corsini (ca. 1730, Coll. Bigetti, Rome).³³

Another type of group portrait would show cardinals or other prelates in the company of one or more secretaries. This type was not exclusively used for cardinals, but probably originated at the papal court with Sebastiano del Piombo's celebrated portrait of *Ferry Carondolet with two secretaries* (1512–13, Madrid, Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection). Carondolet was not a cardinal, but archdeacon of Besançon as well as a diplomat at the papal court working for

30 Wethey, *Titian*, 125–26 n. 76; Charles Hope, "A Neglected Document about Titian's *Danaë* in Naples," *Arte veneta* 31 (1977), 188–89.

31 Roberto Zapperi, *Tiziano, Paolo III e i suoi nipoti* (Turin: 1990); Zapperi, "Tiziano e i Farnese," in *Tiziano e il ritratto di corte da Raffaello ai Carracci*, ed. Nicola Spinosa (Naples: 2006), 51–56.

32 For Alessandro, see Robertson, "Gran cardinale."

33 Spear, *Domenichino*, 1:227–28.



FIGURE 33.6 Sebastiano del Piombo, *Cardinal Bendinello Sauli, His Secretary, and Two Geographers*, 1516. Oil on panel, 121.8 × 150.4 cm. Washington, DC, Samuel H. Kress Collection, National Gallery of Art

PHOTO: COURTESY NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART, WASHINGTON

Margaret of Austria.³⁴ It was there that the group portrait was commissioned, probably setting the tone for other examples. Both this and Raphael's composition for the triple portrait of Leo X were adopted in another cardinal portrait, that of *Cardinal Giovanni Salviati with his secretaries* (ca. 1530, Berlin, Gemäldegalerie), attributed to Sebastiano del Piombo.³⁵ Less successful, due to its unusual horizontal format, is another group portrait given to Sebastiano, the *Cardinal Bendinello Sauli and three companions* of 1516 (Fig. 33.6). Various attempts have been made to identify Sauli's attendants, without convincing results. Many of the cardinal's accessories – the ornate bell, illuminated manuscript and the oriental carpet covering the table – seem familiar, but the figures

34 Michael Hirst, *Sebastiano del Piombo* (Oxford: 1981), 98–99; Mauro Lucco, "Ritratto del cardinale Ferry Carondelet e di due segretari," in *Sebastiano del Piombo, 1485–1547*, ed. Claudio Strinati and Bernd Wolfgang Lindemann (Milan: 2008), 136–37.

35 Mauro Lucco, *L'opera completa di Sebastiano del Piombo* (Milan: 1980), 128; Giorgia Mancini and Nicholas Penny, *National Gallery Catalogues: The Sixteenth Century Italian Paintings* (London: 2016), 3:290.

themselves seem to be remarkably unengaged with each other. A surprising feature is the *trompe l'oeil* fly that has landed on the cardinal's surplice.³⁶

3 Donor Portraits

Donor portraits seem to have been frowned upon in the years after Trent by writers on art.³⁷ They did, however, continue to feature in religious images of the second half of the 16th century. Prominent examples are the portrait of Cardinal Odoardo Farnese (1573–1626), Alessandro's great-nephew, in Annibale Carracci's altarpiece, *Christ in Majesty with Saints* (ca. 1597–99, Florence, Galleria Palatina; Fig. 33.7), and the portraits of Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini (1571–1621) and his nephew Cardinal Silvestro in Cristofano Roncalli's *Christ fed by Angels* (ca. 1611, Camaldoli, Monastery). Both were painted for the Tuscan hermitage at Camaldoli, which seems to have been highly fashionable amongst cardinals, and thus became adorned with their portraits.³⁸ Pietro's painting was intended for the monastery's refectory lower down the hill from hermitage itself. Odoardo's altarpiece seems again to be an expression of the political aspirations of the Farnese family: it has been argued that it is an image of his (hopeless) ambitions to inherit the English throne on the death of Queen Elizabeth I, as he is presented to Christ by St. Edward the Confessor. However, it can also be read as a sign of his devotion. Cardinal Gabriele Paleotti, bishop of Bologna and writer on images (1522–97), also paid for a cell there, adorned with an image of himself interceding for his city by an unknown Tuscan artist (1587, Camaldoli, Hermitage).³⁹ Another cardinal who commissioned a cell at the hermitage was Gregory XIV's nephew Paolo Emilio Sfondrati, otherwise best known as the patron of Santa Cecilia in Rome. For that titular church, Sfondrati commissioned two works of the same subject by Giovanni Baglione

36 Hirst, *Sebastiano*, 99–100; Mauro Lucco, "Ritratto del cardinale Bandinello Sauli e tre compagni," in Strinati and Lindemann, *Sebastiano*, 170–71.

37 Gabriele Paleotti, *Discourse on Sacred and Profane Images*, trans. William McCuaig (Los Angeles: 2012), 182–83.

38 For Annibale's painting, see Roberto Zapperi, *Eros e controriforma: Preistoria della Galleria Farnese* (Turin: 1994), 92–93; Clare Robertson, *The Invention of Annibale Carracci* (Cinisello Balsamo: 2008), 130; Arnold A. Witte, *The Artful Hermitage: The Palazzetto Farnese as a Counter-Reformation diaeta* (Rome: 2008), 85–87. For Roncalli's painting, see Ileana Chiappini di Sorio, *Cristoforo Roncalli detto il Pomerancio* (Bergamo: 1975), 107–08; Robertson, *Rome 1600*, 113.

39 Xavier F. Salomon, "Camaldoli, gli Aldobrandini ed il *Riposo nella fuga in Egitto* di Carlo Saraceni," in Carlo Saraceni, *1579–1620: Un Veneziano tra Roma e l'Europa*, ed. Maria Giulia Aurigemma (Rome: 2014), 57–70.

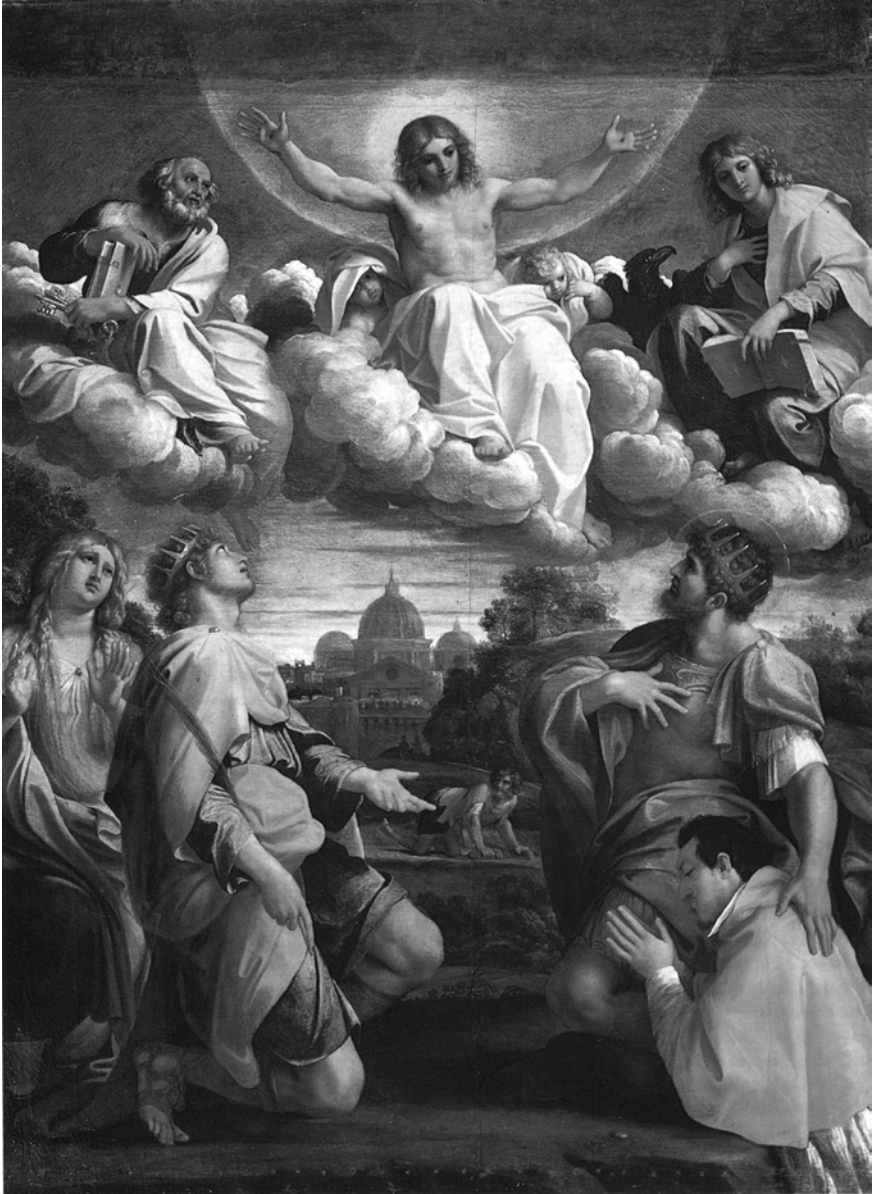


FIGURE 33.7 Annibale Carracci, *Christ in Glory with Saints*, ca. 1597–1600. Oil on canvas, 194 × 142 cm. Florence, Galleria Palatina
PHOTO: POLO MUSEALE FIORENTINO

(ca. 1600) and Francesco Vanni (1601) with himself kneeling in the presence of all the saints associated with St. Cecilia.⁴⁰ Pietro Aldobrandini also managed to squeeze donor portraits of himself and his uncle Clement VIII (1592–1605) into the mosaic designed by Giovanni de' Vecchi in an apse in Santa Maria Scala Coeli at the Abbazia delle Tre Fontane on the outskirts of Rome (1589–99), when he took over the commission at the death of Alessandro II Farnese.⁴¹

Ferdinando de' Medici (1549–1609), third son of Cosimo I Grand Duke of Tuscany, became a cardinal in 1563.⁴² Despite his ecclesiastical appointment, he too lived a worldly life, dwelling in Palazzo di Firenze in the Campo Marzio, which he restored, and building the imposing Villa Medici on the Pincian Hill.⁴³ Medici also apparently enjoyed the favours of Clelia Farnese, daughter of Cardinal Alessandro, said to be the most beautiful woman in Rome.⁴⁴ In 1587, he renounced his cardinal's hat on the death of his eldest brother Francesco (see also Jennifer Mara DeSilva's chapter in this volume), in order to become the new grand duke of Tuscany. Several portraits of him survive from various stages of his life. The most unusual is Jacopo Zucchi's *Mass of St Gregory*, commissioned by Ferdinando for the Oratory of Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini in 1575. In an apparent tribute to the reigning pontiff, Gregory XIII, members of the Curia are shown anachronistically witnessing the mass at which the dove of the Holy Spirit came down to St Gregory the Great. Several figures have been identified, including Filippo and Giacomo Boncompagni (nephews of Gregory XIII), and possibly Alessandro II Farnese. Far the most prominent figure is Ferdinando himself, dressed in richly woven vestments, gazing out at the viewer, and making a commanding gesture.⁴⁵

Ferdinando was depicted at least twice by Scipione Pulzone. He is shown, conventionally, seated in his cardinal robes in a portrait now in Adelaide (1580, Art Gallery of South Australia), described by Baglione.⁴⁶ A decade later Pulzone

40 Robertson, *Rome 1600*, 228, with further references.

41 Robertson, *Rome 1600*, 108–09.

42 His older brother Giovanni had also been a cardinal until his untimely death. For his patronage, see Andrea Gáldy, "Lost in Antiquities: Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici (1543–1562)," in Hollingsworth and Richardson (eds.), *Possessions*, 153–66.

43 Michel Hochmann (ed.), *Villa Medici: Il sogno di un cardinale. Collezioni e artisti di Ferdinando de' Medici* (Rome: 1999).

44 Philippe Morel, "Jacopo Zucchi, Ritratto di Clelia Farnese," in Hochmann (ed.), *Villa Medici*, 304.

45 Philippe Morel, "Jacopo Zucchi, La messa di san Gregorio," in Hochmann (ed.), *Villa Medici*, 270 and Antonio Vannugli, "Giacomo Boncompagni duca di Sora e il suo ritratto dipinto da Scipione Pulzone," *Prospettiva* 61 (1991), 55–66.

46 Giovanni Giovanni Baglione, *Le vite de' Pittori, Scultori et Architetti: Dal Pontificato di Gregorio XIII del 1572. In fino a' tempi di Papa Urbano Ottavo del 1642* (Rome: 1642, ed. Valerio Mariani, Rome: 1935), 53; Vannugli, *Scipione Pulzone*, 26.

portrayed him more sumptuously as grand duke and as a member of the Order of St. Stephen, a chivalric order founded by his father Cosimo I (1590, Florence, Uffizi). He is depicted standing in three-quarter length in black velvet with an intricate ruff, resting his right hand on a helmet, placed on a table covered in red velvet. A blue satin curtain adds a dramatic flourish. The contrast between the two portraits makes clear the change in his fortunes.⁴⁷

4 Portraits in Fresco Cycles

Cardinals were regularly portrayed in the dynastic fresco cycles that became fashionable during the 16th century, especially amongst newly established papal families.⁴⁸ The inclusion of cardinals in fresco cycles was already practiced during the 15th century, if not earlier. Thus, Vasari records portraits by Piero della Francesca and Bramantino of famous figures, including Cardinals Giovanni Vitelleschi and Bessarion, destroyed to make way for Raphael's frescoes in the Stanza d'Elidoro, but not before they were copied by one of his pupils, and the copies acquired by the historian Paolo Giovio for his collection.⁴⁹

Raphael's own frescoes in the Stanze also contain a number of portraits of cardinals. In the *Presentation of the Decretals to Pope Gregory IX*, in which Gregory seems to be a portrait of Julius II, several portraits of cardinals are recognizable, including Giovanni de' Medici, who would become Leo X, and Alessandro II Farnese, the future Pope Paul III.⁵⁰ The identity of Cardinal Farnese is confirmed in a rather damaged portrait by Raphael (1509–11, Naples, Museo di Capodimonte). There the cardinal is shown standing, three-quarter length, in front of an arched window, through which we see a landscape with mountains and a lake, not unlike Lake Bolsena where the Farnese had their territories.⁵¹ More contemporary cardinals appear in the Stanza d'Elidoro, in the

47 Lisa Goldenberg Stoppato, "Scipione, Pulzone, Ritratto di Ferdinando de' Medici," in Acconci and Zuccari (eds.), *Scipione Pulzone*, 352–55.

48 Julian Kliemann, *Gesta dipinte: La grande decorazione nelle dimore italiane dal Quattrocento al Seicento* (Cinisello Balsamo: 1993).

49 Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori nelle redazioni del 1550 e 1568*, ed. Rosanna Bettarini and comm. Paola Barocchi (Florence: 1966–87), 2:259–60.

50 This fresco was in fact executed by Lorenzo Lotto under Raphael's direction: Arnold Nesselrath, "Lorenzo Lotto in the Stanza della Segnatura," *The Burlington Magazine* 142 (2000), 4–12.

51 Pierluigi Leone de Castris, "Raffaello Sanzio, Ritratto del cardinal Alessandro Farnese, futuro papa Paolo III," in *I Farnese: Arte e Collezionismo*, ed. Lucia Fornari Schianchi (Milan: 1995), 168–69.

Mass at Bolsena and in the *Repulse of Attila*. In the latter fresco, painted under Leo X, whose pudgy features are easily identified from Raphael's triple portrait in the depiction of Leo I, there are two cardinals riding on mules and wearing tasselled hats, who can be identified as Sigismondo Gonzaga and Alfonso Petrucci.⁵²

This practice continued in later cycles of family history. For example, in Vasari's fresco cycle in the Palazzo della Cancelleria of 1546, which was primarily a celebration of the ideal virtues of Paul III as pope, the patron Cardinal Alessandro II Farnese stands just behind his grandfather's throne, gazing out at the viewer in a manner reminiscent of Titian's triple portrait, painted the year before. So too, Cardinals Reginald Pole, Jacopo Sadoleto, and Pietro Bembo are recognizable in the scene of *Paul III distributing benefices*.⁵³

Formal portraits might be borrowed, or moved, to be copied for realistic representations in historical cycles.⁵⁴ At the Palazzo Farnese at Caprarola, Cardinal Alessandro's country retreat, a number of cardinal portraits in two of the rooms decorated by Taddeo Zuccari around 1562–63 can be found, and each of them underlines the dynastic aims of this entire cycle. Several in the Anticamera del Concilio are readily identifiable, not least in the scene of *Paul III Creating Four Future Popes as Cardinals*: even without the inscription, the contemporary viewer could identify the future Julius III, Marcellus II, Paul IV, and Pius IV.⁵⁵ A number of portraits in the adjoining Sala dei Fasti Farnesiani are based on Titian's depictions of family members. The subjects represented in this room were clearly intended to glorify the history of the entire family, but especially Alessandro. In *Pier Luigi Farnese being made Gonfaloniere of the Papal Army*, Cardinal Alessandro's short-lived brother Ranuccio, cardinal from 1545 until 1565, is based anachronistically on Titian's charming portrait of him as a boy (1542, Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art).⁵⁶ In the same scene, Alessandro himself, standing as usual behind the papal throne, is again based on Titian.

Cardinal Alessandro was depicted in several other scenes on the walls of this room. In *Alessandro Farnese enters Paris in 1540*, he is shown on horseback under a canopy, together with King Francis I and Emperor Charles V and

52 Arnold Nesselrath, "La Stanza d'Eliodoro," in *Raffaello nell'appartamento di Giulio II e Leone X*, ed. Guido Corini (Milan: 1993), 242.

53 Robertson, "Gran cardinale," 60–65; Kliemann, *Gesta dipinte*, 37–39.

54 Loren W. Partridge, "Divinity and Dynasty at Caprarola: Perfect History in the Room of Farnese Deeds," *Art Bulletin* 54 (1978), 494–96.

55 Robertson, "Gran cardinale," 99–100.

56 Wethey, *The Paintings*, 2:98–99; Partridge, "Divinity and Dynasty," 506.

probably Cardinal Louis de Guise of Lorraine.⁵⁷ He is shown wearing the flat, tasselled ceremonial red hat of a cardinal over the *cappa magna*. *Charles v, Alessandro Farnese and Ottavio Farnese at the Head of the Imperial Army against the League of Schmalkalden in 1546*, is again reliant on Titian's portraits, especially those of Alessandro and Ottavio, both depicted on horseback. In this fresco several faces were left unfinished, perhaps because the appropriate portraits were not sent to Caprarola in time.⁵⁸ Alessandro is dressed more simply in *Charles v with Alessandro Farnese as legate at Worms in 1544* (see Fig. 11.1). Here he wears the hooded cloak and rides a mule (the traditional mount for a cardinal, recalling Christ's entry into Jerusalem); unusually, we see him in profile.⁵⁹

5 Other Aristocratic Cardinals

Ippolito de' Medici (1511–35) was, like Alessandro II Farnese, a reluctant cardinal. As the illegitimate son of Giuliano de' Medici, he was supported by Leo X. He was rich and led a thoroughly secular life until he was apparently poisoned at Itri, *en route* for Naples. Ippolito briefly ruled Florence on behalf of his great-uncle Pope Clement VII between 1524 and 1527. Clement made him a cardinal in 1529 and promoted him to the role of Vice-Chancellor of the Church. Much of his short life was spent in a power struggle for control of Florence with his cousin Alessandro de' Medici, who became duke.⁶⁰ There is evidence that Ippolito wished to resign from the cardinalate and get married.⁶¹ Certainly, his worldly interests are indicated in a lost portrait by Pontorno, painted before he became a cardinal: this was described by Vasari as showing him with a dog, perhaps suggesting his passion for hunting, which continued after he received the red hat.⁶² Two surviving portraits depict him in his cardinal's robes. One is a double portrait, possibly by Girolamo da Carpi (ca. 1533, London, National Gallery).⁶³ The more prominent figure in the painting is the papal clerk Mario Bracci (d. 1551), which suggests that he commissioned the work: its purpose

57 Partridge, "Divinity and Dynasty," 513–14.

58 Julian Kliemann and Michael Rohlmann, *Italian Frescoes: High Renaissance and Mannerism* (New York: 2004), 434 and 440–41.

59 Partridge, "Divinity and Dynasty," 517–18; Robertson "Gran cardinale," 101.

60 For Ippolito, see Guido Rebecchini, "*Un altro Lorenzo*": *Ippolito de' Medici tra Firenze e Roma (1511–1535)* (Venice: 2010).

61 Rebecchini, "*Un altro Lorenzo*," 72 and 75.

62 Vasari, *Vite*, 5:324.

63 Rebecchini, "*Un altro Lorenzo*," 162–63; Mancini and Penny, *National Gallery*, 286–95.

was presumably a demonstration of Bracci's close affiliation with the Medici cardinal. It is significant that Ippolito's likeness is not painted from life but copied from another portrait. Both men are depicted in front of a green drape, and there is a table between them, covered with an oriental carpet. Both men hold documents and Ippolito has a pen in his right hand, while Bracci holds his inkwell. Another small portrait of Ippolito in his formal robes, which must be a copy of another work is by Cristofano dell'Altissimo, and forms part of a series commissioned by Ferdinando de' Medici and exhibited in his Roman villa.⁶⁴

Ippolito spent much of his career in military pursuits, especially in Hungary, and there was a portrait of him in armour by Titian, now lost.⁶⁵ His Hungarian exploits seem to be reflected in the most distinguished surviving portrait of him by Titian, depicting him three-quarter length in Hungarian costume (1532–33, Florence, Galleria Palatina; Fig. 33.8).⁶⁶ Ippolito wears a reddish-brown velvet doublet and a matching hat, decorated with ostrich plumes and the *impresa* of the beautiful Giulia Gonzaga, with whom he was apparently in love.⁶⁷ In Titian's portrait his military bearing is reinforced by the sword and lance that he carries, and he looks boldly out at the beholder. Ippolito seems to have liked dressing in mufti: on one occasion in September 1531 he met his hated cousin Alessandro de' Medici at La Storta, just north of Rome, in secular clothes, and had to sneak back into the city for fear of breaching decorum by not wearing his official robes.⁶⁸ At his death he owned clothes worth a staggering 50,000 *scudi*.⁶⁹

The Medici cardinal was not alone in his extravagant taste for clothes (see also Carol Richardson's chapter in this volume). Another Ippolito, Ippolito II d'Este of Ferrara (1509–72), also had a huge wardrobe.⁷⁰ Made a cardinal officially in 1539, he was fabulously wealthy, and kept one of the largest cardinal households in Rome, but in fact spent much of his career at the French court. We know surprisingly little about the Este cardinal's appearance, though there

64 Hochmann (ed.), *Villa Medici*, 242 and 245.

65 Rebecchini, "Un altro Lorenzo," 161.

66 Wethey, *The Paintings*, 2:119; Tiziana Scarpa, "Ritratto del cardinale Ippolito de' Medici," in Spinosa (ed.), *Tiziano e il ritratto*, 118–19; Rebecchini "Un altro Lorenzo," 160–63.

67 Rebecchini, "Un altro Lorenzo," 240–41.

68 *Ibid.*, 163 and 166–67.

69 *Ibid.*, 148.

70 For Ippolito d'Este, see Mary Hollingsworth, *The Cardinal's Hat: Money, Ambition and Housekeeping in a Renaissance Court* (London: 2004); Hollingsworth, "A Taste for Conspicuous Consumption: Ippolito d'Este and his Wardrobe, 1555–1566," in Hollingsworth and Richardson (eds.), *Possessions*, 132–52.



FIGURE 33.8 Titian, *Portrait of Ippolito II d'Este in Hungarian costume*, 1532–33. Oil on canvas, 139 × 107 cm. Florence, Galleria Palatina
PHOTO: GALLERIE DEGLI UFFIZI



FIGURE 33.9

Northern Italian School, *Portrait of Ippolito II d'Este*, 1537. Oil on walnut panel, 22.8 × 16.8 cm. Liverpool, Walker Art Gallery

PHOTO: WALKER ART GALLERY

is ample evidence for his clothing: a small portrait of 1537 in Liverpool (Walker Art Gallery; Fig. 33.9), painted before his cardinalate, but while he was archbishop of Milan, by an unknown North Italian artist, seems to be one of very few surviving likenesses.⁷¹ The documentary evidence for his wardrobe raises a broader question about what cardinals wore in everyday life. Obviously, portraits of cardinals in their red robes, as with other contemporary aristocratic portraits, are more about the representation of office and social standing than they are about realistic representation. Ippolito clearly continued to wear secular garments after receiving the red hat for social occasions, though he needed the full cardinal's uniform for official events.⁷² An inventory of his wardrobe made in 1535, admittedly before he became a cardinal, but while he was an archbishop, lists a huge number of garments of which only a small proportion were ecclesiastical. His behaviour in terms of his attire does not seem to have altered after he received his red hat.⁷³

Another cardinal about whose appearance and clothing we are well informed is Pietro Aldobrandini, who was cardinal nephew to Clement VIII.⁷⁴ His appearance was described, not very flatteringly, but there is a fine, presumably idealized portrait of him by Ottavio Leoni.⁷⁵ He is conventionally portrayed three-quarter length, in his official robes, seated and holding a document.

71 I thank Mary Hollingsworth for bringing this to my attention.

72 Hollingsworth, *Cardinal's Hat*, 238 and 261; Hollingsworth, "Conspicuous Consumption," 134 and 137.

73 Hollingsworth, *Cardinal's Hat*, 177–84 and 238.

74 Xavier F. Salomon, "The Religious, Artistic and Architectural Patronage of Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini (1571–1621)," Ph.D. diss. (Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London: 2005).

75 Yuri Primarosa, *Ottavio Leoni (1578–1630). Eccellente miniator di ritratti: Catalogo ragionato dei disegni e dei dipinti* (Rome: 2017), 682–83. For the preparatory drawing, see Robertson, *Rome 1600*, 41.

A rich swag of dark red fabric hangs in the background. We are exceptionally well informed about all his possessions thanks to the 1603 inventory, which is also highly informative about his clothes.⁷⁶ He owned numerous vestments, many of which were in purple (*paonazzo*) silk or taffeta, embroidered with gold and silver thread, and a mitre worked with peacock feathers and depicting the mysteries of the Passion, the prophets and the apostles, which must have been an impressive object.⁷⁷ However, the sheer number of pages dedicated to his clothing tells us much about the extent of his wardrobe, and reinforces that he did not wear ecclesiastical garb all the time.

6 Non-aristocratic Cardinals

Apart from wealthy cardinals from princely and/or papal families, of whom a degree of magnificence was expected, there were also “poor” cardinals (see Lucinda Byatt’s chapter in this volume), some of whom, particularly in the second half of the Cinquecento, chose to live relatively modestly, often aspiring to return to the customs of the early church. The most celebrated of these is the Oratorian Cesare Baronio (1538–1607), a historian of the early Church and author of the *Annales ecclesiastici* (Rome: 1588–1607).⁷⁸ There are several painted portraits of great simplicity. One modest image by Francesco Vanni, dating from 1605, shows him aged sixty-seven in his cardinal’s *biretta* and black robes.⁷⁹ This is in the church where he spent much of his later career, the Oratorian mother church of Santa Maria in Vallicella (the Chiesa Nuova).⁸⁰ An earlier portrait of

76 Frascati, Villa Aldobrandini, Archivio Aldobrandini, *Inventario generale della casa dell'Illustrissimo Signore Pietro, Cardinale Aldobrandino, Camerlengo di Santa Chiesa, et de' beni et cose appartenenti a Sua Signoria Illustrissima revisto, accomodato et ridotto in questo libro nel principio dell'anno MDCIII. Monsignor Agocchij Maggiordomo et D. Bernardino Lupi Guardarobba* (hereafter *Inventario*). See Xavier F. Salomon, “Annibale Carracci e il cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini: Considerazioni sulla collezione, la cappella e le lunette Aldobrandini,” in *Nuova luce su Annibale Carracci*, eds. Sybille Ebert-Schifferer and Silvia Ginzburg (Rome: 2011), 191–92; Robertson, *Rome 1600*, 362 n. 151.

77 *Inventario*, fols. 398–405. For the mitre, see fol. 400: “Un mitra di lavoro di penne di pavone co' i misteri della Passione dall'una e l'altra parte, et con i profeti da una parte, e gl'Apostoli dall'altra, con trina d'oro et bottoni intorno, con le fascie compagne distaccate.”

78 Alberto Pincherle, “Baronio, Cesare,” in *DBI*, 6:470–78; Romeo di Maio (ed.), *Baronio e l'arte* (Sora: 1985); Alessandro Zuccari, “Cesare Baronio: le immagini, gli artisti,” in *La regola e la fama: San Filippo Neri e l'arte*, ed. Claudio Strinati (Milan: 1995), 80–97; Robertson, *Rome 1600*, 217–25.

79 Alessandro Zuccari, “Francesco Vanni, Ritratto del Cardinale Cesare Baronio,” in Strinati (ed.), *La regola e la fama*, 327 and 487; John Marciari and Suzanne Boorsch (eds.), *Francesco Vanni: Art in Late Renaissance Siena* (New Haven: 2013), 192.

80 For another example, see Petrucci and Tittoni, *Porpora*, 21, fig. 10.



FIGURE 33.10
 Francesco Villamena, *Portrait of Cardinal Cesare Baronio*, 1602.
 Engraving, 345 × 219 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB-38.440
 PHOTO: RIJKSMUSEUM AMSTERDAM

1599, apparently painted from life, by Giuseppe Franchi was in the collection of Federico I Borromeo, who was close to the Oratorians. It might well have been given as a token of friendship by Baronio himself.⁸¹ Apparently, Baronio was notoriously shy of having his portrait made.⁸² And yet his image was widely disseminated thanks to several engravings, which attest to the importance of his historical studies. The first was included in the sixth volume of the *Annales*, published in 1596.⁸³ The most interesting engraved portrait is that by Francesco Villamena of 1602 (Fig. 33.10). This shows him at the age of sixty-four in the typical manner of a scholar in his study surrounded by his books, together with a print or small painting of the *Madonna della Vallicella*, the Chiesa Nuova's most important icon. The cardinal's features are based closely on an earlier print

81 Pamela M. Jones, *Federico Borromeo and the Ambrosiana: Art Patronage and Reform in Seventeenth-Century Milan* (Cambridge, Eng.: 1993), 184.
 82 Alessandro Zuccari, "Francesco Villamena, Ritratto del Cardinale Cesare Baronio," in Strinati (ed.), *La regola e la fama*, 496.
 83 Zuccari, "Cesare Baronio," 81, Fig. 72, and 487.

from 1600 by an unknown engraver. Through an open window his titular church of Santi Nereo and Achilleo, newly restored, can be seen.⁸⁴ The function of Villamena's engraving is not entirely clear, nor is it known who commissioned it; it was probably a member of the Congregation of the Oratory as an illustration of Baronio's dedicated studies of the early Christian Church, which would fit with much broader Oratorian concerns in the wake of Trent, and as a sign that the new ideal of the post-Tridentine cardinal was a product of this particular religious community (see Pamela Jones's chapter in this volume).

7 Conclusion

Many hundreds of portraits of cardinals were produced during the early modern period. While the standard portrait had a certain format, there were many variations upon that, partly depending on the sitter's wealth and status, and also on the image's destination. A cardinal's portrait might have been intended to add to a family record of its members or might have been made as a diplomatic gift. They might also have been made to indicate a social connection with a particular cardinal. Portraits were frequently copied, sometimes by the original artist, as in the case of Pulzone, while other copies might be made by lesser artists, who might make a living solely by producing such copies, such as one Nicola Ventura, an associate of Federico Zuccari.⁸⁵ Even Caravaggio for a short while earned his living painting up to three "heads" a day in the studio of Lorenzo Carli. These were in all likelihood portraits of famous men, including cardinals.⁸⁶ In the later 17th century, the merchant Pellegrino Peri (ca. 1625–99) sold more portraits, especially of cardinals and popes, than any other category of painting.⁸⁷ It was commonplace, even for sophisticated patrons and collectors such as Vincenzo Giustiniani, to acquire series of portraits of great men, amongst whom would be cardinals and popes.⁸⁸ As we have seen, cardinals' portraits might appear in other contexts, but the general formula, with variants and changes of painterly style and fashion, would endure well into the 18th century and beyond.⁸⁹

84 Zuccari, "Francesco Villamena," 495–96.

85 Patrizia Cavazzini, *Painting as Business in Early Seventeenth-Century Rome* (University Park, PA: 2008), 30–32, 105–07, and 150. For copies, see Bragaglia Venuti, "I volti dei cardinali," 163–83.

86 Bellori in a marginal annotation to Baglione, *Le vite de' Pittori*, 136. For Carli, see Francesca Curti, "Sugli esordi di Caravaggio a Roma: La bottega di Lorenzo Carli e il suo inventario," in *Caravaggio a Roma: Una vita dal vero*, eds. Michele di Sivo and Orietta Verdi (Rome: 2011), 65–76.

87 Loredana Lorizzo, *Pellegrino Peri: Il mercato dell'arte nella Roma barocca* (Rome: 2010), 66.

88 Clare Robertson, "Late Annibale and his Workshop: Invention, Imitation and Patronage," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 54 (2010–12), 285–87.

89 Petrucci and Tittoni, *Porpora*.

Cardinals' Tombs

Philipp Zitzlsperger

Amongst the early modern cardinal's numerous concerns, one occupied a special position: *memoria*. A cardinal's afterlife could be decisive for his surviving dependents – a consideration which was long neglected in research on cardinals' tombs. In 20th-century art history the pre-modern sepulchral monument is generally linked to the memory of the life of the deceased – public or private – and its interpretation dominated by concepts of representational display, which also encompassed concern for the salvation of his soul. This chapter explains how the *memoria* set in stone far transcends a mere attempt at representational display. A cardinal's tomb not only looked back into the past: it also looks forward into the future. It provides us with clear indications of familial and social structures and, above all, can be seen as having offered visual and symbolic stability in a society rendered particularly unstable by the elective system of the papal monarchy. This chapter examines how cardinals' tombs differed from other memorial monuments and considers how this genre developed during the early modern era.¹ Above all, it discusses the tomb as a form of constructed memory that shaped historical awareness and imparted identity – its role was seminal in the stock of objects and rituals from which *cultural memory* is born.²

A total of 46 popes and 1,268 cardinals lived during the four centuries from 1417 to 1798. The popes were all buried in Rome, but only 612 cardinals were

1 The tradition of clerical tomb culture can be traced to medieval Rome, but with many interruptions as the political centre moved in the 13th century to Viterbo and then to Avignon during the Schism. See Julian Gardner, *The Tomb and the Tiara. Curial Tomb Sculpture in Rome and Avignon in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford: 1992).

2 On the background to this concept in theories of social and collective memory, see Ernst H. Gombrich, *Aby Warburg, an intellectual biography* (London: 1970), 325–37; Otto Gerhard Oexle (ed.), *Memoria als Kultur* (Göttingen: 1995); Jan Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization: Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination* (Cambridge, Eng.: 2011). Jan Assmann, "Das kollektive Gedächtnis zwischen Körper und Schrift: Zur Gedächtnistheorie von Maurice Halbwachs," in *Erinnerung und Gesellschaft/Mémoire et Société: Hommage à Maurice Halbwachs (1877–1945): Jahrbuch für Sozialgeschichte*, eds. Hermann Krapoth and Denis Laborde (Wiesbaden: 2005), 65–83.

interred there – and 119 of these had no permanent monument.³ In this context the distinction between a burial place and a tombstone – either a stone placed on the floor or as a plaque on the wall – is significant and, as this chapter will demonstrate, is relevant to our understanding of how the early modern period viewed the relationship between the stone and the body.

The concept of *pietas* is fundamental to the evolution of cardinalial tombs. In early modern Rome, *pietas* encompassed not merely care of the dead but also the duty of care vis-à-vis relatives and clients.⁴ Thus *pietas* was not solely a religious virtue but also a secular obligation, which had a role to play in conditioning social actions. In early modern Rome, this was a value which legitimized nepotism, patronage, and care of the dead as virtues in the same way as it enabled the excessive advancement of relatives and cultivation of memory to appear as vices. In Rome, the living cultivated the care of the dead with particular intensity since their own social and political circumstances were so precarious and the tomb offered the symbolic stability they lacked in their daily lives. The instability of the elective monarchy and lack of dynastic continuity encouraged the establishment of bonds of loyalty “through personal loyalty as a servant and not through abstract loyalty in the service of an institution.”⁵ The principle of the elective monarchy had far-reaching consequences for social reality in Rome since the continual change in ruling families led to an unusually mobile and particularly competitive social climate.⁶ In Rome a family’s rise through the ranks of society could succeed more easily and lead further than in any other place in Europe; a career setback could be, correspondingly, violent and final.⁷

That cardinals’ tombs in Rome are relatively well preserved is evidence of the central importance of the memorial. In Rome, the destruction of the

3 Philipp Zitzlsperger, “REQUIEM – Die römischen Papst- und Kardinalsgrabmäler der frühen Neuzeit: Ergebnisse, Theorien und Ausblicke des Forschungsprojekts,” in *Vom Nachleben der Kardinäle: Römische Kardinalsgrabmäler der frühen Neuzeit*, eds. Arne Karsten and Philipp Zitzlsperger (Berlin: 2010), 25.

4 For the concept of *pietas* in the early modern period see Wolfgang Reinhard, *Paul v. Borghese (1605–1621): Mikropolitische Papstgeschichte* (Stuttgart: 2009), 56–67; Wolfgang Reinhard, “Symbol und Performanz zwischen kurialer Mikropolitik und kosmischer Ordnung,” in *Werte und Symbole im frühneuzeitlichen Rom*, eds. Günther Wassilowsky and Hubert Wolf (Münster: 2005), 37–50.

5 Daniel Büchel and Arne Karsten: “(Forschungs-)Modell Rom,” in *Modell Rom? Der Kirchenstaat und Italien in der Frühen Neuzeit*, eds. Daniel Büchel and Volker Reinhardt (Cologne: 2003), 286.

6 Wolfgang Reinhard, “Schwäche und schöner Schein: Das Rom der Päpste im Europa des Barock, 1572–1676,” *Historische Zeitschrift* 283 (2006), 283–85.

7 Büchel/Karsten, “(Forschungs-)Modell Rom,” 287.

memoria represented by sepulchres was just as unpopular as the *damnatio memoriae*: in his diary entry for 26 November 1507, Paride Grassi, Julius II's master of ceremonies, recorded the pope's complaints about the Borgia apartments, where he was constantly compelled to encounter the figure of his enemy Alexander VI. The master of ceremonies suggested that Julius should have the offending frescoes and coats of arms removed from the rooms in question, but the pope responded with a brusque "non decet" (that is not appropriate).⁸ That Julius II prohibited the *damnatio memoriae* of his arch enemy illustrates the importance of preserving *memoria* in early modern Rome.⁹ It should be noted that Julius II himself ordered the demolition of the Constantinian Basilica of St. Peter's, together with all its tombs and monuments; however this destruction of a "sepulchral" memory was not driven by any premeditated *damnatio memoriae* but by the urgent need to rebuild the church.

1 Social Networks

The significance of the tomb is clearly illustrated by two groups of cardinals who were rarely commemorated by tombs. The first group are members of the great Roman baronial families – the Caetani, Colonna, Orsini, and Savelli – who provided 33 cardinals between 1417 and 1798, virtually none of whom have individual monuments in the family chapels in Rome.¹⁰ The second group are the cardinal nephews, who rarely emerge from the sepulchral shadow cast by their papal uncle.¹¹ The actions of these families suggest that it was above all the parvenus who relied on the tomb monument as an aid to legitimacy.

8 Vatican City, Archivio dell'Ufficio delle Celebrazioni Liturgiche del Sommo Pontefice, 370, Paride Grassi, *Diarium*, fol. 203v: "Hodie papa incepit in superioribus mansionibus Palatii habitare, quia non volebat videre omni hora, ut mihi dixit, illam figuram Alexandri praedecessoris, inimici, quem Maranum et Judaeum appellabat, et circumcisum; quod verbum, cum ergo cum nonnullis domesticis riderem, ipse quasi egre tulit a me qui non crederem ei quae diceret de Papa Alexandro, quia esset circumcisus; et cum replicarem, quod si placeret ipsam imaginem delere de pariete, ac omnes alias simul cum armis illis pictis, non voluit dicens quod hoc non deceret, sed ipse non volebat habitare, ne recorderetur memoriae illius pessimae et sceleretae." My thanks to Edouard Bouyé (Aurillac) for kindly pointing me to this valuable source.

9 Cardinals' tombs were not greatly affected by the removal of tombs from Roman churches in the post-Tridentine period, although widespread iconoclasm did occur in Rome during the Napoleonic era.

10 The figures are taken from the REQUIEM Database, www.requiem-project.eu.

11 On the rare exceptions to this rule, see Daniel Büchel, Arne Karsten, and Philipp Zitzlsperger, "Mit Kunst aus der Krise? Das Grabmal Pierre Legros' für Papst Gregor xv. Ludovisi

However, the use of sepulchral monuments to form a collective identity within social groups was by no means limited to family clans: it was also practised by religious orders.¹² It was not unusual for a cardinal or pope – for example, Gregory xv – to be commemorated with a monument by a monastic order which he had favoured during his lifetime and to which he could promise increased prestige even a century after his death. The alliances rendered visible by tombs could result in donors erecting memorials in honour of their enemies in order to breathe life into a desired alliance from which they hoped to gain advantages for themselves. In such cases the tomb's function in the service of its donor's future prospects is demonstrated in a particularly striking manner: Ascanio Maria Sforza's tomb in Santa Maria del Popolo (Fig. 34.1) illustrates the stimulus to an alliance between two adversaries, the della Rovere pope and the Sforza cardinal.¹³ The tombs of Cardinal Jacopo Ammannati-Piccolomini (Fig. 34.2) and his mother likewise show something similar.¹⁴

Research into Roman networks has enhanced our understanding of the mechanisms of endowment, particularly Otto Gerhard Oexle's work on the intersection of sociology and memory studies through his research into *memoria* and analysis of micro-historical processes of group formation.¹⁵ Since then many studies have been published which analyse tombs as representatives of social groups.¹⁶ Wolfgang Reinhard's work on micro-politics and the concept of social interlocking in Rome has shown that simple constructions of collective

in der römischen Kirche Sant'Ignazio," *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 29 (2002), 165–98.

- 12 No such tradition developed in titular churches, in contrast to the tombs in many German dioceses. See Wolfgang Schmid, "Memoria in der Kathedralstadt": Zu den Grablegen der Erzbischöfe von Trier, Köln und Mainz vom 14. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert," in *Memoria, communitas, civitas: Mémoire et conscience urbaines en Occident à la fin du Moyen Age*, eds. Hanno Brand, Pierre Monnet, and Martial Staub, Beihefte der Francia 55 (Ostfildern: 2003), 250.
- 13 Philipp Zitzlsperger, "Die Ursachen der Sansovino-Grabmäler im Chor von S. Maria del Popolo," in *Tod und Verklärung: Grabmalskultur in der frühen Neuzeit. Tagungsakten des interdisziplinären Forschungskolloquiums in Schloss Blankensee bei Berlin*, eds. Arne Karsten and Philipp Zitzlsperger (Cologne: 2004), 91–113.
- 14 Anett Ladegast, "Liturgie und Memoria bei den Ammannati-Grabmälern in S. Agostino: Möglichkeiten und Grenzen einer Grabmalsstrategie," in Karsten and Zitzlsperger (eds.), *Vom Nachleben der Kardinäle*, 67–98.
- 15 Stefanie Knöll (ed.), *Creating Identities: Die Funktion von Grabmalen und öffentlichen Denkmälern in Gruppenbildungsprozessen* (Kassel: 2007); Otto Gerhard Oexle, "Soziale Gruppen und Deutungsschemata der sozialen Wirklichkeit in der Memorialüberlieferung," in *Prosopographie als Sozialgeschichte? Methoden personengeschichtlicher Erforschung des Mittelalters* (Munich: 1978), 33–38.
- 16 Knöll, *Creating Identities* and Oexle, "Soziale Gruppen."



FIGURE 34.1 Andrea Sansovino, *Tomb of Ascanio Maria Sforza*, 1505. Rome, Santa Maria del Popolo

PHOTO: PHILIPP ZITZLSPERGER



FIGURE 34.2 Andrea Bregno, *Tomb of Ammannati-Piccolomini*, ca. 1483. Rome, Sant'Agostino

PHOTO: PHILIPP ZITZLSPERGER

identities barely exist within the early modern patronage system and so it is impossible to construct a linear typology of their tombs.¹⁷ The question that arises from this shifting interaction between sepulchre and society demands extensive consideration of the tombs' form and contents. If, in the process, group-specific unity and peculiarity emerge as soon as the formal factors which shape communities have become clear, then an attempt can be made to determine which identities the dead and the living relate to. Couched in more concrete terms, this is to say: we can ascertain with which of their roles popes and cardinals were most identified, since they occupied a position between ecclesiastical, secular, cliental and family responsibilities.

2 Form and Typology

Several studies on the tombs of Roman cardinals provide us with information on their typology and form, the genesis of which can be attributed to a conscious wish to create art as a vehicle for the expression of its patron's image. The *Anspruchsniveau* (level of aspiration), which creates diversity within a framework of norms and values, is fundamental to our understanding of visual competition between social groups.¹⁸ In Rome's elective monarchy the "level of aspiration" was unique because patrons had to situate themselves between the three poles of Church, Papal States, and family *pietas* – they had to decide which area of interest to favour, thus locating the resulting monuments within a system of semantic coordinates defined by these three vectors.

Papal and cardinalatial tombs from the period 1417–1798 are generally wall monuments or ledger stones – just four exceptions confirm this rule.¹⁹ The development of the wall monuments may be roughly divided into three phases:

17 The seminal study is Wolfgang Reinhard, "Amici e Creature: Politische Mikrogeschichte der römischen Kurie im 17. Jahrhundert," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 76 (1996), 308–34; with an extensive bibliography, Reinhard, *Paul v.*

18 Martin Warnke, *Bau und Überbau: Soziologie der mittelalterlichen Architektur nach den Schriftquellen* (Frankfurt a.M.: 1984).

19 The exceptions are the free-standing tombs of Martin v and Sixtus iv; and the tombs of Cardinals Pietro Foscari (1417–85) and Giovanni Francesco Guidi di Bagno (1578–1641). On the Foscari tomb see Laura Goldenbaum, "Strategien der Vergegenwärtigung: Der venezianische Kardinal Pietro Foscari und sein Bronzedouble in S. Maria del Popolo," in Karsten and Zitzlsperger (eds.), *Vom Nachleben der Kardinäle*, 99–130. On the rare free-standing tomb see the essential work by Joachim Poeschke, "Freigrabmäler der Frührenaissance und ihre transalpinen Voraussetzungen," in *Italienische Frührenaissance und nordeuropäisches Spätmittelalter: Kunst der frühen Neuzeit im europäischen*

1. A typical feature of cardinalial wall monuments from the Quattrocento and early Cinquecento is their form as enclosed niches with architectural framing (a round arch or aedicule with pilasters) which shelter the recumbent figure of the deceased above a plinth with an inscription and coat-of-arms. The life-sized effigy, that is, the recumbent figure, mostly required the niche to have generous-to-monumental proportions. Prominent examples, ascribed to Andrea Bregno, are the monuments of Louis d'Albret (1422–65) in Santa Maria in Aracoeli and of Pietro Riario (1445–74) in Santi Apostoli. At the beginning of the 16th century the effigies become livelier. They raise themselves into semi-recumbent positions, appear to lean on their elbows and create the impression that they are sleeping as their eyes remain closed.²⁰ Examples include the monuments of Ascanio Maria Sforza (1445–1505, Fig. 34.1) and Girolamo Basso della Rovere (1434–1507) in Santa Maria sopra Minerva; or of Giovanni Michiel (1446–1503) in San Marcello al Corso.
2. During the Counter-Reformation the dimensions of these wall monuments decreased noticeably. At the same time the niche was increasingly replaced by a free-standing architectural frame, which was constructed to jut out from the wall rather than to function as a recess within it. A richly varied form of the aedicule type became prevalent. The effigy was almost completely renounced in favour of the portrait bust; hence it was possible to reduce the size of the tombs. However, monumental wall tombs also used the portrait bust and forwent the effigy. In the second half of the 16th century exceptions which stand out due to their size and the expenditure of materials, include the furnishings of funeral chapels in which the cardinal's tomb was reduced to a slab in the floor, but the cardinal's *memoria* was, by contrast, expanded by sequences of interrelated images into an intricate iconographic programme. This is particularly apparent in the Cappella Altemps (1584–91) in Santa Maria in Trastevere (Fig. 34.3).²¹

Zusammenhang, ed. Joachim Poeschke (Munich: 1993), 85–99; and see 91 on the exceptions in Rome. On the widespread use of free-standing tombs outside Italy, see Judith Ostermann, "Ein Königreich für einen Kardinal: Das Grabmal Francisco Ximenez de Cisneros (1436–1517) in Alcalá de Henares," in Karsten and Zitzlsperger (eds.), *Vom Nachleben der Kardinäle*, 131–64.

20 An interesting exception is the recumbent effigy of Cardinal Esteban Gabriel Merino (ca. 1472–1535) in the Spanish church in Rome, Santa Maria in Monserrato, which has its eyes open.

21 See the entry in the REQUIEM Database, www.requiem-project.eu.



FIGURE 34.3 Martino Longhi the Elder (architecture and sculpture) and Pasquale Cati (frescoes), *Cappella Altemps*, 1519. Rome, Santa Maria in Trastevere
PHOTO: PHILIPP ZITZLSPERGER

3. Around 1600 the cardinal's tomb once again came to dominate the space around it. In family chapels increased emphasis was now placed on the tomb's value as representative of the family line, for example in the Cappella Madruzzo (1600–05) or the Cappella Caetani (1600–03); and later, in the second half of the 17th century, also in the chapels of the Corner, Falconieri (Fig. 34.4), Ginetti, or Cibo. These baroque tombs exhibited increased variety of form. Indeed, at times their architectural structure dissolved completely because of their emphasis on sculpture, which was restricted to a few allegories and portraits of the deceased. The portrait,



FIGURE 34.4 Francesco Borromini and Ciro Ferri (architecture) and Ercole Ferrata (sculpture), *Cappella Falconieri*, 1674. Rome, San Giovanni dei Fiorentini
PHOTO: PHILIPP ZITZLSPERGER

which increasingly dominated the tomb architecture's dissolving tectonics, came to be of decisive importance. Portrait busts – whether three-dimensional, in relief, in mosaic form or painted – were the most widespread type of portrait and occasionally appear in the form of the “Eternal

Adoration" (Figs. 33.4 here and 34.5).²² Only isolated examples of semi-recumbent effigies occurred; and standing figures of the dignitaries continued to be excluded, with one remarkable exception in the Cappella Corsini.²³

Despite the unified framework there was sufficient scope for nuanced competition between patrons and between artists.²⁴ Quattrocento tombs had a wide variety of design which not infrequently threatened to break taboos and which allow us to trace the sharp line between conformity and deviance. One type in particular stands out: those which make the altar an integral component of the architecture in order to draw the tomb into the centre of the liturgy. A rare example is the tomb of Cardinal Martins de Chaves in San Giovanni in Laterano (ca. 1450), reconstructed by Kühenthal.²⁵ The few Roman tabernacle monuments must have seemed equally spectacular, such as that for Nicholas of Cusa (1401–64).²⁶ Cusa's simple floor slab is spatially associated with the tabernacle donated by the cardinal himself. The later tomb of Francisco de Quiñones (1482–1540) in the choir of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme is similar, with a commemorative floor slab and tabernacle retable mounted above, a composition which would later be used in funeral chapels as well.²⁷ The two Ammannati-Piccolomini monuments from the 1480s in Sant'Agostino represent a special case because they incorporate the tabernacle in a way that is unique and hence themselves become repositories for the Eucharist or for relics.²⁸ Bronze, frequently used in papal monuments of the period, rarely appeared on cardinals'

22 Leo Bruhns, "Das Motiv der ewigen Anbetung in der römischen Grabplastik des 16., 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 4 (1940), 253–432.

23 Alrun Kompa, "Der Papst als Nepot: Die Darstellung Kardinal Neri Corsinis d. Ä. im Kontext der römischen Corsini-Kapelle," in Karsten and Zitzlsperger (eds.), *Vom Nachleben der Kardinäle*, 221–48.

24 Francis Haskell, *Patrons and Painters: A Study in the Relations between Italian Art and Society in the Age of the Baroque* (London: 1963); Arne Karsten, *Künstler und Kardinäle: Vom Mäzenatentum römischer Kardinalnepoten im 17. Jahrhundert* (Cologne: 2003).

25 Michael Kühenthal, "Zwei Grabmäler des frühen Quattrocento in Rom: Kardinal Martine de Chiavez und Papst Eugen IV.," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 16 (1976), 17–56.

26 See the reconstructions in Sylvie Tritz, "... uns Schätze im Himmel zu sammeln": *Die Stiftungen des Nikolaus von Kues* (Mainz: 2008), 272–327.

27 On the monument of Francisco Quiñones see Sible de Blaauw, "Das 'opus mirabile' des Kardinals Quiñones in S. Croce in Gerusalemme zwischen Memoria und Liturgie," in *Tod und Verklärung: Grabmalkultur in der frühen Neuzeit*, eds. Arne Karsten and Philipp Zitzlsperger (Cologne: 2004), 137–55. On funeral chapels as sacrament chapels, see Georg Satzinger, "Michelangelos Cappella Sforza," *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana* 35 (2003/2004), 343.

28 Ladegast, "Liturgie und Memoria."



FIGURE 34.5 Clemente Gargioli, *Tomb of Paolo Emilio Sfondrati*, 1618, Rome, Santa Cecilia in Trastevere

PHOTO: PHILIPP ZITZLSPERGER

tombs. However, it was used for the effigies of Pietro Foscari (1417–85), Paolo Emilio Cesi (1481–1537) and Federico Cesi (1500–65), and in a few 17th-century examples.²⁹

Another peculiarity found in Rome are the mausoleum choirs. Their advent signifies the breaking of a taboo, because although burial sites in the choir were perfectly normal in Spain and France, in Rome the church choir remained a tomb-free zone until the pontificate of Sixtus IV, when his nephew, Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere reshaped the choir in Santi Apostoli (1474–77) and used the area to provide space for family monuments, including those of Cardinal Pietro Riario and Raffaele della Rovere, Cardinal Giuliano's father and the first layman to be accorded a tomb in such a prominent position. In Sant'Agostino and Santa Maria del Popolo the unification of memorial monuments as twin monuments enabled them to assume additional spatial dominance.³⁰ The Medici popes, too, exploited their impressive appropriation of the choir of Santa Maria sopra Minerva by constructing twin tombs, initially of the classical triumphal-arch type, just as Cardinal Wilhelm Enckenvoirt commissioned twin tombs in the choir of Santa Maria dell'Anima for himself and his benefactor Adrian VI.³¹

Such examples set a trend despite the Tridentine prohibition on bishops using their episcopal church choirs as burial places.³² The papacy did not apply this rule in Rome, where many popes and cardinals had tombs in the choirs of Roman churches: Paul III and Urban VIII in St. Peter's; Pius IV in Santa Maria

29 The busts on the tombs in Santa Maria sopra Minerva created in 1658 for Cardinals Benedetto Giustiniani (1554–1621) and Juan de Torquemada (1388–1468), and the *clipeus* as a bronze relief of Carlo Bonelli (1612–76) in Santa Maria sopra Minerva.

30 On Santi Apostoli see Sible de Blaauw, "Grabmäler statt Liturgie? Das Presbyterium von SS. Apostoli in Rom als private Grablege 1474–1571," in *Grabmäler, Tendenzen der Forschung an Beispielen aus Mittelalter und frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Wilhelm Maier (Berlin: 2000), 179–99; on Sant'Agostino see Ladegast, "Liturgie und Memoria"; on Santa Maria del Popolo see Zitzlsperger, "Die Ursachen der Sansovino-Grabmäler," 91–113.

31 On the Medici tombs see Nicole Hegener, "Mediceischer Ruhm und künstlerische Selbstinszenierung: Bandinelli und die Papstgrabmäler in Santa Maria sopra Minerva," in *Tod und Verklärung*, eds. Karsten and Zitzlsperger, 259–84, 260. On the twin tomb monuments for Adrian VI and Enckenvoirt see Jutta Götzmann, "Die Ehrung eines Papstes als Akt nepotistischer Treue: Das Grabmal Hadrians VI. (1522–1523)," in *Totenkult und Wille zur Macht: Die unruhigen Ruhestätten der Päpste in St. Peter*, eds. Horst Bredekamp and Volker Reinhardt (Darmstadt: 2004), 101.

32 See the section entitled *De Sepulchris* in Chapter 27 of the second book of the *Libri instructionum*: "non in choro tamen, neque in capella maiori, sed extra illius fines in alia ecclesiae parte decentiori, atque insigniori." See Charles Borromeo, *Instructionum fabricae et suppellectilis ecclesiasticae*, ed. Massimo Marinelli (Rome: 2000), 128–29.

degli Angeli; Andreas of Austria (1558–1600) in Santa Maria dell'Anima;³³ Robert Bellarmine (1542–1621) in the Gesù (Fig. 33.4); Giacomo Cavalieri (1565–1629) in Santa Maria in Aracoeli; and several members of the Santacroce family in Santa Maria in Publicolis.³⁴ The most spectacular example of post-Tridentine wall tombs in church choirs is in San Giovanni dei Fiorentini, where the tombs of the Falconieri family, including several cardinals, dating from the end of the 17th century, jut out far into the surrounding space (Fig. 34.4).³⁵

Other patrons announced their individuality with a change in paradigm: Giovanni Battista Pallavicino's (1480–1524) tomb in Santa Maria del Popolo (ca. 1530) contained the first use of the portrait bust; the tri-axial cenotaph of Paolo Emilio Sfondrati (1560–1618; Fig. 34.5) in Santa Cecilia in Trastevere;³⁶ the combination of painting, sculpture and architecture by Bernini celebrating six cardinals of the Venetian Corner family in Santa Maria della Vittoria; Bernini's illusionistic tomb for Cardinal Domingo Pimentel (1590–1653) in Santa Maria sopra Minerva; the tombs of the Imperiali cardinals in Sant'Agostino, which were created between 1674 and 1745 to mirror each other; and the Ginetti chapel in Sant'Andrea della Valle, where generations of the family devoted themselves to its ornamentation.³⁷ Last but not least, the Mellini chapel in Santa Maria del Popolo contained four cardinal tombs from different centuries, which were stylistically not harmonized but put together as if in a museum.³⁸

Familial or client ties were sometimes visible.³⁹ Under the della Rovere popes, Sixtus IV and Julius II, the acorn was particularly popular as a motif,

33 Originally, Andreas of Austria's tomb was located in the choir of Santa Maria dell'Anima but was moved in 1750 to the inner façade. See Gisbert Knopp and Wilfried Hansmann, *S. Maria dell'Anima: Die deutsche Nationalkirche in Rom* (Mönchengladbach: 1979), 23, 54.

34 Paul III's tomb was installed in St. Peter's choir in 1628, parallel to Urban VIII's tomb in the right-hand niche of the choir.

35 Alexandra Fingas, "Die Cappella Falconieri in S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini: Eine römische Grabkapelle im Blickfeld familienpropagandistischer Interessen," in Karsten and Zitzlspurger (eds.), *Vom Nachleben der Kardinäle*, 165–98.

36 Tobias Kämpf, *Archäologie offenbart: Cäciliens römisches Kultbild im Blick einer Epoche* (Leiden: 2015), 114.

37 Cristina Ruggero, *Monumenta Cardinalium: Studien zur barocken und spätbarocken Skulptur am Beispiel römischer Kardinalsgrabmäler (1650–1750 ca.)* (Freiburg i.Br.: 2007), 2:425–31; on the Ginetti chapel, see Carol Nater, "Streit um den Platz in der Ewigkeit: Die Ginetti-Kapelle in S. Andrea della Valle im Spannungsfeld konkurrierender römischer Aufsteigerfamilien im Seicento," in Karsten and Zitzlspurger (eds.), *Vom Nachleben der Kardinäle*, 197–220.

38 Almamaria Tantillo Mignosi, "La cappella Mellini," in *Santa Maria del Popolo*, eds. Ilaria Miarelli Mariani and Maria Richiello (Rome: 2009), 2:543–65.

39 There are few studies on the various types of clientelism; for a case study of Naples see Tanja Michalsky, "Die Porosität der städtischen Bühne: Neapolitanische Familienkapellen

and not just for blood relatives.⁴⁰ The 1500s saw the creation of whole networks of references in different churches across the urban space and a particularly impressive example is the triad of tombs: Ascanio Maria Sforza and Girolamo Basso della Rovere in the choir of Santa Maria del Popolo and Giovanni Michel in San Marcello al Corso. All three are linked by the unique use of a particularly idiosyncratic and non-classical form of the Venetian triumphal arch. It is no coincidence that this group of tombs, similar in typology and form, also share common micro- and even macro-historical causes, identifying both donors and departed as belonging to a group with shared interests, united across a considerable distance within the city.⁴¹

Renaissance monuments to cardinals and bishops are typologically uniform and together they dominate the sepulchral landscape in Rome. During this period the humanist tomb adopted from Florence and the aedicule type with its recumbent figure are almost exclusively reserved for the clergy. Indeed the two types are easily confused: both figures were depicted in identical liturgical vestments (tunic, chasuble, mitre) and, apart from the inscription, only the addition of the cardinal's distinctive red tasselled hat marked his coat-of-arms from that of a bishop.⁴² By contrast, monuments of secular contemporaries are characterized by the cubiculum type,⁴³ with a relief depicting an illusionistic interior (often with a coffered ceiling in perspective) with the effigy on a bier

um 1500 als Knotenpunkte lokaler Selbstdarstellung," in *Grab – Kult – Memoria: Studien zur gesellschaftlichen Funktion von Erinnerung*, eds. Carolin Behrmann, Arne Karsten, and Philipp Zitzlsperger (Cologne: 2007), 113–23.

40 Apart from the tombs of Bishops Pietro Guglielmo Rocca (d. 1482), Giovanni Giacomo Schiaffenati (d. 1497), Giorgio Bonazuntio (d. 1499) and Archbishop Benedetto Superanzio (d. 1495), see also the *REQUIEM* Database for the monuments of Cardinals Ludovico Scarampi Mezzarota (1401–65), Ardicino II della Porta (1434–93) and Jorge da Costa (1406–1508); www.requiem-project.eu.

41 Zitzlsperger, "Die Ursachen der Sansovino-Grabmäler."

42 From the 1550s onwards it became increasingly difficult to distinguish a cardinal's coat-of-arms from that of a bishop, as the heraldic hat above the cartouche is identical to that of the bishop's; the sole distinguishing feature is the colour of the hat – red for cardinals, black for bishops – invisible unless coloured stone was used, which was seldom the case.

43 Cubiculum tombs for bishops in Rome include: Alfonso de Paradinas (1395–1485) and Giovanni de Fuensalida (d. 1498) in Santa Maria in Monserrato; Eustachio de Levis in Santa Maria Maggiore, Giovanni Andrea Boccaccio in Santa Maria della Pace; see also Cardinal Jacopo Ammannati-Piccolomini in Sant'Agostino. The tomb monument with a three-dimensional sculptural effigy of Agostino Maffei (1431–90) in the Maffei Chapel in Santa Maria sopra Minerva is counted as one of the exemplary and most monumental exceptions amongst sepulchral monuments for laymen, those which transcend the type of the chamber tomb and choose the aedicule tomb.

in the foreground – the Roman prototype was created by Andrea Bregno with his tomb for Raffaello della Rovere in Santi Apostoli (1477).⁴⁴

Thus, the Renaissance cardinal's tomb did not reveal itself as distinct from tombs of other ecclesiastical elites. Nevertheless, there are subtle differences between cardinals' tombs and those of other social groups, especially in the use of portraiture. As early as 1940 Bruhn noticed the evolution of sepulchre portraits from the depiction of the deceased to that of the living. For most of the 15th century papal and cardinals' tombs included a recumbent effigy of the deceased, laid out on a bier with their eyes closed – in contrast to the effigies north of the Alps with their open eyes. The bronze effigy of Sixtus IV by Antonio del Pollaiuolo, however, appears alive, his raised eyebrows and tense features animating his face.⁴⁵ The bronze tomb of his successor, Innocent VIII, also by Pollaiuolo, simultaneously depicted the pope both dead and alive, in the form of an honorific statue (*Ehrenstatue*) of him seated on a throne. The use of the honorific statue soon became canonical for papal tombs, varied occasionally by the figure of the pope at prayer, a type popularized by Sixtus V. The enlivening of the sepulchre portraits on cardinals' tombs took place more slowly. In the abovementioned tombs of Ascanio Maria Sforza, Girolamo Basso della Rovere, and Giovanni Michiel, all dating from the 1500s, the recumbent effigy has been replaced by the livelier semi-recumbent effigy (*demigisant*), propped up on its elbows, its head resting in its hands, with eyes closed, as if it were asleep. This semi-recumbent effigy became confined to cardinals' tombs – though it was used on a bishop's tomb in Santa Maria in Aracoeli around 1504.⁴⁶

The next phase in the animation of cardinals' sepulchre portraits did not begin until the mid-16th century, when portrait busts, sometimes with arms, began to be integrated into monuments. From 1591 onwards these busts culminated into the so-called "Eternal Adoration" type, intended to be seen as a "reliquary" for the soul of the deceased. This reduced bust is by no means the result of scaled-down cardinals' tombs, but rather the reverse, since it was precisely in the period of radical change in the second half of the 16th century that memorial monuments could still assume dimensions which would certainly

44 Michael Kühnenthal, "Andrea Bregno in Rom," *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana* 32 (1997–98 [2002]), 212.

45 Philipp Zitzlsperger, "Von der Sehnsucht nach Unsterblichkeit: Das Grabmal Sixtus' IV. della Rovere (1471–84)," in *Totenkult und Wille zur Macht: Die unruhigen Ruhestätten der Päpste in St. Peter*, eds. Horst Bredekamp and Volker Reinhardt (Darmstadt: 2004), 27–28.

46 The tomb of Pietro di Vicenza in Santa Maria in Aracoeli, endowed by his sister in 1504.

have allowed the insertion of a (semi-)recumbent figure and yet forego one in favour of a portrait bust.⁴⁷

The development of the portrait bust on tombs brought about another radical change in the semantic paradigm: by the mid-16th century cardinals no longer appeared in liturgical vestments but in the *mozzetta* and usually bare-headed.⁴⁸ The *mozzetta*, a short, buttoned cape, had been introduced as an extra-liturgical garment at the papal court during the exile in Avignon and was retained as court dress after the papacy returned to Rome (see the chapter by Carol Richardson in this volume). It also became, during the later 16th century, an identifying feature of a cardinal's tomb, as bishops retained the liturgical garments for their portrait busts.⁴⁹

Interestingly, the animation of the sepulchre portrait had taken place much earlier in the rest of Europe. Outside Rome, there were statues standing, sitting, praying, or semi-recumbent figures as early as the 14th century.⁵⁰ In this context it is significant that the tomb of Oliviero Carafa in Naples Cathedral shows the cardinal kneeling in prayer.⁵¹ Roman "tardiness" is all the more striking because even in Rome the sepulchre portrait bust was already popular by 1500 for lay people, usually humanists, but also women.⁵² It was only from the 1520s onwards that the portrait bust was used for the tombs of cardinals and

47 See, for example, the tombs of Cardinals Rodolfo Pio da Carpi (1500–64), Guido Ascanio Sforza (1518–64), Jérôme Souchier (1508–71) or the Madruzzi (1512–1600); later also the tomb of Paolo Emilio Sfondrati (1560–1618) in Santa Cecilia.

48 The seminal study on robes in art is Philipp Zitzlsperger, *Dürers Pelz und das Recht im Bild: Kleiderkunde als Methode der Kunstgeschichte* (Berlin: 2008).

49 On the significance of clerical robes in pictures, see Philipp Zitzlsperger, *Gianlorenzo Bernini: Die Papst- und Herrscherporträts* (Munich: 2002), 43 and Philipp Zitzlsperger, "Bernini's bust of Pope Gregory xv: The Reception of a Magic Portrait Cult," *The Sculpture Journal* 20 (2011), 223–38.

50 See Ursula Mehler, *Auferstanden in Stein: Venezianische Grabmäler im späten Quattrocento* (Cologne: 2001); Martin Gaier, *Facciate sacre a scopo profano: Venezia e la politica dei monumenti dal Quattrocento al Settecento* (Venice: 2004), 56–67; Tanja Michalsky, *Memoria und Repräsentation: Die Grabmäler des Königshaus Anjou in Italien* (Göttingen: 2000); Damian Dombrowski, "Cernite: Vision und Person am Grabmal Roberts des Weisen in S. Chiara zu Neapel," in *Praemium Virtutis: Grabmonumente und Begräbniszeremonie im Zeichen des Humanismus*, eds. Joachim Poeschke, Britta Kusch, and Thomas Weigel (Münster: 2002), 35–60.

51 Bruhns, "Das Motiv der ewigen Anbetung," 273.

52 Anett Ladegast, "Das Geschlecht der Erinnerung: Frauenfrömmigkeit und Grabmalskultur in S. Agostino," in *Grabmal und Identität: Geschlechterbilder in der Sepulkralkultur*, eds. Alrun Kompka and Anett Ladegast (in press).

bishops as well.⁵³ The unity and peculiarity of cardinals' tombs make it impossible to justify the generic term "cardinal's tomb."

However, together with papal tombs, cardinals' tombs did generate a "cultural memory," strikingly orientated towards this life rather than the next. In contrast to the sacral commemoration within the framework of the liturgical act of burial, the tomb represents an extra-liturgical monument which, despite being erected in a church, has secular rather than sacral connotations. This is already indicated in written sources from the 12th century onwards which refer to the tomb not as *sepulcrum*, but as *monumentum*.⁵⁴ Early modern writers continue this argument. In his treatise on architecture, Alberti declared that the tomb monument possesses a character that is simultaneously public, under civil law, and free from religious interpretations.⁵⁵ At the end of the 15th century Giovanni Pontano includes *sepulcra* with palaces and villas, as a prince's private patronage, strictly separate from his religious activities.⁵⁶ This distinction, which remained binding, constituted the basis for perceiving the tomb as part of the secular and public display of a ruler's architectural magnificence.

3 Conclusion: Tombs as *memoriae*

Consequently, even contemporaries saw the tomb as a secular monument, as we see from Cardinal d'Estrées' attack on the iconography of a tomb monument

53 See, for example, the tomb of Bishop Odoardo Cicada from 1545 in Santa Maria del Popolo. On the tomb see August Grisebach, *Römische Porträtbüsten der Gegenreformation* (Leipzig: 1936), 60–61. Busts of cardinals on Roman tombs include: Giovanni Battista Palavicino (1480–1524) in Santa Maria del Popolo; Pietro Paolo Parisi (1473–1545) in Santa Maria degli Angeli; Girolamo Veralli (1497–1555) in Sant'Agostino; Rodolfo Pio da Carpi (1500–64) in Santissima Trinità dei Monti.

54 Ingo Herklotz, "*Sepulcra*" e "*Monumenta*" del Medioevo (Rome: 1985), 219; Ingo Herklotz, "Grabmalstiftungen und städtische Öffentlichkeit im spätmittelalterlichen Italien," in *Materielle Kultur und religiöse Stiftung im Spätmittelalter*, ed. Gerhard Jaritz (Vienna: 1990), 237.

55 Leon Battista Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, trans. Joseph Rykwert, Neil Leach and Robert Tavernor (Cambridge, MA: 1987), 246–49.

56 Giovanni Pontano, *De magnificentia*, in *Opera omnia* (Venice: 1518): "Quae autem opera magnificorum sint propria, distinctus dicenda sunt, quorum alia publica, alia privata, publica ut porticus, templa, moles in mare iactae, viae stratae, theatrae, pontes et eiusmodi alia, privata ut aedes magnificae, ut villae sumptuosae, tures, sepulcra," quoted after Peter Seiler, "Jacob Burckhardt und 'Das Denkmal im modernen Sinne,'" in *Jacob Burckhardt: Storia della cultura, storia dell'arte*, eds. Maurizio Ghelardi and Max Seidel (Venice: 2002), 178.

created for the canon-prelate of S. Maria Maggiore (Rome) Agostino Favoriti (1624–84) in the same church in 1684.⁵⁷ St. Augustine shared this view: in his *De cura pro mortuis gerenda* he does not interpret the tomb in theological terms but rather legitimizes it in ethical ones, as the members of the deceased's family are obliged to care for the deceased's remains. However, Augustine sees pure self-interest at work alongside *pietas*, since the donors can secure their good reputation for posterity by erecting a tomb. Augustine ultimately determines the actual function of the tomb from the perspective of posterity, that is, of reception, and defines the tomb as a memorial: the *sepulcra*, he writes, is called *memoriae* or *monumenta*,

[b]ut then the only reason why the name Memorials or Monuments is given to those sepulchres of the dead which become specially distinguished, is that they recall to memory, and by putting in mind cause us to think of them who by death are withdrawn from the eyes of the living, that they may not by forgetfulness be also withdrawn from men's hearts. For both the term Memorial most plainly shews this, and Monument is so named from monishing, that is, putting in mind.⁵⁸

In Augustine the concept of the *monumentum* has already been detached from its functional context in the liturgy and clearly directed at addressing the living observer. For him, the purpose of honouring the dead by means of a monument lies in the instruction of the living, a view which has also shaped the theory of tombs in the modern era.⁵⁹

Translated from German by Anne Simon

57 Dietrich Erben, "Requiem und Rezeption: Zur Gattungsbestimmung und Wahrnehmung von Grabmälern in der frühen Neuzeit," in *Tod und Verklärung*: eds. Karsten and Zitzlsperger, 115–35.

58 Augustine, *Treatises on Marriage and Other Subjects*, trans. Charles T. Wilcox et al. (Washington: 1999), 358.

59 Dietrich Erben, "Requiem und Rezeption," 117–19.

Cardinals, Music, and Theatre

Franco Piperno

This chapter aims to shed light on the role played by music and theatre in both the public and private lives of early modern cardinals – i.e. the *elite* of an early modern state characterized by its peculiar theocratic ideology. The chapter will also consider the ways in which these two art forms could enhance a cardinal's image and show to what extent they supported, reflected, and even contradicted cardinals' institutional activities as well as their political strategies. The 16th century was the period in which the role of cardinals, as leaders within the Catholic Church, underwent major changes; and it also was in this period that music began to play a significant role in their public life. Theatre, and particularly opera, became important only during the 17th and 18th centuries. Cardinals acted as patrons of musicians and actors throughout the early modern period: they hired them to perform either in private or in public. Besides that, cardinals were also involved in an indirect way as patrons of institutions where music played an important role (e.g. confraternities and academies). Since playing music was a common aristocratic pastime of the age, many cardinals also could play an instrument themselves, or even sing or compose music. Moreover, some cardinals had sufficient grasp of literary culture to allow them to write the texts of sacred as well as secular plays to be set to music.

A comprehensive study on this subject, in which the role of cardinals in the larger development in musical history is discussed, is still lacking. Research has primarily been done on musical as well as theatrical patronage of particular cardinals, either from a perspective of cultural politics – for example by Claudio Annibaldi, Anthony Cummings (who published for example on the development of the madrigal in the 16th century and the involvement of members of the Curia), Sara Mamone (whose work concentrates on the involvement of several members of the Medici family in the staging of opera) and myself – or as a reconstruction of a cardinal's artistic initiatives based on archival documentation, as in the contribution on Cardinal Alessandro Peretti di Montalto by John Walter Hill. Sometimes music and/or theatre have been taken into account within a biographic study of a single cardinal – Zygmunt Waźbiński's does this in his study of Francesco Maria Del Monte's historical and cultural role in the late 16th and early 17th century.

In the 15th and early 16th century cardinals needed to conform to a lifestyle coherent with their social role and the mindset and manners of secular aristocracies.¹ Cardinals coming from noble families – so-called “princely cardinals,” who were involved with musical and theatrical patronage more than other cardinals – in particular continued to live a secular and courtly life even after obtaining the red hat, although they were expected to honour poverty and piety, religiosity and morality, *frugalitas* and *mediocritas*.² This raises a question about the ethical paradigm or *forma vitae* of the Church elite, something which was debated frequently in this period (for example, it is central in the first book (“Ethicus”) of Paolo Cortesi’s treatise *De cardinalatu* of 1510, for which see David Chambers’s chapter in this volume) and the role of music and theatre in relation to that paradigm.³ The cardinals’ princely splendour served the political function of demonstrating their power as individuals, of their family or state of origin, and of the Church itself: Fabio Albergati’s *Del cardinale libri tre* of 1598 talks about “the correspondence of the Prince and of the Cardinal united in a single person.”⁴ Thus it was possible to reconcile pomp with piety, magnificence with humility, courtly conventions with church reforms. This is the cultural context in which we need to consider the presence of music and theatre in the cardinals’ life.

1 Renaissance Cardinals’ Musical Patronage and Competence

Cardinals’ musical patronage reflected their career, their politics, and their role as functionaries within the Papal States. Ascanio Sforza (1455–1505), the third

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- 1 On the role of music and musicians in early modern Italy see for example Richard Sherr, *Music and Musicians in Renaissance Rome and other Courts* (Aldershot: 1999) and Franco Piperno, “Suoni della sovranità: Le cappelle musicali fra storiografia generale e storia della musica,” in *Cappelle musicali fra corte, stato e chiesa nell’Italia della prima età moderna*, eds. Franco Piperno, Gabriella Biagi Ravenni, and Andrea Chegai (Florence: 2007), 11–37.
 - 2 David S. Chambers, *Renaissance Cardinals and their Worldly Problems* (Aldershot: 1997) and David S. Chambers, *The Renaissance Cardinalate: From Paolo Cortesi’s De cardinalatu to the Present*, in *The Possessions of a Cardinal: Politics, Piety and Art 1450–1700*, eds. Mary Hollingsworth and Carol M. Richardson (University Park, PA: 2009), 17–24.
 - 3 On the musical asides of *De cardinalatu* see Fiorella Brancacci, “Musica classica vs musica moderna nel ‘De cardinalatu’ di Paolo Cortesi,” *Il Saggiatore Musicale* 6 (1999), 5–22 and Brancacci, “Musica, retorica e critica musicale nel ‘De cardinalatu’ di Paolo Cortesi,” *Rinascimento* 39 (1999), 409–30. On the *forma vitae* in general see Amedeo Quondam, *Forma del vivere* (Bologna: 2010).
 - 4 Amedeo Quondam, “Pontano e le moderne virtù del dispendio,” *Quaderni storici* 115 (2004), 11–43. Fabio Albergati, *Del cardinale libri tre* (Rome: 1598), 3–4: “della corrispondenza del principe e del cardinale in un medesimo soggetto uniti.”

son of Francesco Sforza, duke of Milan, and destined for an ecclesiastical career, grew up in a splendid court, where music, chivalry, hunting and other aristocratic activities played a central role in symbolizing the Sforza family's power and wealth.⁵ Ascanio was not a cultivated man but he understood that supporting artistic genius was a route to acquiring merit and respect. He became cardinal in 1484 and soon after hired two important musicians, Josquin Des Prez and Serafino dell'Aquila. Even if scattered documentation demonstrates that he took some interest in music, he primarily considered its importance as pertaining to his status as a member of the Church hierarchy: in 1492 he commissioned a motet from Johannes Tinctoris to honour Alexander VI's election as pope and in 1493 he sent viol players to Milan to celebrate the birth of a son to his brother Ludovico il Moro. Similar things might be said of Ferdinando de' Medici (1549–1609) a century later: he obtained his red hat at the age of fourteen and, coming from an extremely wealthy family, recently ennobled, already had a well-developed sense of the splendour his new status required when he moved from Florence to Rome in 1571. Previously, Ferdinando de' Medici had shown no particular interest in music; however, when he moved to the Eternal City he immediately learned that spending money on music and musicians was a common form of competition amongst the cardinals, and consequently, several musicians entered his service.⁶

Some cardinals were patrons of music also because they presumably loved and even practised it. Giovanni de' Medici (1475–1521), the future Pope Leo X, was an excellent musician and composer (Paolo Cortesi considered his musical judgement authoritative). He was also the dedicatee of various musical treatises and had several musicians as members of his court.⁷ In the dedication of his *De musica et poetica*, Raffaele Brandolini wrote that the cardinal “actually sings together with choice singers, and at other times listens attentively to others singing, sometimes using a varied and pleasing harmony of stringed instruments.”⁸ When he became pope in 1513, Leo X's attitude towards music was condemned by the diplomat and scientist Pietro Martire: “we have a pope

5 Marco Pellegrini, *Ascanio Maria Sforza: La parabola politica di un cardinale-principe del Rinascimento* (Rome: 2002); on his musical activities see Paul A. Merkley and Lora L. Matthews Merkley, *Music and Patronage in the Sforza Court* (Turnhout: 1999), passim.

6 Stefano Calonaci, “‘Accordar lo spirito col mondo’: Il Cardinal Ferdinando de Medici a Roma negli anni di Pio V e Gregorio XIII,” *Rivista storica italiana* 112 (2000), 5–74.

7 Anthony M. Cummings, “Three *gigli*: Medici Musical Patronage in the Early Cinquecento,” *Recercare* 15 (2003), 39–72 and Cummings, *The Lion's Ear: Pope Leo X, the Renaissance Papacy, and Music* (Ann Arbor: 2012).

8 Cummings, “Three *gigli*,” 43: “cum lectissimis cantoribus ipse interim canat, canentes quandoque alios attentissime audiat, adhibita nonnunquam varia iucundaque fidium harmonia.”

expert in both Greek and Latin, but musical, who delights in companies of singers." "Sed musicum" here was clearly intended as a criticism.⁹ In any case, musical competence did not prevent a cardinal from obtaining the red hat in the first decades of the 16th century. Giovanni's cousin, Cardinal Giulio de' Medici (later Pope Clement VII) was renowned as a "perfeto musico" (perfect musician),¹⁰ and the brief ecclesiastical career of Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici (1511–35) was not interrupted because he "emerged the gentlest lute player, skilled on the violins, excellent on the flutes, and incomparable on the cornets."¹¹ The same can be said for theatre and literature: Bernardo Dovizi da Bibbiena (1470–1520) became cardinal in September 1513, nine months after the success of his scandalous comedy *La calandria*. When Pietro Bembo (1470–1547) obtained his red hat in 1539 from Paul III, Gian Pietro Carafa reproached the pope as follows: "Holy Father, in the sacred council we do not need men who know how to write sonnets!" – by which he meant men expert only in literary matters.¹²

Following few decades of explicit moralization of both the cardinals' public and private lives under the effects of the Counter-Reformation, music (mainly secular music, played for private pleasure) again became an unavoidable complement of a cardinal's culture and social profile in the 16th century's final decades: Alessandro Peretti (1571–1623), known as Cardinal Montalto, was an influential member of the Curia even if "he played and sang with much grace and feeling."¹³ And Francesco Maria Del Monte (1549–1627) once confessed in a letter of 1579 that "I can play guitar and sing in the Spanish style."¹⁴

9 Franco Piperno, "habemus pontificem eruditum, sed musicum," in *Congiure e conflitti: L'affermazione della signoria pontificia su Roma nel Rinascimento, politica, economia e cultura*, eds. Miriam Chiabò, Maurizio Gargano, Anna Modigliani, and Patricia Osmond (Rome: 2014), 463–70: "Graece ac latine habemus pontificem eruditum, sed musicum, et qui cantorum collegiis et frequenti corona delectetur."

10 Marino Sanuto cited in Anthony M. Cummings, "Giulio de' Medici's Music Books," *Early Music History* 10 (1991), 68–69.

11 Paolo Giovio cited by Cummings, "Three *gigli*," 62–63: "riuscì dolcissimo sonator di liuto, artificioso ne' violini, eccellente ne' flauti, & incomparabile ne' cornetti."

12 Massimo Firpo, "Pasquinate romane del Cinquecento," *Rivista storica italiana* 96 (1984), 614: "Padre santo, noi non habbiamo in collegio di bisogno di huomini che sappiano fare i sonetti!"

13 Vincenzo Giustiniani's manuscript *Discorso sopra la musica* of 1628, quoted and translated in James Chater, "Musical Patronage in Rome at the Turn of the Seventeenth Century: The Case of Cardinal Montalto," *Studi Musicali* 16 (1987), 187: "sonava il Cimbalo egli per eccellenza, e cantava con maniera soave et affettuosa."

14 Zygmunt Waźbiński, *Il cardinale Francesco Maria del Monte, 1549–1626*, vol. 2: *Il dossier di lavoro di un prelato* (Florence: 1994), 402: "io suono di chitarriglia et canto alla spagnola."

After Paolo Cortesi's *De cardinalatu*, musical competence, and engagement with music and music instruments, were attributes increasingly discussed in treatises on the cardinal. Cesare Evitascandalo in his *Dialogo del maestro di casa* (1598), written when he was in the service of Cardinal Íñigo d'Avalos of Aragon, permitted a cardinal to retain musicians in his house "perche se ne diletta" (if he takes pleasure in it) and even "essendo egli indisposto [...] non piglia altro piacere" (if he lacks any other sources of relief when indisposed).¹⁵ Fabio Albergati, *Del cardinale libri tre* (1598) observed that not all music is suited to a cardinal's ethics: more specifically, since "in music we need to consider sound, singing, and words and their subject, as they all may differently influence our spirit; therefore subjects, words, and rhythm need to correspond with the seriousness of the harmony, and all of these with the decorum and dignity of an ecclesiastic prince" – that is, Albergati thought that cardinals should consume secular vocal music only with great prudence.¹⁶

The Council of Trent did not change the role of music inside the liturgy but changed clerical attitudes towards music: they now began to consider it as a vehicle through which to support Church reform.¹⁷ This can be observed in the career of Cardinal Giulio Della Rovere (1533–78), named "cardinal d'Urbino," brother of Duke Guidubaldo II, who obtained the red hat in 1548. Atanasio Atanagi, a jester at the duke's court who composed a diary about his life and activity there, often described the young Giulio as being involved in dances and music-making. For example, he wrote on 20 October 1552 that "on that day at an hour before sunset a nice feast begun by the cardinal's demand; and he danced many times with several nice women and famous noble dames."¹⁸ But from 1560 on things changed; in that year Giulio's niece Virginia married

15 Cesare Evitascandalo, *Dialogo del maestro di casa* (Rome: 1598), 249–50.

16 Fabio Albergati, *Del cardinale libri tre* (Rome: 1598), 192: "non dovrem dire ch'ogn'armonia convenga al principe ecclesiastico, ma quella solamente che sia bastante a stabilirlo nelle sue proprie azioni" and "nell'armonia dee essere considerato il suono, il canto e le parole e le cose le quali si cantano, essendo parimente atte ad imprimere diversamente l'animo nostro, però il soggetto, le parole e il numero dovrà esser corrispondente alla gravità dell'armonia, e tutte al decoro e alla dignità del principe ecclesiastico."

17 Craig A. Monson, "The Council of Trent Revisited," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 55 (2002), 1–37.

18 Atanasio Atanagi da Cagli, *Diario*, Rome, Vatican Library, Urb. lat. 1002, fol. 117r and Urb. lat. 1003, fol. 2v: "In detto giorno alle 23 hore si cominciò una bella festa, la quale si fece a requisitione di Mons.^r R.^{mo} di Urbino; e così quella fece parecchi balli con diverse belle signore et altre famose gentildonne." On musical and theatrical excerpts from Atanagi's diary see Franco Piperno, "Spigolature musicali dal *diario* (1539–1564) di Atanasio Atanagi, buffone di corte," *Annali del Dipartimento di Storia delle arti e dello spettacolo* 2 (2001), 7–18.

Federico Borromeo, brother of Cardinal Charles and nephew of Pope Pius IV, thus establishing a parental link with a family closely involved with the Counter-Reformation of which Cardinal Giulio would soon become a keen supporter. Giulio began taking his institutional duties as bishop of Vicenza (1560), cardinal protector of the Santa Casa of Loreto (1564) and archbishop of Ravenna (1566) rather more seriously and he promoted musical activities in these churches and also in Urbino, by re-organizing choirs and musical chapels, and hiring important composers as chapel-masters (Costanzo Porta at Ravenna in 1567, then at Loreto in 1573; Leonard Meldert at Urbino in 1577). Giulio also established a network of musicians circulating between those cathedrals and various Roman chapels. Giulio's musical interests shifted from his personal pleasures to activities *ad maiorem gloriam domini*.¹⁹ Costanzo Porta underlined his merits as patron of reformed church music dedicating to him his *Missarum liber primus* of 1578, a folio volume containing "a good number of polyphonic masses in which, according to Your order, the words can be easily understood and the music generally is simple, brief and, if I am not wrong, 'arise,'" that is conforming to the Tridentine Decrees.²⁰ All this implies that in a cardinal's career music could be a means to gaining merit and respect within the College of Cardinals and in the broader context of the Roman court.

In post-Tridentine Italy the publication of sacred music dedicated to and often sponsored by cardinals understandably increased, but, surprisingly enough, the publication of secular music dedicated to churchmen shows a similar trend. A cardinal deeply involved in ecclesiastical reform like Federico I Borromeo (1564–1631) was understandably the dedicatee of sacred music (9 books between 1588 and 1630), but he also had manuscripts of secular music donated dedicated to him by Caccini and Luzzasco Luzzaschi.²¹ Other cardinals of the period around 1600, who were active patrons in the field of music, were likewise dedicatees of secular and religious music alike, as shown in Table 35.1:

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- 19 Franco Piperno, "I privati diletti musicali di Giulio Della Rovere Cardinal d'Urbino," in *Musikwissenschaft im deutsch-italienischen Dialog, für Friedrich Lippmann zum 75. Geburtstag*, eds. Markus Engelhardt and Wolfgang Witzemann (Kassel: 2010), 53–73, and Piperno, "Giulio Della Rovere e la rete di relazioni musicali fra Loreto, Urbino e Ravenna," in *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Musica Sacra*, eds. Antonio Addamiano and Francesco Luisi (Vatican City: 2013), 1509–41.
- 20 Costanzo Porta, *Missarum liber primus* (Venice: 1578), dedication: "un buon numero di messe a diverse voci, secondo l'ordine datomi da V.S. Ill.ma acciò le parole fossero bene intese, facili la maggior parte, corte e, s'io non erro, ariose."
- 21 Marco Bizzarini, *Federico Borromeo e la musica. Scritti e carteggi* (Rome: 2012), 10–16 and 183–184.

TABLE 35.1 Dedications of musical editions to cardinals around 1600

Cardinals	Books of secular, instrumental or non-religious theatre music	Books of sacred or spiritual music
Ercole Gonzaga	4 (1547–67)	3 (1539–48)
Alessandro Peretti	5 (1590–1617)	6 (1594–1610)
Pietro Aldobrandini	11 (1593–1615)	13 (1592–1618)
Odoardo Farnese	8 (1598–1622)	2 (1603–23)
Scipione Borghese	9 (1606–28)	4 (1609–30)
Maurice of Savoy	3 (1617–26)	3 (1610–26)

The notably high numbers of books dedicated to Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini reflects his flamboyant artistic patronage in competition with other cardinals. Aldobrandini's use of music was also intended to support his uncle Clement VIII's political strategies. When the duchy of Ferrara returned to the papacy after the death of Duke Alfonso II d'Este in 1597, Aldobrandini solicited a "conversion" of the Ferrarese music and musicians from the former style of the Este (brilliant, courtly, and mainly secular music) to the new Counter-Reformation style imposed by the new ruler. In 1598 Luzzaschi composed his first and only collection of sacred music and dedicated to the cardinal (*Sacrarum cantionum liber primus*). Three famous court musicians, the Piccini brothers, were brought to Rome and employed, on the cardinal's command, to play instrumental music at the Arciconfraternita della Trinità during Lent.²² With initiatives like these, the Aldobrandini (pope and nephew) worked to destroy the memory of the wonderful artistic patronage of the Este in Ferrara and to contribute to "purge from Italy the infectious plague and pestiferous poison of those damned profane songs."²³

On the other hand, Cardinal Aldobrandini was the dedicatee of no less than eleven books with secular music, most of them including settings of explicitly erotic poetry. This raises once again the question of ethics: is there a contradiction between the pious and confessional activities churchmen were expected to perform, particularly during the Counter-Reformation, and their openness

22 Claudio Annibaldi, "Il 'mecenate politico': Ancora sul patronato musicale del cardinale Pietro Aldobrandini (ca. 1570–1621)," *Studi Musicali* 14 (1987), 33–93 and 17 (1988), 101–78.

23 Annibaldi, "Il 'mecenate politico,'" (1987), 62: "smorbar l'Italia dalla contagiosa peste e pestifero veleno delle maledette canzone profane."

in patronizing or simply receiving books with secular music? Nino Pirrotta has proposed that the literary aspect of the secular repertoire was regarded as a mere pretext for the musical invention, which was the focus of a connoisseur's attention.²⁴ However, since the first thing that caught a reader's eye when opening a madrigal book was the literary text, it is difficult to think that a cardinal could remain unaffected while reading such unmistakably erotic texts as Guarini's *Tirsi morir volea* (where Tirsi's death is a metaphor for orgasm), which was set to music both by Leonard Meldert (1578, madrigal book dedicated to Cardinal Giulio Della Rovere) and by Luca Marenzio (1580, madrigal book dedicated to Cardinal Luigi d'Este). And, to be sure, these two dedicatees were precisely those who requested those settings.

Private musical performances obviously continued in cardinals' palaces, but with different purposes and styles. Cardinals' interest in instrumental music increased in connection with the increase in their collections of musical instruments, which were precious objects that could be shown as symbols of their cultural curiosity as collectors. For example, Cardinal Francesco Maria del Monte, personal counsellor and agent in artistic and theatrical matters of Grand Duke (and former cardinal) Ferdinando de' Medici, hired the lute player Vincenzo Pinti (also called *Cavaliere del Liuto*) and harpist Orazio Michi, and tried to obtain the services of Rinaldo Trematerra, a virtuoso harpist formerly in the service of the duke of Ferrara. Moreover, Del Monte employed Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio whom the cardinal asked to paint several pictures with musical subjects, using as models both musicians living in his house and instruments from his rich collection. These paintings became a sort of propaganda for both Del Monte's musical collection and tastes. Amongst the extant paintings from this series is the well-known *Lute Player* (private collection, New York), which meticulously depicts a recorder, a violin with floral inlay decoration, a seven-course lute, a spinetta and a musical book (the Hermitage copy lacks the recorder and the spinetta). The musical book shows some readable printed music, intended to be identified by connoisseurs visiting Del Monte's gallery. The New York version shows Francesco de Layolle's setting of Petrarch's canzone *Lassare il velo o per solo per ombra* and Jacquet de Berchem's setting of the anonymous madrigal *Perché non date voi, donna crudele*, both composed in the 1530's; four madrigals from Jacob Arcadelt's *Primo libro de madrigali a Quattro* from 1539 are clearly identifiable in the St. Petersburg painting. This is an interesting example of a cardinal's stylistic preferences for earlier, more archaic, music from the first generation of madrigal composers,

24 Nino Pirrotta, "Dolci affetti": I musicisti di Roma e i madrigali," *Studi Musicali* 14 (1985), 59-73.

which can be interpreted in a classicistic perspective (polyphonic madrigals from the early Cinquecento were performed as solo singing like the music of the ancients) in the period when Del Monte himself, alongside other cardinals and nobles, were supporting the new style of the “nuove musiche” and of opera (monody accompanied by a *basso continuo*).

2 Cardinals and Theatre in the 17th Century

Cardinal Alessandro Peretti di Montalto exemplifies the shift from music to theatre in a cardinal's life and activities at the beginning of the 17th century well.²⁵ Montalto obtained his red hat from his uncle Sixtus V in 1585 at the age of fourteen. His negligence in ecclesiastical matters led a Venetian ambassador to describe him in 1598 as a “soft’ young man, so interested in pleasures as to disregard everything else.”²⁶ As mentioned, he did practise music and hosted musicians in his palace. In 1613–15 he hired (amongst others) Girolamo Frescobaldi, the singer Ippolita Recupita, and the composer Giovan Belardino Nanino to rehearse two actors, Francesca Massiccia and a Baldassarre, in the musical parts they were expected to perform in theatrical spectacles staged at Ferrara at the expenses of Montalto's relative, the Marquis Enzo Bentivoglio.²⁷ Already in 1595 Montalto had planned a performance of Guarini's *Pastor fido* for the festivities for his brother's wedding with a Mantuan princess and some *intermedi* on subjects from Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata* were staged in his palace in 1612. This shows that Montalto was involved with public theatrical productions beyond his immediate musical patronage. The same can be said of Francesco Maria Del Monte: he planned and organized, together with the Roman composer and *corago* Emilio De' Cavalieri and the Florentine count Giovanni Bardi, the festivities for the wedding of Ferdinando and Christine of Lorraine (1589) which saw a strong participation of Roman artists, actors, and musicians.²⁸

25 Chater, “Musical Patronage in Rome,” and John W. Hill, *Roman Monody, Cantata, and Opera from the Circles around Cardinal Montalto*, 2 vols. (Oxford: 1997), together with Claudio Annibaldi's important review of this book in *Early Music History* 18 (1999), 365–98.

26 Eugenio Albèri (ed.), *Relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al Senato*, series II, vol. 3 (Florence: 1846), 490: “giovane morbido e dato a' piaceri in tal modo che trascura quasi tutte le cose.”

27 Annibaldi, “Review” of Hill, *Roman Monody*, 372.

28 Franca Trinchieri Camiz, “Music and Painting in Cardinal del Monte's Household,” *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 26 (1991), 213–26.

The increasing interest of cardinals living in the first decades of the 17th century in theatre music, opera singers, and stage production appears less surprising if considered against the background of religious ceremony and architecture in Baroque Rome. Gian Lorenzo Bernini, Francesco Borromini, and their ecclesiastic patrons turned the Eternal City into an immense stage, and operatic productions were only one aspect of this. The main protagonists in opera production were members of the Barberini family, mostly cardinals Francesco I (1597–1679) and Antonio II (1607–71), nephews of Urban VIII (Maffeo Barberini, 1568–1644) elected in 1623.²⁹ Another cardinal and future pope, Giulio Rospigliosi (1600–69, Pope Clement IX since 1667), was the author of the texts of what we now call “the Barberinian operas”: Rospigliosi wrote eight librettos between 1629 and 1643 which were set to music by Stefano Landi, Virgilio Mazzocchi, Marco Marazzoli, and Luigi Rossi. These operas were staged several times in the Barberini palace with scenery and machinery designed by Bernini and others. Amongst Rospigliosi’s operas some have religious subjects with Christian heroes as protagonists, appropriate for events sponsored by ecclesiastic patrons attended by other churchmen and aristocrats (*S. Alessio* 1629, *Teodora* 1635, *S. Eustachio* 1638 and *S. Bonifazio* 1643). However, their plots also include secular comic characters, taken from the *commedia dell’arte*, to whom Rospigliosi often leaves ample space. Rospigliosi wrote also several more secular works as *Erminia sul Giordano* (1633, from Tasso’s *Gerusalemme liberata*, in itself a religious epic), *Chi soffre, spera* (1637, from Boccaccio’s *Decameron*, v, 9), and *Il palazzo incantato di Atlante* (1642, from Ariosto’s *Orlando furioso*).

In keeping with the above-mentioned attitude to spectacle in Baroque Rome, the scenery of these operas was highly appreciated together with their subjects and music. Lelio Guidiccioni, a *letterato* of the Barberinian circle who attended the first performance of *S. Alessio*, reported as follows: “[a] most noble spectacle in its genre. [...] Of music and machinery: two things no longer incidental, and now essential to an opera: the one being appropriate to the Heaven it represents, the other as terrific as Hell” – this last sentence alludes to the seductive effects of the visual aspect of the show.³⁰ In 1634 Paolo Masotti printed the score of Landi’s *S. Alessio*, adding 8 etchings by François Collignon

29 Frederick Hammond, *The Ruined Bridge: Studies in Barberini Patronage of Music and Spectacle 1631–1679* (Sterling Heights: 2010); Hammond, *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome: Barberini Patronage under Urban VIII* (New Haven: 1994); and Margaret Murata, *Operas for the Papal Court 1631–1668* (Ann Arbor: 1981).

30 Elena Tamburini, “Per uno studio documentario delle forme sceniche: I teatri dei Barberini e gli interventi berniniani,” in *Tragedie dell’onore nell’Europa barocca*, eds. Miriam Chiabò and Federico Doglio (Rome: 2003), 256: “Uno spettacolo nobilissimo nel suo genere. [...] Di musica e di machine: due parti già accidentali ed or intrinseche all’opera:

which represented the sumptuous scenery designed for the production of that year staged in honour of a Polish prince visiting Rome. This scenic grandeur represents the final step in the evolution of the practice of Pontano's "dispendio onorato" since with it, the Barberini intended to manifest their power among the papal Curia and their primacy among the noble families of their age.

Few other cardinals could compete with the Barberini in the field of operatic production and many preferred to deal with Church music. Among the latter, Cardinal Federico I Borromeo stands out: he avoided the theatre but instead gave a strong impulse to music in the Ambrosian Church and in Milanese cloisters, and also left writings on church music, its style, and practice.³¹ His idea that the perfection of (sacred) music does not lie in the composition itself, but rather in the way it is sung and in the inner emotion of the singer himself was both interesting and innovative ("the perfection of music ... does not originate from the composition of the song, nor from any other artifice but from the way of singing, and from the manner of the person who is singing").³² With this Borromeo recognized the importance of the new generation of singers for church music too.

Among the Barberini's few competitors was Cardinal Maurice of Savoy (1593–1657), who moved to Rome in 1623 and who was most admired for the elaborate feasts he organised at his palace at Montegiordano.³³ Maurice of Savoy promoted the staging of two operas (*S. Eustachio*, 1625, with music by Sigismondo d'India, who was in his service, and a new version of *La catena d'Adone*, 1626, with music by Domenico Mazzocchi partially revised by d'India). However, the spectacular ballets Maurice often staged at his residence were particularly notable and innovative (the cardinal himself was reportedly an excellent dancer). He, in fact, introduced the French fashion of courtly dance with its complex and refined choreography in Rome – it was already practised in Turin, following the marriage of his brother Vittorio Amedeo with Christine of France, the daughter of Louis XIII. The transfer of a French fashion from Piedmont to Rome is typical of the capital of the Papal States where cardinals

altro non dirò se non che l'una è degna del cielo che rappresenta e l'altra è bella sin nell'Inferno."

31 Robert L. Kendrick, *Celestial Sirens: Nuns and Their Music in Early Modern Milan* (Oxford: 1996).

32 *Ragionamenti sagri fatti alle religiose di varij monasteri*, ca. 1625, quoted in Bizzarini, *Federico Borromeo*, 163: "la perfettione della musica [...] non nasce dalla compositione del canto né dal altrui artificio ma dal modo del cantare et dal affetto di colui che canta."

33 Jorge Morales, *Sigismondo D'India à la cour de Turin: Musique, mécénat et identité nobiliaire*, Ph.D. dissertation (Université Paris Sorbonne – Sapienza Università di Roma: 2014).

were wont to introduce types of courtly entertainments from their place of origin. Conversely, it was during his Roman years that Cardinal Maurice began to appreciate the art of castrato singers and imported this fashion in Turin.

3 Cardinals as Impresarios and Librettists

Cardinals' activity in theatrical productions increased in the mid-17th century, following the example of the Barberini transforming elitist and academic initiatives into a real entrepreneurial activity with commercial aspects. This happened first amongst cardinals from the richer families and from cities where theatrical life was lively. It is significant that these entrepreneurial activities were set up in their hometowns, never in Rome itself, and obviously served their family network, not their position as cardinal. This is the case with the Florentine cardinals Giovan Carlo (1611–63) and Leopoldo de' Medici (1617–75) and the Venetian Vincenzo Grimani (1655–1710). The Medici, both brothers of Grand Duke Ferdinand II, showed a strong interest in organizing spectacles and planning opera seasons.³⁴ For both, this was more a compensation for being mere cadets of their family than the means to reach a dominant position within the Roman Curia. In fact, the two cardinals developed their theatrical activity mostly in Florence and in the service of their status as member of the Medici family. Giovan Carlo was responsible for the planning and building of the Teatro della Pergola – nominally the academic seat of the Immobili academy but, in practical terms, the place where he personally exercised his entrepreneurial activity. The theatre opened 1657 with *Il Podestà di Colognole*, a “drama civile e rusticale” by the Florentine dramatist Giovanni Andrea Moniglia with music by Jacopo Melani from Pistoia, but its real inauguration took place the following year with the staging of *Hipermestra* commissioned from the Venetian composer Francesco Cavalli. Cardinal Giovan Carlo threw the new Pergola theatre into the network of principal operatic venues of the age, creating collaborations with Venice, Parma, Rome, and Naples. When Giovan Carlo died in 1663 the organization of the Florentine theatre and opera passed on to Leopoldo, cardinal since 1657. Together with a third brother Mattias, governor of Siena, the two Medici cardinals used their entrepreneurial activity to present a family strategy in theatrical matters, which allowed them to compete

34 Sara Mamone (ed.), *Serenissimi fratelli principi impresari: Notizie di spettacolo nei carteggi medicei. Carteggi di Giovan Carlo de' Medici e di Desiderio Montemagni suo segretario (1628–1664)* (Florence: 2003).

with other noble families, such as the Farnese in Parma or the Grimani in Venice, at the highest level.

Vincenzo Grimani came from one of the leading Venetian families and was involved in theatrical projects from the 1630s onwards. Again, Grimani's case is not so much that of a cardinal interested in music and theatre but rather that of a secular person who happened to become a cardinal thanks to his political contacts. Grimani's father was among the founders of two Venetian theatres, the Teatro dei Santi Giovanni e Paolo in 1639 and the Teatro di San Samuele in 1656 (both named after the parish in which they were situated). Vincenzo himself founded in 1678 the Teatro di San Giovanni Grisostomo which was to become the most magnificent opera house in Venice between the end of the 17th and the first decades of the 18th century.³⁵ Vincenzo established political as well as entrepreneurial contacts with the court of Savoy during the 1680s, becoming the Savoyards' theatrical agent in Venice and facilitating the export of many Venetian operatic productions to the Teatro Regio in Turin. Vincenzo's intense activity as a theatrical impresario and writer of operatic librettos, and his familiarity with castrati and female singers (sometimes of doubtful morality) did not prevent him from obtaining the red hat in 1697 – an act that owed much to his diplomatic service to the House of Habsburg as imperial ambassador to the Holy See in 1706 and viceroy of Naples in 1708. In that latter position Vincenzo managed to incorporate both Rome and Naples into his network of operatic contacts. He thus managed to bring Alessandro Scarlatti to Venice in 1707 to stage two operas, *Il Mitridate Eupatore* and *Il trionfo della libertà* (neither productions achieved public success); he later appointed Scarlatti as musical master at the Royal chapel in Naples (1708). In 1708 Grimani hosted Georg Friedrich Handel, for whom he wrote the "drama per musica" *Agrippina*, a libretto in which he satirizes the Roman Curia and Pope Clement XI himself under the historic garb of the characters. *Agrippina* triumphed on 26 December 1709 at the Grimani theatre few months before the cardinal's death.³⁶

That a cardinal should write librettos for opera was not a novelty – Giulio Rospigliosi had already done so. What was new was that Grimani wrote for public and commercial theatres while Rospigliosi had worked for the Barberini's semi-private and academic entourage. Other cardinals who penned librettos include the Roman Benedetto Pamphilj (1653–1730) and the Venetian Pietro Ottoboni (1667–1740), rival patrons in late 17th- and early 18th-century Rome. Connections between ecclesiastic career and dramatic activity appear early in

35 Harris S. Saunders Jr., *The Repertoire of a Venetian Opera House (1678–1714): The Teatro Grimani*, Ph.D. dissertation (Harvard University: 1985).

36 Reinhard Strohm, *Essays on Handel and Italian Opera* (Cambridge, Eng.: 1985), 40.

Pamphilj's life: he composed a Latin *Carmen* – set to music by Alessandro Melani – in 1676 to celebrate his own *laurea* in Philosophy and Theology at the Collegio Romano. As a cultivated and wealthy man, he had renowned musicians at his service including the aforementioned Melani, Giovanni Battista Lulier, Bernardo Pasquini, and Arcangelo Corelli. Pamphilj frequently invited the Roman aristocracy to his literary and musical *conversazioni* which were sumptuous spectacles; he also founded a literary academy.³⁷ All this contrasted with Pope Innocent XI's overt hostility for – if not explicit ban of – public as well private entertainments and with his attempts to bring the Romans back to a more austere and pious way of life.³⁸ One consequence was that the pope delayed awarding Benedetto the red hat until as late as 1681, although this did not prevent him from carrying on this style of life and from writing more librettos, now admittedly mostly on religious subjects. Pamphilj's oratorios were performed in two institutions of which he was cardinal protector (see the chapter in this volume by Witte) and which well versed in the staging of this kind of repertoire: the Collegio Clementino and the Arciconfraternita del SS Crocifisso. A complete list of Pamphilj's oratorios amounts to 12 titles. His most famous text was *Il trionfo del tempo e del disinganno*, a secular oratorio set to music by Handel and premiered at the Pamphilj palace in 1707. Other oratorios for which he wrote the libretto were Scarlatti's *Il trionfo della gratia* (1685) and Lulier's *S. Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi* (1687) which demanded a huge orchestra. Moreover, 88 secular cantata texts by him are preserved in two manuscripts in the Vatican Library.³⁹

As a poet and dramatist Pamphilj in 1695 was "acclaimed" in the Arcadian Academy as Fenicio Larisseo. Pietro Ottoboni was elected an Arcadian as Craeteo Ericino the same year. The latter, grandnephew of Alexander VIII, became cardinal in 1689 at the age of twenty-two, only one month after his uncle's

37 Lina Montalto, *Un mecenate in Roma barocca: Il cardinale Benedetto Pamphilj, 1653–1730* (Florence: 1955); Renato Bossa, "Corelli e il cardinal Benedetto Pamphilj: Alcune notizie," in *Nuovissimi studi Corelliani*, eds. Pierluigi Petrobelli and Sergio Durante (Florence: 1982), 211–23; Antonella D'Ovidio, "Sonate a tre d'altri stili: Carlo Mannelli violinista nella Roma di fine Seicento," *Recercare* 19 (2007), 147–203. Huub van der Linden has also published extensively on Pamphilj in English, including "Benedetto Pamphilj as Librettist: Mary Magdalene and the Harmony of the Spheres in Handel's *Il trionfo del Tempo e del Disinganno*," *Recercare* 16 (2004), 133–61 and "Benedetto Pamphilj in Bologna (1690–1693): Documents on his Patronage of Music," *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 47 (2015), 87–144.

38 Filippo Clementi, *Il carnevale romano nelle cronache contemporanee* (Rome: 1899), 1:523.

39 BAV, Vat. lat. 10205 and 10206.

election, and was himself a poet and dramatist.⁴⁰ Like Pamphilj, Ottoboni founded a literary academy, the Accademia dei Disuniti (1688), wrote dramatic librettos, hosted feasts, banquets, and musical spectacles in his residence Palazzo della Cancelleria where he also housed some of the best musicians of his time (amongst whom were Andrea Adami, Alessandro Scarlatti, and Arcangelo Corelli). Ottoboni's literary activity officially began five years earlier with the "drama pastorale" *Amore e gratitudine* (1690, music by Flavio Carlo Lanciani) and the "drama per musica" *Il Colombo, ovvero l'India scoperta* (1690, music possibly by Ottoboni himself). The Roman public theatre Tor di Nona reopened for a brief period to put on these operas and his *Statira* set by Alessandro Scarlatti (1690). A papal ban on opera spectacles between 1698 and 1710 did not prevent Ottoboni from producing performances either as gigantic semi-sacred outdoor spectacles, like *Il regno di Maria Vergine* (1705, with 50 singers and 100 instrumentalists), or as quasi-oratory performance of operas like Scarlatti's *Statira* staged without costumes in his palace in 1706. Even before the lifting of the papal ban, Ottoboni hired the architect and scene designer Filippo Juvarra to build a theatre inside the Palazzo della Cancelleria; this opened in 1710 with Ottoboni's *Il Costantino Pio* set to music by Carlo Francesco Pollarolo.

Both Pamphilj and Ottoboni were also important for instrumental music: Pamphilj was the dedicatee of several printings of instrumental music among which particularly relevant were the trio sonatas of Carlo Mannelli (1682) and Arcangelo Corelli (1684, his chamber sonatas op. 11) and Lodovico Roncalli's *Capricci armonici* (1692, 9 dance suites for Spanish guitar); Ottoboni was the dedicatee of Corelli's chamber sonatas op. IV, 1694, of trio sonatas by Tommaso Albinoni (1694) and Tommaso Antonio Vitali (1701) and of solo violin chamber sonatas by Giovanni Mossi (op. VI, 1733). Regarding Corelli, who actually worked for both cardinals, it is worth noticing that he dedicated to them not his so-called "Church sonatas" (his opp. I and III), but rather his chamber sonatas, consisting of secular and courtly dances such as *allemanda*, *sarabanda*, *gavotta*, *giga*, etc. The aristocratic conventions these dances alluded to (namely courtly elitist ceremony) and Corelli's stylistic masterful craftsmanship made these collections of apparently light entertainment music perfectly suitable to Pamphilj's and Ottoboni's high social and cultural rank, which avoided

40 Gloria Staffieri, "Pietro Ottoboni, il mecenate-drammaturgo: Strategie della committenza e scelte compositive," in *Arcangelo Corelli: Fra mito e realtà storica*, eds. Gregory R. Barnett, Antonella D'Ovidio, and Stefano La Via (Florence: 2007), 139–68; Staffieri, "I drammi per musica di Pietro Ottoboni: Il *grand siècle* del cardinale," *Studi Musicali* 35 (2006), 129–92; Stefano La Via, "Il Cardinale Ottoboni e la musica: Nuovi documenti (1700–1740), nuove letture e ipotesi," in *Intorno a Locatelli: Studi in occasione del tricentenario della nascita di Pietro Antonio Locatelli, 1695–1764*, ed. Albert Dunning (Turnhout: 1995), 1:319–526.

any possible conflict between this genre of profane music and the religious ethics of those princes of the church.

4 Conclusion

The frequent involvement of cardinals in musical as well as theatrical projects (hiring musicians and singers, financing musical publications or theatrical spectacles, or even acting as cultural entrepreneurs) demonstrates the importance of these activities for such members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Their involvement with the performative arts is closely related to the Cardinal's public and official image as a representative of the elite within the Papal States. Sometimes, however, cardinals simply did love music and/or theatre. Even so, exhibiting musical as well as theatrical patronage was always a "must" in their career. Frequently, cardinals' initiatives in music or theatre seem to contradict the religious domain which should have been their primary if not exclusive area of activity: they practised profane music, patronized actors and opera singers, wrote opera librettos, or managed commercial opera productions. Obviously, the distinction between secular and religious art was not as firm then as it is nowadays, and there was a change visible after the Council of Trent. Nevertheless, as remarked above, the ethical aspect of these activities remained problematic as well as the nature itself of a cardinal's ethics in early modernity. We may resolve the apparent contradiction between churchmen and their (secular) musical and theatrical initiatives by reversing the issue. The social prestige that powerful cardinals received from patronage of profane music and theatre had as a counterpart their protection of these repertoires from being openly criticized as morally unsuited to the ecclesiastical hierarchy. More specifically, the power of those churchmen made profane music and theatre suitable according to their own judgment; their ethical paradigm included music and theatre among the means able to cultivate their dignity and reputation. In the dedicatory letters of music books or librettos, power and rank were always rhetorically referred to with the concept of "purgatissimo giudizio" (exquisite judgement): Pietro Pace knew how much Cardinal Montalto "si compiacce di questa sorte di musica c' hora l' inuio" (appreciates this kind of music [the madrigals of his fourth book, 1617]), "la quale può dirsi esser gradita dall' vniuersale de virtuosi, particolarmente perchè sanno essere honorata dal suo esquisito giuditio" (which every virtuous man enjoys since they know it is honoured by your exquisite judgement).

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ANP Archives Nationales, Paris.
APA Archives of the Apostolic Penitentiary, Reg. Matrim. et Div., Vatican City.
APF Archive of the Propaganda Fide, Rome.
ASCR Archivio Storico Capitolino, Rome.
ASF Archivio di Stato, Florence.
ASMO Archivio di Stato, Modena.
ASR Archivio di Stato, Rome.
ASV Archivum Segretum Vaticanum, Vatican City.
ASVE Archivio di Stato, Venice.
ASVR Archivio Storico del Vicariato, Rome.
BAV Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City.
BNCVE Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele II, Rome.

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