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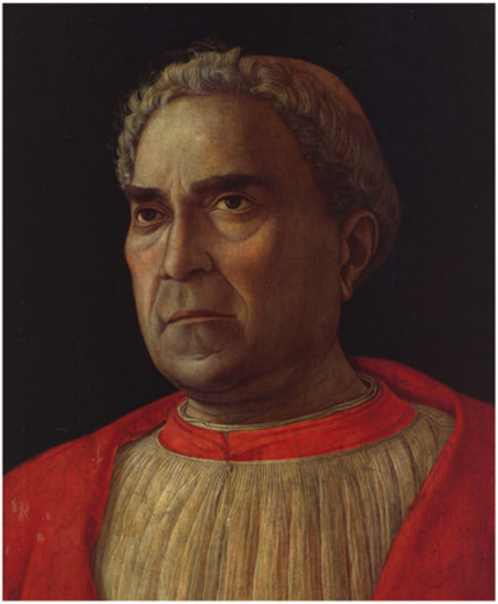
RECLAIMING ROME

CARDINALS IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY



By

CAROL M. RICHARDSON

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Reclaiming Rome

Cardinals in the Fifteenth Century

By

Carol M. Richardson

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POPES OF THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES

Boniface VIII (Benedetto Caetani), elected 24 December 1294, crowned 23 January 1295, died 11 October 1303.

Benedict XI (Niccolò Boccasino), elected 22 October 1303, crowned 27 October 1303, died 7 July 1304.

Clement V (Bertrand de Got), elected 5 June 1305, crowned 14 November 1305, died 20 April 1314.

John XXII (Jacques Duèse), elected 7 August 1316, crowned 5 September 1316, died 4 December 1334.

Benedict XII (Jacques Fournier), elected 20 December 1334, crowned 8 January 1335, died 25 April 1342.

Clement VI (Pierre Roger), elected 7 May 1342, crowned 19 May 1342, died 6 December 1352.

Innocent VI (Étienne Aubert), elected 18 December 1352, crowned 30 December 1352, died 12 September 1362.

Urban V (Guillaume de Grimoard), elected 28 September 1362, crowned 6 November 1362, died 19 December 1370.

Gregory XI (Pierre Roger de Beaufort), elected 30 December 1370, crowned 5 January 1371, died 27 March 1378.

* * *

ROME

Urban VI (Bartolomeo Prignano), elected 8 April 1378, crowned 18 April 1378, died 15 October 1389.

Boniface IX (Pietro Tomacelli), elected 2 November 1389, crowned 9 November 1389, died 1 October 1404.

Innocent VII (Cosimo Megliorati), elected 17 October 1404, crowned 11 November 1404, died 6 November 1406.

Gregory XII (Angelo Correr), elected 30 November 1406, crowned 19 December 1406, deposed Council of Pisa 5 June 1409, resigned 4 July 1415, died 18 October 1417.

AVIGNON

Clement VII (Robert of Geneva), elected 20 September 1378, crowned 31 October 1378, died 16 September 1394.

Benedict XIII (Pedro de Luna), elected 28 December 1394, crowned 11 October 1394, deposed Council of Pisa, 5 June 1409, deposed Council of Constance 26 July 1417, died 29 November 1422.

Clement VIII (Gil Sanchez Munõz), elected 10 June 1423, died 28 December 1446.

PISA

Alexander V (Peter Philargus), elected at Pisa 26 June 1409, crowned 7 July 1409, died 3 May 1410.

John XXIII (Baldassare Cossa), elected 17 May 1410, crowned 25 May 1410, deposed Council of Constance 29 May 1415, died 22 November 1419.

* * *

Martin V (Oddo Colonna), elected Council of Constance 11 November 1417, crowned 21 November 1417, died 20 February 1431.

Eugenius IV (Gabriele Condulmer), elected 3 March 1431, crowned 11 March 1431, died 23 February 1447.

Nicholas V (Tommaso Parentucelli), elected 6 March 1447, crowned 19 March 1447, died 24 March 1455.

Calixtus III (Alfonso Borgia), elected 8 April 1455, crowned 20 April 1455, died 6 August 1458.

Pius II (Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini), elected 19 August 1458, crowned 3 September 1458, died 15 August 1464.

Paul II (Pietro Barbo), elected 30 August 1464, crowned 16 September 1464, died 26 July 1471.

Sixtus IV (Francesco della Rovere), elected 9 August 1471, crowned 25 August 1471, died 12 August 1484.

Innocent VIII (Giovanni Battista Cibò), elected 29 August 1484, crowned 12 September 1484, died 25 July 1492.

Alexander VI (Rodrigo Borgia), elected 11 August 1492, crowned 26 August 1492, died 18 August 1503.

Pius III (Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini), elected 22 September 1503, crowned 8 October 1503, died 18 October 1503.

PREFACE

Since I completed my doctoral dissertation on the cardinals of Pope Pius II (1458–64) at the University of St Andrews in 1996, I have become increasingly uneasy about treating cardinals within single papacies: by their nature, they represent a continuity that individual popes cannot. As a postgraduate I spent much of my time searching for answers to what seemed to me fundamental questions about what a cardinal is—or was. In attempting to answer some of my own questions, my research moved from specific cardinals to the impact that cardinals could have as a body.

My aim has been to provide material and answer questions for which I could find no easy answers. This book, therefore, is an attempt to provide some boundaries within which cardinals may be studied—how they were defined in the fifteenth century and how they related to the pope and his city. It is by no means a definition of what they were, for there are as many definitions as there were, and are, cardinals. Most of all, I hope that it will encourage others to tackle this fascinating subject and period—whether through the study of individual cardinals or the topography of Rome.

Such answers as I could find have come up in every corner of scholarship. Although I am an art historian, and therefore the visual manifestations of the relationship of the papal court with Rome are the main focus of my enquiry, understanding these works of art and architecture—how they came to exist, how they were used, and what they might represent—demands an interdisciplinary approach. The subjects and disciplines on which I have relied for information and inspiration include political and economic history, theology, liturgy, topography, and archaeology. I hope this book will be as useful for those fields as they have been for my researches.

As this study is interdisciplinary in nature, the range of sources consulted is wide and disparate. To include full notes for every topic would have made the book unwieldy. Throughout notes are given as an indication of the supporting material. Primary sources are quoted in the notes where these are from unpublished archival or not generally available published sources. Wherever possible, secondary material used is in English. Primary sources quoted in the text are all in English, from accessible translations or translated specially for this work.

Most of the research for this book was carried out under the auspices of the AHRB "Court Culture of Early Modern Rome" research project. The images were paid for with grants from the British Academy and the Research Committee of the Faculty of Arts at The Open University. I am most grateful to all these bodies for their invaluable support.

So many people have helped and encouraged me over the past decade of research for this book that it would be impossible to name them all. The librarians and archivists at the following institutions have been particularly generous with their collections: Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (and the other members of the URBS consortium in Rome), British Library, Open Library, Warburg Institute. I would single out the British School at Rome, an institution whose librarians, staff, and scholars have done more to shape the direction of my research than anywhere or anyone else. Cornelia Linde very kindly checked some of my Latin transcriptions at the last minute. The editorial board and editorial team at Brill were a pleasure to deal with. Without the following, this book would never have happened: Susan Anderson, Piers Baker-Bates, Jill Burke, Michael Bury, Roberto Cobianchi, Peter Humfrey, Philippa Jackson, Clive Long, Nancy Marten, Diana Norman, Miles Pattenden, Malcolm Richardson, Susan Russell, Jeremy G. Taylor, David Ward, Evelyn Welch, and Kim Woods.

INTRODUCTION

The fifteenth century started badly for the cardinals. They were blamed for keeping the popes in Avignon for much of the fourteenth century instead of letting them return to Rome.[1] After the dramatic events of 1378, the cardinals were also blamed for causing the schism.[2] In April, following the death in March of Gregory XI (1370–8), they had elected Bartolomeo Prignano, Archbishop of Bari, who adopted the name Urban VI (1378–89). He was the first Italian pope since Benedict XI at the beginning of the fourteenth century to be elected in Rome.[3] Shortly afterwards, when Urban VI's hot temper and desire for reform was exposed, the cardinals claimed that the election was invalid as it had been under duress: it was the first election that had taken place in Rome for seventy-five years, and the local populace had bullied them into electing an Italian.[4] In September, the mainly French cardinals elected a new pope, the French Robert of Geneva, who took the name Clement VII (1378–94).

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[1] On the Avignon period see Étienne Baluze, *Vitae paparum Avenionensium: hoc est historia pontificum Romanorum qui in Gallia sederunt ab anno Christi 1305 usque ad annum 1394*, ed. Guillaume Mollat, 4 vols (Paris: Letouzey & Ané, 1914–27); Guillaume Mollat, *The Popes at Avignon 1305–1378*, trans. Janet Love (London: Thomas Nelson, 1963). There is also a useful outline of the period and the main issues in Geoffrey Barraclough, *The Medieval Papacy* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1992; first published 1968), 140–64. For another, refreshing, approach to the same period, David S. Chambers, *Popes, Cardinals and War: The Military Church in Renaissance and Early Modern Europe* (London and New York: I.B. Taurus, 2006), 24–38.

[2] Diana Wood, *Clement VI: The Pontificate and Ideas of an Avignon Pope* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 98–9; Walter Ullmann, *The Origins of the Great Schism: A Study in Fourteenth-Century Ecclesiastical History* (London: Burns and Oates, 1948), 4–8; Henri Bresc, "La Genèse du Schisme: le partis cardinalices et leurs ambitions dynastiques," in *Genèse et débuts du Grand Schisme d'Occident*, Colloques internationaux du Centre national de la recherche scientifique 586 (Paris: CNRS, 1980), 45–57.

[3] Pastor, *History of the Popes* vol. 1, 117–27; Edith Pásztor, *Onus Apostolicae Sedis: curia romana e cardinalato nei secoli XI–XV* (Rome: Edizioni Sintesi Informazione, 1999), 363, 378–9. On the period between the election of Urban VI and the Council of Pisa, Barraclough, *Medieval Papacy*, 164–77.

[4] For example, despite condemning the election of an anti-pope, Catherine of Siena accepts that Urban VI "had treated [the cardinals] with nothing but reproach." Catherine of Siena, *The Letters of Catherine of Siena*, vol. 3, ed. and trans. Suzanne Noffke, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 329 (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2007), letter dated shortly after 21 September 1378, 224.

The problem of two rival popes—one in Rome and one in Avignon—continued until, in 1409 at a council convened at Pisa, the cardinals attempted to solve the problem by deposing them both and electing a new pope, Alexander V (1409–10). Altogether, this period of two and then three popes, known as the Great Schism, lasted for forty years. When the schism was finally resolved in 1417 with the election of Martin V (1417–31), one of the main casualties was the College of Cardinals.[5] The problems the cardinals had created in the first place—the result of a series of attempts to assert their influence over the pope—left them, as a group, weaker than they had ever been since their emergence as the pope's exclusive counsel in the eleventh century.

The first half of the fifteenth century was a period of consolidation for the popes and their cardinals following the exile and schism. Most of all, the papal court had to resettle in Rome and forge close links—both practical and symbolic—with the city. It is this period of reclaiming Rome as papal city that is the focus of this book.

Popes and cardinals

Late in 1378 the indomitable Catherine of Siena (d. 1380) wrote from Rome to the small group of Italian cardinals who had joined the French to help elect Clement VII—Pietro Corsini, Giacomo Orsini, and Simone da Borzano—making her opinion of them and what they had done clear.[6] Her sharp words can be taken as representative of wider feeling amongst Italians and those still loyal to the papacy in Rome:

> Oimé! Oimé! To what have you come by not pursuing your exalted state virtuously! You were set to feed at the breast of holy church. Like flowers you were put in this garden to spread the fragrance of virtue. You were

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[5] The College of Cardinals during the councils of Pisa and Constance is discussed in more detail in chapter 1 below.

[6] Pietro Corsini had been made cardinal in 1370 by Urban V and was dean of the College of Cardinals; Giacomo Orsini and Simone da Borzano were both cardinals of Gregory XI. The fourth Italian cardinal in the college that elected Urban VI, Francesco Tebaldeschi, died on 6 September 1378, two weeks before the majority of cardinals had elected Clement VII. Although present at the conclave, Corsini had abstained at the election. The three Italian cardinals refused to side with either pope. In January 1379 they finally turned their backs on Urban VI while still not siding with Clement VII. See Baluze, *Vitae paparum Avenionensium*, vol. 4, cols 837–47, 186–194; Catherine of Siena, *Letters*, vol. 3, 218.

> set as pillars to fortify this little ship and Christ's vicar on earth. You were set as a lamp on a lampstand to give light to faithful Christians and to spread the faith. You know very well whether or not you've done what you were assigned to do—and you certainly haven't...
>
> And where is the gratitude you owe this bride who has nurtured you at her breast? I see nothing but ingratitude, ingratitude that dries up the fountain of devotedness. What shows me that you are ingrates, villains, mercenaries? The persecution which you and the others have directed and continue to direct against this bride at a time when you ought to recognize the truth that Pope Urban VI is truly pope... Now you have made an about-face like wretched cowardly knights....
>
> What caused this? The poison of selfish love that has poisoned the world. That is what has made you pillars worse than straw. Not flowers spreading fragrance but a stench that has pervaded the whole world. Not lamps set on a lampstand to spread the faith; no, since you've hidden this light under the basket of pride, you've become not spreaders but contaminators of the faith and are spreading darkness to yourselves as well as to others.[7]

When Cardinal Francesco Uguccione (d. 1412), Archbishop of Bordeaux, addressed the joint parliaments of England thirty years later in October 1408, encouraging them to support the Council of Pisa, he knew that he had to defend the cardinals' recent actions. Most of all, what entitled the cardinals to think that only they could solve the schism by summoning such a council? Canon law, he argued—the heir of Roman law, as it was codified in the thirteenth century by the lawyer and cardinal, Hostiensis (d. 1271). Uguccione declared:

> ...there is no other rank in the Church militant above the College of Cardinals, and even an undisputed pope ought to undertake all difficult business with their advice. And if anyone wants full information about the jurisdiction of the cardinals, he can see what Hostiensis wrote... and then you will see that their authority ought not to be so despised as it is by some.[8]

What this makes clear is that while Uguccione had no doubt about the authority of the cardinals that justified their summoning of a council in Pisa to end the schism, he nevertheless recognized that their reputation was poor and had to be reasserted.

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[7] Catherine of Siena, *Letters*, vol. 3, 217–25.

[8] Quoted and translated in Christopher Michael Dennis Crowder, *Unity, Heresy and Reform, 1378–1460: The Conciliar Response to the Great Schism* (London: Edward Arnold, 1977), 48–50; on Hostiensis see Brian Tierney, *Foundations of the Conciliar Theory: The Contribution of the Medieval Canonists from Gratian to the Great Schism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955), 150–1 (enlarged edition Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1998), 15, 155.

During the first half of the fifteenth century, the status that the cardinals had gradually established in the preceding centuries—which, in the fourteenth century, made them believe that they could depose popes as well as elect them—was to be regularly challenged and reassessed, not least by the popes themselves.[9] The result was a period of realignment with the papacy from which the modern relationship of the pope and his cardinals can be traced: they moved from being the pope's manipulators to his instruments.

Each of the popes of the fifteenth century had a different attitude to the cardinals: Martin V kept them on a tight rein and did not create any new cardinals until he absolutely had to do so; in the early 1440s Eugenius IV defended the cardinals as being second only to the pope, the equivalent of the Roman Senate and superior to the bishops—but only when he was forced to do so; in the 1450s, in his biography of Nicholas V, Giannozzo Manetti remarked that the name of the College of Cardinals was a recent invention lacking a long tradition.[10] But then in the 1460s Pius II described them as his co-workers, while the very act of making cardinals was the consummation of his election as pope. Indeed, in the fifteenth century there was no consensus over what a cardinal was: those against them said they were a new invention while those for them traced the college back to the Apostles, commissioned by Christ himself.[11] What was going on?

The popes and the cardinals in first half of the fifteenth century were inextricably bound together in a struggle for power. Since the twelfth century the cardinals had been the sole electors of the pope, free from the participation of the bishops and the representatives of secular rulers or Roman barons, and this in particular defined their role.[12] Their relationship with the popes became an integral part of papal power: they elected the pope and the pope created the cardinals. This relationship took on new meaning in the fifteenth century when, after almost a century of exile and schism, it had to be redefined. But instead of increasing their influence, the cardinals almost lost it by provoking the conciliar crisis, which began with the Council of Pisa (1409) and ended at Basel (1431–49), whereby the autonomy of papal authority was challenged first by the cardinals and subsequently by the bishops, diocesan clergy, and secular rulers of western Christendom.[13] The Council of Constance (1414–18) marked a particularly low point: the cardinals were practically excluded from the proceedings to reform the Church and resolve the schism, and, in the election that made Martin V pope, lost even the sole right to elect the pope that they had possessed since the twelfth century.

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[9] Edith Pásztor, "Cardinali italiani e francesi tra Avignone e Basilea: due testimonianze," in *Échanges religieux entre la France et l'Italie du Moyen Âge à l'époque moderne*, ed. Mgr M. Maccarone and A. Vauchez (Geneva: Slatkine, 1987), esp. 378–80; Barraclough, *Medieval Papacy*, 158–60.

[10] The relationship between the popes and cardinals is discussed in detail in chapters 1–3 below.

[11] Margaret Harvey gives an outline of how the history of the cardinalate was understood in the fifteenth century in "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: Basil Blackwell, 1991), 337.

[12] In 1139 at the Lateran Council, Innocent II decreed that the cardinals alone had the right to elect the pope, independent of other clergy. See H.J. Schroeder, *Disciplinary Decrees of the General Councils: Text, Translation and Commentary* (St Louis: B. Herder,

By the middle of the fifteenth century, the cardinals had lost the concessions they had gained at the height of their powers in Avignon a century earlier. By the second half of the fifteenth century, they might have secured their position as the pope's co-judges, his electors and counsel, but they had little power without him. The popes from Martin V to Paul II gradually eroded any status they might have claimed independent of the pope. In the last decades of the fifteenth century, from the time of Sixtus IV, their influence was further weakened by an increase in their numbers, because the threat of censure from the councils was a distant memory.[14]

What is a cardinal?

Since they were given the sole right of electing the pope, the cardinals' relationship with the popes had been an integral part of papal power.

1937), 195–213. Nicholas II in 1059 had decreed (with the bull *In nomine domine*) that the cardinal-bishops alone should elect the pope, with the other cardinals and clergy confirming their decision. See Giovanni Domenico Mansi, ed., *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio* (Paris: H. Welter, 1901–27), vol. 19, cols 903–4. For the origins and development of their role see Pierre Jugie, "Cardinali (fino al Concilio di trento)," in *Dizionario Storico del Papato*, ed. Philippe Levillain (Milan: Bompiani, 1996), 253–4.

[13] The position of the cardinals at the councils will be discussed in chapter 1. The most useful introduction to the conciliar crisis is the anthology of primary sources by Crowder, *Unity, Heresy and Reform, 1378–1460*. See also Ullmann, *The Origins of the Great Schism*; Tierney, *Foundations of the Conciliar Theory*.

[14] An important point in achieving a balance of power was the election capitulations, a list of demands that each group of cardinals electing a new pope in conclave drew up for the pope to adhere to. These will be discussed further in chapter 2, 86–9.

Leo IX (1049–54) called them *cardines*—the hinges upon which the great door of the universal Church swings.[15] This metaphor was still used in the fifteenth century and thereafter. Peter Damian (1007–72) described the cardinals as spiritual senators of the Church because they acted as the council of the pope.[16] They regularly asserted that they were in equal partnership with the pope in the exercise of the papal *imperium*. Cardinals often signed official documents alongside, or in the place of, the pope.[17] As a result they occasionally attempted to censure the individual who happened to be pope. They were always careful to distinguish between the individual who was pope and the office of the papacy, however, as the latter could not be brought into question. It was a distinction that lay behind much of the trouble in the late fourteenth century.

In 1148 the cardinals reminded the Cistercian pope, Eugenius III, after he sided with Bernard of Clairvaux, the great founder of the Cistercian Order and the pope's spiritual advisor, against the college that, as he owed his position to them, he should be loyal to them:

> You should know that, having been elevated to the rule of the entire church by us, around whom, like pivots [*cardines*], the axis of the church universal swings, and having been made by us from a private person into the father of the universal church, it is necessary from now on that you belong not just to yourself but to us; that you do not rank particular and recent friendships before those which are general and of ancient standing.[18]

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[15] Stephen Kuttner, "*Cardinalis*: The History of a Canonical Concept," *Traditio* 3 (1945): 176. This article remains the fullest account of what a cardinal is and how the name developed.

[16] Peter Damian, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 2, in Jacques-Paul Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 145 (Paris: Petit-Montrouge, 1853), col. 540a–b: "Nunc praeterea Romana Ecclesia, quae sedes est apostolorum, antiquam debet imitari curiam Romanorum. Sicut enim tunc terrenus ille senatus ad hoc communicabant omne consilium, in hoc dirigebant et subtiliter exercebant communis industriae studium, ut cunctarum gentium multitudo Romano subderetur imperio; ita nunc apostolicae sedis aeditui, qui spiritales sunt universalis Ecclesiae senatores, huic soli studio debent solerter insistere, ut humanum genus veri imperatoris Christi valeant legibus subjugare…"

[17] Bruno Katterbach and Wilhelm M. Peitz, "Die unterschriften der Päpst und Kardinäle in den 'Bullae majores' vom 11. bis 14. Jahrhundert," *Miscellanea Francesco Ehrle*, vol. 4, *Paleografia e diplomatica*, Studi e testi 40 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1924), 177–274.

[18] The incident was reported in *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa by Otto of Freising*, trans. Charles Christopher Mierow, Records of Civilization Sources and Studies 49 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1953), quoted in Norman Zacour, "The Cardinals' View of the Papacy, 1150–1300," in *The Religious Roles of the Papacy: Ideals and Realities*

Bernard was able to have his own back when the cardinal-deacons claimed superiority over the cardinal-priests and bishops. He wrote to Eugenius III that they had "no power except that which you grant them or permit them to exercise." Their claims "make no sense… derived from no tradition… [and] had the support of no authority."[19] But there was little consensus over the cardinals' role. Rather, their position and relationship with the pope often depended on tension—and it was usually the cardinals themselves who exploited that tension.

The cardinals' role was defined not in theory but by centuries of working closely with the pope as his advisors, electors and, on occasion, his enemies. Honorius III (1216–27) went so far as to declare an attack on one of the cardinals an attack on the pope himself, an important point in their official recognition.[20] By the fourteenth century and the exile in Avignon, the cardinals were at the height of their power after three centuries of concessions from the popes and were almost inseparable from him in the exercise of papal power. At Avignon they were particularly busy not least as bankers: Clement VI ended up owing them 16,000 gold florins, for which they had to be bought off with extra powers.[21]

Their relationship with the popes in the increasingly complex administration of the Church throughout western Christendom resulted in the official trappings that still distinguish them today. In 1245 at the Council of Lyons Innocent IV assigned them exclusive use of the red hat and other insignia to distinguish them from other ecclesiastics.[22] Their dress was further modified in the middle of the fifteenth century to reflect their status, a subject that will be discussed in chapter 3 below.

1150–1300, ed. Christopher Ryan, Papers in Medieval Studies, 8 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1989), 416.

[19] Bernard of Clairvaux, *De Consideratione*, 4.1.1 and 4.5.16; Saint Bernard of Clairvaux, *Five Books on Consideration: Advice to a Pope*, trans. John D. Anderson and Elizabeth T. Kennan (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1976); discussed in Zacour, "The Cardinals' View of the Papacy," 417.

[20] *Bullarum, diplomatum et privilegiorum sanctorum romanorum pontificum…*, ed. Seb. Franco and Henrico Dalmazzo (Turin: Augustae Taurinorum, 1858), vol. 3, 410–13; Zacour, "The Cardinals' View of the Papacy," 414.

[21] Guillaume Mollat, "Contribution à l'histoire du Sacré-Collège de Clement V à Eugène IV," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 46 (1951): 74; Wood, *Clement VI*, 98; for contemporary comment, see also Bridget of Sweden, *Revelationes*, book 4, chapter 44, 251.

[22] F. Pagnotti, "Niccolò da Calvi e la sua Vita d'Innocenzo IV," *Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria* 21 (1898): 97; Zacour, "The Cardinals' View of the Papacy," 413–14.

The popes in the fifteenth century were always cardinals before they were elected by their fellow college, and the larger part of their career in the curia was almost invariably spent in this role.[23] This was a sign of the closeness of the realigned relationship between pope and cardinals, as it had not been the case in the fourteenth century. Two of the seven Avignon popes had not been cardinals: Clement V (1305–14) who had moved the papal court to Avignon in 1309, was Archbishop of Bordeaux; Urban V (1362–70) was a Benedictine abbot. Nor had Urban VI been a cardinal before he became pope in 1378; he was Archbishop of Bari. The fact that only cardinals were considered for election to the papacy in the fifteenth century is a conclusive sign of the propinquity of popes and cardinals. Therefore, for the fifteenth century, if you want to study popes, you also need to study cardinals.

From Rome to Avignon and back

The three popes of the schism—of the Avignon, Roman, and Pisan obediences—and their three colleges represented different models of papal government, each of which fed into the formation of the fifteenth-century papal paradigm. The popes of the Avignon obedience were closely aligned to the French monarchy, a practical necessity since the popes had had to leave Rome and its factional instability. The Avignon experience represented the tensions between a supreme pontiff answerable to no one and one dependent on a secular sovereign to maintain his position. The creation of cardinals loyal to the sovereign was one way in which the pope could foster his support. The popes in Rome claimed the true path that could be traced back through the apostolic succession to Peter; Rome was therefore a major aspect of the pope's claim to universal sovereignty. The popes of Pisa represented a new model of church government by committee. The centralized power of the papacy was largely devolved to the nations of Catholic Europe so they could retain fuller control over their own affairs. The pope was to work with, and be guided by, the cardinals, and, in exceptional circumstances, broader church councils of bishops and other ecclesiastical, academic, and secular representatives. By the middle of the fifteenth century, although there was just one pope again, elements of each of these models influenced the workings of the Renaissance papacy—their ambition for political and secular power, and the deals that constantly had to be struck with foreign powers to protect papal interests, but most of all the practical and symbolic reintegration of the papacy and Rome.

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[23] Francis A. Burkle-Young, *Passing the Keys: Modern Cardinals, Conclaves, and the Election of the Next Pope* (Lanham: Madison Books, 1999), xxii–v.

Francesco Petrarch (1304–74) famously called Avignon "that most disgusting city."[24] It was "the enemy of the good, the dwelling-place and refuge of evil."[25] The cardinals, he wrote in one of his many letters, had become too accustomed to the good wine of Burgundy.[26] The Italian cardinals, in particular, had betrayed the Church. The only place for the papacy was Rome.

> You have neglected to guide the chariot of the Bride of the Crucified One along the path so clearly marked out for her. Like the false charioteer Phaeton, you have left the right track, and though it was your office to lead the hosts safely through the wilderness, you have dragged them after you into the abyss. But one remedy now remains: you, who have been the authors of all this confusion, must go forth manfully with one heart and one soul into the fray in defence of the Bride of Christ whose seat is in Rome, of Italy, in short of the whole band of pilgrims on earth. This you must do, and then returning in triumph from the battle-field, on which the eyes of the world are fixed, you shall hear the song "Glory to God in the Highest"; and the disgrace of the covetous Gascons, striving to rob the Latins of their renown, shall serve as a warning to all future ages.[27]

The exile in Avignon only proved how much the papacy needed its physical, historical, and symbolic links with the city of Rome. The popes owed their identity, administration, laws, and even their universal authority to the city. They styled themselves as the successors of the Roman emperors, assuming the adage "pontifex maximus" as their own, while the cardinals were modelled on the senators. None of this made much sense in the south of France in a small town on the banks of the Rhone. By implication, in Italy at least, it was strongly believed that the pope should be Italian. Catherine of Siena could not fathom why the few surviving Italian cardinals—only three of them by the end of 1378 compared with eighteen French—were willing to turn against the first Italian pope for seventy-five years when they tried to replace Urban VI with Clement VII.[28]

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[24] Francesco Petrarca, *Letters of Old Age = Rerum senilium libri I–XVIII*, trans. Aldo S. Bernardo, Saul Levin, and Reta A. Bernardo (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 676 (*Rerum senilium*, book 18, letter 1).

[25] Norman P. Zacour, *Petrarch's Book without a Name: A Translation of the "Liber sine nomine"* (Toronto: The Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1973), 111 (*Liber sine nomine*, 18).

[26] Petrarca, *Letters of Old Age*, 307: "To Pope Urban V, congratulations for having led the Church back to her See, and an exhortation to persevere:... Warn each and every one of the cardinals to remember that they are mortals, not to think always of pleasures but from time to time of death and eternal life... For I hear the saddest and the most irritating thing I could hear: that there are some who grumble that they have no burgundy wine in Italy. Would that those vines had never existed, and I would almost say, no vines at all, if they were destined to produce such a poisonous vintage for the Church of Christ!" (*Rerum senilium*, book 9, letter 1); also 251 (*Rerum senilium*, book 7, letter 1). See also Wood, *Clement VI*, 74–5.

[27] Petrarch quoted in Pastor, *History of the Popes*, vol. 1, 64; Franz Xaver von Wegele, *Dante's Leben und Werke, kulturgeschichtlich dargestellt* (Jena: Altenburg, 1852), 262–5.

Whatever the national preferences and loyalties involved, as Diana Wood stresses in her study of one of the Avignon popes, Clement VI, "by jettisoning the link with Rome the papacy stood to lose much of the Roman theory which underpinned its own system."[29] Clement VI and other Avignon popes tried to overcome the problem by emphasizing two facets of their authority: as both Vicar of Christ and Bishop of Rome. These relationships were construed as marriages—of Christ to the Church and of the pope to Rome with its jurisdiction over the universal Church—which therefore led logically to the personification of Rome as an abandoned bride or widow (Figure 1).[30] Cola di Rienzo quipped that the pope had left his bride in a tavern while he went off to take care of Avignon, the whore.[31] With the papacy based in Avignon, it was easier for critics to distinguish between the pope as universal authority with power over all of Christendom and as a local bishop with jurisdiction over his diocese alone. Rome, because Peter had chosen it, was head above all other churches.[32] Without Rome, what gave the popes their claim to universal authority over Christendom? Urban VI hung on to Rome, conscious of its significance, his claim made clear on his tomb that shows Peter giving him the keys of heaven and therefore his right to rule (Figure 2).

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[28] Catherine of Siena, *Letters*, vol. 3, 218–25: "...since Christ on earth is Italian [Urban VI] and you are Italian, I see no reason other than selfish love that patriotism could not move you as it did those from the other side of the mountains [i.e. the French cardinals who elected a French anti-pope]."

[29] Wood, *Clement VI*, 76.

[30] The desertion of Rome by the papacy was compared to the Lamentations of Jeremiah on Jerusalem: "How lonely sits the city that was full of people! How like a widow has she become, she that was great among the nations! She that was a princess among the cities has become a vassal" (Lamentations 1:1). Borrowing the same metaphor, Dante (*Purgatory* IV, 112–26) describes Italy as a weeping widow, deserted by the emperor. During the Avignon exile the metaphor was applied specifically to Rome. Petrarch, in a number of letters, represents Rome as a white-haired matron, reminiscing about her past and lamenting the present: for example Petrarca, *Letters of Old Age*, 235 (*Rerum senilium*, book 7, letter 1, to Urban V). See Natalia Costa-Zalessow, "The Personification of Italy from Dante through the Trecento," *Italica* 68 no. 3 (1991), 326–7. Bridget of Sweden was believed to represent abandoned Rome because she had chosen poverty and, like Catherine of Siena, waited in the city for the return of the pope: Julia Bolton Holloway, *Saint Bride and her Book: Birgitta of Sweden's "Revelations"* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2000, first published 1992), 16.

[31] Wood, *Clement VI*, 80; Conrad Burdach, *Rienzo und die geistige Wandlung seiner Zeit* (*Briefwechsel des Cola di Rienzo*) (Berlin, 1913), vol. 1, 48–9. Petrarch and other writers

What kept the popes in Avignon was the overwhelming control of the French over the pope and cardinals—most of whom, as a result, were French—and the belief that Rome was just too dangerous, with its constant civil war and internecine strife. Nevertheless, contacts were kept up with Rome, and cardinals and other envoys tried to maintain some kind of presence in the rebellious city, but it was no easy task. In the 1350s, for example, after the sight of his camel being exercised in a courtyard of the Lateran palace had provoked a riot, Annibaldo da Ceccano, cardinal-bishop of Tusculum (Frascati) and Clement VI's legate to Rome, suggested to the Roman populace that the pope could not return to such a unstable place. The cardinal's red hat was pierced by an arrow, and he petitioned the pope to be allowed to leave and go to Naples. He died en route: poison was suggested as the cause.[33] But the fabric of the city suffered; Bridget of Sweden described the effects of neglect of the city, in terms of both its physical fabric and the discipline of the clergy.[34] The problem was that Rome lacked the pope: in Petrarch's words to Urban V, "just as you are weaker anywhere than in

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use the same metaphor of Rome, the bride: for example Petrarca, *Letters of Old Age*, 306 (*Rerum senilium*, book 9, letter 1).

[32] On the Petrine tradition and "how the tradition of Peter's presence in Rome evolved," see F. Lapham, *Peter: The Myth, the Man and the Writings—A Study of Early Petrine Text and Tradition*, Journal for the Study of the New Testament supplement series 239 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2003), 93–8. The Petrine tradition and the pentarchy, as they were discussed in the conciliar debates, will be considered further in chapter 1 below. See also Walter Ullmann, "The Papacy as an Institution of Government in the Middle Ages," *Studies in Church History* 2 (1965): esp. 93–101, who reflects on some of the issues raised by these theological problems for historians.

[33] This anecdote is told in Wood, *Clement VI*, 75, from *Historiae Romanae Fragmenta*, in *Antiquitates Italicae Medii Aevi*, vol. 3, ed. L.A. Muratori (Milan, 1740; reprint Bologna: Forni, 1965), cols 484, 486, 490.

[34] Bridget of Sweden in a letter to an unknown respondent (*Revelationes*, book 4, chapter 33). See Arne Jönsson, ed., *St. Bridget's Revelations to the Popes: An Edition of the So-Called "Tractatus de summis pontificibus"*, Studia Graeca et Latina Lundensia 6 (Bromley: Chartwell Bratt, 1997), 13–14.

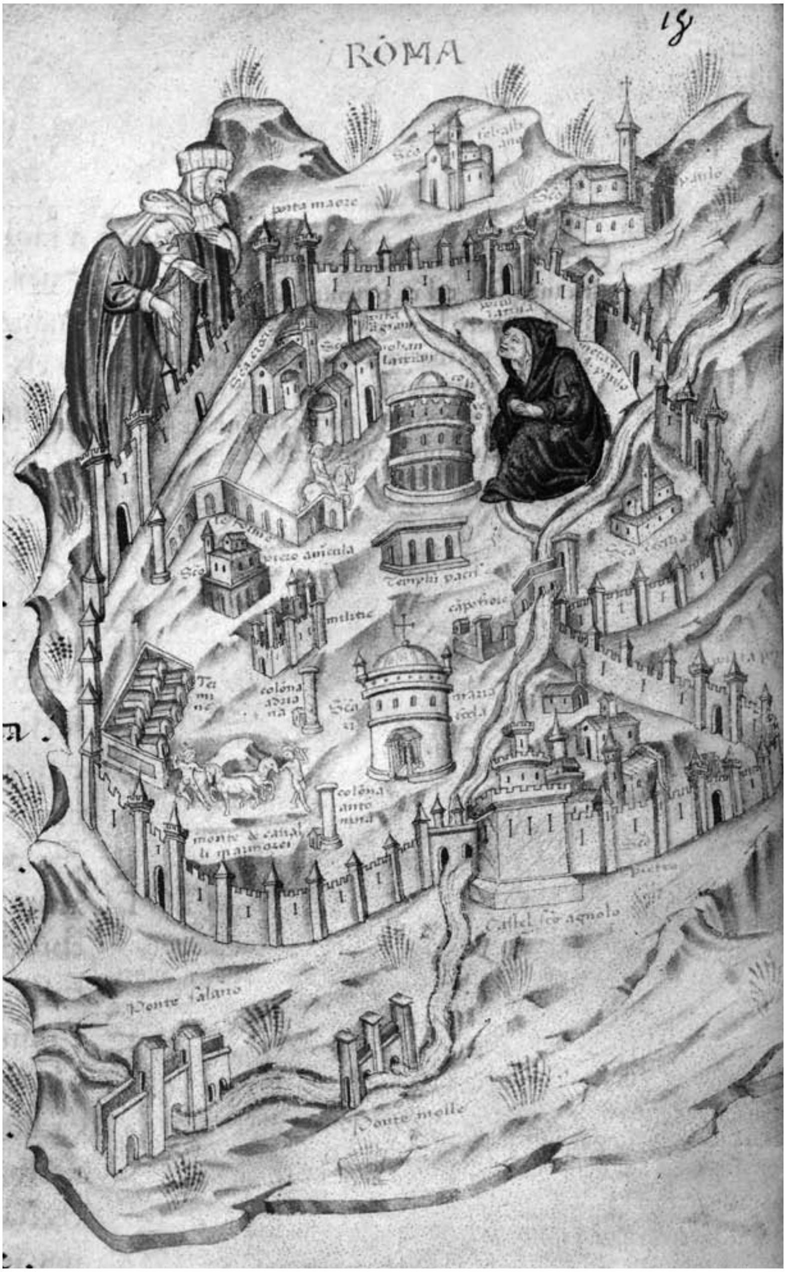
18
ROMA
Ponte salaro
Ponte molle
Castel sco agnolo

Figure 1 Rome personified as a widow grieving the loss of the papacy, fourteenth-century map of Rome, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Ital. 81, folio 18.

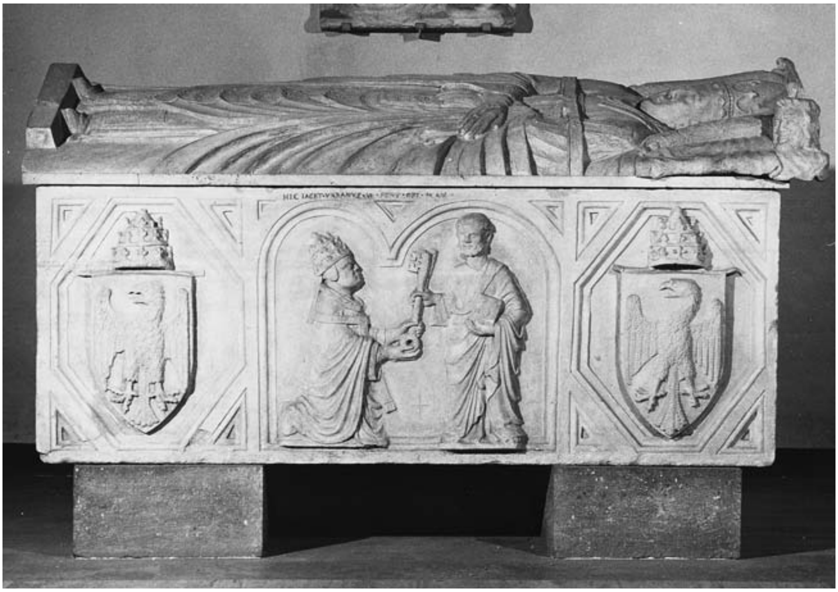

Figure 2 Tomb of Urban VI, Vatican Grottoes (the effigy on top probably belongs to a monument to Nicholas III). Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art, neg. no. A73/3137.

your own pastures, so are your pastures always more vulnerable, more subject to harm, without their shepherd."[35]

Nevertheless, Rome continued to be an important symbol for the popes in Avignon.[36] The enormous papal palace, constructed under Benedict XII and Clement VI on the site of the bishop's residence alongside the cathedral, incorporated spaces for traditional ceremonials of the papal calendar.[37] These ceremonials were outward displays of papal power that relied for their significance on being held in, and defined by, the city of Rome. The main palace chapel was dedicated to St Peter while another chapel in the complex was dedicated to

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[35] Petrarca, *Letters of Old Age*, 249 (*Rerum senilium*, book 7, letter 1).

[36] Petrarca, *Letters of Old Age*, 630 (*Rerum senilium*, book 16, letter 7): "Avignon on the Rhone … is in no way comparable to Rome, but the Roman Pontiff and many emblems of the Roman state were there and are there today… They were what made the city famous over all the world."

[37] Wood, *Clement VI*, 48–62, 71–2; Gottfried Kerscher, "Roma nova—Virtuelles Rom: die Palastkapellen in Avignon und das Zeremoniell der Päpste," in *Art, cérémonial et liturgie au Moyen Âge*, ed. Nicolas Bock, Études lausannoises d'histoire de l'art 1 (Rome: Viella, 2002), 584–94.

St John. Processions between the cathedral of Rome—St John Lateran—and St Peter's basilica through the streets of Rome could therefore be re-enacted within the palace. When a new pope was elected at Avignon, he was crowned outside the door of the chapel of St Peter, which stood in for the steps of St Peter's where the coronation traditionally took place. Then the *possesso*, whereby the pope as Bishop of Rome took control of his cathedral, proceeded through the corridors of the palace from the first floor—where the chapel of St Peter was located—to the ground floor, ending at the chapel of St John, which was decorated with frescoes depicting the life of St John the Baptist and St John the Evangelist, mirroring the decoration of the cathedral of Rome.[38]

Conversely, Avignon helped shape the redevelopment of Rome in the fifteenth century. Bernhard Schimmelpfennig has argued that the evolution of the papal liturgies at Avignon accelerated the withdrawal of the public ceremonies performed by the popes in the streets of Rome to within the confines of the Vatican palace.[39] The topography of Avignon and its surrounds may also have influenced the organization of the papal court on its return to Rome. In Avignon the popes lived in the city proper while the majority of the cardinals lived on the other side of the River Rhone at Villeneuve-les-Avignon, a town that had previously been dominated by a Carthusian monastery, and which grew to accommodate them.[40] Presumably the cardinals also had slightly more control over their own activities in Villeneuve at a remove from the papal headquarters. The papacy in Rome had settled into a similar pattern in Rome by the middle of the fifteenth century, the popes resident at the Vatican palace next to St Peter's and most of the cardinals across the Tiber in Rome proper.

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[38] Wood, *Clement VI*, 73; on the frescoes see Christian Heck, "La Chapelle du consistoire et les crucifixions dans la peinture murale Avignonnaise du XIV^{e} siècle: le renouvellement d'un thème d'origine romaine du service de l'affirmation de la légitimité pontificale," *Genèse et débuts du grand schisme d'occident (1362–1394)*, Colloques Internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, vol. 586 (Paris: CNRS, 1980), 431–43.

[39] Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, "Der Einfluss des avignonesischen Zeremoniells auf den Vatikanpalast seit Nikolaus V," in *Functions and Decorations: Art and Ritual at the Vatican Palace in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Tristan Weddigen, Bram Kempers, and Sible de Blaauw, Capellae Apostolicae Sixtinaeque collectanea acta monumenta, vol. 9 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana/Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 41–5.

[40] Bernard Sournia and Jean-Louis Vayssettes, *Villeneuve-lès-Avignon: histoire artistique et monumentale d'une villégiature pontificale* (Paris: Monum, Éditions du Patrimoine, 2006).

That parts of the papal palace in Avignon were given the same names as sites significant for papal ceremonial in Rome was not provoked by nostalgia so much as the absolute necessity to maintain the Roman character of the papacy. The argument that where the pope was, there was Rome ("ubi papa, ibi Roma") was simply not adequate when the faithful throughout western Christendom identified themselves as members of the Roman *and* Catholic (universal) Church led by the pope in Rome who was also bishop of that city.[41]

Because of the significance of Rome as papal city, although also in part provoked by the increasing insecurity of Avignon itself, in 1367 Urban V went back to Rome.[42] In her *Revelations* Bridget of Sweden (1303–73) has the Virgin instructing Urban V to reinforce the Catholic faith and build stability and peace by returning to Rome so that the Church might be renewed.[43] But despite his attempts to restore order, Urban V gave up and went back to Avignon in 1370 where, as St Bridget predicted, he died. Gregory XI then entered Rome in 1377, no doubt with the shrill voice of Catherine of Siena ringing in his ears. She had written to him regularly, reminding him of his duty to go back to Rome: "What sane person doesn't see that the holiest thing is for the lord of all the world to be seated on his proper throne?"[44] Bridget likewise had written that the pope was in danger of losing both his temporal and his spiritual authority unless he returned.[45] Both women had moved to Rome to wait for that to happen. Gregory XI died on

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[41] Margaret M. Harvey, "Unity and Diversity: Perceptions of the Papacy in the Later Middle Ages," in *Unity and Diversity in the Church*, ed. R.N. Swanson (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996), 164–6.

[42] See Petrarca, *Letters of Old Age*, 304–27: "To Pope Urban V, congratulations for having led the Church back to her See, and an exhortation to persevere" (*Rerum Senilium*, book 9, letter 1).

[43] Bridget Morris, *St Birgitta of Sweden*, Studies in Medieval Mysticism, vol. 1 (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1999), 117. Bridget went to Rome for the jubilee of 1350 and stayed there until her death in 1373, with the exception of a pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1372. Urban V confirmed the rule of Bridget's order in Rome in 1370, though only as a supplement to the Augustinian rule. See the useful biography of Bridget in Holloway, *Saint Bride and her Book*, 17.

[44] For example, Catherine of Siena to Gregory XI, August 1376. See *Letters*, vol. 2, 216.

[45] Saint Bridget of Sweden, *Revelaciones Sancta Birgitta*, Book 4, ed. Hans Aili (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1992), chpt. 143, 399: "Secundum habebit signum, quod nisi obedierit verbis meis et venerit in Ytaliam, non solum temporalia perdet sed eciam spiritualia et senciet tribulacionem cordis, quamdiu viuet." Arne Jönsson ed., *St. Bridget's Revelations to the Popes: An edition of the so-called "Tractatus de summis pontificibus"*, Studia Graeca et Latina Lundensia 6 (Lund: Lund University Press, 1997), no. 10, 57.

27 March 1378, the last pope to come from France. But it was to take another century to restore the papacy securely in Rome.

The histories of the popes

Attempting to write anything that approaches a general history of the papacy is a risky business. It is all too easy to fall into the trap of making value judgements of ecclesiastical abuses that say more about our own post-modern sceptical and secular age than about the late medieval and Renaissance papacy. But this is not a new problem.

Papal histories were particularly controversial in the nineteenth century—that period of great historians and great histories. The history of the papacy, and by association the cardinals, has long been dominated by the magisterial works of nineteenth-century Germanic scholars, most notably Leopold von Ranke, Ferdinand Gregorovius, and Ludwig von Pastor. The historical model upon which they relied for their approach and conclusions was predominantly Hegelian. Accordingly, these historians examined the papacy of the fifteenth century looking for signs of abuse or reform at the time that would lead directly to the Reformation north of the Alps in the sixteenth century. But the histories of Ranke, Gregorovius, and Pastor are just as revealing of the times in which they were written, something to which the histories of the Church are particularly vulnerable.

Both Gregorovius and Pastor followed in the footsteps of Ranke, whose *Roman Popes in the Last Four Centuries* was published 1834–6. Ranke's history was based on painstaking archival research—although his access to the Vatican was strictly limited—and as diplomatic, political, and economic aspects were revealed by documents in local archives, this was the approach he took and which still endures.[46] Not surprisingly, these German historians were particularly interested in the interstices between Italian and German history, and in particular the role of the Holy Roman Emperor. The other major feature of studies that follow the Rankian model is the unquestioning application of the Hegelian teleology, so that the Reformation becomes the inevitable fulfilment of the Renaissance papacy in the relentless march towards modernity, its instrument the German peoples.[47] The realignment of ecclesiastical and secular power was the result of the inevitable development of national identity and the rise of the nation state—and in particular the German state.[48] In his brief analysis of the fourteenth century, Ranke makes the popes and emperors characters in a Hegelian drama: "Possessed by no means within herself," the Church in schism (thesis) was challenged by the secular powers led by the emperor (antithesis) to move on to a "position of great splendour" that was nevertheless subtly and irreversibly altered (synthesis): "the old relations of things were no longer in force."[49]

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[46] See the introduction to Gianvittorio Signorotto and Maria Antonietta Visceglia, eds, *Court and Politics in Papal Rome 1492–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 1.

Similar forces are at work in the eight-volume *History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages* (1859–72) that Ferdinand Gregorovius started writing in 1856. It covers the years from 410 to 1527, a period established by the two sacks of Rome by the Germans under Alaric and Charles V.[50] Despite his lack of institutional affiliation, Gregorovius's work vividly displays the extent to which the Hegelian teleology dominated: these dates were important for German scholars writing with an innate sense of their own nation as the catalyst for the relentless forward progression of history.[51] The institutional apparatus of the Church is hardly allowed to progress, proof of the expectation of the Reformation. Instead, "in harmony with the spirit of the times," the Church becomes more secular and more princely and more profoundly corrupt.[52] That the history of Rome should be constructed in this way is hardly surprising because, like Ranke—whether consciously or not—as a Protestant, Gregorovius had to question the unbroken traditions represented by the popes and the universal authority of the Roman Catholic Church.[53] Gregorovius had little sympathy for the plight of the papacy in the 1870s, when Rome was wrested from its grasp to become the new capital of the nascent Italian state, famously describing Pius IX (1846–78) as the mummy in the Vatican.[54]

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[47] Georg G. Iggers, *The German Conception of History: The National Tradition of Historical Thought from Herder to the Present* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1968), 73: "The task of Germans is to create a genuinely German state which corresponds to the spirit of the nation." See also Jaroslav Pelikan, "Leopold von Ranke as Historian of the Reformation," in *Leopold von Ranke and the Shaping of the Historical Discipline*, ed. Georg G. Iggers and James M. Powell (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), 90.

[48] Leopold von Ranke, *The History of the Popes during the Last Four Centuries* (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1913), vol. 1, 33.

[49] Ranke, *History of the Popes*, vol. 1, 28–9.

[50] On Gregorovius and his history see Arnold Esch and Jens Petersen, eds, *Ferdinand Gregorovius und Italien. Eine kritische Würdigung* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1993); and David S. Chambers, "Ferdinand Gregorovius and Rome," *Renaissance Studies* 14 no. 4 (2000): 409–34.

[51] Hegelian teleology is evident, for example in the depiction of the fifteenth century as the end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of a new age, and of the German people being the catalyst for change and progression: "The accomplishment of the noblest ideas of man… as early as the fifteenth century… is visible as the budding germ of a new idea of culture, which took the place of the catholic idea of the Middle Ages." "As the Germans had formerly acquired the teaching of Christianity from the Latins, they now received the treasures of ancient culture, which they mastered so quickly and thoroughly as already to give evidence of their future power in the domain of learning." See Ferdinand Gregorovius, *The History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages*, vol. 7, *1421–1496,* trans. Annie Hamilton (New York: Italica Press, 2004; first published London, 1909), 2, 3. See also Ernst Schulin, "Universal History and National History, mainly in the Lectures of Leopold von Ranke," in *Leopold von Ranke*

Ludwig von Pastor set himself up as an "avenging angel" to correct the record of Ranke and Gregorovius and establish the truth about the history of the papacy.[55] Ranke's *History of the Popes* had been on the Index of Forbidden Books since 1841; Gregorovius's *History of the City* had been put on the Index in 1874, no doubt a rather petty reaction to the historian's collaboration with the new civic authority.[56] Furthermore, Ranke focused on the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, leaving out any detailed examination of the fifteenth century, a gap Pastor set out to fill by starting at the end of the fourteenth century. Pastor justified this starting point by arguing, albeit rather weakly, that "a thorough acquaintance with that period [the fifteenth century] is an essential preliminary to the comprehension of the sixteenth century," the period of the Reformation.[57]

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and the Shaping of the Historical Discipline, ed. Georg G. Iggers and James M. Powell (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), 79.

[52] Gregorovius, *History of the City of Rome*, vol. 7, 4, 177.

[53] Owen Chadwick, *From Bossuet to Newman: The Idea of Doctrinal Development* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987; first published 1957), xxii; Leopold von Ranke, *The Theory and Practice of History*, eds Georg G. Iggers and Konrad von Moltke (Indianapolis & New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1973), 166–7.

[54] Ferdinand Gregorovius, *The Roman Journals of Ferdinand Gregorovius 1854–1874*, ed. Friedrich Althaus and trans. Annie Hamilton (London: G. Bell, 1911), 437; Alberto Forni, *La questione di Roma medievale. Una polemica tra Gregorovius e Reumont*, Studi storici 150–1 (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 1985), 9; discussed in Chambers, "Ferdinand Gregorovius," 425–6.

[55] Chambers, "Ferdinand Gregorovius," 425, 433; Owen Chadwick, *Catholicism and History: The Opening of the Vatican Archives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 117–19.

[56] Hubert Wolf, Dominik Burkhard, and Ulrich Mühlack, *Rankes "Päpste" auf dem Index. Dogma und Historie im Widerstreit*, Römische Inquisition und Indexkongregation 3 (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2003). See also the review by Thomas A. Brady in *The Catholic Historical Review*, 90 no. 4 (2004): 805–7.

[57] Pastor, author's preface to *History of the Popes*, vol. 1, viii.

Pastor began his researches in 1879 at a time when the papacy was at its most reactionary, following 'modern' and nationalistic threats of the first half of the nineteenth century and the annexation of the Papal States in 1870.[58] Pastor entered the Vatican archives with the blessing of Leo XIII (1878–1903), and the first volume of his history appeared in print in 1886.[59] But despite the partisan context in which he was writing, the wealth of information that comprises the *History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages* means that Pastor's magisterial work remains the most useful source on the early modern papacy.

Pastor's is a safe approach: the story of the papacy is presented as a series of events which took place within a static framework of the Church as an unchanging institution. As Owen Chadwick put it, Pastor "had little sense of 'development', the key word in German historical minds. The Church was given, its hierarchy ordered."[60] To examine the history of the popes critically would have been unacceptable to the conservative 'ultramontane' ecclesiastical administration of the second half of the nineteenth century. On the effect of the humanist rediscovery of ancient texts, for example, Pastor saw the popes as benevolent parents who remain constant while supporting, and ultimately controlling, the growth of their wayward children: "as long as dogma was untouched, Nicholas V and his like-minded successors allowed the movement the most ample scope."[61]

The idea of progress or development as applied by nineteenth-century historians was a particularly problematic model for the Roman Catholic Church. As Owen Chadwick has so eloquently considered, in the seventeenth century the French theologian Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet (1627–1704) stated firmly that that there had never been, nor would there ever be, changes in dogmatic truth. But in the intervening period it was increasingly argued (ultimately by John Henry Newman in his *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*, 1845) that while the Church did not change because revelation was one and the same forever, its means of understanding and expressing itself did change: "there may be changes, but they are consolidations or adaptations; all is unequivocal and determinate, with an identity which there is no disputing."[62] Before Newman's ideas were generally accepted towards the end of the century, at its most basic level the idea that the papacy changed or altered course in response to external factors could therefore not be countenanced. To do so would have been to fall into the hands of the Protestant historians who sought to demonstrate that theirs was the true church which could claim continuity all the way back to the Church of the Apostles. Indeed, Ranke, in his introduction to *The History of the Popes*, declared that "the papal power was... not so unchangeable as is commonly supposed... its maxims, its objectives, and its pretensions have undergone essential changes [although] we perceive an impression of uninterrupted stability... we must not allow ourselves to be misled."[63] Each side in the debate sought to prove that the other represented a deviation from the true course.

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[58] On the papacy in this period see Owen Chadwick, *A History of the Popes 1830–1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 1–268.

[59] Chadwick, *Catholicism and History*, 122–3.

[60] Chadwick, *Catholicism and History*, 124.

[61] Pastor, *History of the Popes*, vol. 1, 56.

For Pastor, historical progress or development was therefore irrelevant in the ecclesiastical context, which is why the development of the institution of the papacy—and in the fifteenth century the relationship of the popes and cardinals—was not open to him for scrutiny. Pastor does not give any space to the fundamental events of the conciliar crisis which pitted the cardinals and the popes against one another. All that is reported in his narrative of events is the cardinals' straying from their right course. Thus, for example, Martin V had to regulate them to bring them back in line because "the schism had disorganised the Sacred College, and produced a baneful spirit of independence" in them.[64] The assumption is that the cardinals had been a particular institution and that they had to be returned to the same state they had been before. But what that state was is not considered by the nineteenth-century historians.

While Pastor, in the aggressively defensive context in which he was writing, could not criticize individual popes given the inherent risk of criticizing the papacy itself, the cardinals were a much easier target. Cardinal Rodrigo Borgia became something of a test of loyalty for nineteenth-century historians. On the one hand, Pastor reserved particular disapproval for the Spanish cardinal who, he demonstrates repeatedly, was an immoral and an unsuitable character.[65] On the other, Pastor explains that Borgia's election as Alexander VI was particularly suited to the needs of the time, while his moral character was hardly out of place in a period when standards were generally lower: Alexander VI, Pastor writes, "seemed to possess all the qualities of a distinguished temporal ruler."[66] This very human history of the popes only convinced Pastor even more of the unchallengeable nature of the institution itself. Two years after the publication of the volume on Alexander VI in 1895, Pastor defended his continued faith in the Church, despite the flaws he had uncovered in his *History of the Popes*: "Just because of the human weaknesses, which could not abolish Church and Papacy, I say the Church must be divine."[67] In contrast, while Gregorovius includes the same details of Alexander VI's pontificate, including his administrative abilities and popularity, he uses his discussion to make a barely veiled criticism of the papacy as a whole. For example, the conclave that elected the Borgia pope is used to reflect upon the effectiveness of conclaves in general: "even to the most pious believer in mysteries the appointment of such a man as representative of Christ... can scarcely appear an act of the Holy Ghost, who is supposed to influence quarrelsome and ambitious cardinals in conclave."[68]

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[62] John Henry Newman, *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine* (London: Longmans, 1909; first published 1845), 444; Chadwick, *Bossuet to Newman*, 139–84; Paul Misner, *Papacy and Development: Newman and the Primacy of the Pope* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1976), 67.

[63] Ranke, preface to *The History of the Popes*, in *Theory and Practice of History*, 145. Ranke's objectives were more philosophical and historical than religious or theological: he wanted to show that the papacy was another "portion of general history, of the overall development of the world." He did not study the papacy in itself but as a means of considering "the peculiar role of religion as a political force in history." See Iggers, introduction to Ranke, *Theory and Practice of History*, lvii–lviii; Pelikan, "Historian of the Reformation," 93.

[64] Pastor, *History of the Popes*, vol. 1, 263.

These nineteenth-century depictions of the papacy persisted until very recently. Walter Ullmann in 1972 characterized the papacy in the fifteenth century as an ineffective, marginalized, and provincial monarchy. Whereas before the exile in Avignon its power had come from its religious and intellectual status, afterwards it was marked by

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[65] Pastor, *History of the Popes*, vol. 2, 452–4; vol. 3, 277; vol. 5, 362–7.

[66] Pastor, *History of the Popes*, vol. 5, 386. On Alexander VI see, most recently, Volker Reinhardt, *Der unheimliche Papst: Alexander VI. Borgia 1431–1503*. (München: Beck, 2005); O. Capitani and M. Chiabò, eds, *La fortuna dei Borgia: atti del convegno (Bologna, 29–31 ottobre 2000)*, Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali, Comitato nazionale incontri di studio per il v centenario del pontificato di Alessandro VI (1492–1503) (Rome: Roma nel Rinascimento, 2005).

[67] Tagebücher 25 June 1897 in Ludwig von Pastor, *Tagebücher, Briefe, Erinnerungen*, ed. W. Wühr (Heidelberg, 1950); translated and quoted in Chadwick, *Catholicism and History*, 126.

[68] Gregorovius, *History of the City of Rome*, vol. 7, 324.

"confusion, religious inertia, ecclesiastical indifference, erosion of moral standards, uncertainty."[69]

Paradoxically, the ultimately spiritual and religious mission of the Church has meant that it has not received the serious consideration it deserves as a complex and highly sophisticated organization which in the fifteenth century had to come up with some bold innovations in response to external pressures, the sale of offices being the most obvious. This marriage of spiritual and temporal power in Rome is an age-old problem. The Florentine historian Francesco Guicciardini (1483–1540), in his *History of Italy*, described the papacy that returned to Rome from Avignon:

> ...no longer using their spiritual authority except as an instrument and minister of temporal power, they began to appear rather more like secular princes rather than popes. Their concern and endeavours began to be no longer the sanctity of life or the propagation of religion, no longer zeal and charity toward their neighbours, but armies and wars against Christians... they began to accumulate new treasures, to make new laws, to invent new tricks, new cunning devices in order to gather money from every side; for this purpose, to use their spiritual arms without respect; for this end, to shamelessly sell sacred and profane things.[70]

Guicciardini makes his attack on the papacy as an aside during his history of the critical period of the 1490s in the Italian peninsula when a number of city states lost their independence. In particular, as a Florentine writing about the precarious years of the Florentine republic (1492–1534), when the Medici had been ousted from the city and before they were re-established as Grand Dukes, Guicciardini could hardly fail to be critical of the popes: two of them, Leo X and Clement VIII, were Medici after all. He believed that they had done so much to damage the prospects of his city that he even admitted some sympathy for Martin Luther.[71]

Nepotism, the common practice of popes appointing their relatives as cardinals, lies behind many studies of popes and cardinals, and is used to account for a great deal of artistic patronage in Rome.[72] As

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[69] Walter Ullmann, *A Short History of the Papacy in the Middle Ages* (London: Methuen, 1972), 306. However, see also Ullmann, "The Papacy as an Institution of Government," 78–101, for his reservations about the treatment of papal history by scholars.

[70] Francesco Guicciardini, *The History of Italy*, trans. and ed. Sidney Alexander (New York and London: Macmillan, 1969), 149 (book 4, chapter 12).

[71] Guicciardini, *History of Italy*, 319–23.

[72] On nepotism in the early Renaissance see Sandro Carocci, *Il nepotismo nel Medioevo: papi, cardinali e famiglie nobili* (Rome: Viella, 1999); Daniel Philip Waley, *The Papal*

John D'Amico has pointed out, in fact important features of the Renaissance papacy, such as nepotism and venality (the sale of offices), are very early instances of administrative practices that were later widely adopted in other European administrations.[73] Wolfgang Reinhard, in his study of nepotism, emphasized the practical role of the *nipotes*, whether cardinals or other curial officials, both in the quick establishment of rule, the "controlling function" (*Herrschaftsfunktion*), and its subsequent maintenance, the "supporting function" (*Versorgungsfunktion*).[74] Certainly, in the fifteenth century, most of the popes used their families to establish themselves, the most infamous example being Alexander VI and his illegitimate children. But by the time of Julius II, the pope only required their supporting function and this aspect dominated thereafter.[75] Most of all, nepotism was the primary means by which families could use the papacy to improve their social status. In the fifteenth century, only Martin V's family, the Colonna, were already nobility. The rest were social climbers. Indeed, as will be seen below, and in particular for the patronage of papal funerary monuments in the fifteenth century, the cardinal-nephews were important for the construction of their papal-uncles' cultural and physical presence in Rome. Rather than a reprehensible and immoral act, it seems that in the fifteenth century

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State in the Thirteenth Century (London: Macmillan, 1961); Wolfgang Reinhard, "Der Funktionswandel einer papstgeschichtlichen Konstanten," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 86 (1975): 145–85. Clare Robertson's monograph on Cardinal Alessandro Farnese is one of the fullest explorations of the patronage of a cardinal-nephew before the end of the sixteenth century: *"Il Gran Cardinale": Alessandro Farnese, Patron of the Arts* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992). Reinhard refers to this (1538–1692) as the period of "institutionalized nepotism": Wolfgang Reinhard, "Papal Power and Family Strategy in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in *Princes, Patronage, and the Nobility: The Court at the Beginning of the Modern Age c. 1450–1650*, ed. Ronald G. Asch and Adolf M. Birke (London: German Historical Institute/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 330. See the review of Robertson by Thomas Willette in *The Journal of Modern History* 67 no. 2 (1995): 458–60. In the seventeenth century Reinhard (and now others) takes the Borghese as "a paradigm" of the papal dynasty which formalized nepotistic activity: Wolfgang Reinhard, *Papstfinanz und Nepotismus unter Paul V. (1605–1621): Studien und Quellen zur Struktur und zu quantitativen Aspekten des päpstlichen Herrschaftssystems* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1974).

[73] John F. D'Amico, review of McClung Hallman, *Church as Property, Renaissance and Reformation* 11 no. 3 (1987): 276; this same point regarding nepotism is made in Reinhard, "Papal Power and Family Strategy," 356.

[74] Reinhard, "Papal Power and Family Strategy," 331–2; Signorotto and Visceglia, *Court and Politics*, 4.

[75] Reinhard, "Papal Power and Family Strategy," 332–3.

the activities of cardinal-nephews could be used to distance popes from unseemly extravagance and personal commemoration.[76]

But as historians such as Paolo Prodi have made clear, such narrow judgements are inevitable if the papacy is seen as an exception and is studied in isolation from wider developments:

> The polemic has always been dominated by the Reformation and by the reply which the Church of Rome gave, anticipating or confined by events, to the urgent need for renewal. The insistence on abuses and on the war against abuses as a pivot of historical reasoning demonstrates a lack of historiographical vision and an interpretative split between civil and ecclesiastical history which has prevented a true understanding of the problem.[77]

But Prodi's own reconciliation of civil and ecclesiastical history has presented another, equally problematic model for the papacy. By stressing the territorial ambitions of the popes through the expansion and reinforcement of the Papal States, he aligns the history of the papacy with the history of the rise of the nation state in early modern Europe. As Anthony Wright points out, by demonstrating that in papal government, "religious priorities [were] . . . subordinated to the necessities of secular government," Prodi's argument becomes uncomfortably close to an important assumption for many Italian historians: the "political and economic consequences of the preservation of papal temporal government" ultimately led up to the unnecessarily painful birth of the Italian state with Rome as its capital in the nineteenth century.[78] The economic, temporal, monarchical, and even military pretensions of the papacy may be usefully studied, but they should not be used to characterize the papacy in its entirety. It is a much more complex and, ultimately, paradoxical institution.

The Longman series on the History of the Papacy has so far produced two excellent volumes, Anthony Wright's covering the period from the Council of Trent to the French Revolution and Frank Coppa on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Unfortunately, none of the volumes in the series covering the earlier period have appeared. Instead, one of the most interesting and successful recent general histories of the papacy is Bernhard Schimmelpfennig's, which allows the "history of the liturgy… equal footing with political, legal, constitutional, and dogmatic history."[79] For evidence of papal control over Rome in the fifteenth century, he is able to use both the history of the 'renovation' of St Peter's and changes in the enactment of the ceremonial of papal coronation and the *possesso*. The relationship of the pope and his court and their presence in Rome are made clear as visual and physical evidence is allowed to stand alongside text.

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[76] Reinhard, "Papal Power and Family Strategy," 342–3, who discusses the seventeenth-century cardinal-nephew as a means for a pope to maintain "public detachment."

[77] Paolo Prodi, *The Papal Prince—One Body and Two Souls: The Papal Monarchy in Early Modern Europe*, trans. S. Haskins (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 4; first published as *Il sovrano pontifice, un corpo e due anime: la monarchia papale nella prima età moderna* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1982).

[78] Anthony D. Wright, *The Early Modern Papacy, From the Council of Trent to the French Revolution, 1564–1789* (Hatlow: Longman, 2000), 4.

Rome—papal city

Ranke criticized Gregorovius for writing a history of the papacy instead of the history of the city of Rome he purported to write.[80] Although Gregorovius undeniably loved the city of Rome—the evocative silence of what was still, in the 1850s, a medieval city set against a backdrop of ancient ruins—he showed little interest in the city as a stage for ancient liturgical traditions and the continuity it represented with the earliest Christian communities in the West. Pastor turned the task around to write a history of the papacy, but he too says very little about Rome itself. The city is a silent and passive backdrop to the turbulent events of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Few historians include the fabric of the city among their sources. Alfred von Reumont, whose three-volume *History of the City of Rome* was published 1867–70, much to Gregorovius's chagrin—he dismissed Reumont's book as a compilation that depended on only a year of work in the archives—is a rare exception.[81] A Catholic diplomat based in Rome, Reumont sought to achieve a balance in the history of the local and universal significance of the city by focusing on the story of the popes and emperors from 476 to 1591. For him the city is a kind of lens through which the great events of the history of Christianity might be examined. No other city and church could be so closely connected with Saints Peter and Paul. Most of all, Reumont sought parallels and justification for the momentous events of the nineteenth century, finishing his study with an overview of the years from 1592 to 1846.[82] In this way he admits that his book concerned the nineteenth century as much as the period about which he was writing. Yet again, as much is revealed about the historian as about the city—his concerns with nationalism, secularism, the decline of the power of the papacy set against the increasing entrenchment characterized by the declaration of papal infallibility in 1870.

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[79] Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, *The Papacy*, trans. James Sievert (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), viii.

[80] Forni, *La questione di Roma medievale*, 57; Chambers, "Ferdinand Gregorovius," 420.

[81] Gregorovius, *Roman Journals*, 309; Forni, *La questione di Roma medievale*, 11–12.

In a preface to his recently reissued study of the mid- to late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century city, Charles Stinger regrets that little had been published on Rome in the last decade of the twentieth century.[83] In fact, a great deal has been published recently, in every language and ranging across every humanities discipline.[84] That the majority of publications on the Renaissance popes take the form of edited volumes and conference proceedings is suggestive of the range of perspectives necessary to approach their cultural, economic, and historical milieu.[85] At the same time, it is also revealing of the more fragmentary nature of modern historical scholarship. Few would attempt a larger history, while biographies of great men (in Anglo-Saxon, Whig histories) have fallen from fashion.

On the whole, since Pastor's *History of the Popes*, the papacy has been much better covered than the history of other aspects of Renaissance Rome, among them the cardinals. That said, the period of the schism between 1378 and 1417 and the coverage of each of the popes of the fifteenth century is decidedly patchy: the pontificates of Martin V,

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[82] Forni, *La questione di Roma medievale*, 15, 17.

[83] Charles L. Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985; new edition 1998), foreword to the new edition.

[84] Of recent monographs on Renaissance Rome the following are notable contributions: Ingrid D. Rowland, *The Culture of the High Renaissance: Ancients and Moderns in Sixteenth-Century Rome* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Hannes Roser, *St. Peter in Rom im 15. Jahrhundert. Studien zu Architektur und sculpturaler Ausstattung*, Römische Studien der Bibliotheca Hertziana, vol. 19 (München: Hirmer, 2005); Marcia B. Hall, ed., *Rome: Artistic Centers of the Renaissance* (New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Stefan Bauer, *The Censorship and Fortuna of Platina's "Lives of the Popes" in the Sixteenth Century* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006).

[85] On Martin V, for example, Maria Chiabò, Giusi D'Alessandro, Paola Piacentini, Concetta Ranieri et al., *Alle origini dell nuova Roma. Martin V (1417–1431): atti del convegno, Roma, 2–5 marzo 1992* (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 1992); on Pius II and Sixtus IV see notes 88 and 89 below.

Eugenius IV, and Calixtus III have hardly fired the enthusiasm of recent scholars.[86] Nicholas V still attracts the most attention, perpetuated by the existing wealth of primary and secondary sources, not least Giannozzo Manetti's contemporary biography of the pope.[87] Ruth Olitsky Rubinstein's outstanding dissertation on the Roman patronage of Pius II remains unpublished, although more has been published about the pope's contribution to Pienza, and the recent 600th anniversary of his birth in 1405 has been marked with a number of volumes of essays.[88] Even Sixtus IV is badly represented, with disparate studies on various aspects of his cultural activites.[89]

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[86] On Martin V see Partner, *Papal State under Martin V*, and for a summary of the debates of Martin V's tomb and full bibliography, Joachim Poeschke, "Still a Problem of Attribution: The Tomb Slab of Pope Martin V in San Giovanni in Laterano," in *Large Bronzes in the Renaissance*, ed. Peta Motture, Studies in the History of Art 64 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003), 57–71; Anna Maria Corbo, *Artisti ed artigiani in Roma al tempo di Martin V e di Eugenio IV* (Rome: De Luca, 1969). On Eugenius IV, Joseph Gill, *Eugenius IV: Pope of Christian Union* (Westminster: Newman Press, 1961); Joachim W. Stieber, *Pope Eugenius IV, the Council of Basel, and the Secular and Ecclesiastical Authorities in the Empire* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1978). On Calixtus III most recently, Susanne Schüller-Piroli, *Die Borgia Päpste Kalixt III. und Alexander VI* (Vienna: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1979). Calixtus III is usually considered alongside Alexander VI, his nephew.

[87] On Nicholas V see Torgil Magnuson, *Studies in Roman Quattrocento Architecture* (Stockholm: Almquist and Wiksell, 1958); Giannozzo Manetti, *De vita ac gestis Nicolai Quinti summi pontificis*, ed. Anna Modigliani (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 2005); Charles W. Westfall, *In this Most Perfect Paradise: Alberti, Nicholas V and the Invention of Conscious Urban Planning in Rome 1447–1455* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1974); Luigi Spezzaferro, "La politica urbanistica dei papi e le origini di via Giulia," in *Via Giulia: una utopia urbanistica del 500*, ed. Luigi Salerno, Luigi Spezzaferro, and Manfredo Tafuri (Rome: Staderini, 1973), 15–64; Charles Burroughs, *From Signs to Designs: Environmental Process and Reform in Early Renaissance Rome* (Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 1990). However, Manfredo Tafuri raises important questions about the significance of Manetti's account: see *Ricerca del Rinascimento: principi, città, architetti* (Turin: Einaudi, 1992), 37; English edition, *Interpreting the Renaissance: Princes, Cities, Architects* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006). This will be discussed as regards St Peter's in the third part of this book.

[88] Ruth Olitsky Rubinstein, "Pius II as Patron of Art with Special Reference to the History of the Vatican" (PhD thesis, Courtauld Institute, University of London, 1957): part of the thesis was published as "Pius II's Piazza S. Pietro and St. Andrew's Head," in *Enea Silvio Piccolomini Papa Pio II*, ed. Domenico Maffei (Siena: Accademia Senese degli Intronati, 1968), 221–44. Recent collections include Zweder von Martels and Arjo Vanderjagt, eds, *Pius II, "el piu expeditivo pontifice": Selected Studies on Aeneas Silius Piccolini (1405–1464)* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2003); Roberto Di Paola, ed., *Enea Silvio Piccolomini: arte, storia e cultura nell'Europa di Pio II* (Rome: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2006); Alessandro Angelini, ed., *Pio II e le arti: la riscoperta dell'antico da Federighi a Michelangelo* (Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 2005).

[89] Most recently Massimo Miglio, Francesca Niutta et al., eds, *Un pontificato ed una città: Sisto IV (1471–1484). atti del convegno, 3–7 dicembre 1984* (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 1986); Fabio Benzi, *Sisto IV, renovator urbis: architettura a Roma*

Renaissance cardinals have certainly not been ignored by scholars. There exist accessible lists and biographies of individuals, among them the *Vitae, et res gestae* (1677) of Alonso Chacon, Migne's *Dictionnaire du Cardinaux* (1857), and Eubel's *Hierarchia catholica*, but these remain as lists of those who occupied positions in an unchanging institution.[90] Many longer studies of individuals who were cardinals concentrate not on a breadth of cultural activity but on political and diplomatic activities, as in the case of Alfred Strnad's 300-page article on Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini.[91] Scarcity of evidence makes similar studies of cardinals in the first half of the fifteenth century impossible, unless they were renowned for their writings, as is the case with Nicholas of Cusa and Juan de Torquemada.[92] Rare biographies exist for Bessarion, Jean Jouffroy, Alessandro Oliva da Sassoferrato, and Ludovico Trevisan.[93] Other excellent cultural biographies, notably Meredith Gill's doctoral dissertation on Guillaume d'Estouteville, remain unpublished.[94]

The situation is improving gradually as scholars bring together evidence from a variety of places, every language, and a wide range of disciplines from liturgy to architectural history. Recent examples of

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1471–1484 (Rome: Officina, 1990); Fabio Benzi, ed., *Sisto IV: le arti a Roma nel primo Rinascimento* (Rome: Shakespeare and Company 2, 2000); Eunice D. Howe, *Art and Culture at the Sistine Court: Platina's "Life of Sixtus IV" and the Frescoes of the Hospital of Santo Spirito*, Studi e testi 422 (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2005); Ian Verstegen, ed., *Patronage and Dynasty: The Rise of the della Rovere in Renaissance Italy* (Kirksville: Truman State University Press, 2007).

[90] There is also now the growing website on cardinals by Salvador Miranda, "The Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church" (www.fiu.edu/~mirandas/cardinals.htm—as at September 2008), which collates these sources in an easily searchable form.

[91] Alfred A. Strnad, "Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini, Politik und Mäzenatentum in Quattrocento," *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* (1964–6): 101–425.

[92] The bibliographies for Nicholas of Cusa and Juan de Torquemada are huge. Excellent starting points in English are: Nicholas of Cusa, *Complete Philosophical and Theological Treaties of Nicholas of Cusa*, trans. Jasper Hopkins, 2 vols (Minneapolis: Arthur J. Banning Press, 2001); Christopher M. Bellitto, Thomas M. Izbicki, and Gerald Christianson, *Introducing Nicholas of Cusa: A Guide to a Renaissance Man* (New York: Paulist Press, 2002); Thomas M. Izbicki, *Protector of the Faith: Cardinal Johannes de Turrecremata and the Defense of the Institutional Church* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1981).

[93] Henri Vast, *Le Cardinal Bessarion (1403–1472): Étude sur la Chrétienté et la Renaissance vers le milieu du XV^{e} siècle* (Paris: Hachette, 1878); Claudia Märtl, *Kardinal Jean Jouffroy (1473): Leben und Werk* (Sigmarigen: Thorbecke, 1996); Gabriele Raponi, *Il cardinale agostiniano Alessandro Oliva da Sassoferrato: 1407–1463* (Rome, 1964); Pio Paschini, *Lodovico Cardinal Camerlengo († 1465)* (Rome: Facultas Theologica Pontificii Athenaei Lateranensis, 1939).

[94] Meredith J. Gill, "A French Maecenas in the Roman Quattrocento: The Patronage of Cardinal Guillaume d'Estouteville (1439–1483)" (PhD thesis, Princeton University, 1992).

cultural and art-historical studies of cardinals in the sixteenth century in English are Clare Robertson's book on Alessandro Farnese (*Il Gran Cardinale*) and Mary Hollingsworth's first volume on Ippolito d'Este.[95] Inventories or wills of a few cardinals have been examined to shed light on their activities as Renaissance patrons. Among them is the inventory of Paul II's medals at San Marco and the inventory and will of Francesco Gonzaga.[96] There are still many cardinals awaiting detailed examination, a rich resource for postgraduate dissertations and weighty tomes for years to come.

Certainly few today would attempt anything as ambitious as Richard Krautheimer's *Rome: Profile of a City, 312–1308*, based on the painstaking research carried out by his team for the five-volume *Corpus Basilicarum Christianorum*.[97] Krautheimer stops at the beginning of the fourteenth century when the popes left Rome for Avignon. His other book on the city covers Alexander VII (1655–67), perhaps wisely missing out the intervening and undoubtedly messy years of the schism, conciliar crisis, Protestant Reformation, and Council of Trent.[98] The subject of Renaissance Rome demands an interdisciplinary approach that combines literature, archaeology, art history, theology and liturgy with history, a considerable challenge for any scholar.

One of the great contributions of twentieth-century scholars has been the rediscovery and publication of papal liturgies from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, leading on to the diaries of the masters of ceremonies at the beginning of the sixteenth. Recent works, notably Sible de Blaauw's landmark study *Cultus et Decor* (1994), build on this liturgical and archaeological evidence to show how the major basilicas were actually used and how they developed in response to the changing needs of the Roman ecclesiastical communities between the fourth and the fourteenth centuries.[99] As a result religious Rome is being gradually put on a par with political and partisan Rome. We have come a long way from Edward Gibbon's assimilation of religion with barbarism as the two forces that combined to overcome ancient civilization. Ancient and classical Rome and Christian Rome are no longer mutually exclusive but part of the same continuum.[100]

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[95] Robertson, *"Il Gran Cardinale"*; Mary Hollingsworth, *The Cardinal's Hat: Money, Ambition, and Housekeeping in a Renaissance Court* (London: Profile Books, 2004).

[96] Xavier F. Salomon, "Cardinal Pietro Barbo's Collection and its Inventory Reconsidered," *Journal of the History of Collections* 15 (2003): 1–18; David S. Chambers, *A Renaissance Cardinal and his Worldly Goods: The Will and Inventory of Francesco Gonzaga (1444–1483)* (London: Warburg Institute Surveys and Texts, vol. 20, 1992).

[97] Richard Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City, 312–1308* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980); Richard Krautheimer, Wolfgang Frankl, Spencer Corbett, and Alfred K. Frazer, *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae*, 5 vols (Vatican City: Istituto di archeologia cristiana, 1937–80).

[98] Richard Krautheimer, *The Rome of Alexander VII, 1655–1667* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985).

Losses

By far the greatest obstacle to studying Rome in the fifteenth century is the depletion of primary source material and the physical evidence that once existed in the papal city from the fifteenth century. Sigmund Freud's famous use of Rome as a metaphor for the human psyche—the city in which "all the earlier phases of development continue to exist alongside the latest one"—is particularly apt in this context.[101] Although Freud dismisses his own thought experiment as "an idle game," the idea that every edifice that ever existed in the city was not destroyed but continues to exist is a vivid and thought-provoking one. So, for example, Freud asks his reader to imagine that the church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva continues to share the same space as the ancient temple over which it was built. While "the same space cannot have two different contents," in Rome, one building very often incorporates or even rests upon another.

Despite the losses, the city which was repeatedly destroyed and rebuilt carries with it a past that dictates its future. This is one of the greatest challenges for the historian of Renaissance Rome: the layers of six centuries have to be peeled back carefully to reveal what remains of the period. It is worth entering a note of caution here: even when physical evidence does survive in Rome, it has all too often been subject to recontextualization in a number of periods, the nineteenth century being only one of them.[102] The layers of Rome are not simply laid one on top of the other like geographical strata; one period often cuts through its predecessors and shapes its successors.[103]

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[99] Sible de Blaauw, *Cultus et decor: liturgia e architettura nella Roma tardoantica e medievale*, Studi e testi 355–6 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1994); see also the review by Julian Gardner in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 55 no. 4 (1996): 482–4.

[100] Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (first published 1776–88), 6 volumes (London: Routledge, 1997); Peter Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003; first published 1996), 6.

[101] Sigmund Freud, *Civilization and its Discontents*, trans. James Strachey (New York: Norton, 1961), 17–18. See also Michael Ann Holly, "Spirits and Ghosts in the Historiography of Art," in *The Subjects of Art History: Historical Objects in Contemporary Perspectives*, ed. Mark A. Cheetham, 52–71. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 52.

Subsequent ideological shifts, most prominently the enactment of the Tridentine decrees, in addition to the continuous redevelopment of the city from the late fifteenth century mean that much of the visual evidence for the period has been lost, moved, or altered. The streamlining and consolidation that marked the Counter-Reformation deliberately destroyed a great deal of what fifteenth-century art in Rome represented, namely individual endeavour and spirituality contributed to communal spaces. Those that survive are often hidden from view: because many ecclesiastical institutions continue to function in Rome, not everything that was made is readily accessible to the museum-going public or hungry academic. The frescoes commissioned from Antoniazzo Romano for Angelo and Domenico Capranica in the Collegio Capranica remain in the same building, which continues the same role as a seminary. The most obvious remnants of papal and cardinalatial patronage from the first half of the fifteenth century are the tomb monuments, but as will be discussed in part 3 of this book, few of these have been left undisturbed. On a larger scale, Rodrigo Borgia's palace, the Cancelleria Vecchia, remains in part encased in the Palazzo Sforza Cesarini on Corso Vittorio Emanuele, only visible to those who know which gate to enter (Figure 3); Ludovico Trevisan's palace at San Lorenzo in Damaso was replaced along with the venerable basilica itself by Raffaele Riario's Cancelleria; and Francesco Piccolomini's Palazzo Siena totally disappeared under the church of Sant'Andrea della Valle and the attached Theatine convent, which inherited the site in the late sixteenth century. These were calculated replacements.

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[102] One 'infamous' character in the reinterpretation and representation of Rome in the nineteenth century is Count Vergilio Vespignani, Italy's Viollet-le-Duc. As Pius IX's favoured architect, Vespignani was responsible for a number of reworkings of Rome's ancient monuments, among them Santa Maria Maggiore, Santa Maria in Trastevere, and the Lateran basilica. See Simonetta Ciranna, "Virginio Vespignani architetto restauratore," in *La cultura del restauro*, ed. Stella Casiello (Venice: Marsilio, 1996), 49–71; Clementina Barucci, *Virginio Vespignani: architetto tra Stato Pontificio e Regno d'Italia* (Rome: Argos, 2006).

[103] The most obvious analogy here is archaeological stratigraphy in which cuts and fills are as important as horizontal layers. Edward Cecil Harris, *Principles of Archaeological Stratigraphy* (London & New York: Academic Press, 1979) is a classic text on this subject.

The church of Santi Sergio e Bacco in the Forum, which had been restored by Innocent III (1198–1216) before he became pope and was continually assigned to cardinals and embellished by them from the 1480s, was demolished in the 1530s (Figure 4).[104] The Sack of Rome in 1527 stripped the city of its smaller and weaker fifteenth-century remnants, the smaller houses of cardinals, and anything that was not pinned down inside their churches. Largest of all losses, Constantine's St Peter's, perhaps the most important monument to the shifts in the relationship of the papal court with Rome in the fifteenth century, was demolished less than a generation later with its 1,200 years of imperial, royal, and papal gifts: it contained a large number of fifteenth-century monuments, testimony to the renewed vigour of papal and cardinalatial patronage. Throughout this book, churches will be included that were casualties of uncompromising sixteenth- and seventeenth-century determination. A few will be reconstructed.

It is a similar story for the archival evidence for the reconstruction of fifteenth-century Rome. The history of the Vatican archive, as told by Owen Chadwick, gives a vivid sense of the problems.[105] The "family nature of papal government," as Chadwick puts it, meant that until the seventeenth century documents relating to the popes and cardinals were often treated as private family matters and kept or destroyed accordingly.[106] Cardinals' papers have an even more haphazard survival rate. Sometime before 1431 papal registers were moved back to Rome from Avignon, first to Santa Maria sopra Minerva, and then to the Colonna palace. The papal library was not established until the papacy of Nicholas V, but it was left to Sixtus IV in 1475 to have a unique space set aside for it. Particularly important documents were stored at Castel Sant'Angelo. A great deal was then lost in the Sack of Rome in 1527. In 1612 an archive separate from the library was set up at the Vatican. Changes to the administration in the sixteenth century had in the meantime altered the kinds of records made and the form

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[104] On the church of Santi Sergio e Baccho see Roberto Cobianchi, "Gabriele Rangone (d. 1486): The First Observant Franciscan Cardinal and his Chapel in Santa Maria in Aracoeli, Rome," in *The Possessions of a Cardinal: Politics, Piety and Art 1450–1700*, ed. Mary Hollingsworth and Carol M. Richardson (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, forthcoming).

[105] There is also a useful outline of the Vatican archives, the history of its establishment, organization, and the fate of some of its material in Francis X. Blouin, ed., *Vatican Archives: An Inventory and Guide to Historical Documents of the Holy See* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), xviii–xxii.

[106] Chadwick, *Catholicism and History*, 10.

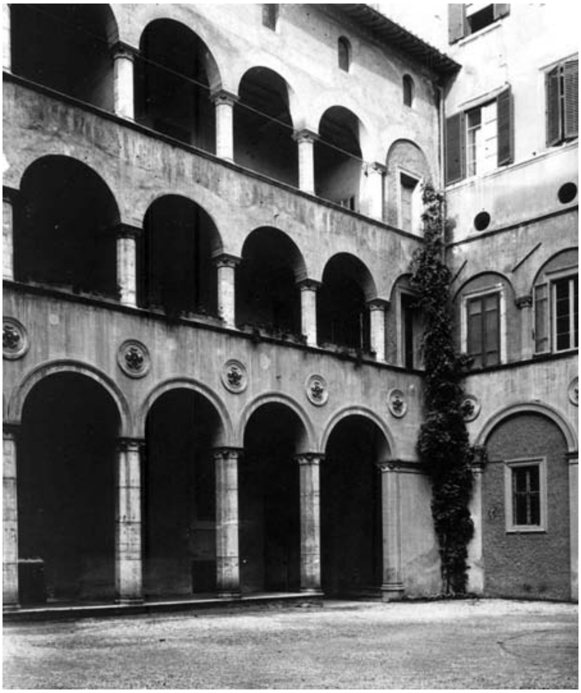

Figure 3 Remains of the Borgia palace, incorporated in the Palazzo Sforza Cesarini. Biblioteca Hertziana—Max-Planc-Institut für Kunstgeschichte, Rom. Neg. no. U.Pl.C 443.

they took. Many of the state papers would have been marshalled by the pope's closest assistants, often the cardinal-nephews, and so these became part of family papers, not papal ones.

Fifteenth-century records are usually chance survivals before there was any consistent archive policy, and if they ever existed, they were victims of the Sack of Rome and then Napoleon, who took over Rome in the 1790s. In 1809 Napoleon instructed his general to begin transporting the Vatican archive to Paris, where it would join the rest of the historical documents and art works of Europe in a museum fit for the capital of his new French empire. In the course of the next four years some 3,239 chests were transported to France. Most arrived, despite the odd loss to ditches and floods—eight chests were lost to a ditch near Susa and two cartloads to a flood at Borgo San Donnino.[107] But while

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[107] Chadwick, *Catholicism and History*, 14–15.

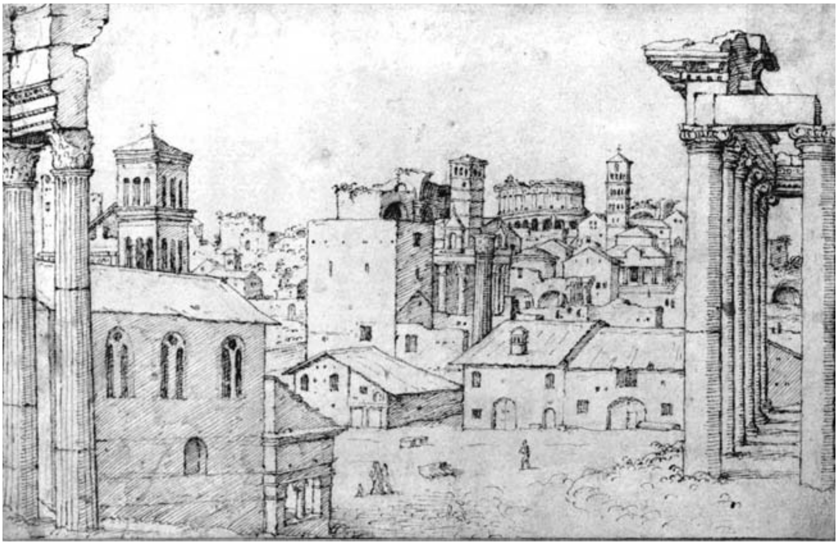

Figure 4 Marten van Heemskerk, Forum with Santi Sergio e Baccho, pen and wash on paper. Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art. © The Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth. Reproduced by permission of the Chatsworth Settlement Trustees.

they cost 600,000 francs to move in the first place, when Napoleon was defeated in March 1814 only 60,000 francs were made available to move them back to Rome again. Papers were burnt to reduce the loads to be returned, and the papal agent in Paris even started selling paper by weight. The various Vatican congregations were contacted and asked to specify "what material formerly in their custody might be abandoned in Paris and, presumably, destroyed."[108] Only 2,200 chests returned. Nevertheless, this brief outing to Paris also allowed access to the papers of the Vatican archive for the first time. To this day, the resources of the Vatican archive and library continue to be made more easily accessible to scholars, through extensive recataloguing, digitization, and publication. It is a long process that will continue for many years to come.

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[108] John Tedeschi, "A 'Queer Story': The Inquisitorial Manuscipts," in *Treasures of the Library, Trinity College Dublin*, ed. Peter Fox (Dublin: Library of Trinity College/Royal Irish Academy, 1986), 67.

This book is concerned with the debate over what a cardinal was in the fifteenth century, and how the role had been defined in theory and in practice by the second half of the fifteenth century. Why, on the one hand, should Giuliano Cesarini, Cardinal of Florence, declare the cardinals to be the pope's equals who inherited their position from the Apostles, while, on the other, they were accused of being parasites and opportunists. The reason was that the very control of western Christendom was at stake.

The three main themes of the book are represented by its parts: part 1 explores the problem of the cardinals and their relationship with the papacy and with Rome; the balance of practical necessity and symbolism that lay behind their reclamation of the city is the subject of part 2; and part 3 examines the dependency and interrelationship of their patronage with that of the popes, as witnessed through the tomb monuments they commissioned.

The secular power of the papacy was undermined by the exile in Avignon and the consequent schism. The separation from Rome opened the way to damaging questions about even the religious supremacy of the papacy. The popes returned to the city desperate for the justification it lent them. But they were individuals and they reigned for short periods of time—five to ten years on average. For the quick and effective establishment of their power they depended on the influence of the cardinals, their delegates and co-judges. Papal presence in the city of Rome in the fifteenth century was more effective when it was amplified by the activities of the cardinals. But first, their role in the exile in Avignon and the Great Schism had to be resolved which is the subject of the first chapter.

PART ONE

CARDINALS AND POPES

CHAPTER ONE

THE CRISIS OF THE COUNCILS

The popes that emerged from the crises of the exile in Avignon, the schism, and the conciliar debate had, of necessity, a clearer sense of the roots of their authority in Rome. The councils of the first half of the fifteenth century—Pisa, Constance, Basel, Ferrara/Florence—were convened to tackle the major issues of church unity and ecclesiastical reform. These were set against a backdrop of heresy (notably the Lollards and Hussites) and challenges to papal authority by secular rulers. A major obstacle to any change was the problematic relationship of the pope and the cardinals. In the end the papacy was forced to strengthen the foundations of its jurisdiction. For the purposes of this book, two areas have particular significance: first, the importance of the city of Rome for papal identity and, second, the relationship of the cardinals with the pope as universal authority. How these important issues surfaced at the councils is the subject of this chapter, while the resolution of the status of the cardinals and their relationship with the pope will be considered in the next.

Pisa

Increasingly edgy, in 1408 the cardinals summoned a council to sort out the problem of the two popes—by then Gregory XII (1406–15) in Rome and Benedict XIII (1394–1417) in Avignon. The two rival popes had originally seemed to accept the idea that the schism should be resolved through some kind of formal meeting, but both then reneged. In 1403 the French cardinals had abandoned Benedict XIII. Then, in June 1408 the cardinals of Gregory XII deserted him, to join six of the nine cardinals of Benedict XIII at Pisa.

The fact that the cardinals could call a council at all relied on the intervening thirty years of schism since 1378. According to conciliar theory, which had gained momentum in that period, it was argued that ecclesiastical power ultimately resided in a council of faithful (*congregatio* *fidelium*) which delegated power to the pope.[1] A council was therefore the only way to restore the unity of the Church. But there was a fundamental problem in cardinals—and not a pope—summoning a church council, as happened in 1408 at Pisa.

Pierre d'Ailly, Bishop of Cambrai and an influential theologian and philosopher, wrote to the cardinals waiting in Pisa in January 1409. His letter, *Propositiones utiles*, encouraged them to stand firm as their action in calling a council was the only way to end the schism, "because in a case of necessity so great, all the faithful, and especially the greater and more powerful ones, should hasten to the aid of the Church, and attack the more quickly evils which are so evident."[2] D'Ailly summarizes the arguments for the cardinals' extraordinary actions with what Francis Oakley describes as "clarity and comprehensiveness."[3]

> Although the Pope, inasmuch as he is the Vicar of Christ, can, in a certain way, be said to be the head of the Church, nevertheless the unity of the Church does not necessarily depend upon—or originate from—the unity of the Pope... From Christ, the head, his mystical body which is the Church, originally and immediately has its power and authority, so that in order to conserve its own unity, it rightly has the power of assembling itself or a general council representing it.

D'Ailly goes on to point out that, in the early Church, councils were called not by the Apostle Peter specifically but by "common consent." The Council of Jerusalem (*c.* 50 CE), for example, was convened by the Apostle James, who was bishop of that city.[4] As Cardinal Uguccione indicated more practically when he was trying to get the support of the English for the council, the cardinals had been forced to take the unusual action of calling a council to resolve the impasse between the two popes. They did not mean "to disturb the unity of the Church, but to restore it." In any case, Uguccione did not see "why we insist that the pope should summon that assembly, since it is impossible for him to do this because those of the other obedience will not come to his summons."[5]

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[1] Chief proponents of the conciliar theory included Pierre d'Ailly (1351–1420; cardinal from 1411), Dietrich of Niem (*c.* 1345–1418), Jean Gerson (1363–1429), and Francesco Zabarella (1360–1417; cardinal from 1411). See Brian Tierney, *Foundations of the Conciliar Theory: The Contribution of the Medieval Canonists from Gratian to the Great Schism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955).

[2] The text of the *Propositiones utiles* is translated in Francis Oakley, "The *Propositiones Utiles* of Pierre d'Ailly: An Epitome of Conciliar Theory," *Church History* 29 (1960): 398–403. See also Christopher Michael Dennis Crowder, *Unity, Heresy and Reform, 1378–1460: The Conciliar Response to the Great Schism* (London: Edward Arnold, 1977), 52–4.

[3] Oakley, *"Propositiones Utiles,"* 399.

[4] Galatians 2:2–10.

According to canon law, no one other than the pope could call a council—not even the cardinals. But the schism had opened up questions about where exactly the locus of power resided in the Church.[6] The justification for holding a council to resolve the schism without a papal summons was based on the principle that the Roman Church, which had the pope as the successor of Peter at its head, was distinct from the Catholic or universal Church, which had Christ at its head. This separation of church and papacy was profoundly damaging to the central position and universal authority of Rome. Jaroslav Pelikan presents the issue as the defining one for the period up to the middle of the fifteenth century: while "the universal [Catholic] church could not err and could not fall…the particular Roman church—to which it was customary to refer as 'the apostolic church'—was only part of the universal."[7]

The specific problem went back to the 1302 bull of Boniface VIII, *Unam Sanctam*, which begins with the important words of the Nicene Creed: "We are obliged to believe and hold one, holy, catholic, and indeed apostolic church." By this Boniface VIII meant that the Church had at its head "the Roman Pontiff [to whom] every human creature must be subject to be saved."[8] The impact of the debate was felt beyond the ecclesiastical hierarchy: when John Hus, the Czech preacher, referred back to *Unam Sanctam* at the start of his 1413 treatise *The Church*, he deliberately missed out "one" and "apostolic" to declare that "Every pilgrim ought faithfully to believe the holy, catholic church," removing any recourse to papal authority from the salvation equation.[9] Hus's aim was to promote the idea that individuals were predestined to be saved and did not need the Church. (He was executed in 1415 after being condemned as a heretic at the Council of Constance.)[10] The councils certainly did not intend to go as far as the Hussites, and set out not to remove the ecclesiastical hierarchy but to demonstrate that the popes in Rome were only a part of, not the determining factor in, the universal Church.

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[5] Thomas Walsingham, *The St Albans Chronicle, 1406–20*, from Bodley MS 462, ed. V.H. Galbraith (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937), 148–52; in Crowder, *Unity, Heresy and Reform*, 48–50.

[6] Oakley, *"Propositiones Utiles."*

[7] Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine.* Vol. 1 *Reformation of Church and Dogma (1300–1700)* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 117. Chapter 2, "One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic?" (69–126), considers the issues in detail, and what follows here relies on Pelikan's detailed exegesis of contemporary texts.

[8] Boniface VIII, *Unam Sanctam*, translated in Pelikan, *Reformation of Church and Dogma*, 69. See also Frantisek Graus, "The Crisis of the Middle Ages and the Hussites," in *The Reformation in Medieval Perspective*, ed. Steven E. Ozment (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1971), 76–103.

As Pelikan contends, "The schism had undermined certainty about the credentials of the Roman pontiff."[11] The significance of the long attachment of the popes to Rome was attacked on all fronts. The arguments against the primacy of the Bishop of Rome went as follows: it was only a historical accident that Peter had moved from Antioch to Rome; while Rome was the predecessor or originator of the Church and it had special significance, it could not claim universal jurisdiction. But for the sake of the continuation of the papacy, "Rome," "catholic," and "apostolic" had to be reconciled both in theory and in practice. At Pisa, the cardinals still clung onto the belief that only they could resolve the problems themselves without external intervention. They were successors of the Apostles, and because they elected the pope, the papal *imperium* was possessed by them as a group. And the schism had demonstrated that they believed that they could depose as much as elect popes.

At Constance and Basel the reform of the Church and control of the papacy by the powers of western Christendom were the main features. The cardinals learnt to their cost that they were wiser to side with the pope than with the secular powers. The primacy of Rome was to be a particular issue at the Council of Ferrara/Florence (1438–45).

The first council, at Pisa, convened on 25 March 1409. It began by deposing the two existing popes to clear the way for the election of a single pontiff. Gregory XII and Benedict XIII were declared:

> notorious schismatics, persistent nourishers, defenders, approvers, supporters and maintainers of schism over a long time, as well as notorious heretics and wanderers from the faith, entangled in notorious and extraor-

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[9] Samuel Harrison Thomson, ed., *Magistri Johannis Hus Tractatus de Ecclesia* (Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons, 1956), 1; in Pelikan, *Reformation of Church and Dogma*, 69.

[10] See Crowder, *Unity, Heresy and Reform*, 87–103, for Hus's examination at the Council of Constance (7 June 1415), his execution (6 July 1415), and letters written by him in June 1415 between his condemnation and death.

[11] Pelikan, *Reformation of Church and Dogma*, 111.

> dinary offences of perjury and breaking their oath, notoriously scandalizing the universal, holy Church of God, and notoriously and manifestly giving evidence of being incorrigible, contumacious and impenitent.[12]

But the motives of the cardinals, particularly the French, were suspected by the diocesan clergy and secular powers. It was therefore agreed that envoys should be sent out to reassure the nations that the cardinals at Pisa only wanted "peace, unity and serenity of the Universal church and of the consciences of the faithful, and security for the election."[13] On 26 June 1409, Peter of Candia was elected by the assembled cardinals, taking the name Alexander V. However, because Gregory XII and Benedict XIII refused to accept the council and its actions, the result was not a resolution of the schism but a third pope to add to the problems. Alexander V devoted his brief papacy to the reform he had been delegated to undertake by the Council of Pisa. Before he was even crowned, he started with the reorganization of the cardinals he inherited from the Rome and Avignon obediences.[14]

By electing a third pope, the cardinals enacted their belief that, as the pope's electors and council, their control was sufficient to depose as well as elect. It was to be the last expression of the influence they had gained during the Avignon years.

Constance

The Council of Constance began at the end of 1414, "for the peace and exaltation of the Church and the reconciliation of Christians."[15] John XXIII, Alexander V's successor who had been ousted from Rome when it was invaded by King Ladislaus of Naples in June 1413, recognized that another council was unavoidable. John XXIII's compliance thus lent the council papal authority, although no doubt he hoped that in this way he would also be able to control it (Figure 5).[16] The instability of Italy meant that the council had to be held beyond the Italian peninsula. Constance, the seat of one of the largest dioceses in Germany, was chosen; there Sigismund, the Holy Roman Emperor (d. 1437), had more chance of controlling it as it was close to his own territories. As Holy Roman Emperor, Sigismund had an interest in securing peace and enforcing orthodoxy as his empire was threatened by heresy and was being harried at its eastern edge by the Ottoman Turks.

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[12] *Acta* of the Council of Pisa, in Giovanni Domenico Mansi ed., *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* (Florence, Venice, Paris: Arnhem & Leipzig, 1759–1962), vol. 26, cols 1226–8; translated in Crowder, *Unity, Heresy and Reform*, 61.

[13] Mansi, *Amplissima Collectio*, vol. 27, col. 405; in Crowder, *Unity, Heresy and Reform*, 64.

[14] On Alexander V see Hélène Millet, "Alessandro V," in Levillain, *Dizionario storico del papato*, 30–1, and on his changes to the College of Cardinals, see chapter 2 below.

[15] Quote from John XXIII bull of convocation, in John Hine Munday and Kennerly M. Woody, *The Council of Constance: The Unification of the Church*, trans. Louise Ropes Loomis (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1961), 76.

[16] Pastor, *History of the Popes*, vol. 1, 194–5.

Despite the hopes of John XXIII, the Council of Constance was convened on the basis that it had supremacy over even the papacy because it was the popes who had destroyed the unity of the Church. In his sermon "Ambulate," delivered at the council on 23 March 1415, Jean Gerson, theologian and chancellor of the University of Paris, declared that although the Church could not be separated from Christ, the relationship of the Church and the pope was different: "the Church is not so bound by the bond of marriage to the vicar [the pope] of

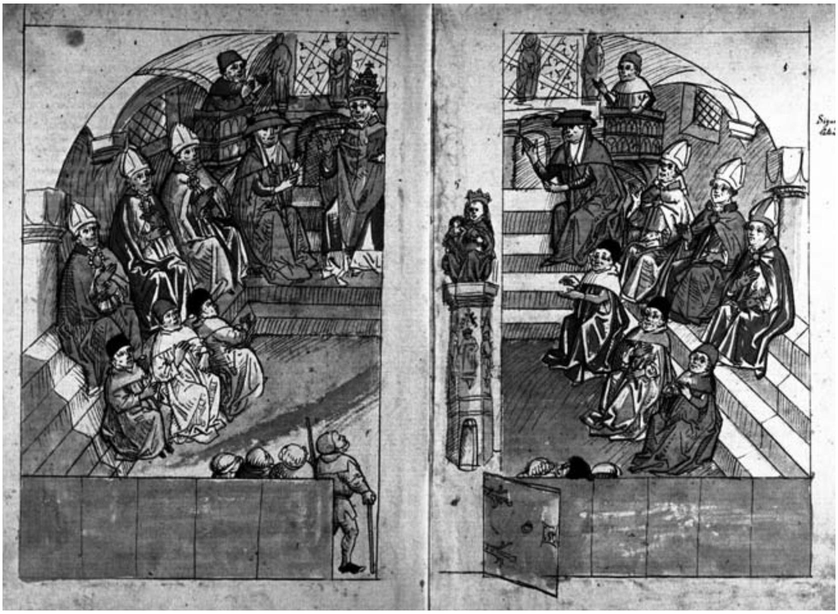

Figure 5 Delegates, bishops, and cardinals debating with Pope John XXIII in Constance Cathedral, from Ulrich Richental, *Chronicle of the Council of Constance* (1460–5), 39 × 29 cm. Constance, Rosgartenmuseum.

her indefectible bridegroom [Christ] that they are unable to agree on a dissolution of the tie and give a bill of divorce."[17]

By supporting, and indeed setting up, the councils, the cardinals also opened the possibility of their own position being dismantled. In the early decree *Haec Sancta* (6 April 1415), the council declared that it alone represented "the catholic Church militant, it holds power directly from Christ; and that everyone of whatever estate of dignity he be, even papal, is obliged to obey it."[18] *Haec Sancta* was the lowest ebb for the cardinals as it made them subject to both the pope and the council, each of which was to be controlled by the secular powers. The cardinals were vilified as "devils in human form," as it was they who were blamed for creating the problem of schism in the first place and then making it worse at Pisa because they had failed to assert their choice of a third pope over the other two.[19] Honoré Bonet, prior of Salon, in his list of items for debate at the Council of Constance, had even suggested that the next pope should not be one of them:

> Should one of the cardinals be elected [pope]? They all belong to the three partisan factions, and each can be expected to be more worthless than his former master and a user of that master's methods, for to all the world is manifest their justice, charity, justice, truth, benignity, generosity, and cupidity.[20]

In the end, the outcome of the council confirmed that their position in the ecclesiastical hierarchy depended entirely on that of the pope. If the pope was no longer supreme and unquestionable leader of western Christendom—no longer the only person who could summon a council of the Church—then where did the cardinals fit in the ecclesiastical hierarchy?

Despite the emphasis on peace, the antagonism between the different nations of western Christendom and those representing one or other of the three popes was barely disguised. In this hostile atmosphere the cardinals of the three colleges, most of whom attended the council, tried to act as a single college, although formally they had to vote with the nations to which they belonged. While on one side the cardinals argued that their college should be left intact to monitor and correct a pope's behaviour, on the other the national representatives sought to ensure themselves permanent access to and control of the papacy. The cardinals were in their way. Although still a group apart, they became only one of several factions at the Council of Constance.

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[17] John Gerson, sermon "Ambulate" (23 March 1415), in *Opera omnia* (Antwerp, 1706), vol. 2, 201–6; translated in Crowder, *Unity, Heresy and Reform*, 81.

[18] *Haec Sancta*, in Mansi, *Amplissima Collectio*, vol. 27, cols 590–1; translated in Crowder, *Unity, Heresy and Reform*, 83.

[19] Pastor, *History of the Popes*, vol. 1, 129–30.

[20] Translated in Daniel Williman, "The Right of Spoil of the Popes of Avignon 1316–1415," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 78, part 6 (1988): 37, from Heinrich Finke, *Acta Concilii Constanciensis*, vol. 2, *Konzilstagebücher, Sermones, Reform- und Verfassungsakten. Herausgegeben* (Münster, 1923), 580–92.

The canon lawyer Francesco Zabarella (1360–1417), who had attended the Council of Pisa and had been made one of John XXIII's cardinals in 1411, offered a compromise in his treatise *De jurisdictione imperiali* (1408), whereby the cardinals could operate as an executive body, delegated by the council to work with the pope. They would monitor his activities and confirm his decisions as the chief representative of the Church—but not as its embodiment.[21] The Church, incarnate in the General Council rather than in the sole person of the pope, could thus maintain its activities through the cardinals even if it were not in session.[22] Zabarella's proposition would have formalized the position the cardinals had taken at Pisa, but at Constance the German party in particular sought to reduce their influence—and therefore also the papal *imperium* that they embodied in times of *sede vacante*—by removing from them the unique right of electing the pope that they had held for 250 years.

Guillaume Fillastre, another of John XXIII's cardinals since 1411 and a member of the French nation at Constance, noted the hostile atmosphere in his vivid diary. It was being argued that:

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[21] The bibliography on Zabarella is extensive. See, for example, Walter Ullmann, "Cardinal Zabarella and his Position in the Conciliar Movement," in *The Origins of the Great Schism: A Study in Fourteenth-Century Ecclesiastical History* (London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne, 1948), 191–231; Thomas E. Morrissey, "The Decree 'Haec Sancta' and Cardinal Zabarella: His Role in its Formulation and Interpretation," *Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum* 10 (1978): 145–76; "Emperor-elect Sigismund, Cardinal Zabarella and the Council of Constance," *Catholic Historical Review* 69 (1983): 353–70; "The Call for Unity at the Council of Constance: Sermons and Addresses of Cardinal Zabarella, 1415–1417," *Church History* 53 (1984): 307–18; "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; "The Crisis of Authority at the End of the Fourteenth Century: A Canonist's Response," *Mediaevalia* 9 (1983, published 1986): 251–67; Friedrich Merzbacher, "Die ekklesiologische Konzeption des Kardinals Francesco Zabarella (1360–1477)," in *Recht, Staat, Kirche: ausgewählte Aufsätze* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1989), 341–53.

[22] Pastor, *History of the Popes*, vol. 1, 187; Ullmann, *Origins of the Great Schism*, 193ff; Tierney, *Foundations of the Conciliar Theory*, 220 and chapter 4.

> many kinds of evil had been perpetrated in the Roman Curia during the past hundred years, of which the cardinals were and had been the originators, the cause and contaminators. The Apostolic See had been polluted by their vices and must be purged before a pope was elected.[23]

Despite the best efforts of the cardinals to assert their authority over the assembled clerical and secular representatives of the nations of western Christendom, they were not allowed to act as an independent body. The formal organization of the council meant that each cardinal was subsumed into his own national grouping. At a particularly grave juncture, on 17 April 1415, just ten days after *Haec Sancta* was issued, it was proposed that the cardinals be excluded from the council altogether and from all discussion of the future organization of the Church.[24] According to Fillastre, the cardinals were being deliberately sidelined both formally and informally. Acts of the council were drawn up but only shown to the cardinals when it was too late for them to do anything about them. They were consulted about the act to summon John XXIII to appear before the council (2 May 1415), for example, but so late that they could do nothing to change it:

> The cardinals, although they were at the session, did not see the text of the act. That same day, about the seventh hour of the morning, a copy had been delivered to the Cardinal of Ostia for them all to discuss it, but by then many prelates were taking their seats and the report of the delegates was about to be made in the sacristy to the King and the deputies of the nations, at which report the cardinals were to be present. So they could not even look at the paper, for straight from the report they went in to the session, which was already in order. The same thing occurred at almost all the decrees of the Council. After they had been approved by the nations, they were shown to the cardinals but for so hasty and brief a glimpse that it was not in their power to discuss them adequately. In fact the Cardinals were treated with complete contempt… So they had no authority.[25]

John XXIII had fled Constance on 20 March 1415, hoping to disrupt the council's activities. Instead his actions only brought about his own deposition more quickly, and he was suspended and then deposed as pope by the end of May.

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[23] Guillaume Fillastre's diary is given as "The Council as Seen by a Cardinal," in Munday and Woody, *Council of Constance*, 200–465; see 402 (15 September 1417).

[24] Pastor, *History of the Popes*, vol. 1, 203; Gigliola Soldi Rondinini, *Per la storia del Cardinalato nel secolo XV*, Accademia di Scienze e Lettere vol. 33 no. 1 (Milan: Memorie dell'Istituto Lombardo, 1973), 21.

[25] Fillastre in Munday and Woody, *Council of Constance*, 239.

Clearly aware of the significance of the College of Cardinals and the implications for the papacy of its abjuration, when Gregory XII abdicated on 4 July 1415 he did so in a way that also brought the cardinals back into the fray. Until that point, Gregory had refused to have anything to do with a council that did not have his authority. The pope sent his representative, Carlo Malatesta, to the council with his own bull of convocation that gave his sanction to the process: Gregory XII would not participate in a council that had not been convened by him because to do so would have meant recognizing its superior authority over the papacy.[26] Giovanni Dominici, one of his own cardinals, first read the bull, and then Malatesta abdicated on his behalf. But Gregory XII only stepped down on condition that the cardinals were permitted to act as a body separate from the nations.[27] Whether deliberately or otherwise, Gregory XII had successfully reasserted the traditional body of pope and cardinals, and effectively countered the power the nations had given themselves in the process. Although subsequently the secular and diocesan powers continued to dominate at the Council of Constance, the cardinals' integral relationship with the pope had been restored.

With two of the three popes—Gregory XII and John XXIII—either abdicated or deposed, the business of the council turned to the election of a new pope, itself an important moment for the reassertion of the traditional relationship of the cardinals with the pope as his electors. Benedict XIII, who had already been removed at Pisa in 1409, was again deposed at Constance on 26 July 1417—although he never came to accept his removal before his death in 1422, and there were anti-popes belonging to the Avignon obedience until 1429, when Clement VIII was finally removed.[28]

In 1417, with the papal election impending, it looked as if the council might try to change the role of the cardinals once again. While the cardinals had agreed in 1415 to wait for the council's permission before electing a new pope if there were a vacancy, they claimed in 1417 that they had done so under duress.[29] Early in 1417 attempts had again been made to exclude the cardinals from the process altogether, the council taking over their role as papal electors.[30] In the end a compromise was reached whereby the cardinals were not excluded "from authority lawfully belonging to them" to elect the pope, but they had to "be satisfied with casting their votes simply within the nations of which they are members." The cardinals agreed to share the duty of electing the pope with other delegates "on this occasion only."[31] As Fillastre recorded, they had nothing to lose:

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[26] Yves Renouard, *The Avignon Papacy 1305–1403*, trans. Denis Bethell (London: Faber and Faber, 1970), 135.

[27] Gregory XII also insisted that the cardinals he had created in 1408 and his other officials be recognized. The implications of this will be discussed in the next chapter. In return for his abdication, Gregory XII (Angelo Correr) was made cardinal-bishop of Porto, first in rank after the pope, and given the legation to the Marches of Ancona for life. See Micheline Soenen, "Gregorio XII," in Levillain, *Dizionario storico del papato,* 715–18.

[28] Hélène Millet, "Benedetto XIII (antipapa)," 165–8; François-Charles Uginet, "Clemente VIII (antipapa)," 339: both in Levillain, *Dizionario storico del papato*.

> Ever since this schism began, the said lords cardinals have endured much labour, many hardships, much personal danger for the sake of Church union and have for a long time been deprived of their benefices and the revenues of the Apostolic Camera. Certainly they have not been nor are they here now save at great and serious expense, with many of them subjected to contumely and insult in public and private.[32]

The papal election did not take place before the next council had been arranged: a precaution in case the new pope changed his mind. Councils were to follow in five, seven, and then every ten years, so that "there will always be a certain continuity. Either a council will be in session or one will be expected at the end of a fixed period."[33] According to the decree *Frequens*, the pope and cardinals could call one sooner but they could not extend the period between them.

On 11 November Oddo Colonna was elected pope and took the name Martin V, reflecting the feast which fell on that day. A condition of his election was that he subscribed to the two decrees, *Frequens* and *Haec Sancta*. The former set the regular occurrence of councils to reform the Church because, in the words of the decree:

> The frequent holding of general councils is a pre-eminently good way of cultivating the patrimony of Our Lord. It roots out the briars, thorns and thistles of heresies, errors and schisms, corrects excesses, reforms what is deformed, and brings a richly fertile crop to the Lord's vineyard.

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[29] 29 May 1415, etc.: Fillastre in Munday and Woody, *Council of Constance*, 246, 332, 334.

[30] 26 February 1417: Fillastre in Munday and Woody, *Council of Constance*, 314.

[31] 20 April 1417, etc.: Fillastre in Munday and Woody, *Council of Constance*, 346, 350, 352–74.

[32] 18 May 1417: Fillastre in Munday and Woody, *Council of Constance*, 355.

[33] 9 October, 1418: Fillastre in Munday and Woody, *Council of Constance*, 408.

> Neglect of councils, on the other hand, spreads and fosters the foregoing evils.[34]

The latter, *Haec Sancta*, declared that in some matters councils were superior to popes. While Martin V was not at liberty to refuse to follow the decrees of the council that had made him pope, he and his successors spent the next forty years unpicking their obligations.

The Council of Constance closed with the schism at an end, but without the wholesale reform of the Church and its members that had been hoped for when it started. To do this in the context of a council would have left the pope and cardinals exposed to further reduction of their autonomy and combined authority. It looked at first as though Martin V had accepted *Frequens* when he summoned the next council in Pavia in 1423, as agreed.[35] While at the Council of Pavia corruption and excess among the clergy continued to be condemned and reform sought, others warned against the mistake of making accusations against the clergy in general when it was only on an individual level that reform could really be achieved: the preacher Girolamo of Florence asked, "what measure of correction… do you think is finally achieved when the lechery and greed of clerks has been advertised by your sordid outcry to the common people?"[36] In other words, what could be achieved by washing the Church's dirty linen in public? The time for reopening the wounds of the schism was at an end.

Martin V dissolved the Council of Pavia less that a year after it opened, though not before the next council had been arranged, seven years ahead, in Basel. In the intervening years, Martin V took the reform of the curia, and the College of Cardinals in particular, forward. In 1426 he advocated virtuous and moral behaviour but, more significantly in the conciliar context, stressed their loyalty to the pope before secular princes, banning them from accepting patronage outside the papal court and representing the interests of foreign powers.[37] While on the surface this was the moral reform the conciliar movement wanted to curb the excesses of the papal court, it was at the same time a way of excluding outside influence in the relationship of the pope with his cardinals and the unchallenged exercise of papal authority in the universal Church.

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[34] Extract from the decree *Frequens* (9 October 1417), in Mansi, *Amplissima Collectio*, vol. 27, col. 1159; translated and quoted in Crowder, *Unity, Heresy and Reform*, 128.

[35] Pastor, *History of the Popes*, vol. 1, 238–40.

[36] Sermon of Girolamo of Florence, 6 January 1424, Walter Brandmüller, *Das Konzil von Pavia-Siena, 1423–1424* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1974), vol. 2, 193–9; translated in Crowder, *Unity, Heresy and Reform*, 144.

[37] Pastor, *History of the Popes*, vol. 1, 262–3.

Basel

In February 1431 Martin V appointed Giuliano Cesarini (1389–1444), one of his cardinals since 1426, president over the next council which, as agreed at Pavia, would take place at Basel. Cesarini was to go to the council equipped with two bulls designed to assert papal authority over it: one opening the council and the other an emergency measure to bring it to an end or transfer it elsewhere if the going got too tough. When Martin V died soon after on 20 February, the new pope, Eugenius IV, confirmed the arrangements.[38] Then at the end of 1431, when Eugenius IV tried to dissolve the council, probably because it was so poorly attended and because he preferred to hold a council he had summoned himself, Cesarini resisted, keen to see reform of the Church.[39] Some progress was made: in 1433 papal intervention in the election of diocesan clergy was limited, while in 1435 annates, the first year's income of a newly transferred benefice which was claimed by Rome, were abolished.[40]

In the end the Council of Basel was able to do very little. While the Council of Constance had been very obviously necessary to resolve the schism, with a single undisputed pope in Rome, and without his co-operation, the Council of Basel soon looked like an undisguised attack on papal authority by a relatively small group of academics and a decreasing number of prelates, something for which few of the secular leaders had much energy.

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[38] *Monumenta Conciliorum Generalium seculi decimi quinti ediderunt Caesareae Academiae Scientiarum socii delegati* (Vienna: Oesterreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1857–86), vol. 1, 106–7.

[39] Peter L. McDermott, "Nicholas of Cusa: Continuity and Conciliation at the Council of Basel," *Church History* 67 (1998): 258–9: "If it accomplished nothing else, this act of papal imperium gave a powerful reminder to conciliarists that lethargy had its price."

[40] Juan de Torquemada, *A Disputation on the Authority of Pope and Council* (*Oratio synodalis de primatu*), ed. and trans. Thomas M. Izbicki, Dominican Sources 4 (Oxford: Blackfriars Publications, 1988), vii; Gerald Christianson, *Cesarini, The Conciliar Cardinal: The Basel Years 1431–38* (St Ottilien: EOS, 1979), 125–48; John Aidan Francis Thomson, *Popes and Princes, 1417–1517: Politics and Polity in the Late Medieval Church* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1980), 78–94.

When the council moved onto the matter of reunion of the Latin and Greek churches, stalemate was quickly achieved. While it was agreed that a Greek delegation should attend the council in person, where exactly the meeting should take place proved an insurmountable obstacle. While the Greeks wanted to meet somewhere in Italy, as long as it was close to the sea—which also suited Eugenius IV—most of the members of the council insisted that the Greek party should come to Basel or perhaps Avignon, as long as it was at a distance from papal lands. In April 1437 the papal party set off for Ferrara, where Eugenius IV had translocated the minority of the council loyal to him and where the Greeks had agreed to travel.[41] The rival council opened on 8 January 1438. (It transferred to Florence in January 1439 because of an outbreak of plague.) On 25 June 1439 the Council of Basel deposed Eugenius IV and elected as pope the Duke of Savoy, Amadeus VIII (1383–1451), who took the name Felix V but abdicated ten years later.[42] This last anti-pope proved a minor irritation to the popes who were already re-established in Rome and gradually rebuilding their relationship with the city.

One of the most significant outcomes of the councils of Basel and Ferrara/Florence was the contribution of some of the most influential thinkers in the first half of the fifteenth century, Giuliano Cesarini, Nicholas of Cusa, and Juan de Torquemada. While Cesarini was already a cardinal, Nicholas of Cusa and Juan de Torquemada were eventually rewarded for their loyalty to the papacy by being raised to the purple, Torquemada by Eugenius IV in 1439 and Cusa by Nicholas V in 1448. While Cesarini died trying to defeat the Ottomans at the battle of Varna in the Balkans in 1444, Cusa and Torquemada went on to be among the most influential thinkers and supporters of papalism until their deaths in the 1460s. Of the three, however, only Juan de Torquemada was consistently convinced of the supremacy of the pope over the council.

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[41] Christianson, *Cesarini*, 149–80. As Izbicki (Torquemada, *Disputation*, xxii n. 9) points out, Gill gives an account of the council from the papal side while Stieber follows the conciliar view. See Joseph Gill, *Eugenius IV: Pope of Christian Union* (Westminster: Newman Press, 1961), 69–96; Joachim W. Stieber, *Pope Eugenius IV, the Council of Basel, and the Secular and Ecclesiastical Authorities in the Empire* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1978), 26–34.

[42] Pius II, *Commentaries*, 43–45; Elisa Mongiano, "Felice V (antipapa)," in Levillain, *Dizionario storico del papato*, 592–3. Felix V renounced the papacy under Nicholas V in 1449. He was made cardinal-bishop of Sabina.

Between attending the last session of the Council of Constance and the Council of Basel, Juan de Torquemada had been studying theology at the University of Paris. He then went back to his native Castile where he was prior of the Dominicans at Valladolid and then Toledo.[43] He had arrived at Basel in 1432 as representative of the Dominicans and of John II of Castile, where he soon became known for his erudition and staunch support of the papacy, something that was entirely characteristic of his order. His vehement arguments in favour of papalism earned him the title 'defender of the faith' from Eugenius IV and the position of Master of the Sacred Palace, the senior theologian at the papal court. His views were brought together in the debate between him and Cesarini at the Council of Ferrara/Florence in 1439, which will be considered below.

Nicholas of Cusa went to Basel for reasons quite different to those of Torquemada. The son of a wealthy boatman, he studied canon law under Cesarini at the University of Padua, after which he probably taught in German universities before becoming secretary to the Archbishop of Trier, Otto of Ziegenhain (d. 1430).[44] Cusa was automatically embroiled in the succession to the archdiocese of Trier when it fell vacant in 1430, especially after he was appointed its chancellor. Because the archbishop was also an elector of the Holy Roman Emperor, it was particularly sought after, so Martin V named one candidate and the local nobility and diocese another, Ulrich von Manderscheid.[45] Cusa went to Basel in 1432 to secure the council's support for the local candidate, hoping that they would be sympathetic to Trier's resistance to papal interference in diocesan affairs. But when Ulrich's support in his diocese disintegrated in 1433, the council confirmed the papal candidate in 1434.

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[43] Torquemada, *Disputation*, ix.

[44] For Nicholas of Cusa's biography see Erich Meuthen, *Nikolaus von Kues 1401–1464: Skizze einer Biographie* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1976); Donald F. Duclow, "Life and Works," in *Introducing Nicholas of Cusa: A Guide to a Renaissance Man*, ed. Christopher M. Bellitto, Thomas M. Izbicki, and Gerald Christianson (New York and Mahwah: Paulist Press, 2004), 27–56. On the concurrence of the ideas of Giuliano Cesarini and Nicholas of Cusa see Gerald Christianson, "Cardinal Cesarini and Cusa's 'Concordantia'," *Church History* 54 (1985): 17.

[45] On the election to Trier see Morimichi Watanabe, "The Episcopal Election of 1430 in Trier and Nicholas of Cusa," in *Concord and Reform: Nicholas of Cusa and Legal and Political Thought in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Thomas M. Izbicki and Gerald Christianson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 81–101.

In 1433, in the middle of the controversies between the council and the pope, Nicholas completed his *Catholic Concordance* (*De concordantia*), in which he argued for the supremacy of the council over the pope—which, it will be recalled, he required if the claims for his patron were to be successful.[46] As Donald Duclow puts it, "the treatise announced two themes central to Cusanus' career and thought: the relation between unity and diversity, and the reforms necessary for the church to live out its ideals."[47] Cusa used *concordantia* as "the principle by which the Catholic Church is in harmony as one and many—in one Lord and many subjects."[48] However, Cusa's belief in the "marvellous harmonious peace belonging to the adopted sons of God through Jesus Christ" must have seemed a long way off in the middle of the council's wrangling over who was in overall charge of the Church—the pope or the council.

Cusa's vision was for pope and council working together in harmony: "the true concordant harmony of the Catholic Church consists in rightly ordered rule based on common consent and election and the free submission of all or of a majority."[49] The pope he envisaged as a leader, his primacy a means to the end of the smooth running of the Church: "just as Peter was prince of the apostles, the Roman pontiff is prince of the bishops since the bishops succeeded the apostles." Nevertheless, "he is subject to the council of the catholic faith." The council's "judgement is always better than the individual judgement of the Roman pontiff who represents the church in a very certain way... hence the individual judgement of a pope should be presumed to be less stable and more fallible that that of the pope along with others."[50] But although he had high hopes for a model of a Church based on council and papacy working together, in the end his witnesssing of the conflict at Basel convinced him that it had ceased to be a true council.[51]

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[46] Francis Oakley described the *Catholic Concordance* as "the greatest of all the Conciliar tracts," in *Council over Pope? Towards a Provisional Ecclesiology* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1969), 68.

[47] Duclow, "Life and Works," 31. On the evolution of the *Catholic Concordance*, see Gerhard Kallen, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Concordantia catholica des Nikolaus von Kues*, Cusanus-Studien 8 (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1963); Nicholas of Cusa, *The Catholic Concordance*, ed. and trans. Paul E. Sigmund (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), xv–xviii.

[48] Nicholas of Cusa, *Catholic Concordance*, 5. On Nicholas of Cusa's reform ideas see Morimichi Watanabe, "Nicholas of Cusa and the Reform of the Roman Curia," 169–85, and Morimichi Watanabe and Thomas M. Izbicki, "Nicholas of Cusa, *A General Reform of the Church*," 187–216, both in Watanabe, *Concord and Reform.*

[49] Nicholas of Cusa, *Catholic Concordance*, 313 (book 3, chapter 41, paragraph 567).

[50] Nicholas of Cusa, *Catholic Concordance*, 42–3 (book 1, chapter 15, paragraph 62), 120–1 (book 2, chapter 18, paragraph 158).

Cusa continued to represent Ulrich at the council until his death in 1438, by which time he had secured the patronage of the pope himself.[52] In December 1436 Cusa voted with the papal party to let Eugenius IV move the council if he so wished. Then Cusa earned considerable acclaim when he and two other delegates were sent to Constantinople in May 1437, returning with a Greek delegation, among them the Greek emperor and the Patriarch of Constantinople, in February 1438. Clearly he had used the opportunities presented to him at the council to show his prowess as a lawyer to potential patrons, not least Cesarini, who had been his teacher at Padua.

Nicholas of Cusa was by no means alone in his turn from council to pope. Cesarini who had sided with the Council of Basel reassociated himself with the papacy in 1437 when his first loyalty, to papal primacy, was tested too far. Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, who was made cardinal in 1456 and became pope (Pius II) in 1458, had been secretary to cardinals Domenico Capranica and then Niccolò Albergati at Basel, and eventually chief of the abbreviators serving the council. From 1439 to 1442 he was secretary to the anti-pope, Felix V, before being reconciled to Eugenius IV in 1445.

The problems for the popes presented by the conciliar challenge were not simply those of one group's authority over another. Even when the papacy managed to gain the upper hand over Basel, it was left to deal with fundamental questions about its own status. Thomas Izbicki, in his study of Torquemada's writings on papal supremacy, notes that "one of the worst conceptual tangles in the papalist tradition concerned the meaning of the term *Romana ecclesia*, which could denote the pope, the pope and cardinals, the diocese of Rome, or—its most common meaning—the universal Church."[53] In Gratian's *Decretum*, the most important medieval collection of canon law, *Romana ecclesia* usually referred to the specific instance of the Church in the city which was the jurisdiction of the successors of St Peter as the Bishop of Rome.[54] The term was also used on occasion to signify the inextricable link of the Church of Rome and the 'unity of faith' as a whole so that it was at once both specific and universal. The *Romana ecclesia* therefore meant both the whole Church and the Roman Church which had particular authority over and preceded all others, personified by the pope and his cardinals. If the pope had universal authority, as was emphasized from the middle of the thirteenth century, then the cardinals who were part of his plenitude of power also had universal jurisdiction in the enactment of that power.

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[51] Duclow, "Life and Works," 32–3; James E. Biechler, "Nicholas of Cusa and the End of the Conciliar Movement: A Humanist Crisis of Identity," *Church History* 44 (1975): 5–21; Joachim Stieber, "The 'Hercules of the Eugenians' at the Crossroads: Nicholas of Cusa's Decision for the Pope and Against the Council in 1436–37—Theological, Political and Social Aspects," in *Nicholas of Cusa in Search of God and Wisdom*, ed. Gerald Christianson and Thomas M. Izbicki (Lieden: E.J. Brill, 1991), 221–55.

[52] Peter McDermott contends that, despite his participation in the council, Cusa should not be considered a conciliarist because he went there primarily to defend his patron: McDermott, "Nicholas of Cusa," 262–3.

Ferrara/Florence

Following the exile and schism, the pope could no longer claim automatic precedence in the universal Church simply because he was Bishop of Rome, as the continuous physical link with the city had been broken. At Basel Nicholas of Cusa moved from a position of accepting that Christ had passed his authority both to the bishops and to the pope, to arguing that the bishops' powers derived from that of the pope and came to them from Christ through him.[55] It was only through this fundamental premise—that the Church was one and the same as the apostolic tradition based in Rome—that the authority and centrality of the popes in Rome could be assured. The key was St Peter and his choice of Rome as his see which gave it precedence over all other sees. He could easily have chosen another—as Cusa put it, "this most sacred see cannot be destroyed even as to its location, still, if Rome were to fall, the truth of the church would remain wherever the primacy and see of Peter would be."[56] This is the ideological context in which the popes in the fifteenth century re-established themselves in Rome and moved their main residence to the Vatican and the shrine of the Apostle in the basilica of St Peter. It was also the main issue that the Greeks had to take on board at the Council of Ferrara/Florence.

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[53] Thomas M. Izbicki, *Protector of the Faith: Cardinal Johannes de Turrecremata and the Defense of the Institutional Church* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1981), 76.

[54] Tierney, *Foundations of the Conciliar Theory*, 39–46.

[55] Margaret M. Harvey, "Unity and Diversity: Perceptions of the Papacy in the Later Middle Ages," in *Unity and Diversity in the Church*, ed. R.N. Swanson (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996), 156–7.

The crucial passage occurs in the Gospel of Matthew in which Peter is given the keys to the kingdom of heaven by Christ:

> And I tell you, you are Peter, and on this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. I will give you the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatever you bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatever you loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.[57]

Discussions at the Council of Ferrara/Florence about the unity of the churches of east and west inevitably centred on the relative status of the Roman bishop and the eastern patriarchs. The representatives of the Byzantine emperor took a long view of the problem, putting questions of papal supremacy in a historical context. When he arrived at Ferrara, Patriarch Joseph II (1416–39) wanted good reason as to why he should make obeisance to Eugenius IV, an act represented in the conventional kissing of the pope's foot, something that western cardinals, kings, and clergy were accustomed to. The patriarch's questions struck a tender nerve in the midst of the conciliar crisis and the fundamental reassertion of papal traditions: "What is the origin of this form of greeting?" he asked. "Show me why the pope is entitled to it… Grant that the pope is the successor of St. Peter. But we, on our part, are the successors of the other apostles, and no one ever heard of their kissing Peter's foot."[58] To keep the possibility of negotiation alive, a compromise was reached whereby the Byzantine party would be received in private so that very few could witness the concession the pope had made by greeting the patriarch as an equal. But the problem remained—why the Bishop of Rome, why Rome?

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[56] Jacobus Faber Stapulensis, ed., *Nicolai Cusae Cardinalis Opera* (Paris, 1514; reprint Frankfurt: Minerva, 1962), vol. 2, letter 2, 8v; translated in Pelikan, *Reformation of Church and Dogma*, 117.

[57] Matthew 16:18–19.

[58] Milton V. Anastos, "Constantinople and Rome: A Survey of Relations between the Byzantine and the Roman Churches," *Aspects of the Mind of Byzantium: Political Theory, Theology, and Ecclesiastical Relations with the See of Rome*, Variorum reprints 8 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 1–2.

At the Council of Constantinople (869–870) it had been agreed that Rome was the head of the pentarchy, which comprises the five patriarchates of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem in that order.[59] The pope is the Bishop of Rome, and this is key to his primacy over the other four members. Papal supremacy comes not from the election of the pontiff per se, but from its being rooted in the Roman bishopric. In the middle of the eleventh century Peter Damian put Alexandria second in the pentarchy because it was founded by Mark, who was a disciple of Peter. But Constantinople claimed second—or even first—position because of its links with Andrew, Peter's brother and the first to become an apostle.[60]

Since the twelfth century the Byzantines had not accepted the superiority of Peter as Bishop of Rome and therefore the authority of the popes over them. Around 1150 Nicetas of Nicomedia, for example, had pointed out that Matthew 16:18–19, which in scripture gave Peter his special role, had to be read with Matthew 18:19 ("if two of you agree…") and John 20:23, which extended Peter's special position to all the disciples.[61] Therefore, the Byzantines held that the pentarchy, like the five senses, worked together as part of Christ's body. No one part could lead the others: they were interdependent. It was an ancient analogy: Anastasius Bibliothecarius (c. 817–79), who hoped to ascend the papal throne in 855, likened Rome to the sense of sight which leads the other four senses.[62] At the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 Innocent III again stressed that the Church of Rome "by the disposition of the Lord has the principate of natural power over all others as mother and teacher of all Christian faithful." Innocent III also put Constantinople second in the pentarchy because it was the second city of the Roman Empire.[63]

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[59] Joan Mervyn Hussey, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 81. The pentarchy was also discussed in detail by Nicholas of Cusa, see "Is the Authority of the Holy Councils Greater than that of the Pope?" in *Nicholas of Cusa, Writings on Church and Reform*, trans. Thomas M. Izbicki, The I Tatti Renaissance Library vol. 33 (Cambridge MS: Harvard University Library, 2008), 86–135.

[60] Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, Constantinople, and then Jerusalem: Peter Damian, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 1, in Jacques-Paul Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 144 (Paris: Petit-Montrouge, 1853), *Sermo XIV*, col. 575b. See also Francis Dvornik, *The Idea of Apolicity in Byzantium and the Legend of the Apostle Andrew* (Cambridge MA: Harvard Universty Press, 1958), 281.

[61] Anastos, "Constantinople and Rome," 5.

[62] Anastos, "Constantinople and Rome," 55–6.

[63] Mansi, *Amplissima Collectio*, vol. 22, col. 990ff; translated in Dvornik, *Legend of the Apostle Andrew*, 297.

When in July 1439 the Greek delegates at the Council of Florence, with the exception of Mark of Ephesus, accepted that Rome had primacy over the world—as long as it did not compromise the status of the other patriarchs—it was a stark reminder of the Byzantines' desperation in the face of the threat of invasion by the Ottoman Turks, who were gradually overrunning their empire, the main reason for their presence in Ferrara in the first place. The Greek Acts record the short-lived agreement between the parties:

> About the primacy of the Pope, we profess that he is supreme Pontiff and representative and guardian and vicar of Christ, shepherd and teacher of all Christians, that he directs and governs the Church of God, without infringement of the privileges and rights of the patriarchs of the East, he of Constantinople to be second after the pope, then the Alexandrine, after him the one of Antioch, then the one of Jerusalem. When we had written this we determined neither to do anything else, but if this should not be accepted by the Pope, nothing further would be done. And having sent it on the evening of Friday we learnt that he had received it with pleasure and then we were relieved.[64]

The reality of the situation was put more succinctly in a letter written in 1451 by Gennadius (George Scholarius) to Luke Notaras: "with the ships and money expected from the Pope the harsh addition will be no disaster and we will proclaim him as the teacher of the truth when we offer our worship to God: but if he clearly is wooing us with empty hopes… we will come to another decision on the matter and run to the religion of our fathers from failure to get what is unavailable."[65] In the end the agreement did more for the reputation of the popes in Rome than for the safety of the Byzantine Empire as Constantinople fell to the Ottoman Turks in 1453.

The propaganda value of the agreement between the Greek and Latin churches is displayed on the doors commissioned by Eugenius IV from Filarete for St Peter's basilica in Rome. While the doors are perhaps now better known for their antique allusions, the mythological figures and emperors in the decorative borders, the main scenes and the narratives from Eugenius's papacy add up to a powerful restatement of papal power and the primacy of Rome.[66] The doors were to replace the old Porta Argentea, the central portal of the basilica and the one used by the pope when he entered. Commissioned in 1433, the doors were not completed until 1445, and their programme was adjusted to include the major themes and achievements of Eugenius IV's reign. The main panels depict, at the top, Christ and the Virgin Mary; in the middle Paul and Peter, with Eugenius IV kneeling at Peter's feet and receiving the keys; and at the bottom scenes of the martyrdom of Paul and of Peter (Figure 6). Christ and Mary represent the universal Church, Peter and Paul the Church of Rome, and the martyrdoms locate the two saints within the fabric of the city.[67] In the horizontal bands between the six main panels are scenes representing the major events of Eugenius's pontificate that helped reinforce the primacy of Rome and the pope: the coronation of Emperor Sigismund in May 1433, the journey and arrival of the Greek party to the Council of Ferrara/Florence in 1439, and the bull of unity with the Armenian and Coptic churches and the pilgrimage of their representatives to the tomb of St Peter.

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[64] 26 June 1439, in Joseph Gill, *The Council of Florence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959), 284; also Mansi, *Amplissima Collectio*, vol. 31A, cols 1031E, 1034; Dvornik, *Legend of the Apostle Andrew*, 298.

[65] Gennadius (George Scholarius) was a member of the Greek delegation at the Council of Ferrara/Florence and went on to become the first Patriarch of Constantinople under Ottoman rule; Luke Notaras was one of the *archontes* and a senior naval officer who in 1453 was beheaded by order of the Ottoman sultan. See Gill, *Council of Florence*, 398.

Following the declaration of unity of the Greek and Latin churches, which Eugenius IV used as further evidence of his righteous stand against the Council of Basel (which continued until 1449), the pope called for a public debate between Juan de Torquemada and Giuliano Cesarini to air the controversial issues that divided Basel and Ferrara/Florence. By then it had boiled down to whether or not *Haec Sancta*, the decree promulgated at Constance which declared a council to be superior to the papacy, was a legally and dogmatically binding document: as Thomas Izbicki put it, "If *Haec Sancta* were refuted, the rest of the edifice would crumble."[68]

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[66] John R. Spencer, "Filarete's Bronze Doors at St Peter's," in *Collaboration in the Italian Renaissance*, ed. Wendy Stedman Sheard and John T. Paoletti (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1978), 33–43; Enrico Parlato, "Filarete a Roma," *La Roma di Leon Battista Alberti: umanisti, architetti e artisti alla scoperta dell'antico nella città del Quattrocento*, ed. Francesco Paolo Fiore (Milan: Skira, 2005), 302–10; Ursula Nilgen, "L'eclettismo come programma nel primo Rinascimento a Roma: la porta bronzea del Filarete a San Pietro," in *Opere e giorni: studi su mille anni di arte europea dedicati a Max Seidel = Werke und Tage: tausend Jahre europäischer Kunstgeschichte; Studien zu Ehren von Max Seidel*, ed. Klaus Bergdolt and Giorgio Bonsanti (Venice, Marsilio, 2001), 275.

[67] J.M. Huskinson, "The Crucifixion of St. Peter: A Fifteenth-Century Topographical Problem," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 32 (1969): 135–61.

[68] Torquemada, *Disputation*, xiii.

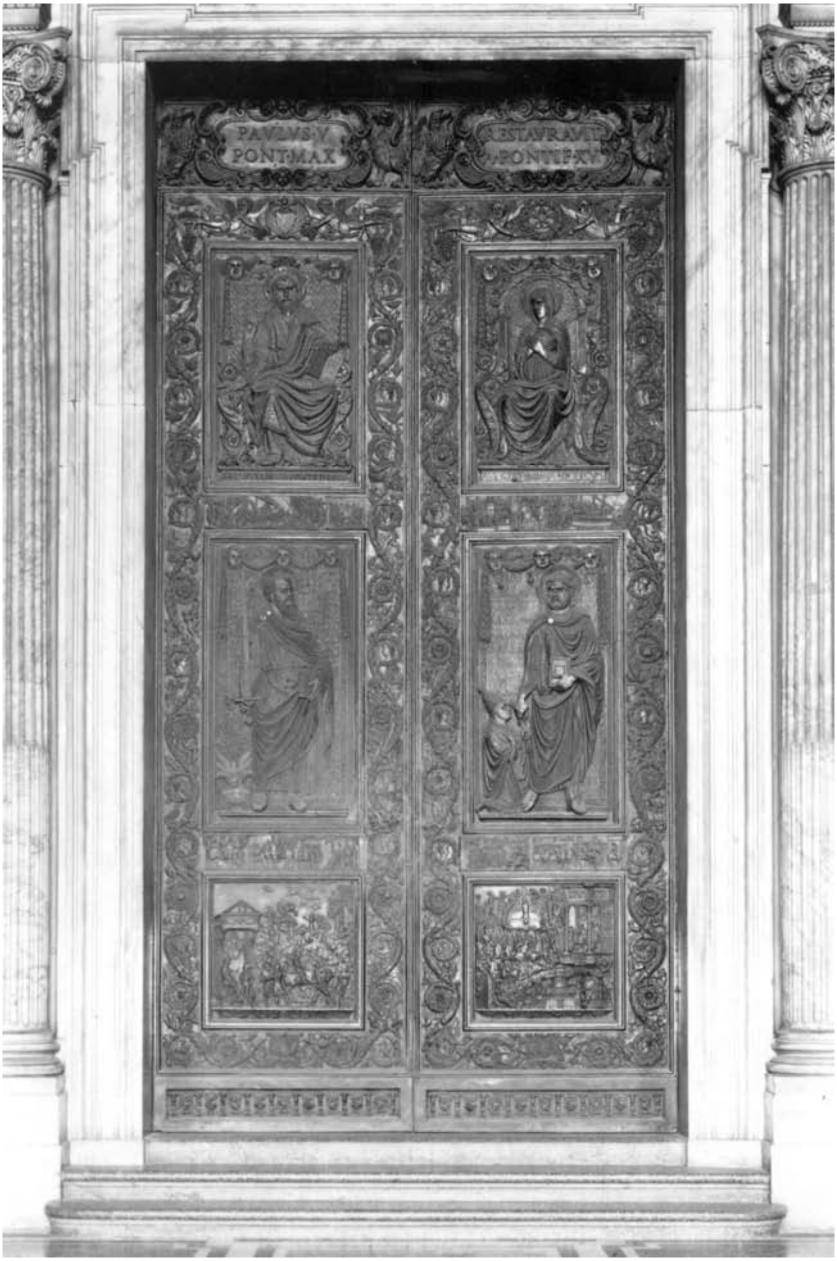
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Figure 6 Filarete, bronze central doors, 1433–45, St Peter's, Rome. Author.

Torquemada argued that *Haec Sancta* could not be accepted because it was issued at Constance, when the council only represented one of the three obediences, that of John XXIII.[69] This point was confirmed when Gregory XII insisted on convoking the council himself before he could recognize it in July 1415. Similarly, when Benedict XIII was deposed, it was a condition of those who had been loyal to him that the council be convoked in his name. This did not take place until December 1415. It was only at this point that the Council of Constance represented unity in the Church. Therefore, *Haec Sancta*, which was dated April 1415, was invalid.

The next issue was that of church hierarchy. The councils claimed that they had power directly from Christ. Using a range of sources from the early Church, Torquemada asserted that:

> our church was arranged by Christ in the form of a hierarchy... [which] was shaped on the model and pattern of the celestial hierarchy... in the angelic hierarchy no power to accomplish hierarchical acts is bestowed by God on any individual or rank or whole hierarchy without its being bestowed through the first member of that hierarchy... So in the same way no power is given by Christ to the ecclesiastical hierarchy as a whole or to a universal council representing it, which is now conferred by means of the Roman pontiff, who is the hierarch and the first member of the whole hierarchy.[70]

Torquemada argued that in giving the keys to Peter, Christ was delegating Peter directly, not the Church in general.[71] Cesarini countered that the rock upon which Christ said he would build his church referred to Christ as the foundation, not Peter. Torquemada replied, "There was no parity of appointment among the Apostles, but one was superior to the others."[72] This important principle that "the church is the image of heaven"[73] is represented on a medal minted for Paul II (1464–71). Literally two sides of the same coin, Christ, the Apostles, and saints seated in judgement on one side are paralleled with the pope and his cardinals in public consistory on the other (Figure 7). The pope is not simply successor of Peter but delegate of Christ via Peter, and his cardinals are his co-judges, analogous with the court of heaven.

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[69] Torquemada, *Disputation*, xiii–xiv, 2–3.

[70] Torquemada, *Disputation*, 12.

[71] Torquemada, *Disputation*, 35–7; Harvey, "Unity and Diversity," 158.

[72] Torquemada, *Disputation*, 41; Harvey, "Unity and Diversity," 158.

[73] Torquemada, *Disputation*, 12.

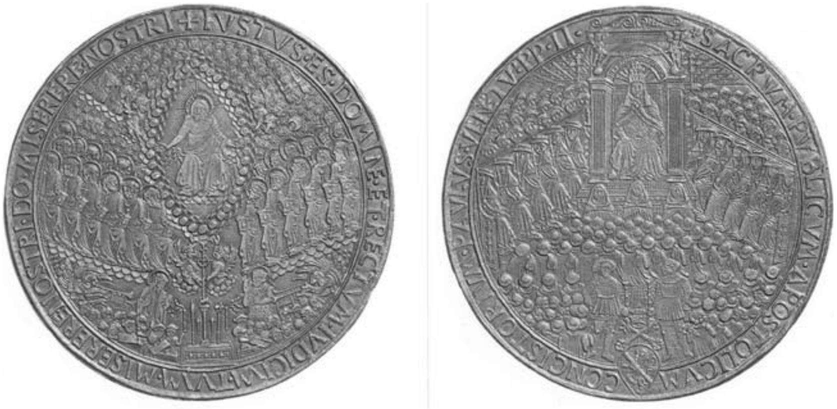
IVSTVS ES DOMINE ET RECTVM IVDICIVM TVVM MISERERE NOSTRI DOMINE MISERERE NOSTRI
SACRVM PVBLICVM APOSTOLICVM CONCISTORIVM PAVLVS VENETVS PP II

Figure 7 Medal of Paul II, *The Pope in Public* Consistory, obverse and reverse, cat. Hill 775e (GIII. Papal Med. AE.2). © Copyright the Trustees of The British Museum, London.

The end of the conciliar age

The two main objectives of the Council of Constance were, in Cardinal Fillastre's words, "first, the peace and perfect reunion of the Church; second, the reform of the Church."[74] With the first achieved, the second became a key point for the popes in maintaining their independence and primacy. Political expediency gradually took over from the regular calls for reform, as the nations came to their own agreements with the popes and the popes asserted their authority by convening councils which they also controlled. When in 1453 Constantinople was overrun by the Ottoman Turks, the popes could go on fulfilling their obligation to call councils but also serve a papal agenda. This was precisely what Pius II did when he summoned a council to be held in Mantua in 1459 with the primary aim of mustering support for a crusade.

The bull *Execrabilis*, the death blow as far as the popes were concerned of the conciliar movement, was promulgated at the Congress of Mantua. In it any appeal to a future council was condemned as "a horrible abuse," in which "all ecclesiastical discipline and hierarchical ranking of the Church are turned upside down." Anyone who questioned the supremacy of the pope would be excommunicated and "incur the indignation of almighty God and of his blessed apostles, Peter and Paul."[75] Reform, which had been used as a pretext for curbing papal power by the councils, was reserved as a matter of papal business. The state of recourse to a council following Pius II is neatly summed up by Platina, Sixtus IV's librarian, in his life of Paul II. Platina was imprisoned by Paul II for two crimes—"for dispersing libels against Paul and mentioning a council," all because Platina was one of those who lost his position in the new regime and had asked for the matter to be referred to a third party.[76] It was enough to incur the pope's wrath.

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[74] Crowder, *Unity, Heresy and Reform*, 70; also Munday and Woody, *Council of Constance*, 209–12.

The relationship of the papacy with Rome as papal city was an essential ingredient in the assertions of papal supremacy. In practice, a defining feature of the fifteenth-century papacy is the end of the itinerant curia. Rome, not even the strongholds of the Papal States, was their base. Even if they could not stay in Rome, as was the case for Eugenius IV, who was ousted from the city by the feudal barons in 1434, there was a strong sense in which Rome was where they should be. Much has been made of the fact that Pius II spent less than half of his pontificate (1458–64) in Rome.[77] There were major economic consequences for the city—the *dogana* (customs house) received a third less revenue as a result—but there were also practical and historical implications. As a result, in his *Commentaries* Pius II had to justify his absences, such as when he set out for the Congress of Mantua:

> It would be hard for him to leave Rome, the seat of St Peter the Apostle and the ark of the Christian faith, but it would be harder still to see the holy gospel destroyed in the course of his reign. To save it, he was resolved to stake not just the city and the patrimony of St Peter but his own health, indeed his very life…
>
> And, because the Romans were desperately worried that the pope's departure would mean the permanent loss of the Curia, Pius announced

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[75] *Execrabilis* (18 January 1460), quoted and translated in Crowder, *Unity, Heresy and Reform*, 179–181. See also G.B. Picotti, "La pubblicazione e i primi effeti della *Execrabilis* di Pio II," *Archivio della R. Società romana di Storia Patria*, 37 (1914), 5–56; Stefan Bauer, *The Censorship and Fortuna of Platina's "Lives of the Popes" in the Sixteenth Century* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 166–7, for the bull's subsequent application.

[76] Platina (Bartolomeo Sacchi), *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*, 2 vols, trans. William Benham (London: Griffith, 1888), vol. 2, 278. On Paul II and Platina's life, see Bauer, *Censorship and Fortuna*, 33–4, 64, 96–102, 167–8.

[77] On the economic consequences see Arnold Esch, "Sul rapporto fra arte ed economia nel Rinascimento italiano," in *Arte, committenza ed economia a Roma e nelle corti del Rinascimento (1420–1530) Atti del convegno internazionale, Roma, 24–27 ottobre 1990*, ed. Arnold Esch and Christoph Luitpold Frommel (Turin: Einaudi, 1995), 28–30.

> (with the approval of the college) that if he should die away from the city, the election of his successor must take place in Rome… And he decreed that a number of cardinals, auditors of the Rota, advocates and litigators should remain in the city throughout the period of his absence; then the Roman Curia would reside with them as as with him.[78]

The cardinals were a significant factor in the attempts at reconciliation of the four separate parts of the one, holy, catholic, and apostolic Church. Out of the same arguments over the link of 'apostolic' and 'Roman' came the interpretation of the cardinals as successors to the Apostles who had accompanied Peter, as will be seen in the next chapter. This was not a new definition of what the cardinals were by any means, but it acquired particular significance in the fifteenth century in the face of challenges which relied for their force on separating off the popes in Rome from the universal Church.

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[78] Pius II, *Commentaries*, 217, 231.

CHAPTER TWO

FROM THREE COLLEGES TO ONE

The crises of the fifteenth century drew pope and cardinals closer together: while the cardinals elected the pope, the pope created cardinals. It was this interdependence that bound them, although it was a tense and often unhappy relationship. The schism complicated their relationship and weakened the cardinals' stake in the papal *imperium*.

While the Council of Constance produced a single pope—Martin V—from the three of the schism, it did not extend the same resolution to the College of Cardinals. Each of the three popes of the schism had his own College of Cardinals: part of the council's success was the result of the concessions made to the members of these three separate colleges, none of whom were deposed but were amalgamated to legitimize Martin V's election.[1] Along with conciliarism, for the papacy this prevalence of members of the three colleges well into the middle of the fifteenth century was the most enduring legacy of the schism. For example, Alfonso di Carrillo de Albornoz, one of Benedict XIII's cardinals, died in 1434 at the Council of Basel.[2] Lucido Conti died in 1437 and Pierre de Foix as late as 1464, both of them cardinals of John XXIII.[3] Giordano Orsini, one of Innocent VII's cardinals, died in 1438.[4] Cardinal Antonio Correr, brother of Gregory XII, died in 1445 while Gregory XII's nephew, Gabriele Condulmer, became Eugenius IV in 1431 and died in 1447.[5] The first and only attempt to sort out the overlaps between the various members of the schismatic colleges was the main achievement of the brief papacy of Alexander V, the pope elected at the Council of Pisa. The issue was managed rather than resolved thereafter.

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[1] For example, the seventh of twelve articles drawn up at Constance in December 1415 permitted the cardinals of Benedict XIII full membership of the council if they responded to its summons; see Fillastre in John Hine Munday and Kennerly M. Woody, *The Council of Constance. The Unification of the Church*, trans Louise Ropes Loomis (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1961), 273–4.

[2] On Alfonso di Carrillo de Albornoz see Chacon, *Vitae, et res gestae*, vol. 2, cols 745–6, and Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, vol. 1, 30, 50, 383, 444.

[3] On Lucido Conti see Chacon, *Vitae, et res gestae*, vol. 2, col. 806, and Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, vol. 1, 33, 51, and 59. On Pierre de Foix see Chacon, *Vitae, et res gestae*, vol. 2, cols 742–3, and Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, vol. 1, 33, 5, 47, 295, 310, vol. 2, 91, 93, 100, 178, 193, 246.

[4] On Giordano Orsini, Chacon, *Vitae, et res gestae*, vol. 2, cols 719–20 (who dates Orsini's death in 1439); Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, vol. 1, 26, 35, 38, 43, 47, 360, 410; Christoph Weber and Michael Becker, *Genealogien zur Papstgeschichte*, 6 vols (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1999–2002), vol. 6, 700. For the more recent bibliography, Christopher S. Celenza, "The Will of Cardinal Giordano Orsini (ob. 1438)," *Traditio* 51 (1996): 257–86.

Cardinal Fillastre's diary from the Council of Constance portrays the cardinals as a disparate and competing body of men, thrown together by desperation to preserve their rights.[6] They tried to disassociate themselves from recent history, emphasizing that they were the ones trying to solve the problem. Less than two months before the election of Martin V on 11 November 1417, no doubt aware that the pressures they had been under from the nations would be lessened by the election of a pope, their confidence grew. They argued that they were "almost all of recent creation," and that it was they who had forced their respective popes to attend the council and to abdicate: "they had laboured harder than anyone, and were the first and only clergy to offer in harmonious accord to reform their ranks."[7]

Once they had elected the new pope, assisted by national representatives, this mixed bag of cardinals left the council with Martin V and went to Florence, where they prepared for their final journey to Rome itself. This chapter looks at how the problem of the three colleges of cardinals was first created and then resolved, and the measures taken by Martin V and his successors to reconfigure the college.

Three popes and three colleges

Almost all of the popes of the Roman, Avignon, and Pisan obediences promoted new cardinals to bolster their own colleges of cardinals. Urban VI made forty-three new cardinals to replace those who had deserted him to elect Clement VII. Clement VII in turn created thirty-two, and his successor to the Avignon obedience, Benedict XIII, fifteen. The successors of Urban VI in Rome—Boniface IX, Innocent VII, and Gregory XII—made forty cardinals between them. Gregory XII's fourteen promotions to the college took place in May and September 1408, just as the crisis of the schism was reaching its apogee—a vain attempt to outnumber the cardinals who wanted him to resign.[8] At the same time, there was no simple division between the two popes and the two colleges, and cardinals moved back and forwards between them. For example, Pietro Pileo di Prata, who was made cardinal by Urban VI in 1378, was one of five cardinals who, at the end of 1385, signed a letter denouncing the Roman pope's brutality. Having fled to join the Avignon pope, Clement VII, he was excommunicated by Urban VI in 1387. When Urban VI died and Pileo went back to the Roman obedience, now represented by Boniface IX, his status as a cardinal was restored. As he received a cardinal's hat from each of the three popes, Pileo was known as *tricappella*.[9] Others were not so lucky. Of five cardinals who conspired against Urban VI at the beginning of 1385, all were imprisoned, and only Adam Easton (d. 1397), the English cardinal whose tomb monument survives in Santa Cecilia in Rome, escaped execution—probably due to the intervention of the English king and the Benedictine Order, of which he was a member.[10] Bartolomeo Mezzavacca (d. 1396) was deposed by Urban VI in 1383, went to join Clement VII, but returned to Rome with the death of the Roman pope and the election of Boniface IX.[11] It was not that certain cardinals were fickle. They were caught up in the manipulation of the two sides by secular powers who played one off against the other to suit their own ends, something Thomas Morrissey has identified as among the schism's most damaging aspects.[12]

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[5] On Angelo Correr, Chacon, *Vitae, et res gestae*, vol. 2, col. 765; Weber and Becker, *Genealogien zur Papstgeschichte*, vol. 2, 291.

[6] 15 September, 1417: Fillastre in Munday and Woody, *Council of Constance*, 402.

[7] Ibid.

On 25 March 1409 at the Council of Pisa, the cardinals of Benedict XIII met with seven of the cardinals of Gregory XII. They agreed that their newly assembled composite college should assert its authority and start all over again with a new pope. Their choice, Alexander V, was elected on 26 June but he died less than a year later on 3 May 1410. Alexander V was followed in 1410 by John XXIII (Baldassare Cossa), whose less than reputable character has been blamed for ending the hopes of the Pisan succession.[13] Although Alexander V did not have enough time to make any of his own cardinals, John XXIII made eighteen.[14] By 1417 at the Council of Constance, there were twenty-three cardinals alive who had been reconciled to the council and who entered the conclave that elected Martin V.

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[8] Joseph Gill, *Eugenius IV: Pope of Christian Union* (Westminster: Newman Press, 1961), 22.

[9] On Pietro Pileo di Prata see Chacon, *Vitae, et res gestae*, vol. 2, cols 637–8, 686; Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, vol. 1, 23, 39, 45, 386, 415, 480.

[10] On Adam Easton see Chacon, *Vitae, et res gestae*, vol. 2, cols 648–9; Dominic Bellenger and Stella Fletcher, *Princes of the Church: A History of the English Cardinals* (Stroud: Sutton, 2001), 27–8.

[11] On Bartolomeo Mezzavacca see Chacon, *Vitae, et res gestae*, vol. 2, cols 641–2; Edith Pásztor, "Cardinali italiani e francesi tra Avignone e Basilea: Due testimonianze," *Échanges religieux entre la France et l'Italie du Moyen Âge à l'époque moderne*, ed. Mgr M. Maccarone and A. Vauchez (Geneva: Slatkine, 1987), 128–9; reprinted in *Onus Apostolicae Sedis: Curia romana e cardinalato nei secoli XI–XV* (Rome: Edizioni Sintesi Informazione, 1999), 383.

[12] Thomas E. Morrissey, "The Call for Unity at the Council of Constance: Sermons and Addresses of Cardinal Zabarella, 1415–1417," *Church History* 53 (1984): 308.

To some, the union of members of the two colleges of cardinals at Pisa was unforgivable. For Bonifacio Ferrer (1350–1417), brother of the later saint, Vincent (1350–1419), writing in his treatise in defence of Benedict XIII who was deposed at Constance, they were "impious men, singular, without a head, like locusts or ants."[15] Despite the controversial nature of his election, and although Alexander V did not make any cardinals of his own, his brief pontificate after the Council of Pisa produced the foundations on which the College of Cardinals was built for the rest of the century.[16]

Documents concerning the detailed processes of the creation of cardinals during the schism are relatively rare. An important exception is a collection of papers transcribed from sources that were subsequently lost when Napoleon took the Vatican archives to Paris, the first volume of the *Acta miscellanea* of the Archivio Concistoriale. It begins with the names of the twenty-four cardinals of Gregory XII and Benedict XIII who gathered at Pisa, and describes their election of the new pope as a unanimous decision.[17] Between his election and his consecration and coronation, the *Acta* explains that Alexander V extended the unity of the council to the college. He started by recognizing the chamberlains of the two colleges—Enrico Minutoli, (d. 1412) for Gregory XII in Rome and Amedeo de Saluzzo (d. 1419) for Benedict XIII in Avignon—but rather than making one of them step down from this important position, he expected them to work together to administer the revenues of the college, according to ancient custom.[18] It was especially important to sort out such positions before the consecration and coronation of the new pope and to establish the correct hierarchy within the college, because certain cardinals had specific roles to perform. The cardinal-bishop of Ostia, who was also dean of the college, for example, consecrated the new pope as Bishop of Rome inside St Peter's, if it took place in Rome, while the prior of the cardinal-deacons crowned him in front of the basilica; the chamberlain followed immediately after the pope in processions.[19]

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[13] On the gathering of the cardinals and the Council of Pisa, see Carl Joseph von Hefele, *Histoire des Conciles d'après les documents originaux… Nouvelle traduction française, faite sur la deuxième édition allemande, corrigée et augmentée de notes critiques et bibliographiques par un religieux Bénédictin*, trans H. Leclercq, continued to the present day by various authors (Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané, 1907–), vol. 6, part 2 (1915), 1350–92, and vol. 7, part 1 (1916), 1–69. No mention is made here of the action taken by Alexander V to sort out the cardinals between his election and coronation.

[14] Pastor writes that Alexander V and John XXIII made forty-four cardinals between them (*History of the Popes*, vol. 1, 260). It is possible that Pastor counted all those loyal to the popes of the Pisan obedience at various points. See also Francis Oakley, *The Conciliarist Tradition: Constitutionalism in the Catholic Church, 1300–1870* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 38.

[15] "…hominum impiorum, singularium, sine capite, ut locustae vel formicae": *Bonifacii Ferrerii quondam majoris Carthusiae Prioris, tractatus pro defensione Benedicti XIII editus*, quoted in Pásztor, *Onus Apostolicae Sedis*, 396. See also Peregrín L. Llorens y Raga, *Fray Bonifacio Ferrer como religioso y como literato*, Obras de investigación historica, vol. 32 (Castellón de la Plana: Sociedad Castellanense de Cultura, 1955), 26.

[16] However, Rossi states that the body of cardinals (which numbers around 3,000 since the twelfth century) does not include those created by anti-popes: Cardinale Agnelo Rossi, *Il Collegio Cardinalizio* (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1990), 23.

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[17] ASV, Arch. Concist., Acta Misc. 1, f. 1v: "Pisis in archiepiscopali Palatio in unum Conclave Congregati Spiritus Sancti gratia invocata unanimiter et concorditer nemine discrepante elegerunt et nominaverunt in verum et indubitatum unicum et summum Romanum Pontificem Reverendissimum in Christo Patronum et Dominum Dominorum Petrum de Candia Sacre Theologiae Eximium Professorem tituli xii Apostolorum qui nomen assumpsit et appellari voluit Alexander Papa Quintus." See also Chacon, *Vitae, et res gestae*, vol. 2, col. 775. On the *Acta miscellanea* of the Archivio Concistoriale, see Francis X. Blouin, ed., *Vatican Archives: An Inventory and Guide to Historical Documents of the Holy See* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 31. There is some variation in the names and numbers of cardinals at the 1409 conclave. For example, Chacon lists twenty-five names, while the invaluable website on the College of Cardinals, http://www.fiu.edu/~mirandas/cardinals.htm (accessed June 2008), which is based on Chacon and Eubel, lists twenty-three participants, though excludes Giovanni Migliorati, Cardinal of S. Croce in Gerusalemme, and notes that Ludovico Fieschi did not participate. See Chacon, *Vitae, et res gestae*, vol. 2, cols 660–1, 721.

[18] ASV, Arch. Concist., Acta Misc. 1, ff. 1v–2r: "Nova institutio Camerariorum Collegii. Die supra dicta, videlicet die sabbathi in festo beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum, idem Sanctissimus Dominus Dominorum Alexander papa Quintus considerans et attendens duos fuisse et esse hucusque Camerarios Sacri Collegii Reverendissimorum in Christo Patrum et Dominorum Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae Cardinalium, videlicet Dominum Henricum Episcopum Tusculanum, Neapolitanum vulgariter nuncupatum pro parte seu Collegio quod adhaesit olim Gregorio xii et suis praedecessoribus, et Dominum Amedeum Sanctae Mariae Novae Diaconum de Saluciis similiter nuncupatum eiusdem Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae Cardinalem pro parte seu Collegio quod adhaesit olim Benedicto Decimotertio… et suis etiam praedecessoribus, et ipsa duo Collegia per sacrum generale et universale Concilium, quod Pisis pro Unione Sanctae Matris Ecclesiae et extirpatione scismatis antiquati, insimul iuste, sancte et rationabiliter insimul unitam legitimeque fuisse Unionem ipsam auctoritate apostolica confirmavit et approbavit ac de novo univit; et voluit quod supradicti Domini, Henricus Episcopus Tusculanus et Amedeus Sanctae Mariae Novae Diaconus, Cardinales et Camerarii praefati, ipsum Camerariatus Officium dicti sacri Collegii Dominorum cardinalium insimul exercerent, et facerent iuxta laudabilem consuetudinem ipsius Camerariatus Collegii Officii antiquitus observatam." Amedeo di Saluzzo had deserted Benedict XIII and had been deposed by him in October 1408, so he was not, strictly speaking, the Avignon pope's chamberlain; Chacon, *Vitae, et res gestae*, vol. 2, col. 680. The office of chamberlain, secretary-treasurer of the College of Cardinals, was instituted by Innocent III in 1150.

When each cardinal (of whichever obedience) was created by one of the popes, he was assigned a church in Rome—a *diaconia* or *titulus*—or one of the dioceses surrounding Rome (known as suburbicarian dioceses). These churches and dioceses linked the cardinals with the city as its pastors and as the aides of the Bishop of Rome (as will be discussed further in chapter 5). The various cardinals who had been created by the popes of the different obediences had continued to be assigned the traditional suburbicarian dioceses, titles, and deaconries in Rome so many had two competing incumbents. Among the electors of Alexander V, for example, were two cardinal-bishops of Frascati (Tusculum): Enrico Minutoli, Archbishop of Naples, who had been created cardinal in 1389 by Boniface IX, and Pierre Girard, Bishop of Le Puy in France, who had been created under the obedience of Clement VII in 1390.[20] Minutoli was moved to become cardinal-bishop of Sabina and Pierre Girard kept Frascati.[21] Both Gui de Malesec, Bishop of Poitiers, who had been made cardinal by Gregory XI in 1375, and Antonio Caetani, cardinal since 1402 under Boniface IX, were by 1409 cardinal-bishops of Palestrina.[22] Although Malesec had been made cardinal before the schism, had been one of the cardinals responsible for the election of Clement VII, and so had fallen out with the Roman obedience, he was the longest serving cardinal and therefore kept Palestrina. Caetani was transferred to the suburbicarian see of Porto. It was when they were created—not whom they were created by—that seems to have counted in Alexander V's college. Similarly, both Pierre Blau, made cardinal of the Avignon obedience by Benedict XIII in 1395, and Pietro Stefaneschi, Roman cardinal since Innocent VII in 1405, had the deaconry of Sant'Angelo in Pescheria.[23] Stefaneschi, who became cardinal ten years after Blau, was known as "cardinal of Sant'Angeli junior." To resolve the situation, Pietro Stefaneschi was moved to the deaconry of Santi Cosma e Damiano. But when Blau died in December 1409, Stefaneschi was moved quickly back to Sant'Angelo.[24] The deaconry of Sant'Angelo was an important assignment for the Stefaneschi, who were a local family from Trastevere. The church was close to the river and the port of Rome, where the family had their stronghold in the city. Others were moved to churches that were more conveniently situated in the centre of Rome: Giordano Orsini was moved from San Martino ai Monti to San Lorenzo in Damaso, a church close to the Orsini palace in the heart of Rome, and Antonio Calvo moved from Santa Prassede to San Marco, a basilica that stood at one of the major junctions in the city.

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[19] From the fourth century the Bishop of Ostia consecrated the pope: *The Book of Pontiffs (Liber Pontificalis): The Ancient Biographies of the First Ninety Roman Bishops to AD 715*, trans. Raymond Davis (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1989), 26. See also Marc Dykmans, *L'Oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini, ou, le Cérémonial Papal de la Première Renaissance*, *Studi e Testi* vols 293–4 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1980–2), 68–9; Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, "Papal Coronations in Avignon," in *Coronations. Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual*, ed. János M. Bak (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 180. For the position of the chamberlain in papal processions for the entry of the pope into towns and cities, see Marc Dykmans, "D'Avignon à Rome. Martin V et le cortège apostolique," *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome* 39 (1968): 241.

[20] ASV, Arch. Concist., Acta Misc. 1, f. 1r; Chacon, *Vitae, et res gestae*, vol. 2, cols 688, 706; Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, vol. 1, 25, 28, 32.

[21] ASV, Arch. Concist., Acta Misc. 1, f. 3r.

[22] ASV, Arch. Concist., Acta Misc. 1, f. 3r.; Chacon, *Vitae, et res gestae*, vol. 2, cols 608–9, 709; Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, vol. 1, 22, 26, 32.

At a distance from Rome, the cardinals' deaconries, titles, and bishoprics were relatively meaningless for all but establishing precedence in the college. However, the removal of cardinals such as Orsini and Calvo to two of the most conveniently located and best endowed by facilities of all the cardinalatial churches suggests that Alexander V may have had some expectation that he would return with the papal court to Rome.

But despite Alexander V's attempts to bring some order and unity to the cardinals at Pisa, he could only begin to resolve the overlaps and confusion in the college. With Benedict XIII and Gregory XII refusing to abdicate, some of the churches continued to have more than one incumbent. Indeed, although Alexander V moved Giordano Orsini to San Lorenzo in Damaso in 1409, Benedict XIII, anti-pope of the Avignon obedience, had also given the same title to Juan Martinez de Murillo as recently as 1408.[25] Fortunately, Gregory XII did not make any more cardinals after 1408, but he did make sure that those he had created would be recognized.

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[23] ASV, Arch. Concist., Acta Misc. 1, f. 1v; Chacon, *Vitae, et res gestae*, vol. 2, cols 723, 737; Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, vol. 1, 26, 29, 32.

[24] Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, vol. 1, 49.

[25] Chacon, *Vitae, et res gestae*, vol. 2, col. 742; Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, vol. 1, 42–5.

When Gregory XII resigned in July 1415 at the Council of Constance, it was on condition that all of the cardinals he had created in 1408, as well as his other officials, were acknowledged as being legitimate and allowed to keep their positions.[26] The council therefore agreed the reconciliation of the colleges of Gregory XII and John XXIII (Alexander V's successor, who had already been deposed by the council on 29 May 1415). Pope Gregory XII was made cardinal-bishop of Porto and permanent legate to the Marches of Ancona, and therefore would be second only to the new pope. However, as pope of the Roman obedience, Gregory XII's claim was always one of the strongest. When he died on 18 October 1417, less than a month before the election of Martin V on 11 November, it gave some semblance of continuity, instead of schismatic overlap, in the apostolic succession.[27]

When Martin V was finally elected by the Council of Constance in 1417, it was by cardinals of all three obediences in addition to representatives of the nation states at the council: nine of the cardinals belonged to the Roman obedience, four to Avignon, and ten to the Pisan popes.[28] The cardinals inherited by Martin V were then increased by four other cardinals of Benedict XIII who were reconciled to the new pope on 17 March 1419.[29] On 13 May 1419, Baldassare Cossa "to the general surprise" also realigned himself with Martin V and was made cardinal-bishop of Frascati, although he died in December of the same year.[30] Martin himself did not create any new cardinals of his own until almost ten years as pope had passed. In 1426, with their number dropped to nineteen, he added fourteen new cardinals to the college and then two more in 1430.

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[26] Giovanni Domenico Mansi, ed., *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* (Florence, Venice, Paris: Arnhem & Leipzig, 1759–1962), vol. 27, cols 741–2: "Concilium reservat, et se facturum declarat, quod providebit, ubi duo vel plures in eodem titulo ex diversis obedientiis concurrunt.... Concilium recipit et admittit in cardinales, cardinales domini Gregorii Papae duodecimi.... ex nunc immediate post sessionem seu renunciationem, nomine illius domini, qui dicitur Gregorius duodecimus, de papatu per eumdem faciendam, ipsum dominum Gregorium, et reverendissimos in Christo patres dominos Antonium episcopum Portuensem, Joannem tituli Sancti Sixti, Gabrielem tituli Sancti Clementis, Angelum tituli Sanctorum Petri et Marcellini, Bandellum tituli Sanctae a Sabinae, presbyteros, et Petrum tituli Sanctae Mariae in Cosmedin diaconum, suae obedientiae cardinales, recipit et admittit, eosque ut tales haberi vult, et ab omnibus venerari; nec non dignitate, emolumento, voce et aliis cardinalium privilegiis, ut ceteros cardinales uti, frui pariter et gaudere: salvis tamen aliis constitutionibus et statutis in praesenti sessione promulgatis et inferius promulgandis, de electione Romani Pontificis facientibus mentionem. Quod Officiarii Domini Gregorii gaudeant eorum officiis.... omnes officiales et curiales eiusdem domini, qui dicitur Gregorius duodecimus, in officiis et gradibus ipsorum alias canonice adeptis gaudeant, et ea rationabiliter administrent, prout alii officiales alterius obedientiae indifferenter, salvo ubi in aliquo officio unicus vel certus numerus debet haberi secundum consuetudinem Romanae curiae..." See also 4 July 1415: Richental, 128, and Fillastre, 254, both in Munday and Woody, *Council of Constance*.

[27] Pastor, *History of the Popes*, vol. 1, 202.

[28] On the election of Martin V see Fillastre in Munday and Woody, *Council of Constance*, 426–8; Chacon, *Vitae, et res gestae*, vol. 2, cols 811–15; M.B. Fromme, "Die Wahl des Papstes Martin V," *Römisches Quartalschrift* 10 (1896): 131–61.

When Martin V was elected in 1417, there was no clear-out of schismatic cardinals and other curial officials.[31] He inherited three Apostolic treasurers, one from each obedience, and while each was retained, only one of them, Antonio Casini continued to operate.[32] As Peter Partner points out, in 1420 Martin V was still employing 150 scriptors (scribes who worked up final versions of documents from notaries' drafts), double the number thought reasonable in the fourteenth century at Avignon.[33] François de Conzié, Martin V's chamberlain, for example, had started his career in the Avignon curia before moving to join the administration of the Pisan popes.[34] At Constance the wholesale adoption of the administration attached to the popes of the Pisan obedience was important both to ensure unity and stability and to change the national composition from being largely French to that of a predominantly Italian organization. But in addition to the costs involved, no doubt deemed worthwhile to make the compromise of the election of Martin V work, it left practical and ideological problems for succeeding popes. It will be recalled, for example, that Juan de Torquemada, in his debate with Giuliano Cesarini at the Council of Basel, argued that *Haec Sancta* was not legitimate because it was promulgated when only the Pisan obedience under John XXIII was represented at the Council of Constance.[35]

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[29] Chacon, *Vitae, et res gestae*, vol. 2, cols 715–16; Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, vol. 2, 5 n. 8.

[30] Fillastre in Munday and Woody, *Council of Constance*, 447; Chacon, *Vitae, et res gestae*, vol. 2, col. 816. On the controversial tomb monument of Baldassare Cossa in the baptistery, Florence, by Donatello and Michelozzo, see Horst Woldemar Janson, *The Sculpture of Donatello*, 2 vols (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), vol. 2, 59–64; Sarah Blake McHam, "Donatello's Tomb of Pope John XXIII," in *Life and Death in Fifteenth-century Florence*, ed. Marcel Tetel, Duke Monographs in Medieval and Renaissance Studies 10 (Durham: Durham University Press, 1989), 146–73; Dale V. Kent, *Cosimo de' Medici and the Florentine Renaissance* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), 166.

[31] When Gregory XII's officials and cardinals were recognized at the Council of Constance, it was also accepted that the problem of multiple occupants of the same office could only be sorted out as the opportunity arose. It seems possible that Martin V saw the death of a cardinal as the most opportune moment. See note 26 above.

[32] Peter Partner, *The Papal State under Martin V: The Administration and Government of the Temporal Power in the Early Fifteenth Century* (London: British School at Rome, 1958), 137.

[33] Peter Partner, *The Pope's Men: The Papal Civil Service in the Renaissance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 8–10; Margaret M. Harvey, "Unity and Diversity: Perceptions of the Papacy in the Later Middle Ages," in *Unity and Diversity in the Church*, ed. R.N. Swanson (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996), 146.

[34] Partner, *Papal State under Martin V*, 132; Dykmans, "D'Avignon à Rome", 210–11, 256–7. Martin V was unusual in not allowing his chamberlain to be a cardinal, preferring to use his personal servants instead, presumably because they were more easily controlled than the cardinals.

It was not until the twentieth century that the Roman obedience, represented by Gregory XII, was formally recognized as the true line of the papacy during the schism and the two Pisan popes, Alexander V and John XXIII, were designated anti-popes.[36] In the fifteenth century it was not that straightforward: the humanist and biographer Giannozzo Manetti, for example, refers to John XXIII as one of the predecessors of Nicholas V.[37] In 1492 Rodrigo Borgia took the name Alexander VI, following on from the pope elected by the Council of Pisa, Alexander V.[38] Nevertheless, there does seem to have been some tacit recognition of the Roman line. As Bernhard Schimmelpfennig has pointed out, even though Avignon curials still dominated under Alexander V, all of those elected pope after him had been made cardinals in the Roman obedience.[39] But even at the end of the sixteenth century, the popes elected at Pisa were generally believed to represent the apostolic succession.[40]

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[35] Juan de Torquemada, *A Disputation on the Authority of Pope and Council* (*Oratio synodalis de primatu*), ed. and trans. Thomas M. Izbicki, Dominican Sources 4 (Oxford: Blackfriars Publications, 1988), 3; Harvey, "Unity and diversity," 146; and chapter 1 above.

[36] Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, *The Papacy*, trans. James Sievert (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 236. Pastor points out that Gregory XII's act of convoking the Council of Constance himself in effect got the council to recognize him, and the Roman line, as the lawful popes, excluding Clement VII and Benedict XIII (*History of the Popes*, vol. 1, 200–1).

[37] Giannozzo Manetti, *De vita ac gestis Nicolai Quinti summi pontificis*, ed. Anna Modigliani (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 2005), book 3, paragraph 14; 124, 214.

[38] Oakley, *The Conciliarist Tradition*, 38.

[39] Schimmelpfennig, *The Papacy*, 235–6.

[40] For example, the list of popes given in one of the most popular sixteenth-century guidebooks, Flaminio Primo da Colle, *Le cose meravigliose dell'alma citta di Roma*… (Rome: Guglielmo Facciotto, 1599), 72, follows the line of the Roman obedience from Urban VI, then through Boniface IX and Innocent VII to Gregory XII, then in 1409 to the Pisan popes, Alexander V, John XXIII (who was deposed in 1415) and Martin V (who was elected in 1417).

Despite these relatively recent efforts to establish a single line for the apostolic succession, the same has never been done for the cardinals.

It is not altogether clear how Martin V sorted out the College of Cardinals, although Pastor suggests that he did.[41] Something of the details of such an arrangement is suggested by the Archivio Consistorale records. Of the four cardinals of Benedict XIII who were reconciled with Martin V in Florence in March 1418, one of them, Alfonso di Carrillo de Albornoz, who was made cardinal in 1408, is referred to as "Sancti Eustachio Junior."[42] Giacomo Isolani, although he was made cardinal after Alfonso di Carrillo by John XXIII in 1413, was presumably Cardinal of Sant'Eustachio "Senior" because he had participated in the Council of Constance. But unlike the attempts made by Alexander V to sort out some of the confusion and overlaps, there is no evidence that either of the cardinals of Sant'Eustachio were moved to another title before their deaths more than ten years later.

Outside Rome the titles seem to have been little more than names. But once the cardinals were back in Rome with the papal court, the evidence of restoration suggests that the titular churches took on new significance—and that many of them were in need of restoration following the exile and schism. Martin inherited, for example, two cardinals of San Clemente, Branda da Castiglione and Gabriele Condulmer.[43] Experienced and influential, Branda da Castiglione was created cardinal by John XXIII in June 1411.[44] He was a member of the curia in Rome from the early 1390s, where he was Auditor of the Roman Rota (with the Apostolic Chamber, one of the two supreme judicial bodies of the papacy) and a papal chaplain. The cardinal's hat was sent to him in Hungary, where he was ambassador charged with the task of restoring ecclesiastical institutions and churches to counter the influence of the Hussites. At the Council of Constance he was one of the representatives of John XXIII with Cardinal Rinaldo Brancacci, but when that pope tried to escape and save himself from being deposed, Castiglione joined the council and eventually helped to elect Martin V in 1417. The other cardinal of San Clemente was Gabriele Condulmer, the future Pope Eugenius IV, who was made cardinal by Gregory XII, his Venetian compatriot and relative, in May 1408.[45] Although Eubel suggests that Condulmer was moved to San Marco, this title belonged to Guillaume Fillastre, who only died in 1428. From 1420 Condulmer was legate of the Marches of Ancona, where he was kept busy quelling the rebellious natives. Then in 1423 he was made legate to Bologna, which he maintained until 1424. In 1427 he was assigned Santa Maria in Trastevere, where he remained until he was elected Eugenius IV in 1431. Certainly, as it was Branda da Castiglione who commissioned works in San Clemente in the second half of the 1420s, the title seems to have been his in practice even if in theory it was shared.[46] The issue of the shared title may not have been resolved because both cardinals spent so much of the 1420s away from Rome. Also, Martin V seems to have preferred to wait rather than take any action that might have led to his giving away concessions to the cardinals.

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[41] Pastor, *History of the Popes*, vol. 1, 261.

[42] ASV, Arch. Concist., Acta Misc. 1, f. 92v; Chacon, *Vitae, et res gestae*, vol. 2, col. 745; Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, vol. 2, 5 n. 8.

[43] Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica*, vol. 2, 4–5, 72, 76. In 1419, for example, Branda da Castiglione and Gabriele Condulmer were referred to as belonging to the same titular church, although Augustin Theiner—*Codex Diplomaticus Dominii Temporalis S. Sedis. Recueil de documents pour servir a l'histoire du gouvernment temporel des états du Saint-Siège*, 3 vols (Rome: Vatican, 1862), vol. 3 1389–1793, 241—inserts a question mark after the note that they share a title: "dilectis filiis nostris Gabriele tituli sancti Clementis et Branda eiusdem (?) tituli presbiteris Cardinalibus…"

[44] Chacon, *Vitae, et res gestae*, vol. 2, cols 801–3; Carol Pulin, "Early Renaissance Sculpture and Architecture at Castiglione Olona in Northern Italy and the Patronage of a Humanist, Cardinal Branda da Castiglione" (PhD thesis, University of Michigan, 1984), 22–3, 354.

Martin V's own additions to the College of Cardinals in 1426 were designed to satisfy the conditions of the Council of Constance: three French, three Italian, and one English, German, Spanish, and Greek. In addition to these ten cardinals were four others, a Spaniard, Domingo Ram, and three Italians, Domenico Capranica, Prospero Colonna, and Giuliano Cesarini, whose names were kept secret, possibly because they would have upset the balance expected by the proponents of the councils.[47] One of them, Prospero Colonna, was Martin V's nephew, an appointment which would certainly not have been welcomed because of nepotism. The four names were only published in November 1430, just before Martin V's death. Although Martin V had decreed that the four would be eligible to take part in the next conclave, it was not that straightforward.[48] It was not until 1435, for example, that Domenico Capranica was finally reconciled to Eugenius IV.[49]

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[45] Chacon, *Vitae, et res gestae*, vol. 2, col. 766; Gill, *Eugenius IV*, 21–2, 30, 33–4.

[46] See chapter 5, 204–16, below for a discussion of the Castiglione chapel, or Chapel of Saints Catherine and Ambrose, in San Clemente.

[47] Domingo Ram was made cardinal on either 23 July 1423 or in 1426, Domenico Capranica in 1423, Prospero Colonna and Giuliano Cesarini were made cardinals *in pectore* on 24 March 1426: Chacon, *Vitae, et res gestae*, vol. 2, cols 832, 834, 861, 863, 893–4.

Martin V seems to have made few concessions to the cardinals, preferring to wait for the college to sort itself out through natural wastage. An efficient and strict administrator, he was successful in controlling their demands, suppressing them enough so that it was his successors who had to deal with them, a major factor in the dramatic events that dominated the 1430s. According to the envoy of the Teutonic Order who had an audience with Martin V in 1429, the cardinals "dare not speak before the pope, say what he likes to hear, for the pope has so crushed the Cardinals… and they turn red and pale when they speak in his hearing."[50]

Creating cardinals, controlling popes

Although the relationship of pope and cardinals is always strained to a degree, it remained particularly difficult until the papacy of Sixtus IV (1471-84), by which time the cardinals who had taken part in the dramatic events of the first half of the fifteenth century were dead and the pope's authority was again established. According to Peter Partner, "The patronage map of Rome was redrawn under Sixtus IV," as a result of his using the papacy to promote the interests of his family, the della Rovere and Riario.[51] The scale of the pope's promotions to the college Partner compares to the "divide-and-rule policies of a feudal monarch." In addition to making six of his relatives cardinal, Sixtus IV also promoted Ascanio Sforza of the noble house of Milan, one of the wealthiest and most powerful men in Italy, and four members of the Roman nobility.

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[48] Pius II, *Commentaries*, 4; Pius II, *Commentarii*, 42. The problem was that it was left to Martin V's successor, Eugenius IV, to approve his predecessor's creations, no mean feat considering the traditional animosity between one pope's cardinals and the next. Pastor, *History of the Popes*, vol. 1, 261–2, vol. 2, 485–7. See Michele Catalani, "Corollarium de cardinalibus creatis nec promulgatis," *De vita et scriptis Dominici Capranicae, Cardinalis Antistitis Firmani commentarius. Accedit appendix monumentorum et Corollarium de Cardinalibus creatis nec promulgatis* (Fermo: Jos Augustinus Paccaronius Exudit, 1793), 265–319, on the technicalities of cardinals who are created but their names not promulgated.

[49] Pastor, *History of the Popes*, vol. 2, 485–7.

[50] Johannes Voigt, *Stimmen aus Rom über den päpstlichen Hof im fünfzehnten Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: Historisches Taschenbuch, 1833), 73–4; Pastor, *History of the Popes*, vol. 1, 263; Oakley, *The Conciliarist Tradition*, 44.

[51] Partner, *The Pope's Men*, 203.

For the predecessors of Sixtus IV, an important issue in the tussle between pope and cardinals—because it had practical and economic implications—was keeping the size of the college down. Before the Council of Constance started, Honoré Bonet, prior of Salon, proposed that the number of cardinals should be reduced, no doubt with the idea of supplementing them with outside influence, as happened for the election of Martin V:

> Should one of the cardinals be elected [pope]? They all belong to the three partisan factions, and each can be expected to be more worthless than his former master and a user of that master's methods, for to all the world is manifest their justice, charity, justice, truth, benignity, generosity, and cupidity…
>
> Would it not be more fitting to fix the number of lord cardinals at twelve than to multiply them? Many do not have wherewith to live according to their taste, or rather their arrogance. This was partly the cause for the division of the church, or at least of the present extension of the schism, for anyone can see, since the time of Gregory XI, whether the cardinals have supported their masters on account of the miracles they have worked, or the benefices they conferred! Incidentally, the more there are of them, the bigger the war they wage.[52]

Bonet's proposals could not be adopted at the council, but the number of cardinals was limited to a maximum of twenty-four, a figure that was generally maintained until the end of the fifteenth century.[53]

While much has been made of the increase in size of the college in the fifteenth century from around twenty-four in the first half of the fifteenth century to over forty by the end, what mattered was not the number of cardinals created by a pope but the number alive at any one time and available to participate in consistories and conclaves.[54] As Pius II put it when he wanted to create cardinals in 1460, "the harvest indeed is great, but the workers are few."[55] While Nicholas V, Calixtus III, Pius II, and Paul II all made about a dozen new cardinals each, Eugenius IV made twenty-seven, which may seem excessive in comparison.[56] Nevertheless, at the election from which Nicholas V emerged in March 1447, there were twenty-four cardinals.[57] There were a total of twenty-six cardinals when Paul II was elected—nineteen at the election with seven absent—and eighteen to elect Sixtus IV with seven cardinals absent from Rome, pretty much as it had been since the election of Eugenius IV. There were twenty-five available to elect Innocent VIII with six absent, and twenty-three to elect Alexander VI with just four absent.[58] The biggest jump in numbers came at the very end of the fifteenth century under Alexander VI. When the cardinals entered the next conclave on 16 September 1503, there were thirty-seven of them with nine elsewhere unable to attend. Even these numbers were well within what was possible. In his treatise on cardinals (*c.* 1450), Martino Garati da Lodi recognized that the number could be much higher, based on the example of previous popes, and seventy was possible so that they might represent all the nations and languages of Christendom.[59] At the same time, there was no minimum or maximum number of cardinals required to elect a new pope—if all the other cardinals had died and only one was left, it would fall to him alone.[60]

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[52] Heinrich Finke, *Acta Concilii Constanciensis*, vol. 2: *Konzilstagebücher, Sermones, Reform- und Verfassungsakten. Herausgegeben* (Münster, 1923), 580–92, translated in Daniel Williman, "The Right of Spoil of the Popes of Avignon 1316–1415," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 78 part 6 (1988): 37.

[53] Rossi, *Il Collegio Cardinalizio*, 23.

[54] John F. Broderick, "The Sacred College of Cardinals: Size and Geographical Composition (1099–1986)," *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 25 (1986): 7–71; On the number of cardinals from Sixtus IV, Barbara McClung Hallman, *Italian Cardinals, Reform, and the Church as Property, 1492–1563* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 4.

[55] Pius II, "Commentaries of Pius II," 303; Pius II, *Commentarii*, 251: "Messis quidem multa, operarii autem pauci."

A great deal has also been made of the shift in national representation and social profile in the college to a predominantly Italian institution with as many secular as religious concerns. It is Eugenius IV who can be credited with responsibility for changing the character of the college and executing a "revolution of major importance in the history of the Church."[61] While in the preceding centuries it was normal for men to be made cardinals who were already curial officials and well known in the papal court, Eugenius IV brought in a completely different kind of candidate whose "only communality… was their loyalty to Eugenius in his quarrel with Basel."[62] Eugenius IV used his promotions to the cardinalate to lever the European princes away from the Council of Basel which had formally deposed him on 25 June 1439. Of the seventeen promotions he made in December 1439, most went to representatives of the powers whose loyalty he wished to reward or secure: these included senior members of the Burgundian, English, French, Genoese, Hungarian, Milanese, Polish, and Portuguese courts, as well as two members of the Greek party at the Council of Ferrara/Florence: Bessarion and Isidore.[63] In 1444 Alfonso Borgia, who was elected Calixtus III in 1455, was made cardinal as a gesture of reconciliation between Alfonso of Aragon and the papacy.[64] Pius II only took this policy to its logical conclusion by making Francesco Gonzaga, son of the Marquis of Mantua, a cardinal in 1461, in recognition for the family's support at the Congress of Mantua a year earlier.[65] Thereafter, it was not unusual to find members of the noble and royal houses of Italy and Europe in the College of Cardinals, among them the Medici of Florence, who went on to enjoy the papacy itself twice in the sixteenth century. However, Francis Burkle-Young points out that the different kinds of men made cardinals by Eugenius IV and subsequent popes "dealt a blow to the collegiality of the cardinals from which they would never wholly recover."[66] A particularly vexed issue was that of persuading all of the cardinals appointed to move to Rome—at the election of Nicholas V a quarter of the college was not at the conclave because their loyalties and interests lay elsewhere.[67]

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[56] Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, vol. 2, 7–16.

[57] Chacon, *Vitae, et res gestae*, vol. 2, cols 950–1; Pastor, *History of the Popes*, vol. 2, 7.

[58] Chacon, *Vitae, et res gestae*, vol. 3, cols 148–9; Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica*, vol. 2, 16 n. 3; 21 n. 1; 22 n. 4.

[59] Martino Garati da Lodi, *De cardinalibus* (1453) in Gigliola Soldi Rondinini, *Per la storia del Cardinalato nel secolo XV*, Accademia di Scienze e Lettere 33 no. 1 (Milan: Memorie dell'Istituto Lombardo, 1973), question 2; 57–8. Sixtus V compared the cardinals to the seventy elders who served Moses and so set their number at seventy: Harry Gerard Hynes, *The Privileges of Cardinals: Commentary with Historical Notes*, Canon Law Series no. 217 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America, 1945), 6.

[60] Martino Garati da Lodi, *De cardinalibus*, question 97; 85.

[61] Francis A. Burkle-Young, *Passing the Keys: Modern Cardinals, Conclaves, and the Election of the Next Pope* (Lanham: Madison Books, 1999), xxii–xxiii.

As Margaret Harvey asserts, it is "hardly sensible to accuse late fifteenth-century popes of becoming Italian princes," because they had in effect been princes since the establishment of the Papal States in the eighth century: "The question was rather what kind of secular prince to be."[68] While there was a rise in the number of prince cardinals, and the fifteenth-century college has indeed been characterized by their emergence, their existence was a result of changes not in the college itself but in the wider context. The dominant model for the papacy by the end of the fifteenth century was the monarch whose power was represented by his state, his way of life, and his gift-giving. His courtiers were expected to contribute to and reflect the honour of their patron through their own magnificence. Nevertheless, lawyers and theologians continued to have a role to play in the college. The issue for them was how to pay for the new lifestyle they were expected to lead.

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[62] Burkle-Young, *Passing the Keys*, xxiii.

[63] Chacon, *Vitae, et res gestae*, vol. 2, cols 900–19.

[64] François-Charles Uginet, "Eugenio IV," in Levillain, *Dizionario Storico del Papato*, 571.

[65] Chacon, *Vitae, et res gestae*, vol. 2, cols 1067–8; Pius II, *Commentarii*, 449.

[66] Burkle-Young, *Passing the Keys*, xxiv.

[67] Chacon, *Vitae, et res gestae*, vol. 2, col. 951. A prominent example is John Kemp, the English cardinal, who will be discussed in the next chapter, 101–4.

[68] Harvey, "Unity and Diversity," 161. See also John A.F. Thomson, *Popes and Princes 1417–1517: Politics and Polity in the Late Medieval Church* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1980), 78–94, on the financial problems of the papacy in the fifteenth century.

Margaret Harvey also observes that for the fifteenth-century papacy, "finance remained its Achilles heel."[69] At the councils of Constance and Basel, a concerted effort was made to make the popes live off the means of the Papal States instead of levying charges and taxes throughout western Christendom. The abolition of annates, the first year's income of a newly assigned benefice which traditionally went to the papacy, was one way in which the secular powers forced the papacy to look closer to home for its revenues. The resulting shortfall meant that more and more imaginative ways of making money had to be found. The sale of offices became one of the most reliable—but also the most problematic—means, as the curia was increasingly burdened by officials with positions they had purchased but with no work to do.[70]

Since the end of the thirteenth century the cardinals had been assigned half of the income of the Church, and until the middle of the fifteenth century—with the exception of the pontificate of Martin V who seems to have managed to avoid sharing the revenue with them— it was a major element in the struggle between them and the pope.[71] Those cardinals able to attend the consistories with the pope, and therefore resident in Rome, were entitled to a share of the monies 'earned' by the college through its brokering of incumbents to benefices. This income varied considerably from one year to the next, however: in 1465 Francesco Gonzaga received 1,822 florins but five years later, in 1470, only 252 florins.[72] In addition to these consistorial provisions, cardinals who represented in consistory the case of someone who was after a benefice could receive a fee or tip. Cardinals themselves could also hold commendatory benefices, usually dioceses or monasteries, from which they were given the right to commandeer income, although usually in return for at least some concern for the care or advancement of its interests.[73] Therefore, it is not surprising that, as recorded in Pius II's *Commentaries*, one of the main objections of the cardinals to their increase in number is the resulting decline in their income: the French cardinal, Jean Jouffroy, is given the words, "There are enough of us already, whether you wish to send ambassadors or to hold a council at home. We are cheapened by too great numbers. We have not enough resources for ourselves and you wish to add others to take the bread from our mouths."[74]

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[69] Harvey, "Unity and Diversity," 160.

[70] Thomson, *Popes and Princes*, 89–90.

[71] Norman Zacour, "The Cardinals' View of the Papacy, 1150–1300," in *The Religious Roles of the Papacy: Ideals and Realities 1150–1300*, ed. Christopher Ryan, Papers in Medieval Studies 8 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1989), 429–30; Anthony V. Antonovics, "A Late Fifteenth Century Division Register of the College of Cardinals," *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 35 (1967): 87–101; David S. Chambers, "The Economic Predicament of Renaissance Cardinals," in *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, vol. 3, ed. William M. Bowsky (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), 295–7; Thomson, *Popes and Princes*, chapter 4. On Martin V see Partner, *Papal State under Martin V*, 140.

Wealth and material possessions could be a particularly awkward problem for the members of the papal court.[75] Clerical wealth was criticized because, as Christ and his apostles had been poor, so too should his priests and bishops. This was countered with the argument that wealth was required for their comfort and health, and therefore their efficiency and effectiveness. Bored with being closeted away translating documents from Greek to Latin, Lapo da Castiglionchio the Younger wrote his *De Curiae Commodis* at the Council of Ferrara, completing it in

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[72] David S. Chambers, *A Renaissance Cardinal and his Worldly Goods: The Will and Inventory of Francesco Gonzaga (1444–1483)* (London: Warburg Institute Surveys and Texts 20, 1992), 43; Antonovics, "Division Register," 101.

[73] See Chambers, *Worldly Goods*, 38–41, 43–4, for a useful and unusually detailed account of a cardinal's benefices in the middle of the fifteenth century. Other cardinals held benefices with the main intention of reform, for example, Nicholas of Cusa and the Tyrolese monasteries: Morimichi Watanabe, "Nicholas of Cusa and the Tyrolese Monasteries: Reform and Resistance," *History of Political Thought* 9 (1986): 53–72; and Juan de Torquemada and the reform of the Spanish Dominican priories: Vicente Beltrán de Heredia, *Historia de la reforma de la provincia de España, 1450–1550*, Dissertationes historicae, vol. 11 (Rome: Institutum Historiam FF. Praedicatorum Romae, 1939).

[74] Pius II, "Commentaries of Pius II," 304; Pius II, *Commentarii*, 252.

[75] Decima L. Douie, "Some Treatises against the Fraticelli in the Vatican Library," *Franciscan Studies* 38 (1978): 10–80; John Monfasani, "The Fraticelli and Clerical Wealth in Quattrocento Rome," in *Renaissance Society and Culture: Essays in Honor of Eugene F. Rice, Jr.*, ed. John Monfasani and Ronald G. Musto (New York: Italica Press, 1991), 177–95; these issues are discussed in Meredith J. Gill, "Guillaume d'Estouteville's Italian Journey," in *The Possessions of a Cardinal: Politics, Piety and Art, 1450–1700*, ed. Mary Hollingsworth and Carol M. Richardson (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, forthcoming).

August 1438.[76] Ahead of his time, there he argued pragmatically that, for the simple reason that wealth was so desired and respected in his day, those at the papal court should have access to it. Not only would it enable them to impress the faithful, but it would also allow them to perform charitable deeds and, if necessary, to protect themselves:

> If wealth certainly isn't dangerous for others, unless they are dishonest, intemperate, and shameful, why don't we just come out and say that it is advantageous and integrally essential to live well? Wealth is a great aid and ornament not only to men of the private sector but also to all cities, both in war and at peace, at home and away… Of course I shall never deny that virtue, integrity, holiness, and religion are necessary first of all in high priests and that whoever cannot exhibit these qualities in and of himself should not even be considered a man, let alone a high priest. But when these qualities are present, if they are fitted out with riches [the high priest] shines forth and has more authority and admiration among all peoples, especially since he has been entrusted with the highest power, and since there are things that often cannot be correctly managed without great expense. [Examples of these things are] helping the poor and afflicted and giving them dowries so that their daughters can be properly placed, which are the duties of a holy and religious man; building churches, restoring ruins, and beautifying all things; instituting worship, rites, and ceremonies—sacred scripture testifies that immortal God wanted this always to happen with the greatest pomp and circumstance; then, sending legations to various regions, formally requesting money, winning over kings and princes to peace, union, and religion; and—since things have slipped to such a point of temerity and crime that the high priests cannot be guarded from the hands of predators without protection—hiring horsemen and foot soldiers for their own bodily protection. Each of these things in itself demands a great deal of money.[77]

But not all the cardinals had access to the kind of money they needed to fulfil what was expected of them in terms of lifestyle and activity. Although Nicholas of Cusa was the son of a wealthy boatman, he could not compete with the cardinals in Rome who were royal agents, such as Guillaume d'Estouteville, or who were nobility, such as Francesco Gonzaga, for access to revenue. In fact, he described his colleagues in the college as "bent on ambition and avarice."[78] Nevertheless, when Cusa moved permanently to Rome, he was given additional financial support by Pius II to enable him to live appropriately.[79]

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[76] Christopher S. Celenza, *Renaissance Humanism and the Papal Curia: Lapo da Castigliochio the Younger's "De curiae commodis"*, Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999), 31.

[77] Celenza, *Lapo da Castigliochio*, 199, 203, 205. Despite his apparently positive tone, irony has been detected in some of Lapo's other works on the curia: Renée Neu Watkins, "Mythology as Code: Lapo da Castiglionchio's View of Homosexuality and Materialism at the Curia," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 53 (1992): 138–44.

Election capitulations

Until the election of Sixtus IV, the key moment when the cardinals could assert their demands over the pope was in the period of the interregnum. The cardinals agreed election capitulations which the new pope would have to agree to observe before his election was confirmed.[80] They had been given the sole right to elect the pope both for practical reasons—to reduce the risk of outside interference, in particular from the Roman families—and so that the papacy could be said to continue unbroken, even though the pope had died. The papal *imperium* passed to the cardinals collectively as successors of the Apostles so that they could then pass it on to the next pope. Gregory X had tried to control the possible abuses of their brief possession of *imperium* in the decree *Ubi periculum* (1274), which banned the cardinals from considering anything other than the election of the pope at the conclave unless absolutely necessary. By the middle of the fourteenth century, election capitulations had become a way to influence the activity of the next pope under the guise of dealing only with the election.

During the 1352 vacancy the cardinals drew up a list of demands which the next pope would have to agree to uphold.[81] These capitulations were probably the first. The three main issues raised by them continued to feature at papal elections well into the fifteenth century: the cardinals wanted control over the promotion of new members to the college—the pope was not to make new cardinals until their number had fallen to sixteen, nor was he to go ahead without consulting them on the proposed candidates; they wanted protection for their financial privileges; and they expected to be consulted as a regular part of the pope's decision making. But the regular appearance of capitulations was matched just as regularly by the new pope beginning his reign with their repudiation.[82]

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[78] Pius II, "Commentaries of Pius II," 500; Pius II, *Commentarii*, 446: "ambitioni et avaritie omnes student."

[79] Erich Meuthen, *Die letzten Jahre des Nikolaus von Kues: Bibliographische Untersuchungen nach neuen Quellen*, Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen der Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, vol. 3 (Köln: Westdeutscher, 1958), 89–90; Donald F. Duclow, "Life and Works," in *Introducing Nicholas of Cusa: A Guide to a Renaissance Man*, ed. Christopher M. Bellitto, Thomas M. Izbicki, and Gerald Christianson (New York and Mahwah: Paulist Press, 2004), 45.

[80] On election capitulations, J. Lulvès, "Päpstliche Wahlkapitulationem," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 12 (1909): 212–35; Walter Ullmann, "The Legality of the Papal Election Pacts," *Ephemerides Iuris Canonici* 12 (1956): 246–78.

[81] For the issues concerning *sede vacante* and the election capitulations of 1352, see Diana Wood, *Clement VI: The Pontificate and Ideas of an Avignon Pope* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 103–4; see also Wood's discussion of Conrad of Megenberg's *Yconimica*, 104. The election capitulations at the election of Clement VI are discussed in Guillaume Mollat, "Contribution à l'histoire du Sacré-Collège de Clement V à Eugène IV," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 46 (1951): 100–5; Edith

At the election of Eugenius IV, the cardinals were desperate to recover some of the ground they had lost under Martin V.[83] Before getting down to the business of electing the pope, the cardinals drew up the terms which they expected the next pope to adopt. Not only was he to carry out church reform, follow the strictures of the Council of Constance in the naming of new cardinals, and not transfer the curia anywhere without their consent, but the cardinals also drew up rules to govern his behaviour, asked that their half-share of revenue be confirmed, and insisted that all servants and officials of the Church in the Papal States swear fealty to them. It is striking that the cardinals felt they could reassert their rights as soon as Martin V was out of the way. The turbulent events of Eugenius IV's pontificate—the Council of Basel and the pope's forced residence in Florence—made any capitulations a minor concern for the cardinals who elected Nicholas V in 1447. Then, in 1455, of a number of demands made of him, Calixtus III swore only to pursue a crusade against the Ottoman Turks (who had taken Constantinople in 1453). Following the unpopular papacy of Calixtus III, a pope made infamous for his nepotism (although his nationality as a Spaniard is more likely to have made him unpopular

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Pásztor, "Funzione politico-culturale di un struttura della chiesa: il cardinalato," *Aspetti culturali della società italiana nel periodo del papato Avignonese* (Todi: Accademia Tudertina, 1981), 216–20.

[82] The practice began with Innocent VI, who repudiated the election capitulations of 1352 in 1353. Although the practice had effectively died out by the end of the fifteenth century, it was only condemned by Innocent XII in 1696 with the bull *Ecclesiae Catholicae*: see Pierre Jugie, "Innocenzo VI," in Levillain, *Dizionario storico del papato*, 798; Burke-Young, *Passing the Keys*, xxi.

[83] Pastor, *History of the Popes*, vol. 1, 282–4; the election capitulations made by the cardinals at the conclave which elected Eugenius IV are at *Bullarum, diplomatum et privilegiorum sanctorum romanorum pontificum*..., ed. Seb. Franco and Henrico Dalmazzo (Turin: Augustae Taurinorum, 1860), 2–3.

in Italy), the cardinals entered the conclave determined to gain some control over the new pope.[84]

In his record of his own election as pope in 1458, Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini describes the establishment of the capitulations. The day after they had entered the conclave, the eighteen cardinals who met to elect Calixtus III's successor decided the capitulations "which they agreed should be observed by the new pope and each swore that he would abide by them, should the lot fall on him."[85] The new pope was to be bound to continue the crusade against the Ottoman Turks begun by Calixtus III; he was to consult the College of Cardinals in most matters relating to the curia, including appointments to the papal court and appointments to bishoprics and other major benefices; the number of cardinals set by the Council of Constance at twenty-four was to be maintained and any new appointments to the college were to be strictly a matter of consensus with the existing college; the new pope was also to ensure that his cardinals' interests were protected regarding benefices and that the poorer cardinals whose income was less than 4,000 gold florins were to be allowed 100 florins a month from the papal purse until that sum was made up.[86] If the new pope failed to satisfy these conditions, the cardinals were to caution him "with reason." Having been elected, Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini swore to observe the capitulations. But he was also careful to qualify his apparent adherence to them: "As far as I am able with the help of God, and consistently with the honour and the integrity of the Apostolic See."[87] This meant that he largely ignored them.

Capitulations were drawn up by the cardinals at subsequent elections, for example at the conclave that elected Pietro Barbo Paul II in 1464. However, the demands were more a matter of habit without much hope of real control by this time: the new pope was to continue the crusade against the Turks, reform the curia, maintain the cardinals at no more than twenty four, and so on.[88] At the conclave that elected Sixtus IV in 1471, the capitulations were divided into private (those between the new pope and his cardinals) and public (those concerning the reform of the Church). It was the former that most concerned the cardinals in the papal elections until that of Julius II in 1503, though in practice they had little effect.

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[84] Thomson, *Popes and Princes*, 67–71.

[85] Pius II, *Commentaries*, 94; Pastor, *History of the Popes*, vol. 3, 10–11.

[86] The minimum income of 4,000 ducats persisted throughout the fifteenth century, see David S. Chambers, "The Economic Predicament of Renaissance Cardinals," in *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, vol. 3, ed. William M. Bowsky (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), 294.

[87] Odoricus Raynaldus, *Annales ecclesiastici accedunt notae chronologicae, criticae etc.*, vols 10–11 (Lucca, 1753–4), 1458, N. 8; quoted in Pastor, *History of the Popes*, vol. 3, 14.

[88] Chacon, *Vitae, et res gestae*, vol. 2, col. 1071.

Reform of the college

The reform of the papacy and its curia which was sought at the councils of the first half of the fifteenth century reached its apogee in the pontificate of Pius II. Nicholas of Cusa and Juan de Torquemada were still alive, and their significance was recognized by the pope, who had himself been involved in the councils. In 1458, almost as soon as he had been elected, Pius II appointed a reform commission that included Antoninus (1389–1459), the later canonized Bishop of Florence, Domenico de'Domenichi (1416–78), who had preached to the cardinals at the conclave of the same year, Juan de Torquemada, and Nicholas of Cusa, among others.[89] In 1459 Pius II commissioned Nicholas of Cusa, who had given up trying to reform the Tyrolese monasteries, to make official visitations to the four major basilicas in Rome: St Peter's, St John Lateran, San Paolo fuori le mura, and Santa Maria Maggiore.[90] Out of these official activities two important documents survive, Domenichi's *Tractatus de reformationibus Romanae curiae* (1458) and Cusa's *Reformatio generalis* (1459).[91] Each of these fed into *Pastor aeternus*, the pope's unpublished and undated reform bull.[92] It is Domenichi's treatise that is of particular interest in the context of this book.

An "assiduous orator and preacher," letter writer and theologian, Domenichi worked his way up through the ranks of the curia: he was made apostolic protonotary in 1447 and Bishop of Torcello in 1448 by Nicholas V and, in 1457, became referendary of the Segnatura, an important position in which he acted as delegate of the pope in the supreme tribunal court of the papacy.[93] He was employed throughout the pontificate of Pius II to advise the pope on the reform of the Church. His style was determined and uncompromising: in his sermons he declared that earthquakes, plagues, and famines were sure signs that something had to be done to improve the reputation and behaviour of the clergy.[94] Because their behaviour was so bad, he argued, the laity had no respect for them and they had lost their way. Secular leaders no longer respected the Church's authority and therefore its right to mediate in all areas of human life so it had been sidelined. The cardinals attract Domenichi's particular censure. As the pope's senate, they had a particular duty to set an example in their government of the Church, something they were clearly no longer capable of doing.

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[89] Pastor, *History of the Popes*, vol. 3, 269.

[90] John W. O'Malley, *Praise and Blame in Renaissance Rome: Rhetoric, Doctrine, and Reform in the Sacred Orators of the Papal Court, c. 1450–1521* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1979), 94; Morimichi Watanabe, "Nicholas of Cusa and the Reform of the Roman Curia," in Morimichi Watanabe, *Concord and Reform: Nicholas of Cusa and Legal and Political Thought in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. T.M. Izbicki and G. Christianson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 173. The sermons preached during these visitations are at BAV, Cod. Vat. lat. 1244 and 1245.

[91] Pastor, *History of the Papacy*, vol. 3, 270–2; Watanabe, "Reform of the Roman Curia," 174–5.

[92] On Pius II's reform bull see Pastor, *History of the Papacy*, vol. 3, 397–403; Rudolf Haubst, "Reformentwurf Pius des Zweiten," *Römisches Quartalschrift* 49 (1954): 188–242; O'Malley, *Praise and Blame*, 95–6.

Domenichi's most significant texts were written during the papacies of Calixtus III and Pius II; they concern the power of the popes, their relationship with the cardinals, and the reform of the curia. In 1456 he wrote his most significant work, the anti-conciliar *De potestate papae et termino eius* on the subject of the extent of papal power.[95] It built on Nicholas of Cusa's *Concordantia Catholica*, which emphasized the plentitude of papal power and was in turn an important inspiration for Juan de Torquemada's *Summa de Ecclesia*. Around the same time, Domenichi met Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, who was to become his most important patron at the papal court.

The *Tractatus de reformationibus Romanae curiae*, written under the auspices of Nicholas of Cusa, reversed all of the concessions gained by Martin V and established a new era for the College of Cardinals. The general reform of the Church was to begin with the pope and cardinals, who were duty bound to remove any obstacles in the way of improving the morals of the bishops and clergy and therefore enable reform to spread throughout the rest of the Church.[96] Domenichi goes on to emphasize the cardinals' close relationship with the pope and their role in church reform: although they are more senior in dignity and in office than any other, they are at the same time entirely dependent on the pope, part of his body and, like the Apostles called by Christ, summoned to assist the pope (Matthew 4).[97] It is therefore through the virtue of the individual and the avoidance of scandal that reform will spread to the rest of the Church. In the details on their behaviour, Domenichi hints at what must have been some of their misdemeanours: cardinals and priests are to behave appropriately in church, keeping silence; they are to avoid excessive display, for example in holding lavish banquets for visiting ambassadors, and living in an inappropriately sumptuous fashion, surrounded by silks, gold, and silver.[98]

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[93] For a biography of Domenico de'Domenichi see Herbert Smolinsky's entry in the DBI, vol. 40, 691–5; Hubert Jedin, *Studien über Domenico de'Domenichi (1416–1478)* (Wiesbaden: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur. Abhandlungen der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse. Jahrg, 1957. no. 5, 1958); Pastor, *History of the Popes*, vol. 3, 273; and most recently Martin F. Ederer, *Humanism, Scholasticism, and the Theology and Preaching of Domenico de'Domenichi in the Italian Renaissance* (Lewiston, Ontario, and Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2003), 11–20.

[94] Ederer, *Domenico de'Domenichi*, 193–4; John F. D'Amico, *Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome: Humanists and Churchmen on the Eve of the Reformation* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983), 218.

[95] Herbert Smolinsky, *Domenico de'Domenichi und seine Schrift "De potestate pape et termino eius:" Edition und Kommentar* (Münster: Vorreformationsgeschichtliche Forschungen 17, 1976).

The main themes in the *Tractatus* are asserted in the reform bull, *Pastor aeternus*, of Pius II in which a powerful model for the cardinals, closely tied to the pope, is presented:

> The cardinals are to be distinguished from the rest of the faithful by the sanctity of their lives. If, by an evil life, any of them should bring shame of his exalted position, he will have to reckon with the anger of the pope as well as with the chastening hand of God. He will not suffer a bad example to be given by the cardinals. On the contrary, they are to report in consistory all abuses in Christendom and at the court and to provide remedies. Worldly considerations are never to interfere with the interests of the Catholic and Roman Church. Cardinals who, through princely favour and for their own benefit, seek and obtain any temporal advantage shall be, *ipso facto*, excommunicated and not absolved until they have renounced, in favour of the poor, what they have acquired. The

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[96] Ederer, *Domenico de'Domenichi*, 206.

[97] Domenico de'Domenichi, "Tractatus de reformationibus Romanae curiae," in BAV, Barberini lat. 1487, ff. 289v–295v: "Et videtur quod Reverendissimi domini Cardinales qui sunt membra immediata corporis pape… maiora et proximiora membra et successive alii maiores prelati et officiales curie digniores debent… maiores in dignitatibus vel officibus, ita aliis inferioribus et sequentibus, in hoc prebere exemplum pacifice et obedienter et sine murmuratione sed cum caritate et humilitate suscipiendi in se reformationem et hec omnia que papa ordinabitur sicut si essent ab ore Christi et beati Petri decreta." See also Pastor, *History of the Popes*, vol. 3, 273–5.

[98] BAV, Barberini lat. 1487, f. 292v: "Decimasexta consideratio circa vasa aurea et argentea et thesauros eorum, multitudinem vasorum aureorum et argenteorum, quasi essent domini temporales, et multo minus iocales gemmas et lapides preciosos et alia preciosa; et ista ostendere laicis post convivia et inique contentari de beneficiis, ut possint in huiusmodi eorum superfluitatibus expendere ad pompam et ostentationem alicui, dico."

> management of the most important affairs of the Church is to be committed to the cardinals. Those who have been nominated previously to the pontificate of Pius II are forbidden, under pain of excommunication, to have more than sixty servants and forty teams of horses; those created by Pius II are limited to twenty servants and four teams, and must not possess any benefice whose revenue exceeds 4,000 golden florins. The cardinals are forbidden to wear the *Cappa rubea* [red cape]. None who belong to the court may hunt or keep hounds. Banquets are prohibited; as far as etiquette requires, they may be given in honour of princes or their ambassadors, but, on these occasions, only music of a serious character is permitted... With the exception of consistories, cardinals are not to come to the Apostolic palace unless they are summoned.[99]

The fact that the bull was never promulgated was, in some ways, unimportant. There was little chance of it being adopted in practice, because the pope needed the cardinals as much as they needed him. The cardinals were not likely to give up any allowances they had managed to collect over the years, so the pope could not do any more than offer a model for them to emulate, as he needed the political connections, support, and even financial assistance they could give him.

The dependence of the cardinals on the pope is the subject of Domenico de'Domenichi's *Consilium in materia creationis cardinalium* of 1461.[100] A few years earlier he had written his *De creatione cardinalium*. Together these two treatises add up to a powerful refutation of the arguments for the power and independence of the cardinals proposed during the conciliar crisis. In these treatises on cardinals, it is made explicit that the 'reform' of the college was more about closing down the arguments opened earlier in the century at the various councils than about any fundamental change. Most of all, Domenichi argued for the absolute freedom of the pope to act as he saw fit without any kind of interference. Nevertheless, the treatises are written with full cognisance of the significance of the interrelationship between the pope and cardinals: the *plenitudo potestatis* rests with the pope and the cardinals together, rather than with the pope alone.[101] Domenichi confirms the cardinals' significance in maintaining the continuity of the apostolic succession in times of *sede vacante*. Although the papal *imperium* resided in them collectively, however, this was only for the purposes of electing a successor. Similarly, although the cardinals could be empowered to act on the pope's behalf as *legatus a latere*, they did so only because they had been specifically empowered to do so by him.

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[99] According to Pastor, a copy of the bull is in Barberini Library, Rome, Cod. 27, ff. 1–53; part of it translated in Pastor, *History of the Popes*, vol. 3, 397–403. See also Haubst, "Reformentwurf Pius des Zweiten," 188–242.

[100] Domenico de'Domenichi's "Tractatus de creatione cardinalium," ff. 296r–300v, and the "Consilium in materia creationis cardinalium" (1461) are in BAV, Barberini lat. 1487, ff. 296–300. There is also a copy of "De creatione cardinalium" dedicated to Sixtus IV and dated 1471 at BAV, Vat. lat. 8192, ff. 1–15.

[101] BAV, Barberini lat. 1487, f. 304v: "plenitudo potestatis non est in papa solo sed in Romana ecclesia vel est in papa cum cardinalibus."

The role of the cardinals in electing the pope is strongly defended in a way that suggests there was still some question over the autonomy of the cardinals even by the 1460s. Despite the fact that others had joined in electing Martin V at the Council of Constance, that did not mean anyone else was entitled to join the cardinals in future elections, not even if they were representatives of the Roman clergy or Roman people. According to Domenichi the canons of St Peter's and St John Lateran should not be allowed into the election just because the pope is the pastor of the universal Church and of the Roman: the cardinals, not the canons, are pastors of both the universal and of the Roman [local] Church.[102] This point was fundamental in the definition of papal jurisdiction as universal and not local. And it stresses again the significance of the cardinals as an attribute of the pope's universal authority. However, asserting that authority was much easier in Rome than it was in other parts of western Christendom, as will be discussed in the next chapter.

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[102] BAV, Barberini lat. 1487, ff. 298v, 305r: "Non sit iniuria canonicatis sancti Petri aut sancti Johannis Lateranensis, si non eligant papam vel non admittantur in electione, quia, ut dixi, electio est et principalis et universalis ecclesie pastoris, quia et Romana et universalis ecclesia potuit consentire in illos et non in canonicos, sicut fecit. Quo etiam fundamento videtur, concludo, soluto meliori iudicio, quod deficientibus eligere non devolveretur he potestas eligendi ad canonicos sive ad universalis ecclesias sive ad concilium illas representans."

CHAPTER THREE

DIGNITY AND DRESS

Practical and theoretical, religious and secular elements combined to define a cardinal in the fifteenth century. Only in relatively rare moments was their position explicitly delineated in the period, two of which are the focus of the first part of this chapter. The extent of their jurisdiction in relation to that of the pope was most clearly articulated through their dress, the most visible feature of their rationalization during the period, as will be considered in the second half of this chapter.

One commonly held view of the origins of the cardinalate went back to the Apostles and even to the Old Testament and the priests of the Temple.[1] On Christ's death, Peter became leader of the Apostles, just as a pope emerges on his election from the College of Cardinals. The cardinals therefore continued as successors of the Apostles and as Peter's assistants. When the core group of Apostles appointed others to go out into the world, these were the precursors of diocesan bishops. The cardinals, however, remained with Peter and his successors. Another, opposing, model was that the pope alone held the most venerable position in the Church as Christ's earthly representative. The cardinals as a group emerged around the time of the Donation of Constantine in the fourth century when the emperor gave Pope Sylvester both temporal and religious authority over western Christendom. They were likened to parts of the pope's body as they shared in papal power—his limbs or even his head.[2] They were at the same time senators of the Church who had supplanted the old Imperial Senate in Rome. Their relationship with the city of Rome was a defining feature of their relationship with its bishop, the pope, as their assignment to churches in Rome and the suburbicarian dioceses around it demonstrated (and as will be discussed in detail in chapter 5).

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[1] See above, chapter 2, n. 96; 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: Basil Blackwell, 1991), 337–8; *Bullarum, diplomatum et privilegiorum sanctorum romanorum pontificum*..., ed. Seb. Franco and Henrico Dalmazzo, 25 vols. (Turin: Augustae Taurinorum, 1860), vol. 5, 34–8.

[2] Innocent III was the first to use this 'corporal metaphor' in a letter of August 1198, declaring "we are all [pope and cardinals] one body in Christ." John Andrew Watt, "The Constitutional Law of the College of Cardinals from Hostiensis to Johannes Andreae," *Medieval Studies* 33 (1971): 152–4; Agostino Paravicini-Bagliani, *The Pope's Body*, trans. David S. Peterson (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2000; first published as *Il corpo del Papa*, Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 1994), 64–5 and n. 46;

The issue of the cardinals' position was not unique to the fifteenth century. Boniface VIII (1294–1303), for example, had to answer the assertions of some of his cardinals that the status they had during *sede vacante* endured beyond the conclave and made them in some regards equal and even superior to a pope, as it was they who delegated the papal *imperium* to an individual. Boniface VIII's answer was an attempt to subjugate them within his authority:

> Some might say that the cardinals do not have status. They do and they don't, 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 status of pre-eminence that the pope has. No one else has this kind of status except the pope alone, since he is not beneath that of anyone inferior to him. But the cardinals who have status are beneath the status of the Roman pontiff, who has the power to correct and to punish them.[3]

The events of the fifteenth century—the aftermath of the schism and the conciliar crisis, and associated challenges to papal jurisdiction—brought to a head the issue of exactly what a cardinal was and their position in relation to the pope.

Definitions

Martino Garati da Lodi (*c.* 1410–53) was a doctor of both canon and civil law at, first, the University of Pavia, then from 1446 the Ateneo di Siena where he was a member of a college established to debate

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Agostino Paravicini-Bagliani, *Il trono di Pietro: L'universalità del papato da Alessandro III a Bonifacio VIII* (Rome: Carocci, 1996), 57–8.

[3] *Gesta Boemundi archiepiscopi Treverensis*, in Norman Zacour, "The Cardinals' View of the Papacy, 1150–1300," in *The Religious Roles of the Papacy: Ideals and Realities 1150–1300*, ed. Christopher Ryan, Papers in Medieval Studies 8 (Toronto, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1989), 435–6.

unresolved and sensitive legal issues, and from 1448 a professor at the University of Bologna.[4] During his time at Bologna Garati wrote a treatise of one hundred questions on cardinals, *De cardinalibus*, which was, until relatively recently, attributed to Juan de Torquemada.[5] The treatise is a contribution to the general discussion of the extent of papal power, its main objective to consider the evidence from canon law and other written authorities for the remit of the College of Cardinals in order that questions raised during the conciliar debate might be laid to rest. In fact, Garati was tackling some particularly sensitive issues: he never completed his treatise because it could all too easily have fallen into the hands of those wishing to increase the power of the councils against the pope.[6]

Throughout, Garati's treatise betrays the many points of uncertainty that remained in defining a cardinal. Garati mentions, for example, that other clergy and princes also had the right to be called cardinals. He explains that these are nevertheless inferior to the cardinals of the Roman Church.[7] The Roman cardinals, he recounts, were first recorded at the time of Pope Pontian in the third century, but other evidence suggested that they only appeared after the general synod summoned by Pope Sylvester at the time of Constantine.[8]

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[4] See the biography of Martino Garati by Gigliola Soldi Rondinini in DBI, vol. 52, 230–4.

[5] Karl Binder, "Martini Gazati der Verfasser der Kardinal Juan de Torquemada O.P. sugescribenen 'Centum quaestiones de coetu et auctoritate dominorum cardinalium' in Codex Barberini 1192 und 1552," *Angelicum* 28 no. 1 (1951): 139–51.

[6] Gigliola Soldi Rondinini, *Per la storia del Cardinalato nel secolo XV*, Accademia di Scienze e Lettere, vol. 33 no. 1 (Milan: Memorie dell'Istituto Lombardo, 1973), 39: the contents of the treatise are described as "periculosa materia, maxime in articulo de potestate concilii contra papam."

[7] Martino Garati da Lodi, *De cardinalibus* (1453), in Gigliola Soldi Rondinini, *Per la storia del Cardinalato nel secolo XV*, Accademia di Scienze e Lettere 33, no. 1 (Milan: Memorie dell'Istituto Lombardo, 1973), question 16; 62: "Queritur an regentes principaliter aliquam ecclesiam, puta vicarii, canonici et similes, dicantur cardinales… Ideo dicimus cardinales sacrosancte Romane ecclesie ad differentiam istorum cardinalium inferiorum. Caveant tamen isti cardinales inferiores, ut vicarii vel canonici, ne in potestate honore et dominio summos dominos cardinales sacrosancte Romane ecclesie more scismatico imitentur…"

[8] Martino Garati da Lodi, *De cardinalibus*, question 18; 62: "Quo tempore fuerunt cardinales. Respondet Archidiaconus… quod fuerunt domini cardinales tempore Pontiani pape, qui non ponitur in cathalogo pontificum… quod quando dominus Constantinus fecit donationem pape Silvestro non erant cardinales, sed postea, dum dominus cardinalis Sylvester fecit sinodum generalem, aliqui erant cardinales." This point is repeated in Martino Garati, "De principibus," *Tractatus illustrium in utraque tum pontificii, tum caesarei iuris facultate Iurisonsultorum, De Dignitate, et Potestate seculari* (Venice, 1584), question 484, f. 211v: "Quando Constantinus fecit donationem Papae

Central to the points of definition is the cardinals' relationship with the pope, without whom they would not exist: he is the head of the body that is the Church universal; they are its members. They therefore work closely together, sometimes virtually as equals: when the pope addresses the cardinals as a group or the cardinal-bishops on their own, he calls them his brothers (*fratres*), but when addressing the cardinals-priests and cardinal-deacons alone he called them sons (*filii*).[9] This had been the case since at least the thirteenth century.[10] Garati stresses the dependence of the cardinals' on the pope for their position and power which only varies during *sede vacante*; even then they only exercise their power without the pope in times of crisis or imminent danger.[11] They are governors of the whole world and the co-judges who sit in counsel with the pope and can therefore represent him. Only cardinals, for example, can act on his behalf as legates.[12] The title of legate *de latere* was applied exclusively to the cardinals from the fourteenth century: sent out directly from the pope's side (*latere*) and as part of the papal body, they are therefore entitled to the same honours as the pope. But their authority came from the individual who was pope rather than from the papal dignity: as soon as a pope died, the legate lost his jurisdiction and his mandate expired. Jean de Cardaillac, the fourteenth-century prelate and diplomat, distinguished between legates *a latere* and legates *de latere*. '*De*' emphasized the fact that the legate's powers emanated directly from the pope.[13] (In practice, however, little

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Sylvestro, non erant Cardinales, sed ex post dum Constantinus synodum generalem Papae Sylvestro fecit..."

[9] Martino Garati da Lodi, *De cardinalibus*, question 94; 84: "Utrum papa appellet cardinalem fratrem vel filium. Respondi quod in genere cetus cardinalium et cardinales dicuntur fratres pape... In speciali nota, presbiteri vel diaconi cardinales filii pape nominantur... sed episcopum cardinalem nominat fratrem."

[10] Harry Gerard Hynes, *The Privileges of Cardinals: Commentary with Historical Notes*, Canon Law Series, no. 217 (Washington DC: Catholic University of America, 1945), 5.

[11] Martino Garati da Lodi, *De cardinalibus*, question 75; 79: "Ardua questio est en vacante sede apostolica cetus dominorum cardinalium utatur iurisdictione domini nostri pape. Respondeo non, nisi ex cause grandi et imminenti periculo..."

[12] Martino Garati da Lodi, *De cardinalibus*, question 13; 61: "An alius non cardinalis missus a domino nostro papa ad provinciam, dicatur legatus de latere. Respondi quod non, secundum consuetudinem curie Romane..." Also Johann Baptist Sägmüller, *Die Thätigkeit und Stellung der Cardinäle bis Papst Bonifaz VIII. historisch-canonistisch untersucht und dargestellt* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1896), 60–2; Guillaume Mollat, "Contribution à l'histoire du Sacré-Collège de Clement V à Eugène IV," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 46 (1951): 566–74; G.L. Lesage, "La titulature des envoyés pontificaux sous Pie II, 1458–64," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 58 (1941–6): 208–11.

[13] Mollat, "Contribution," 567, who quotes Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, MS Latin 3294, f. 243v: "Aliqui mittuntur a latere, sicut cardinales, aliqui vero de latere,

distinction was made between cardinals called legates and those given the title of nuncio (envoy), apart from the fact that legates had the right to confer benefices.)

But while the status of the cardinals in relation to the pope was relatively unproblematic by the middle of the fifteenth century, it was not so clear cut when they encountered clergy and secular leaders elsewhere. Again, this was not a new problem. In the twelfth century, for example, the argument that a cardinal was part of the papal dignity and therefore superior to all others was not sufficient in dealings with rulers and even churchmen outside Rome. Giovanni Paparoni (d. 1158), was commissioned by Eugenius III to go to Ireland on legation where he would operate as papal agent and extend pontifical blessings to the archbishops there at the Synod of Kells in 1152. But Paparo was only ordained deacon. The pope insisted that he be ordained priest before his legation began (something the cardinal tried to resist without success), as his holding only deacon's orders would seem inappropriate when he was dealing with the Irish bishops.[14]

By the fifteenth century it was not the level of a cardinal's ordination but his participation in papal jurisdiction that was key to his authority. The problem was that, as a rank, the cardinalate did not map onto other ecclesiastical hierarchies, and in particular the tripartite ministry of deacons, priests, and bishops that is the keystone of the apostolic ministry as they are custodians of the sacraments. Although at the Council of Constance at the beginning of the fifteenth century the cardinals were declared "fully the equivalent of… bishops" in their status and ability to vote, to become a cardinal it was not necessary to have more than minor clerical orders.[15] When, for example, Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini was made cardinal in 1461 by his uncle, Pius II, he had only minor clerical orders, those of apostolic protonotary, an office attached to the notaries of the papal chancery (*Cancelleria*).[16] In

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sicut quando mittuntur alii inferiores, cum isti qui a principe mittuntur regulariter pro causis arduis mittuntur et delegantur."

[14] Zacour, "Cardinals' View of the Papacy," 417–18, n. 17.

[15] Diary of Cardinal Fillastre, 3 March 1417, in John Hine Munday and Kennerly M. Woody, eds, *The Council of Constance: The Unification of the Church*, trans. Louise Ropes Loomis (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1961), 323.

[16] "Protonotari apostolici," in Gaetano Moroni Romano, *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica da S. Pietro sino ai nostri giorni: specialmente intorno ai principali santi, beati, martiri, padri, ai sommi pontefici, cardinali e più celebri scrittori ecclesiastici* (Venice: Emiliana, 1840–79), vol. 56, 3–29; Paulius Rabikauskas, "Protonotario," in Levillain, *Dizionario Storico del Papato*, 1221–2; Marc Dykmans, *L'Oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini ou le Cérémonial*

terms of hierarchy, his was no minor office as in the papal court apostolic protonotaries had precedence over bishops, something Domenico de'Domenichi thought inappropriate.[17] Although Cardinal Piccolomini was then assigned the archbishopric of Siena he was not ordained bishop—or even priest—and was only ever administrator of the see.[18] In 1502 Johann Burchard, the papal master of ceremonies, described the by then elderly cardinal presiding over mass at the English Hospice in Rome while the ambassador for England in Rome, Bishop Silvestro Gigli of Worcester, celebrated: Piccolomini could not celebrate because he was not a priest.[19] In 1503 when he was elected pope and took the name Pius III, the Cardinal of Siena had to be ordained priest and then bishop before he could be crowned pope.[20] Whether or not a cardinal was an ordained priest was relatively insignificant in the fifteenth century.[21] What was more important was his ability to represent the interests of papal jurisdiction in the Papal States and further afield. That said, the status of the cardinals relative to diocesan clergy was highly problematic, something that secular rulers regularly exploited.

Papal de la Première Renaissance, Studi e testi 293–4 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1980), 494.

[17] Denys Hay, *The Church in Italy in the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 86.

[18] Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini is frequently referred to by modern scholars as Archbishop of Siena from January 1460. Pius II is more specific—"Commentaries of Pius II," 302: "Shortly before this [31 January 1460], Antonio, Archbishop of the city, had died while he was visiting the baths for his health. The Pope appointed to his duties and office his sister's son, Francesco, then twenty-three years old." Chacon (*Vitae, et res gestae*, vol. 2, col. 1048) correctly refers to him only as "Administratore Ecclesiae Senensis, ac ex Protonotario Apostolico Diaconus Cardinalis S. Eustachii ad Pantheon."

[19] Johann Burchard, *Johannis Burckardi Liber notarum : ab anno MCCCCLXXXIII usque ad annum MDVI*, ed. Enrico Celani RIS 32 (Città di Castello: Lapi, 1910–1942), part 2, 29 December, 1502, 342.

[20] urchard, *Liber notarum*, part 2, 28 September 1503, 389; Pius III's coronation as pope took place on 1 October. This was not unusual—Paul II also had to be ordained before he could be crowned pope. On the ordination to the diaconate and priesthood of a new pope, Dykmans, *L'Oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini*, 54–8.

[21] Cardinals did not have to have clerical status until Sixtus V (1585–90) decreed it. At that point anyone who became cardinal had to have been tonsured and possess minor orders for at least a year. Cardinal-deacons had to be ordained deacon within a year of their promotion: Hynes, *Privileges of Cardinals*, 3. It is only since 1962 (*Cum gravissima*, 15 April 1962) that cardinals have had to be ordained bishops: Francis A. Burkle-Young, *Passing the Keys: Modern Cardinals, Conclaves, and the Election of the Next Pope* (Lanham: Madison Books, 1999), 122.

The case of Cardinal Kemp

When John Kemp, Archbishop of York, was created Cardinal of Santa Balbina on 18 December 1439 by Eugenius IV, the hierarchy of the dioceses in England was turned upside down.[22] In England the most senior bishop was the incumbent of the archdiocese of Canterbury, to which the archdiocese of York came second. But as a cardinal, Kemp had precedence over all other clergy, including bishops. In 1440 Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, asserted the primacy of Canterbury over York in the English parliament, and thus his precedence and privileges over those of the cardinal. Chichele then appealed to the pope to intervene in the dispute with Cardinal Kemp over the relative status of bishops and cardinals.[23] Pietro da Monte, papal collector in England, wrote to both the pope and the College of Cardinals in August 1440, alerting them to the vehemence of Chichele's campaign, which, he warned, was a serious slight to the cardinals and their sacred order, as well as a challenge to papal authority itself.[24]

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[22] Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, vol. 2, 7.

[23] See Walter Ullmann, "Eugenius IV, Cardinal Kemp, and Archbishop Chichele," in *Medieval Studies Presented to Aubrey Gwynn SJ*, ed. John Andrew Watt, John B. Morrall, and Francis X. Martin (Dublin: Three Candles, 1961), 359–83, and Harvey, "Eugenius IV, Cardinal Kemp and Archbishop Chichele," for this episode. What follows here is based largely on these two essays.

[24] 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: Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom. vol. 19, 1941), no. 150, 168–9: "Eam ob rem, licet reverendissimo patri archiepiscopo Cantuariensi plurimum debeam ob multa ab eo suscepta beneficia, non desistam tamen ea sanctitati vestre nota facere que in gravem apostolici throni offensam ipse nuperrime fecit. Is namque, nescio quo spiritu ductus, quo consilio fretus, de prioritate loci cum reverendissimo domino Eboracensi, quem sanctitas vestra ad cardinalatus fastigium superioribus diebus assumpsit, nimis profecto proterve atque impudenter contendere cepit, asserens sibi et ecclesie sue Cantuariensi priorem ac superiorem locum deberi, in prestandis quoque suffragiis tam in consilio regio quam alibi, cum de statu publico agitur, anteriorem sibi locum nititur vendicare… Ex his, beatissime pater, quid aliud sequitur quam sanctitatis vestre, Romane ecclesie ac clarissimi illius collegii cardinalium non mediocris iniuria, dignitatis quoque et auctoritatis lesio ac diminutio, dehinc ecclesiastici ordinis mira quedam et insolita perturbatio?" The letter to the cardinals is at Vat. Lat. 2694, ff. 234v–235r; quoted in Ullmann, "Eugenius IV, Cardinal Kemp, and Archbishop Chichele," 363, n. 22: "De his que adversus statum, dignitatem et auctoritatem sacri ordinis vestri ausu temerario fieri sentio, reverendissimi patres et domini, mearum partium esse arbitratus sum, sacrum cetum vestrum facere certiorem ut eam erga sanctam Romanam ecclesiam vestramque, reverendissimi domini, fidem, studium atque observantiam copiosius cognoscatis. Cum itaque pontifici maximo cuius principaliora membra estis cuique vestra quotidie consilia auxiliaque impenditis inauditam quandam superbiam et insolitam elationem temerariamque pre-eminentiam

Cardinal Kemp was in an impossible position. While it was invaluable for the English king to have another cardinal amongst his subjects, for Kemp to maintain his English bishopric and benefices he would have had to stay in England. This was because, while most other sovereigns allowed cardinals to hold onto local benefices, England was an extreme case where the Crown preferred closer control of its patrimony, and York was too important a diocese in English affairs to be assigned to an absent cardinal. In January 1440 Kemp received *in absentia* from Rome his title as a cardinal from the pope as well as permission to keep the archdiocese of York as a commendatory benefice. But one pressing reason for Kemp's promotion was that Eugenius IV wanted an English cardinal in Rome. In February Pietro da Monte received a request from the pope to compel Henry VI to allow Kemp to move to Rome because the country was poorly represented at the curia. It was, however, in the interests of the pope for Kemp to keep the archdiocese of York as a benefice, even though this would have meant that the cardinal had to be absent from it: it was unlikely that the pope could replace such a large and important diocese with another of sufficient value and prestige to entice Kemp.[25] The result was an impasse.

Either in an attempt to force the issue or because he assumed the cardinal was on his way to Rome, the pope held onto the cardinal's hat, which Kemp needed to be able to properly call himself a cardinal. The hat had still not arrived with him in England by July 1440, seven months after he had first been made cardinal in papal consistory. By this stage Henry VI was writing regularly to Eugenius IV. The king argued that Kemp could not travel to Rome because the roads were too dangerous—though the cardinal's regalia, if it were sent first to England, would help protect him on his journey. Eugenius IV probably had to give way and reach a compromise because John Kemp was in an

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domini Cantuariensis contra honorem et dignitatem sacri ordinis vestri meis scribam, earum exemplum duxi pro mea erga vos, reverendissimi patres, reverentia eisdem transmittere, ut status vestri gloriam, excellentiam ac splendorem defendatis illumque a nemine maculari aut conculcari patiamini idque cum pontifice agatis, ut hi qui se minime cognoscentes in tantam labuntur dementiam tantamque elationem ut superiorum iura violare aut eorum lora violare contendant: debita coertione corrigentur atque composcantur, ita ut eorum exemplo eligant ceteri solide potius subsistere in se quam superbe et inaniter ferri supra se."

[25] Harvey, "Eugenius IV, Cardinal Kemp and Archbishop Chichele," 334–6. The correspondence is in George Williams, ed., *Memorials of the Reign of King Henry VI: Official Correspondence of Thomas Bekynton, Secretary to King Henry VI, and Bishop of Bath and Wells* (London: Longman, 1872), vol. 1, 49–47, 50–2, vol. 2, 96–7.

impossible position; the cardinalate was being attacked in England and, by association, the jurisdiction of the papacy. The hat was eventually sent from Rome in August 1440. Nevertheless, Kemp had still not left and was still in England in December.[26]

The issue of residence was central to the attack on the English cardinal. (Between Adam Easton, who died in 1397 and was buried in Rome, and the promotion of Christopher Bainbridge in 1511, none of the English cardinals were resident in Rome.)[27] At the beginning of 1440 Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, had renewed his attack on the existing English cardinal, Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, which was extended to Cardinal Kemp when the news broke of his promotion later the same year.[28] When it seemed possible that Beaufort might be made cardinal at the Council of Constance in 1417, King Henry V had refused to accept his appointment because he did not want to lose his services in England. Whether or not the new cardinal should be able to hold onto Winchester was also an issue. It was Chichele, with the Duke of Gloucester at his side, who led the campaign against Beaufort when he was eventually made cardinal by Martin V in 1426.[29] They claimed that an English cardinal should not hold bishoprics in England, but should go to Rome where he belonged to protect English interests in the papal court. The point was primarily political—an attempt to weaken the Beaufort party—but it had wider implications for the relationship of England and the papacy.

On one side Chichele and Gloucester argued that if Kemp stayed in England and held onto his diocese, whether he was a cardinal or not, he could only have the status that went with the archbishopric of York, which was second to Chichele as Archbishop of Canterbury. Kemp had not been to Rome to make direct physical contact with the pope as a cardinal and as part of his senate—an important part of the ceremonies for instituting new cardinals—so in England he was still only a private individual. In Rome a cardinal could enjoy the privileges of a cardinal, but not a non-resident cardinal. Furthermore, as Kemp had been designated only as cardinal-priest, Chichele, a bishop, surpassed him. On the other side, from the papal perspective which put cardinals above all other ecclesiastics and second only to the pope, the existence of both Beaufort and Kemp as English cardinals in effect demoted Chichele in the ecclesiastical hierarchy in England, even though he was Archbishop of Canterbury. Chichele, according to Eugenius IV's eventual response, had raised a new and almost insurmountable question.[30] As Domenico Jacobazzi, who at the beginning of the sixteenth century made notes on the case from the records still available, later put it, a cardinal separated from Rome and the pope was like a fish out of water.[31]

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[26] Harvey, "Eugenius IV, Cardinal Kemp and Archbishop Chichele," 334–5.

[27] Dominic Bellenger and Stella Fletcher, *Princes of the Church: A History of the English Cardinals* (Stroud: Sutton, 2001), 48.

[28] Harvey, "Eugenius IV, Cardinal Kemp and Archbishop Chichele," 335–6. The relevant papers for the Humphrey attack are in Joseph Stevenson, ed., *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France during the Reign of Henry the Sixth* (London: Longman, 1864), vol. 2, part 2, 440–51. See also Ullmann, "Eugenius IV, Cardinal Kemp, and Archbishop Chichele," 361. See also Susanne Saygin, *Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester (1390–1447) and the Italian Humanists* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2002).

[29] Bellenger and Fletcher, *Princes of the Church*, 36–7.

There was a strong sense in which cardinals belonged in Rome and should only operate elsewhere as agents of the pope. Although he had been created cardinal in December 1448 by Nicholas V, Nicholas of Cusa stayed in his diocese trying to reform the clergy and monastics there. Created cardinal on 17 December 1456, on 27 December Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, who had known Cusa at the Council of Basle, wrote to him, begging him to return to Rome, the only place for a cardinal to be:[32]

> For under your instruction I would sail more safely in the stormy sea. I pray, therefore, if the prayers of a servant should be listened to, that you now at last return to Rome. For Rome is the only homeland for a cardinal. Even if he were born among the Indians he should either refuse the hat or secure a welcome at Rome and look to the interests of the mother and seat of all... Come therefore, I beseech you, come!

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[30] Ullmann, "Eugenius IV, Cardinal Kemp and Archbishop Chichele," 362.

[31] Domenico Jacobazzi, *Tractatus illustrium jurisconsultium* (Venice, 1584), f. 203, no. 246: "cardinalis absens a curia est sicut piscis extra aquam," in Ullmann, "Eugenius IV, Cardinal Kemp and Archbishop Chichele," 365, n. 29; Harvey, "Eugenius IV, Cardinal Kemp and Archbishop Chichele," 342.

[32] Letter of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini to Nicholas of Cusa, 27 December 1456, see Erich Meuthen, *Die letzen Jahre des Nikolaus von Kues: Bibliographische Untersuchungen nach neuen Quellen*, Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen der Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen 3 (Köln: Westdeutscher, 1958), 133: "Precor igitur, si preces servitoris audiende sunt, ut iam demum in patriam redeas; nam cardinali sola Roma patria est. Etiamsi natus apud Indos is fuerit, aut recusasse pileum opportuit, aut certe receptum Rome gestare et matri omnium sedi consulere. Neque illa excusatio idonea est: Non audior recta monens. Mutantur enim tempora, et, qui olim contemptui fuit, nunc precipue honoratur. Veni igitur, obsecro, veni! Neque enim tua virtus est, que inter nives et umbrosas clausa valles languescere debeat. Scio complures esse, qui te videre, audire et sequi cupiunt, inter quos me semper auditorem discipulumque obsequentem invenies."

In his *Commentaries* Pius II continued on the same theme:

> how slight are the reputations enjoyed by cardinals who dwell away from the Roman curia (unless they are on an embassy) and how universally unpopular are those whom the pope does not love. For as the moon falls dark when the earth blocks out the light of the sun, so a cardinal out of papal favor is deprived of light and seems an obscure and dismal figure.[33]

The confrontation between Chichele and Kemp provoked a rare moment of clarity in the definition of a cardinal and their status in relation to the pope and the diocesan bishops. Whereas since at least the eleventh century, the cardinals had acquired certain rights and protections from the popes, for the first time their overall status was clearly delineated. Around 1441 the papal position was set out in Eugenius IV's bull *Non mediocri dolore*.[34] The episode was first explored by Walter Ullmann in 1961.[35] Ullmann introduces the lawyer, Antonio Caffarelli, as the defence council for Chichele against the pope and his vehement bull. Margaret Harvey has more recently shown that in fact Caffarelli was most likely acting for the pope, rehearsing the arguments upon which the papal bull was eventually based, many of which were incorporated into it.[36]

The first part of Caffarelli's *consilium* considered the origins of the cardinalate in relation to the popes: when Christ was alive the Apostles were equals as his cardinals; when he died Peter took precedence, assisted by the other Apostles, and when the Apostles went out into the world it was as his representatives (like cardinals *de latere* or bishops). The name itself went back as far as the third century, even if the origins of the cardinalate went back much further.[37] The second part of the *consilium* considered the issue in terms of the status of the cardinalate as office and as dignity, proposing definitions which had far-reaching implications.

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[33] Pius II, *Commentaries*, vol. 1, 241.

[34] The bull is undated and survives only in later copies; see *Bullarum, diplomatum et privilegiorum sanctorum romanorum pontificum…*, ed. Seb. Franco and Henrico Dalmazzo (Turin: Augustae Taurinorum, 1860), vol. 5, 34–8. See Ullmann, "Eugenius IV, Cardinal Kemp and Archbishop Chichele," 360; Harvey "Eugenius IV, Cardinal Kemp and Archbishop Chichele," 333.

[35] Ullmann, "Eugenius IV, Cardinal Kemp and Archbishop Chichele," 359–83.

[36] An incomplete copy of Chichele's *consilia* is at BAV, Vat. lat. 4129, ff. 184v–92v. The case is recorded in Jacobazzi, *Tractatus*, ff. 190r–398v. See Harvey, "Eugenius IV, Cardinal Kemp and Archbishop Chichele," 329–30. See also J. Klotzner, *Kardinal Dominikus Jacobazzi und sein Konzilswerk*, in *Analecta Gregoriana* 45 (1948).

[37] BAV, Vat. lat. 4129, ff. 181v–182r; Harvey "Eugenius IV, Cardinal Kemp and Archbishop Chichele," 337–8.

In terms of their office, Caffarelli had to prove that cardinals were at least equal to bishops. It was therefore argued that although cardinals were not ordained, as bishops were, nor did they necessarily hold any clerical order at all, they were 'postulated' like bishops. Cardinals were assigned churches in Rome just as a bishop was associated with a church, his cathedral (*cathedra* or seat), when he was ordained bishop or changed from one see to another. Therefore, the cardinals had to be equal.[38] Key to this convoluted argument was the cardinals' relationship with their title churches. A cardinal was first created cardinal of the Roman Church and then, afterwards in a separate consistory, assigned a title as a cardinal-deacon, priest, or bishop. As a symbol of this espousal to his church, he wore a ring in the same way that a bishop did to show his marriage to his church. Indeed, bishops' rings were replaced with a new ring from the pope when they became cardinals. Therefore, bishops could not claim superior status in terms of office to cardinals. The cardinal's ring was sign of his total identification and spiritual union with his office.[39] It was for the same reason that, when elected, a new pope took a new name to signify his new state of being.[40]

The cardinals were demonstrably equal to bishops or archbishops in terms of their order because of their postulation to a church; however, they were superior to them in another important way. The heart of Caffarelli's argument, and the part taken up in *Non mediocri dolore* by Eugenius IV, was the issue of dignity. While in terms of order alone a cardinal-deacon or a cardinal-priest could be said to be inferior to a bishop, in office and in dignity cardinals preceded all others apart from the pope. A cardinal-bishop would be equal to a bishop in order, but superior in office and dignity. The argument was not a new one and applied to other positions in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. The equivalent most often used is that of a diocesan archdeacon who might be lesser in order to an archpriest but higher in office and dignity, and thus take precedence in administrative and ceremonial duties.[41]

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[38] Harvey, "Eugenius IV, Cardinal Kemp and Archbishop Chichele," 338–9.

[39] The giving of the ring and title (or deaconry in the case of the cardinal-deacons) came at the very end of the ceremonies for investing new cardinals. See Dykmans, *L'Oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini*, 150–1: "Deinde accedentes novi cardinales singillatim unus post alium ad pontificem, primus genuflectit ante pontificem, qui accipiens annulum pretiosum ad hoc preparatum, immittit in digito annulari dextre manus cardinalis, dans ei annulum et titulum dicens... In diaconibus autem idem servatur, nisi quod non dicit 'tituli' neque adduntur capelle... Et notandum quod novi cardinales, etiam si antea erant prelati, non debent portare annulos antequam habeant annulum a summo pontifice. Cum vero acceperint annulum et titulum, osculentur pedem et manum pontificis, et sanctitas sua illos elevet ad osculum oris, et revertantur ad sedes suas." The first reference to the cardinal's ring is in the liturgies of Giacomo Caetani Stefaneschi from the last decade of the thirteenth century: Agostino Paravicini-Bagliani, *Il trono di Pietro: L'universalità del papato da Alessandro III a Bonifacio VIII* (Rome: Carocci, 1996), 60.

[40] Friedrich Krämer, "Ueber die Anfänge und Beweggründe der Papstnamenänderungen in Mittelalter," *Römische Quartalshrift* 51 (1956): 148–88.

These were powerful arguments, and Harvey suggests that Caffarelli's conclusions in favour of the cardinals had to be moderated by Eugenius IV in the bull.[42] The direct link of the cardinals back to the Apostles is played down and qualified: just as there were no Apostles without Christ, so the cardinals could not exist without the pope.[43] The bishops represented the Apostles when they were sent out to preach throughout the world.[44] Just as the Apostles assisted Christ, so the cardinals should represent the Apostles and assist the popes, the rest of the bishops scattered wherever they are needed. The dependence of the cardinals for their position on the pope is emphasized in terms of their office, its jurisdiction and dignity. After the Resurrection, it was Peter who instituted them, an idea taken from a decree of Stephen III of 769. The cardinals, as part of the papal order, therefore acted within and exercised his jurisdiction. The pope, being supreme over all rulers, was the source of their dignity and they had nothing without him. And to enjoy the fullness of their position, they needed to be closely associated with the pope in Rome.

There is some evidence that the arguments made in the bull reflected changes in precedence made during the pontificate of Eugenius IV: Agostino Patrizi Piccolomini, in his 1488 compilation of the Roman liturgy, records that while previously the patriarchs and cardinal-bishops sat together as equals, "nowadays and in the time of Eugenius IV [the patriarchs] no longer sit amongst the cardinals nor is their train carried."[45] However, kings, including the Byzantine emperor, continued to sit amongst the cardinals when necessary. The cardinals enjoyed reminding others of their superiority on account of their dignity and their relationship to the pope: when the Duke of Clèves arrived at the Congress of Mantua in 1459, the cardinals did not see why they should go and meet someone of lesser status to them: "the cardinals stood on their dignity and said it was unprecedented and inappropriate to send men of higher rank to meet an inferior; cardinals were considered the peers of kings; sending them out to greet a duke would be demeaning."[46]

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[41] *Bullarum, diplomatum et privilegiorum*, vol. 5, 37, para. 13; Ullmann, "Eugenius IV, Cardinal Kemp and Archbishop Chichele," 373; Harvey, "Eugenius IV, Cardinal Kemp and Archbishop Chichele," 339–40.

[42] Harvey, "Eugenius IV, Cardinal Kemp and Archbishop Chichele," 342–3. See also John A.F. Thomson, *Popes and Princes 1417–1517: Politics and Polity in the Late Medieval Church* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1980), 64–5.

[43] *Bullarum, diplomatum et privilegiorum*, vol. 5, 36, para. 9.

[44] *Bullarum, diplomatum et privilegiorum*, vol. 5, 35–6, para. 5: "Decuit etiam cum Summus Pontifex Christi repraesentet personam, quaemadmodum Christo conversanti in terris assistebant apostoli, ita etiam cardinalium coetus apostolicum repraesentans, coram Papa assisteret; reliqui vero episcopi, ubique diffusi, apostolos repaesentant ad praedicandum per orbem missos."

This context of the contemporary consideration of the fine detail of the status and origins of the cardinals might also explain the surprising assertion in Manetti's biography of Nicholas V that the cardinals were of recent name and not of ancient tradition. The pope created eight new cardinals during his pontificate, not because they were particularly important to him, but because by adding to their number he could improve their standing and reward individuals who were particularly useful to him:

> since he realized that the principal college of the apostolic seat, which is called by the recent and not ancient name of cardinal, since he realized that it was in need of reforming because of the death of certain colleagues, both in order to reform that order and also to bestow those enormous benefits on certain outstanding men, in order to do that he raised eight most outstanding individuals to that office at different times.[47]

The cardinals are noticeably absent from Nicholas V's biography, possibly because he preferred to subsume them within his own activities. A number of the churches Manetti says the pope restored in Rome, for example, were cardinals' *tituli*. It is not clear if Nicholas V supplanted the cardinals' traditional relationship with the titles and deaconries to which they were assigned—that is, he stepped in where they were unable or unwilling to invest in their churches—or if he was taking credit for their activities because what the cardinal did was as a member of the papal body. By qualifying the name 'cardinal' as something new and instead calling it the "principal college" of the papacy, Manetti stresses their dependence for status on the pope, just as Caffarelli's case for the cardinals was tempered in the bull of Eugenius IV. These two popes seem to have played down the origins of the cardinals as direct descendants of the Apostles, and the consequent claims for equality with Peter's successor that might bring, instead emphasizing the emergence of their office out of that of the pope.

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[45] Dykmans, *L'Oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini*, 461. Translation from Ullmann, "Eugenius IV, Cardinal Kemp and Archbishop Chichele," 379–80.

[46] Pius II, *Commentaries*, vol. 2, 38–9: "illi suae dignitatis amantes indignum esse aiebant atque insolitum, minori dignitati maiorem occurrere; cardinales regibus pares haberi; vilescere, si duci obviam mitterentur."

[47] Giannozzo Manetti, *De vita ac gestis Nicolai Quinti summi pontificis*, ed. Anna Modigliani (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 2005), book 2, paragraph 6; 45, 173: "Itaque tribus prioribus membris et de conservatione pacis, et de externarum terrarum institutione, et de urbanorum vectigalium ordinatione spetiosissime ordinatis, cum principale Sedis Apostolice collegium, quod novo et non prisco nomine *cardinalatus* nuncupatur, per mortem quorundam collegarum aliqua reformatione indigere intelligeret, cum ut eum ordinem reformaret, tum etiam ut quibusdam excellentibus viris ingentia illa beneficia conferret, octo singulares prestantissimosque homines diversis temporibus ad eam dignitatem non iniuria promovit…"

In similar vein, for Pius II, creating cardinals was a consummation of his papacy as it asserted his authority over them. According to his *Commentaries*, in Lent 1460, "It was widely assumed that the new pope would create new cardinals, as though he could not truly be considered a pope in all respects until he did so."[48] It was one thing he could do that distinguished him as pope from the cardinals, and it was a potent reminder to them of their position following the schism, when they had asserted their right to elect and depose popes as though they were his equal.

The bull that resulted from the Kemp/Chichele case makes it particularly interesting, although it was not an isolated incident of conflict between Roman and provincial, ecclesiastical and secular jurisdiction. In 1439 when Eugenius IV tried to make Guillaume d'Estouteville Bishop of Angers, the French king, Charles VII, installed the local candidate instead. D'Estouteville was then made cardinal as a snub to the king who had interfered in the pope's jurisdiction.[49] Such local struggles for authority were not just a feature of the conciliar crisis but part of the ongoing tension that was a normal feature of papal business. When Jacopo Ammannati tried to assert his authority as Bishop of Pavia in the 1460s, it was resisted by the ruling Sforza family in Milan, who saw the diocese and its incumbents as part of their patrimony and levied heavy taxes on church benefices.[50] Nicholas of Cusa's reform of the monastic houses in the Tyrol was a dismal failure, mainly because he wanted to reassert the rights of the bishop over the secular interference of Sigismund, Duke of the Tyrol, who was equally determined to preserve his privileges.[51] To make matters worse, the local clergy and monastics were often members of the nobility. Cusa might have been a cardinal and therefore in dignity the equal of kings, but his social status as the son of a boatman was well below that of the churchmen and women whose religious lives he sought to reform. Thus, despite Eugenius IV's clarity over the matter of the relative status of cardinal and diocesan clergy, it was a problem bound up in key issues of the jurisdiction of the pope beyond Rome and the Papal States.

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[48] Pius II, *Commentaries*, vol. 2, 224–7.

[49] Meredith J. Gill, "Guillaume d'Estouteville's Italian Journey," in *The Possessions of a Cardinal: Politics, Piety and Art, 1450–1700*, ed. Mary Hollingsworth and Carol M. Richardson (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, forthcoming), n. 27. Another example is that of Zbigniew Oleśnicki (made cardinal by Eugenius IV in 1447, died 1455) who asserted his status as cardinal over the Polish bishops: Natalia Nowakowska, *Church, State and Dynasty in Renaissance Poland: the Career of Cardinal Fryderyk Jagiellon (1468–1503).* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 18–24.

Nevertheless, for an individual to gain a cardinal's hat was one of the most effective means of overcoming the strict social hierarchy of the fifteenth century. Poor monks, theologians, civil servants, or even merchants could suddenly find themselves superior in dignity to bishops and princes, and with power and access to resources that they could not have imagined. And with the increasing preponderance of crown cardinals in the college following the promotions of Eugenius IV, their new status was all the more apparent. Among the noble (Francesco Gonzaga and Burkhard Weisbrach) and even royal (Louis d'Albret and Jaime Francisco Cardona of Aragón) men Pius II made a cardinal was the unexpected promotion of Alessandro Oliva da Sassoferrato, prior general of the Augustinian Order: "no one expected that a poor monk from a narrow cell... no matter how holy and distinguished a character, would be promoted to the ranks of the cardinals; the college usually searches among the top-most ranks of society." The pope "searched for noble souls everywhere," though what Pius II meant by nobility will be examined in the next section.[52] A significant number of men who became cardinals, such as Nicholas of Cusa, were lawyers from relatively modest backgrounds who secured patronage directly from the papal curia or in the household of one of its members, before rising through its ranks.[53] This potential for climbing to the very top of the ecclesiastical ladder was not lost on the Medici family, who, although they were de facto rulers of Florence, lacked the unquestionable status of noble blood. Having a cardinal in the family also made sense in the context of the often tense relationship between Florence and Rome. Although Cosimo de' Medici had asked Pius II to make one of his grandsons a cardinal as early as 1460, only in 1489 was the family successful.[54] On 9 March Giovanni de'Medici (1475–1521), son of Lorenzo de'Medici (1449–92) and the future Pope Leo X (1513–21), was nominated a cardinal by Innocent VIII, with the condition that his promotion should be reserved for three years on account of his age—he was just 14. In 1492, when the time was up, Lorenzo wrote to his son:

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[50] Iacopo Ammannati Piccolomini, *Lettere (1444–1479)*, ed. Paolo Cherubini, Pubblicazioni degli Archivi di Stato, no. 25 (Rome: Ministero per i beni culturali e ambientali, Ufficio centrale per i beni archivistici, 1997), vol. 1, 142, and vol. 2, letter 253 to Francesco Gonzaga, July 1467, which sums up Ammannati's frustration: "Ergo sacerdos Dei propter inanem iniuriae opinionem tria evertet clarissima sacerdotia et sanctuarium Christi diripi parietur, vel magis diripiendum obiciet? O tempora, o mores! Agi deberent gratiae consulenti recte, hic statim parata sunt odia. Loquentem ex dignitate augeri oporteret fortunis, videmus ilico oppressum ruina… Milites saeculi an sacerdotes Dei sumus?… Saeviri ne in sanctos et in Ecclesiam, cuius sumus custodes, propter me unum debebat? Catenis et carcere satiari hoc otium poterat; quid adtinebat ob privatam cardinalis iniuriam collegium sacrosanctum tanta nota afficere? In mea iniuriam vos omnes despicere et pestilentissimum exemplum toto orbe inducere?" See also letters 264, 267, 271, 275; Giuseppe Calamari, *Il Confidente di Pio II, Card. lacopo Ammannati-Piccolomini, 1422–1479* (Rome and Milan, 1932), vol. 2, 300–8.

[51] Morimichi Watanabe, "Nicholas of Cusa and the Tyrolese Monasteries: Reform and Resistance," *History of Political Thought* 9 (1986): 60–4 (also in *Concord and Reform,* 141–4); Karl Bihlmeyer, *Church History*, vol. 2, *The Middle Ages* (Westminster, MD: Newman, 1963), 206, 224.

> You, and all of us who are interested in your welfare, ought to esteem ourselves highly favoured by Providence, not only for the many honours and benefits bestowed upon our house, but more particularly for having conferred upon us, in your person, the greatest dignity we have ever enjoyed.
>
> Today I have given you entirely to our Lord God and to Holy Church; it is therefore essential that you become a good ecclesiastic... While doing this it will not be difficult for you to aid the city and our house, for the city being united to the Church, you must serve as the vital link, and our house will thus become part of the city... The rank of Cardinal is as secure as it is great.[55]

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[52] Pius II, *Commentaries*, vol. 2, 236–7; Chacon, *Vitae et res gestae*, vol. 2, cols 1040–58; Gabriele Raponi, "Il cardinale agostiniano Alessandro Oliva da Sassoferrato: 1407–1463," *Analecta Augustiniana* 26 (1963): 227–9.

[53] On the many myths told about Cusa, see Peter L. McDermott, "Nicholas of Cusa: Continuity and Conciliation at the Council of Basel," *Church History* 67 (1998): 255.

[54] Pius II, *Commentaries*, vol. 2, 218–19, 226–7.

[55] Jon Theim, ed., *Lorenzo de Medici: Selected Poems and Prose* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991), 177–9; for a description of Giovanni de' Medici's visit to Rome for his investiture as cardinal, Burchard, *Liber notarum*, part 1, 18 March 1492, 341–7.

Although the issue of the relative status of the cardinals was never straightforward, it nevertheless offered enough opportunities and incentives to make it well worth pursuing. Kings could use cardinals to represent their interests in the papal court in the hope of controlling papal power in their own kingdoms, while relatively insignificant families could access the international political stage through the papal court. The significance of having a cardinal in the family is given visual expression in Mantegna's frescoes for one of the rooms in the ducal palace, the Camera degli Sposi, at Mantua. One shows the seated duke, surrounded by his court, receiving news that Francesco had been made cardinal by Pius II, and another the arrival at the Mantuan court of the cardinal (Figure 8), bringing with him access for the family to a new level of European politics.

Dignitas

While, in itself, *dignitas*—which was key to Eugenius IV's definition of the status of cardinals—is a relatively straightforward term meaning dignity or worth, in the kind of strictly stratified society such as existed in fifteenth-century papal Rome, where secular and ecclesiastical hierarchies collided, it becomes more loaded or nuanced. In fact, if *magnificentia* is the virtue of the wealthy Renaissance prince, *dignitas*

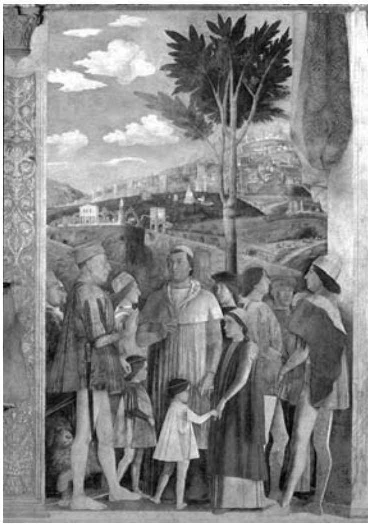

Figure 8 Mantegna, *The Meeting*, Camera degli Sposi, 1465–74, Palazzo Ducale, Mantua. Sul concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività culturali, Mantova.

is the virtue of the Renaissance cardinal.[56] As we have seen above, it established their status in relation to that of the pope, but it also defined their behaviour.

The cardinals represented the papacy during *sede vacante* because of the legal principle, *Dignitas non moritur*, "dignity never dies."[57] As Kantorowicz explains in his book on the personal and institutional aspects of monarchy, the pope could make a personal decision, such as an appointment to an office, or one based on the dignity of the Holy See.[58] The former would end at the pope's death, while the latter would continue because the dignity of the papacy continues. The cardinals shared in the exercise of the papal dignity while a pope was alive, and it resided in them collectively while they elected another pope. Kantorowicz goes on to use the double effigies of cadaver and gisant on English and French tombs to illustrate the point: while the cadaver effigy represents the individual who has died, his mortal remains in a state of decay, the gisant ("eternal repose"), in full regalia and without postmortem corruption, represents the office the individual held which is perpetual.[59] If this reading is to be accepted, then, by extension, in the fifteenth-century tombs of popes and cardinals in Rome, where cadaver effigies are not used, there are no dead individuals represented, only the incumbents of dignities that are by nature continuous, something that will be considered in the last part of this book.

The concept of dignity which explained the superiority of cardinals to bishops in terms of their office in the bull, *Non mediocri dolore*, acquired new significance as humanists at the curia embellished its meaning, using it to make explicit parallels between the papal court and ancient Rome. Eugenius IV, as we have seen in the last chapter, has been credited with introducing a new kind of cardinal to the papal court—political and noble appointments rather than the usual career curials. Pius II went further and, through his own nepotism and promotions to the

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[56] On *magnificentia* and for the relevant bibliography see Rupert Shepherd, "Republican Anxiety and Courtly Confidence: The Politics of Magnificence and Fifteenth-Century Italian Architecture," in *The Material Renaissance*, ed. Michelle O'Malley and Evelyn Welch (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2007), 47–70.

[57] Martino Garati da Lodi, "De dignitate," in *Tractatus illustrium in utraque tum pontificii, tum caesarei iuris facultate Iurisonsultorum, De Dignitate, et Potestate seculari* (Venice, 1584), question 37.

[58] Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), 386–7.

[59] Kantorowicz, *King's Two Bodies*, 419–36.

College of Cardinals, cultivated a sense of virtue-nobility that was not bound by lineage, as will be discussed shortly. His *Commentaries* show the pope referring to Cicero's many reflections on the significance of dignity and virtue-nobility, for example, comparing the inner workings of the College of Cardinals to the Roman Senate.[60] His reasons for doing this were tied up in his own sense of nobility and worth and, in the case of the cardinals, the kinds of men he thought best equipped and worthy of the position.

In the unpromulgated reform bull, *Pastor aeternus*, Pius II divides the cardinals into two kinds—ecclesiastics and political appointments:

> Inasmuch as the cardinals are, as it were, members of the pope's body, he will promote none but worthy men to the purple. They must be born in lawful wedlock, at least thirty years of age, Doctors of Theology or of Canon Law, of blameless life, and experienced in business. In the case of the so-called Crown Cardinals (sons, nephews, and nominees of Princes), an ordinary education [*mediocris litteratura*] shall suffice.[61]

While the former have to have proved themselves, the latter need only a basic education as their abilities and worth were intrinsic to their social status. Nevertheless, noble status is only relevant within, and secondary to, papal dignity. Don Jaime, Cardinal of Portugal, who was grandson of King John I of Portugal, was reminded of his place as a cardinal and therefore his share in papal dignity, which superseded his status as a prince of Spain: "It is the Apostolic See that gives you glory, not you who confer honour on it. Had you never been born, the Church would still light the world with its glow."[62]

What is this dignity to which Pius II so often refers? It is an important and loaded term that informed the ancient Roman sense of self. Dignity, in Ciceronian vocabulary, is the individual's place in the overall scheme of things. It refers to status, rank, honour, and fittingness for a particular role, and also to reputation. Unlike order or *ordine*, which can be bestowed, it contains a sense of inherent social status combined with personal standing. *Dignitas* can also moderate the militaristic associations of honour, so that a man—and it is a male virtue—can be honourable even if he is not a soldier who has demonstrated his worth on the battlefield.[63] On the contrary, dignity is an ability to choose not to act and to keep one's own counsel, usually in the service of a higher authority.

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[60] Pius II, *Commentaries*, vol. 1, xviii–xx.
[61] Translated in Pastor, *History of the Popes*, vol. 3, 399.
[62] Pius II, *Commentaries*, vol. 1, 237.

According to Cicero, "we have been trained and our minds imbued by our ancestors to refer all our acts and thought to the standard of *dignitas* and *virtus*."[64] Together these formed the substance of a moral man and his individual standing and presence. It was quite different to patronal relationships which made the individual rely on others and depend on their participation in building opportunity and social position. Thus, Cicero reported that the fact that he was rewarded with the dignity of a consulship was "remarkable evidence" of the "esteem" in which the Roman people held him. It was "obtained by merit" rather than active canvassing and was therefore a reward for his worthiness or *dignitas*.[65] Later, when Julius Caesar was justifying his role in starting the civil wars, he declared, in very Roman terms, that "his dignity had always been more paramount for him and more important than his life."[66] In this instance Caesar, with his ambitions set on dictatorship, particularly wanted his dignity—his innate personal standing—to be unchallengeable and admitted as greater than anyone else's. But dignity could only be preserved if an individual was able to act freely and without restraint. Caesar, it could be argued, sustained his dignity through his establishment of dynastic rule which ended the republic.[67]

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[63] Peter L. Berger, "On the Obsolescence of the Concept of Honor," in *The Homeless Mind: Modernization and Consciousness*, ed. Peter L. Berger, Brigitte Berger, and Hansfried Kellner (New York: Random House, 1973), 83–96; Carlin A. Barton, *Roman Honor: The Fire in the Bones* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 9, n. 33.

[64] M. Tullius Cicero, *In M. Antonium Orationes Philippicae XIV*, ed. Paul Fedeli (Leipzig: Teubner, 1982), 10.10.20, 129: "omnes nationes seruitutem ferre possunt: nostra ciuitas non potest, nec ullam aliam ob causam nisi quod illae laborem doloremque fugiunt, quibus ut careant omnia perpeti possunt, nos ita a maioribus instituti atque imbuti sumus ut omnia consilia atque facta ad dignitatem et ad uirtutem referremus."

[65] M. Tullius Cicero, *Oratio De lege agraria*, ed. Václav Marek (Leipzig: Teubner, 1983), 2.1.2–4, 10–11: "Nam et quibus studiis hanc dignitatem consecutus sim, memet ipsum commemorare perquam grave est, et silere de tantis vestris beneficiis nullo modo possum. Quare adhibebitur a me certa ratio moderatioque dicendi, ut quid a vobis acceperim commemorem, quare dignus vestro summo honore singularique iudicio sim, ipse modice dicam, si necesse erit, vos eosdem existimaturos putem, qui iudicavistis… ut vester honos ad mei temporis diem petitus, non ad alienae petitionis occasionem interceptus, nec diuturnis precibus efflagitatus, sed dignitate impetratus esse videatur."

[66] Julius Caesar, *De Bello Civili*, 1.9.2: "Sibi semper primam fuisse dignitatem vitaque potiorem," in J.P.V.D. Balsdon, "*Auctoritas*, *Dignitas*, *Otium*," *The Classical Quartery* new series 10, no. 1 (1960): 45; Martin Goodman, *The Roman World 44 BC–AD 180* (London: Routledge, 1997), 29.

[67] Balsdon, "*Auctoritas, Dignitas, Otium*," 45.

But, Cicero asked, although Caesar referred to his *dignitas* a great deal, "what is dignity without a sense of honour?"[68] Cicero wrote sadly to a friend that his own dream of becoming an elder statesmen whose dignity was unquestionable was over: it had long been his goal and his means to achieving social heights as he was not a member of the old Roman aristocracy by blood. Even when it seemed that his dignity was restored, Cicero questioned what the good of it was when he could not act on it.[69] Such freedom was a cornerstone of Roman republicanism and its loss was a serious and deeply personal blow. The way that Caesar and Cicero used and pondered over dignity demonstrates that it was more than an abstract virtue: it was objectified and used almost as a blunt instrument against one another and in the breach between republic and empire.

Dignity also informed the workings of the Roman Senate. The first to speak in a senatorial debate gained particular *auctoritas*. *Auctoritas* and *dignitas* were closely related: as Balsdon puts it, "the two words were very closely linked, the one static, the other dynamic. *Auctoritas* was the expression of a man's *dignitas*."[70] An individual in possession of *dignitas* also had authority that leant itself to official duties: he could expect "respect, honour, and reverence" from those with whom he interacted because it afforded him a physical presence in official situations.[71] In his vivid accounts of the inner workings of the papal court, Pius II clearly modelled the College of Cardinals on the Roman Senate. Dignity together with age set the pecking order: at papal elections the cardinals were seated and voted in order of dignity and seniority.[72] Similarly, it was their relative dignity that dictated how they addressed the conclave. When the cardinals are given voice in Pius II's *Commentaries*, his semi-autobiographical work explicitly based on classical precedents, the most senior usually speak first.[73] When Pius lectured them about the crusade against the Turks, the first to reply was the Cardinal of Ostia and Dean of the College, Guillaume d'Estouteville, the most senior of the cardinals.[74] He was followed by Juan de Carvajal, Bishop of Porto, who also happened to be the next in seniority. The more junior members were, like junior senators, expected to speak last or, preferably, refrain from speaking at all. Pius II's emphasis on self-control, temperance, and restraint in conclave refers specifically to ancient precedents and accords with Ciceronian *dignitas*, which allowed the most senior senators to stand up and address the Senate first.

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[68] M. Tullius Cicero, *Epistulae Ad Atticum*, ed. D.R. Shackleton Bailey (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1987), vol. 1, 7.11.1, 262–3: "Atque haec ait omnia facere se dignitatis causa. Ubi est autem dignitas nisi ubi honestas?" See David Stockton, *Cicero: A Political Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), 257.

[69] Balsdon, "*Auctoritas*, *Dignitas*, *Otium*," 45–6; M. Tullius Cicero, *Epistulae Ad Familiares*, ed. D.R. Shackleton Bailey (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1988), 1.8.3, 17; "Quae enim proposita fuerant nobis cum et honoribus amplissimis et laboribus maximis perfuncti essemus, dignitas in sententiis dicendis, libertas in re publica capessenda, ea sublata tota sunt, nec mihi magis quam omnibus. Nam aut adsentiendum est nulla cum gravitate paucis aut frustra dissentiendum." See also Elizabeth Rawson, "Caesar: Civil War and Dictatorship," in *The Last Age of the Roman Republic, 146–43 BC*, ed. J.A. Crook, Andrew Lintott, and Elizabeth Rawson, The Cambridge Ancient History 9 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 467.

[70] Balsdon, "*Auctoritas*, *Dignitas*, *Otium*," 44–5.

[71] M. Tullius Cicero, *Rhetorici libri duo qui vocantur De inventione*, ed. Eduard Ströbel (Leipzig, Teubner, 1915), 2.166: "Nunc de eo, in quo utilitas quoque adiungitur, quod tamen honestum vocamus, dicendum videtur. Sunt igitur multa, quae nos cum dignitate tum quoque fructu suo ducunt; quo in genere est gloria, dignitas, amplitudo, amicitia. Gloria est frequens de aliquo fama cum laude; dignitas est alicuius honesta et cultu et honore et verecundia digna auctoritas; amplitudo potentiae aut maiestatis aut aliquarum copiarum magna abundantia; amicitia voluntas erga aliquem rerum bonarum illius ipsius causa, quem diligit, cum eius pari voluntate."

Dignity not only established hierarchy; it also came with responsibilities: "dignity demands," as Cicero put it, and Garati similarly, "Qui habet dignitatem, habet onus annexum."[75] That was not to say that it had to be acted upon. Rather, *dignitas* invited the individual to restrain himself. Pompey, Caesar's rival, for example, was respected for his dignity in later life because it stood in marked contrast to the violence of his youth.[76] A dignified man did not expect to be treated as though he had earned a badge of honour. Rather, he possessed an innate and dignified confidence of control and detachment.[77] *Dignitas* was usually more advanced in the elderly because it could develop with age and experience. It could also vary according to social position so that the higher the position the greater the dignity possible.[78] A cardinal with humble origins, such as Alessandro Oliva da Sassoferrato, who had been an Augustinian hermit before Pius II made him Cardinal of Santa

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[72] Pius II, *Commentaries*, vol. 1, 192–3: "ex ordine dignitatis ac senii."

[73] For example, on Pius II's description of the Piccolomini palace in Pienza, framed in a classical context, see Andreas Tönnesmann, *Pienza: Städtebau und Humanismus* (München: Hirmer, 1990), 61; Georgia Clarke, *Roman House—Renaissance Palaces: Inventing Antiquity in Fifteenth Century Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 107.

[74] For example, Pius II, "Commentaries of Pius II," 827; Pius II, *Commentarii*, 775.

[75] M. Tullius Cicero, *Oratio pro P. Quinctio*, ed. M.D.Reeve (Stuttgart and Leipzig: Teubner, 1992), 7.28, 12: "dignitas poscit"; Garati, "De dignitate," question 38.

[76] Barton, *Roman Honor*, 219.

[77] Barton, *Roman Honor*, 282.

[78] Balsdon, "*Auctoritas*, *Dignitas*, *Otium*," 44–5.

Susanna, could never precede in dignity a cardinal such as Guillaume d'Estouteville, who was related both to the French Crown and to the House of Savoy.[79]

Along with *dignitas* went *otium*, retirement or retreat from public life which could be done well or badly: "cum dignitate otium" was quite different to "otium sine dignitate." As Cicero put it, "the greatest labours ought to be undertaken in order to enjoy repose some day, especially when accompanied by authority and dignity."[80] On the positive side it could be, for example, retirement into scholarship but only when the state was at peace and required little governing; *otium* as escape from or neglect of one's public duties could never be dignified. When Pius II visited Subiaco at the invitation of Juan de Torquemada, the pope met a certain Bishop of Silves, who had resigned his charge and retired to the monastery where he built a house and planted a vineyard, "which would bring the monks a large income."[81] Torquemada, who died in 1467, had been commendatory abbot of the Benedictine monasteries of Santa Scholastica and the Sacro Speco since 1455. Getting on in years himself, the Spanish cardinal seems to have withdrawn from his duties after 1464 to continue his studies and writing at Subiaco. His scholarly activities led to the establishment of a printing press at Santa Scholastica in 1465 under the German printers, Conrad von Schweinheim and Arnold Pannartz, clerics in minor orders.[82] In 1467 Ulrich Han produced an illustrated printed version of frescoes commissioned by the cardinal for the cloister of Santa Maria sopra Minerva, usually attributed as the first illustrated printed book in Italy.[83] Torquemada's was a truly dignified and productive retreat from public life.

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[79] Anna Esposito, "Estouteville, Guillaume," DBI, vol. 43 (1994), 456–60.

[80] Cicero, *Oratio De lege agraria*, 2.4.9, 13: "Quid tam populare quam otium? Quod ita iucundum est, ut et vos et maiores vestri et fortissimus quisque vir maximos labores suscipiendos putet, ut aliquando in otio possit esse, praesertim in imperio ac dignitate."

[81] Pius II, "Commentaries of Pius II," 462; Pius II, *Commentarii*, 407. It is not entirely clear who this Bishop of Silves is. Gundislavus (Eannes de Obidos) resigned the see of Porto in 1453, reserving 300 florins from the see of Silves; see Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, vol. 2, 218 and 237. Another likely candidate is Álvaro Afonso, the tutor and companion of Don Jaime, Cardinal of Portugal who had died in 1459. See below, chapter 6 at note 32.

[82] See Edwin Hall, *Sweynheym & Pannartz and the Origins of Printing in Italy: German Technology and Italian Humanism in Renaissance Rome* (McMinnville Or: Phillip J. Pirages, 1991).

[83] On the fresco cycle see Gerardo De Simone, "L'ultimo Angelico: le *Meditationes* del cardinal Torquemada e il ciclo perduto nel chiostro di S. Maria sopra Minerva," *Ricerche di storia dell'arte* 76 (2002): 41–87.

Pius uses Jean Jouffroy, Cardinal of Arras, as an example of how not to be a cardinal—in his *Commentaries* only Sigismundo Malatesta, whom he sanctified to hell, receives as much condemnation.[84] Worst of all, despite his noble status, Jouffroy made the dignity of a cardinal cheap.[85] He was vain, proud, greedy, and irascible, would celebrate mass at St Peter's pretending to be pious and then immediately after, still at the altar, curse and beat his servants. Worst of all, he was a loyal agent of the French king. But Pius could not have him punished, for "when the pope considered what the populace would say… it became perfectly clear that the more powerful side would be criticized, for the crowd always favours unhappy defendants and calls just punishment violence."[86] Arras, the *Commentaries* record, was sent away to France, even though he might stir up just as much trouble there.

The pope's characterization of Jouffroy and reprimand of royal cardinals make sense in light of Pius's attempts to establish the social status of his own family and a power base for them in Siena.[87] He describes his family in his *Commentaries* as among the Sienese nobles unjustly removed from their rightful place in government, something Pius II set out to correct—a rather elevated depiction of their status.[88] But the definition of nobility he applies justifies his assertion. Nobility was more than a marker of status or a simple fact of social or official position.[89] Imbued with dignity, nobility becomes a quality that can be achieved through appropriate behaviour. Dante established a precedent for this view of nobility in his idea of *convivio*: nobility and social status do not come from wealth but from individual virtue as an expression of divine grace.[90] Therefore, merchants such as the Medici could not become nobles automatically on account of their great wealth and influence—in the *Commentaries* Cosimo de'Medici is somewhat cattily described as "more cultured than merchants usually are."[91] Pius II must have been well aware of the mercantile background of his family so he cleverly stresses that it is the virtue of the Piccolomini that is ancient, not their nobility.[92] In the preface to the bull granting his nephews *jus-patronatus* to the church of Pienza in 1462, which answers a challenge from the Duke of Modena, the pope asserts that nobility of virtue is equal to that of blood.[93] The nobility of the Piccolomini is one earned by virtue and merit, serving Siena as and when she needed as soldiers, rulers, or judges—and of course merchants.[94]

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[84] Philip James Jones, *The Malatesta of Rimini and the Papal State: A Political History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 231.

[85] Pius II, *Commentarii*, 782: "Quid de levitate hominis et inconstantia dixerimus? Nunquam in eodem proposito diu mansit: quod mane placuit, sero displacuit. Dignitatem cardinalatus adeo vilem fecit ut regiis occurrere nuntiis extra portas non erubuerit." Pius II, "Commentaries of Pius II," 833.

[86] Pius II, *Commentarii*, 784; Pius II, "Commentaries of Pius II," 835.

[87] 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*, ed. Mary Hollingsworth and Carol M. Richardson (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, forthcoming).

[88] Pius II, *Commentaries*, vol. 1, 6–7. See also Irene Polverini Fosi, "'La commune, dolcissima patria': Siena e Pio II," in *I ceti dirigenti nella Toscana del Quattrocento. Comitato di studi sulla storia dei ceti dirigenti in Toscana*, ed. Donatella Rugiadini (Papafava, Florence: Monte Oriolo, Impruneta, 1987), 509–21, on Pius's attempts to reinstate the nobility in Siena.

[89] Garati, "De dignitate," question 8: "Principes debent conferre dignitates propter labores, merita et virtutes, non propter ambitionem."

On the one hand, Ciceronian *dignitas* did not belong to an office but to an individual who lent that office dignity and vice versa.[95] On the other, the cardinals shared in the papal dignity in terms of their authority and status. In June 1460 Rodrigo Borgia's misbehaviour at a bawdy party in a Sienese garden gave Pius II an opportunity to refer the cardinal to both senses of the word:

> Our displeasure is unspeakable, for such conduct disgraces the ecclesiastical state and office. It will be said to us that we have been made rich and great, not in order that we should lead blameless lives, but to give us the means of self-indulgence. This is the reason why princes and powers despise us and the laity deride us. They reproach us with our own conduct when we would blame that of others. Contempt falls even upon the Vicar of Christ, because he seems to tolerate such things. You,

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[90] Roberta Mucciarelli, "Sulle origini dei Piccolomini," *Bulletino Senese di Storia Patria* 104 (1997): 361–2.

[91] Pius II, *Commentaries*, vol. 1, 318–19: "litterae in eo plures quam mercatores assequi soleant."

[92] Mucciarelli, "Sulle origini dei Piccolomini," 362.

[93] Archivio di Stato di Siena, Consorteria Piccolomini, 51, fasc 1 (bull of 28 August 1462), quoted in Mucciarelli, "Sulle origini dei Piccolomini," 360, n. 10: "Laudibus et honore dignissima de Piccolominibus clara propago, que inter precipuas urbis Senarum vetustissimasque familias diversitate virtutum semper emicuit non tam patrio quamvis ex ea secundum carnem et humanam propagationem originem duxerimus, quam avorum et proavorum claritatis, meritorumque intuito, nostre mentis arcanum non indigne excitat et inducit ut illius alumnos quaemadmodum par est interna et efficaci dilectione prosequentes, condignis eos attollamus honoribus et apostolice sedis munificentia prosequamur."

[94] Pius II (in G. Gigli, *Diario sanese* (Lucca, 1723), vol. 1, 494): "Utinam praedecessoribus nostris ita virtutibus, et meritis, sicuti sanguinis nobilitate aequari possemus." Quoted in Mucciarelli, "Sulle origini dei Piccolomini," 361, n. 11.

[95] Chaim Wirszubski, "Cicero's *cum dignitate otium*: A Reconsideration," *Journal of Roman Studies* 44 (1954): 9; Balsdon, "*Auctoritas*, *Dignitas*, *Otium*," 49.

> beloved son! govern the Bishopric of Valencia, the first in Spain; you are also Chancellor of the Church, and—which makes your conduct more reprehensible—with the pope among the cardinals, the counsellors of the Holy See. We leave it to your own judgement whether it is becoming to your dignity to pay court to ladies, to send fruit and wine to the one you love, and all day long to think of nothing but pleasure. We are blamed on your account; the memory of your blessed uncle, Calixtus, is blamed; many consider that he did wrong in heaping so many honours on you. You cannot plead your youth, for you are not now so young as to be unaware of the duties which your dignity imposes on you. A cardinal must be blameless and an example of moral life before the eyes of all men. What right have we to be angry if temporal princes call us by names that are little honourable, if they grudge us our possessions and constrain us to submit to their commands? Truly we inflict these wounds upon ourselves and invite these evils when by our own deeds we daily lessen the authority of the Church. Our chastisement for these things is shame in this world, and the ways of sin in the next. We trust in your prudence to remember your dignity, and not suffer yourself to be called a gallant by women and youths... We have constantly loved you, and we held you worthy of our protection as a grave and discreet person. Let your conduct be such that we may retain this opinion to which nothing can be more conducive than the adoption of a regular life. Your years favour the hope that you will amend, and permit us to exhort you in a fatherly manner.[96]

Borgia apologized at once.

Although cardinals were not necessarily ordained and some of them seem to have interpreted rules of chastity rather loosely, dignity demanded that they chose restraint over excess and the full possibilities of their position. While it gave them power over all other princes, it also laid them open for harsh judgement. Pius II uses this instance of Borgia's misdemeanour to spell out the consequences for the papacy of an individual who leads an undignified life. While Pastor uses the letter as a record of events, evidence of Borgia's immorality, the pope may well have exaggerated what actually happened to make his morality tale on individual and corporate dignity more effective.

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[96] Raynaldus, *Annales ecclesiastici*, ad an. 1460, N. 31, quoted and translated in Pastor, *History of the Popes*, 452–3 who refers to ASV, Lib. brev. 9, f. 161; the reply is at ff. 163v–164. See also Michael Mallet, *The Borgias: The Rise and Fall of a Renaissance Dynasty* (London: Paladin, 1971), 86–7.

Dress

What a cardinal was—their relation to the pope and to the world they inhabited—is most clearly displayed through dress. It was given to them by the popes, and in many respects it reflects papal garb. At the same time, the cardinals' dress incorporated contemporary fashions and expectations, particularly with regard to the quality and worth of the fabrics used, which had to reflect the wearer's status. In fact, in the fifteenth century, a major issue concerning cardinals' dress was limiting their excess and controlling their use of regalia reserved to the pope himself. Dress was a clear visual expression of the often troubled relationship of a pope and his cardinals. In the end, under Paul II, the cardinals' lavish costume was controlled and redefined as an aspect of the manifestation of papal hegemony. Most apparent, the red hat was replaced by a red cap (*biretta*) as their distinguishing headgear. The wide-brimmed hat (*galero*) was no longer worn but carried on certain occasions as part of their insignia.

In the 1450s Martino Garati could give no clear answer to the question of what cardinals wore.[97] He could only say that they must not wear the white and red dress and gold spurs that are reserved to the pope, even if they were legates, unless they had special permission. Although white is now more normally associated with the pope—when Pius II was elected in 1458, "he cast off his old garments and put on the white tunic of Christ"—and red with the cardinals, both are in fact the papal colours.[98] The first time the pope's dress was formally recorded was in the *Ordo*, or ceremonial book, of Gregory X (1272–3).[99]

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[97] Martino Garati da Lodi, *De cardinalibus*, question 98; 85: "Qualia insignia et quales vestes debent habere cardinales. Respondi quod de jure cardinalis eciam [legatus] de latere non potest uti veste rubea, palafredo albo, calcaribus deauratis, quia ista dicuntur insignia papalia, nisi sit legatus transmare, vel habeat ex speciali privilegio..." Sägmüller, *Die Thätigkeit und Stellung der Cardinäle bis Papst Bonifaz VIII*, 165.

[98] Pius II, *Commentaries*, vol. 1, 198–9. On clothes of the newly elected pope, Dykmans, *L'Oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini*, 49–50: "His peractis [the proclamation of the new pope], ducitur electus in sacrarium, et a diaconibus cardinalibus exuitur vestimentis communibus, que ex antiqua consuetudine cedunt clericis cerimoniarum, induiturque papali habitu, toga scilicet lanea albi coloris, caligis rubeis, sandaliis rubeis aurea cruce ornatis, cingulo rubeo cum aureis fibulis, birreto item rubeo, et demum mundo nitidoque rocheto. Deinde imponunt ei amictum, albam longam, cingulum, et stolam ornatam cum perlis pendentem a collo, si est presbiter aut episcopus. Si autem esset diaconus, stola sit super humerum sinistrum in formam diaconi. Si sit subdiaconus, non ponatur ei stola." (The new pope would be ordained as necessary before the coronation.)

[99] Paravicini-Bagliani, *The Pope's Body*, 83–5.

Whereas earlier records had only referred to the red cloak of the pope, the addition of a white garment (the Roman white or *alba Romana*) was part of the pope's identification with both the universal and Roman Church: the red represented his imperial powers and the white the city. The two colours also represented Christ as they were "symbols of martyrdom and divinity."[100] According to Guillaume Durand's *Rationale* of 1286, "The supreme pontiff always appears wearing a red mantle on the outside; but underneath he is dressed in a bright white garment: because whiteness symbolizes innocence and charity; the red on the outside symbolizes compassion... the pope indeed represents the person of Him who for our sake stained his own garment red."[101] Agostino Patrizi Piccolomini, in his ceremonial of 1484–92, stressed that the pope always wore white or red, even "in the clothes that are not sacred"—his socks had to be red, though white was thought particularly suitable for his other underclothes because of its connotations of purity.[102]

In his treatise for reform, Domenico de'Domenichi commented on the appropriateness of cardinals wearing the red cloak, particularly luxurious fabrics such as red camlet and other precious accoutrements, though he noted that Niccolò Albergati (d. 1443), a Carthusian monk, continued to wear the white habit of his order.[103] Camlet, a luxurious fabric of wool and camel or goat hair, possibly mohair from the angora goat, was reserved to the cardinals and no other prelates could use it, according to Patrizi Piccolomini.[104] The voluminous cloak worn by cardinals (*cappa*) often incorporated a hood which set it apart from secular clothes and which harked back to its origins as an outer layer to protect the head and body from cold and rain. In the eleventh century laypeople were forbidden the use of cloaks (*mantelli*) with hoods (*capae*), so the *cappa* as a cloak and hood combined was reserved for clergy and monastics. This was the *cappa magna*, and its use was only abolished in Rome in 1967.[105] Domenichi's restriction of its use was carried into Pius II's draft reform bull which tried to control the cardinals' presumptions and excesses. This included their wearing the red cloak (*cappa rubea*) presumably because it was part of papal regalia, not part of the cardinals' dress, and because they had taken to wearing it as a sign of their share in the papal *imperium*.[106] Pius II was not the first pope to try to restrict the use of the *cappa rubea* for this reason, nor was he the last.

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[100] Paravicini-Bagliani, *The Pope's Body*, 87.

[101] Guillaume Durand, *Rationale divinorum officiorum* (Venice, 1568), 1286, 3.19.18: "Hinc est quod summus pontifex capa rubea exterius semper apparet indutus, cum interius sit indutus candida veste: quia etiam interius candere debet per innocentiam et charitatem: et exterius rubere per compassionem, ut videlicet ostendat se semper paratam ponere animam pro ovibus suis: quia personam gerit illius, qui pro nobis universis rubrum fecit indumentum suum." Translated in Paravicini-Bagliani, *The Pope's Body*, 89.

[102] Dykmans, *L'Oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini*, 502: "Duobus tamen utitur coloribus, albo et rubeo, utroque in pluviali. In ornamentis autem missalibus utitur colore tempori congruente, et cum mitra simplici stola violacea. In aliis vero vestibus non sacris supra rochetum rubeo tantum, nisi a sabbato sancto usque ad sabbatum in albis inclusive. Infra rochetum utitur semper toga alba et caligis rubeis cum sandaliis aurea cruce ornatis."

[103] Domenico de'Domenichi, "Tractatus de Reformationibus Roman. Curie," BAV, Barberini lat. 1487, f. 293r: "Ex hoc etiam sequitur quod considerandum esset si licet et si edificat proximum vel potius scandalizat portare cappas de zanbelloto rubeas et alia preciosa que summo domino Nicolao consideranda relinquo. Non enim vidimus honoratum bone memorie domini Cardinalem Sancte Crucis antiquum, quia iret indutus habitu monachali cartusiensi; ymo magis et aliquos alios qui inique rubeo uti sunt." Camlet was a luxurious cloth of wool mixed with goat's hair such as angora. It was often figured, imitating eastern fabrics of silk and camel hair. By the sixteenth century it seems to have become a more everyday woollen cloth.

Peter Damian in the eleventh century described the *cappa rubea* as the distinctive garb of the pope.[107] In his attempts to control temporal interference in ecclesiastical matters, Gregory VII (1073–85) warned that "only the pope may use the red cope as a sign of imperial authority and martyrdom."[108] It derived from the *clamide purpurea*, a voluminous cloak worn over the shoulders which was part of the insignia granted to the pope in the Donation of Constantine, and therefore held associations with imperial power more than with the apostolic succession, temporal rather than spiritual leadership. But around 1150 Bernard of Clairvaux warned Eugenius III, who had been his pupil, about excessive display: "Peter is not known ever to have gone in procession adorned in jewels and silks, nor crowned with gold, nor mounted on a white horse, nor surrounded by knights, nor encircled by clamouring servants… In these respects you are the heir not of Peter but of Constantine."[109] Nevertheless, in the medieval period the assumption of the papal mantle (*mantum*), the *cappa rubea*, became the signal that an individual had assumed the papal office following his election. "Immantation" with the cloak of imperial purple signified the dual identity of the new pope: "a royal priest and an imperial bishop."[110] This is what led the anti-pope Victor IV to try to seize the mantle, and thus the papacy, from Alexander III at the conclave of 1159.

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[104] Dykmans, *L'Oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini*, 503: "Cappa vero cardinalis potest esse ex lana sive ex cambelotto... Alii prelati... omnes utuntur cappis laneis supra rochetum... sed non ex cambelotto, neque coloris rubei aut violacei nimis clari."

[105] After 1967, in addition to ending the presentation of the red hat (*galerum rubrum*), the cardinal's ring was also simplified (from sapphire encrusted to simple gold band). Paul VI also abolished the use in Rome of the *cappa magna*, which had evolved into much more than the voluminous cloak of the fifteenth century to include a 32-foot long train: see Burkle-Young, *Passing the Keys*, 189.

[106] Pastor, *History of the Popes*, vol. 3, 400.

[107] Peter Damian, *Epist.*, book 1, 20 (1073) in Wharton B. Marriott, *Vestiarium Christianum: The Origin and Gradual Development of the Dress of Holy Ministry in the Church* (London: Rivingtons, 1868), 221, 225; Sible de Blaauw, "Contrasts in Processional Liturgy: A Typology of Outdoor Processions in Twelfth-Century Rome," in *Art Cérémonial et Liturgia au Moyen Âge*, ed. Nicolas Bock, Peter Kurman, Serena Romano, and Jean-Michel Spieser (Rome: Viella, 2002), 365; Ingo Herklotz, *"Sepulcra" e "monumenta" del Medioevo. Studi sull'arte sepolcrale in Italia* (Naples: Liguori, 2001; first published 1985), 365; Paravicini-Bagliani, *The Pope's Body*, 85.

[108] Gregory VII, *Dictatus papae*, in S. Löwenfield, "Der *Dictatus papae* Gregors VII. und eine Überarbeitung desselben im XII. Jahrhundert," *Neues Archiv* 16 (1891): 200, translated in Paravicini-Bagliani, *The Pope's Body*, 88. See also Herbert Edward John Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII 1073–1085* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 525–9.

Inventories and paintings indicate that cardinals wore a variety of long cloaks and gowns, with or without sleeves, open or closed in front, and with or without hoods. In Jan van Eyck's portrait of Niccolò Albergati, now in Vienna, the cardinal 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 (Figure 9).[111] Albergati's garb would have been just as appropriate for officials or academics as for cardinals. In Mantegna's portrait of Ludovico Trevisan the cardinal wears a white rochet over a (presumably) long gown, with a red *mantello* over his shoulders (Figure 10). The clearest indication that he is a cleric is the tonsure, where his hair is cut away at the crown. Both Albergati and Trevisan are represented in their portraits as papal legates, which entitled them to wear papal colours as they were acting on behalf of the pope, but it is interesting to note the similarity of what they are wearing to secular dress. The Detroit *St Jerome* shows a similar lined cloak worn by the saint but with its hood (Figure 11). This is the *cappa rubea*. Towards the end of the fifteenth century, the contrast between a pope's and a cardinal's dress was becoming more obvious, as is made clear in Melozzo da Forlì's fresco for the founding of the Vatican library (Figure 12). While the cardinal, Guiliano della Rovere, wears the voluminous *cappa rubea* with fur-lined hood, the pope wears the Roman white, a slightly shorter white rochet and a red mantle or *mozzetta*. The *mozzetta* was worn on occasions when the *cappa* was not necessary, though the pope always wore the Roman white.[112] Attempts to restrict the use of the *cappa rubea* probably reflect the fact that the cardinals increasingly adopted it as their own in the period of the Avignon exile for the associations it gave them with the share of papal power.

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[109] Ian Stuart Robinson, *The Papacy 1073–1198: Continuity and Innovation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 23–4; Bernard of Clairvaux, *De consideratione*, IV.3.6: (n. 6) 776A.

[110] "Descriptio sanctuarii Lateranensis ecclesiae," translated in Robinson, *The Papacy*, 18–19.

[111] See Jacqueline Herald, *Renaissance Dress in Italy 1400–1500* (London: Bell and Hyman, 1981), 209–31, for a glossary of Renaissance dress and textile terms.

The style of dress adopted by cardinals in the middle of the fifteenth century, although red, would have been just as appropriate for academics, diplomats, and politicians, though the quality of the fabric and fur linings used probably set the cardinals apart. In 1423 in Venice, for example, the Great Council passed an edict stipulating that ducal

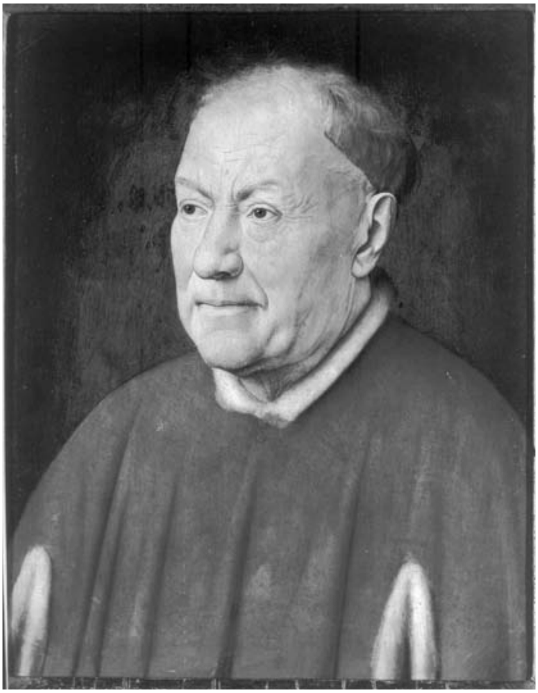

Figure 9 Jan van Eyck, *Cardinal Niccolò Albergati*, *c*. 1435, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

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[112] Paravicini-Bagliani, *The Pope's Body*, 89.

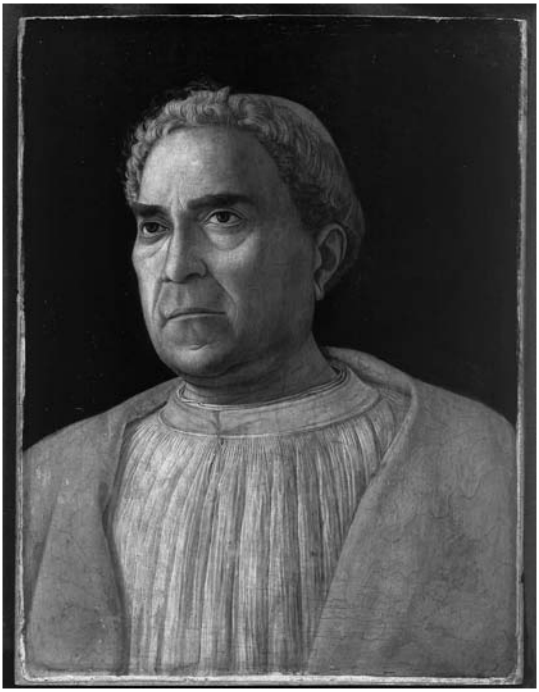

Figure 10 Andrea del Mantegna, *Portrait of Cardinal Ludovico Trevisan*, 1459, Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, no. 40654.

councillors as well as members of the Forty should wear bright red robes ("vestes de colore") instead of the black more often worn. In his biography of Doge Francesco Foscari (1373–1457), Dennis Romano explains that "such outfits increased the 'honour and reputation' of Venice, added solemnity to the proceedings, and at the same time reinforced hierarchies and divisions within the patriciate by marking off high officials from rank and file members."[113] So, although the cardinals wore red because it was a papal colour, it also sent the right messages in the political and intellectual context of the fifteenth century.

That does not necessarily mean that once a cardinal an individual wore red and no other colour. In fact, Agostino Patrizi Piccolomini suggests that they rarely wore red unless they were legates, instead

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[113] Dennis Romano, *The Likeness of Venice: A Life of Doge Francesco Foscari, 1373–1457* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), 60, who quotes Venice, Archivio di Stato, Maggior Consiglio, Deliberazoni, reg. 22 (Ursa), f. 60r (10 June 1423).

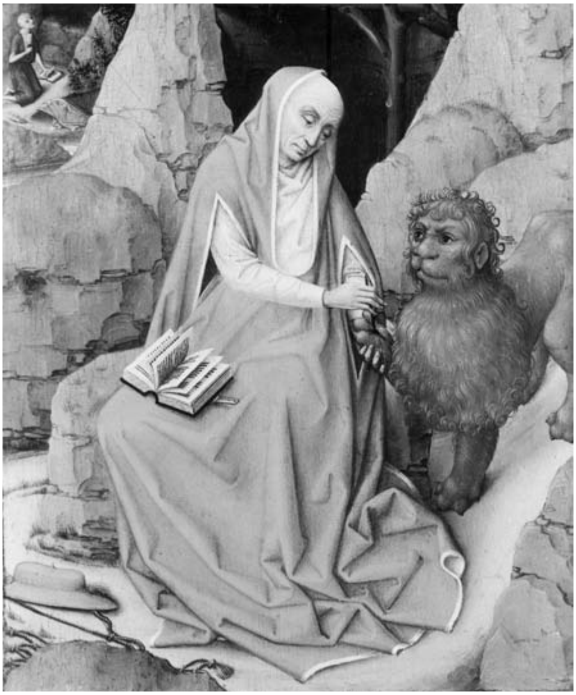

Figure 11 Rogier van der Weyden (workshop), *St Jerome in the Desert*, 1450–65, oil on oak panel, 30.8 × 25.1 cm, The Detroit Institute of Arts, Founders Society Purchase with funds from Mr and Mrs Edgar B. Whitcomb.

employing a variety of violet shades which seem to have varied from almost pink through red to blue.[114] Mantegna's depiction of Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga in the Camera degli Sposi frescoes in the ducal palace at Mantua is a relatively rare record of what a cardinal might have worn when he was not on duty or in Rome (see Figure 8). It is suggestive of the variety of dress worn by cardinals in the fifteenth century which is neither choir dress nor mass vestment. Gonzaga is represented in a long, blue, sleeved gown or cassock (the *vestis talaris*),

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[114] Dykmans, *L'Oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini*, 502–3: "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."

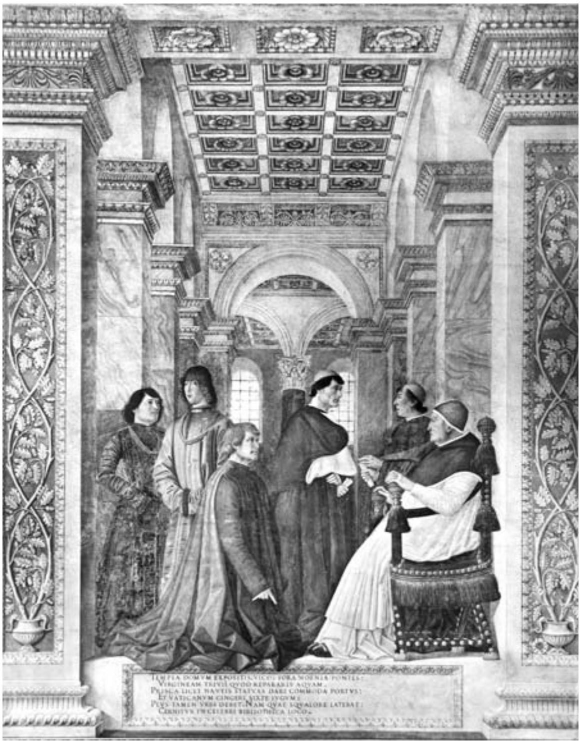

Figure 12 Melozzo da Forlì, *Platina is made librarian*, Pinacoteca, Vatican Museums. Archivi Alinari-Anderson, Florence, no. BGA-F-007296-0000.

a diaphanous rochet and a mini red *mozzetta* around his shoulders. The *mozzetta*, a papal garment, is just enough to remind onlookers that he is a cardinal.[115] The blue of the cassock is not unusual as it was as acceptable as black or brown. If it is blue, and not a representation of violet or *pavonazzo* (discussed below), it would not be without precedent. According to Vespasiano da Bisticci, Nicholas V preferred blue.[116] He is often depicted dressed in blue, as for example in Fra Angelico's *Ordination of St Laurence as a Deacon* in the chapel of Nicholas V in the Vatican palace. Though Vespasiano does not give any specific reason for the pope's choice, blue had some of the same connotations as red or purple. It was a royal colour and the colour of the robe of the high priest of the temple.[117] It was also the colour of the Virgin Mary.

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[115] On possible interpretation of the events depicted in the Camera degli Sposi, see David S. Chambers, *A Renaissance Cardinal and his Worldly Goods. The Will and Inventory of Francesco Gonzaga (1444–1483)* (London: Warburg Institute Surveys and Texts, vol. 20, 1992), 92–5.

[116] Vespasiano da Bisticci, *The Vespasiano Memoirs: Lives of Illustrious Men of the XVth Century*, trans. William George and Emily Waters, Renaissance Society of America Reprint Texts 7 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 35. Tommaso Parentucelli (Nicholas V) wore a blue cloak when a member of the household of Niccolò Albergati. Vespasiano suggests that this dress was more modest than the usual "pomp in the papal

Although in practice cardinals wore a variety of clothes, in theory their garb was more precise. Jerome, the archetype of the Renaissance cardinal, is almost without exception represented in a long, red, hooded gown, the *cappa rubea*, with his cardinal's hat on his head or at his side (see Figures 11 and 13). This identification of the 'ideal' cardinal was given to St Jerome from at least the fourteenth century, even though there is no evidence that he was ever called a cardinal.[118] One of his earliest biographies, the *Plerosque nimirum*, dating to the middle of the ninth century, called him a cardinal-priest, both because he had been ordained and because he had worked in Rome translating parts of the Bible for the pope, Damasus (366–384).[119] By the twelfth century Jerome was associated with the titular churches of Sant'Anastasia and San Lorenzo in Damaso. With the evolution of the cardinalate into a college in the eleventh century, Jerome also evolved into a fully fledged cardinal, a useful rank for so important a figure as being second only to the pope, and that is how he is usually portrayed, complete with red hat.

This is also how the cardinals were represented formally in the presence of the pope. A manuscript illumination representing Jerome being created a cardinal from the *Belles Heures* of Jean, Duke of Berry, shows the cardinals together with the pope (Figure 14). They wear the

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court." As pope he seems to have continued this habit: he is also shown wearing blue vestments in the frescoes in the chapel of Nicholas V in the Vatican.

[117] Esther 1:6, 8:15; Exodus 28:31; Marriott, *Vestiarium Christianum*, 183.

[118] For example, Catherine of Siena, in her letter of April 1376 to Cardinal Pietro Corsini in Avignon, tells the cardinal to "Look at Jerome, for he was in the same position as you are. He disciplined his flesh by fasting, watching, and prayer. He killed his pride by wearing shabby clothes, and he was very careful to avoid seeking worldly status and honour. Yet God exalts those who humble themselves. Though such persons have status, it does not make them lose their virtue." See Catherine of Siena, *The Letters of Catherine of Siena*, ed. and trans. Suzanne Noffke, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 203 (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2001), vol. 2, 97.

[119] Eugene F. Rice, *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985), 10–14, 23, 35–7.

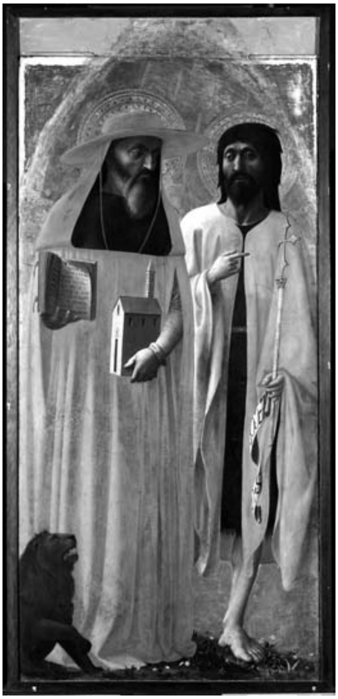

Figure 13 Masaccio, Saints Jerome and John the Baptist (part of the Santa Maria Maggiore Altarpiece), c. 1428–9, egg tempera on poplar, 125 × 58.9 cm, NG5962 © The National Gallery, London.

same large cloaks—the *cappa rubea* with its hood visible in the fold of cloth on their shoulders. They also wear the cardinal's brimmed hat (*galero*) on their heads. This distinctive style of dress, which nevertheless borrows important elements from papal regalia, seems to have evolved in Avignon with the powers the cardinals acquired there as a distinct group.[120] But such representations of cardinals wearing the red hat become increasingly rare through the fifteenth century. A century later, for example, in the representations of the pope and cardinals in the Piccolomini library in Siena Cathedral their dress is comparable, with the cardinals dressed in the *cappa magna*, but the hat has been replaced with the biretta (Figure 15).

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[120] 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 and Rome: Bibliothèque de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome, 1981), 472.

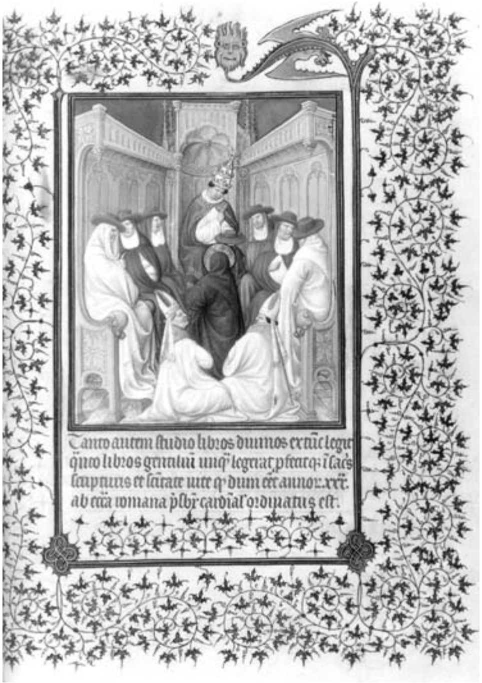

Figure 14 Jean, Pol, and Herman de Limbourg, *St Jerome created a Cardinal*, the *Belles Heures* of Jean, Duke of Berry, folio 184r, *c.* 1405–1408/9, ink, tempera and gold leaf on vellum, 23.8 × 17 cm, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 1954 (54.1.1). Photograph, all rights reserved, The Metropolitain Museum of Art.

The red hat has 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 1244.[121] It was still being worn in the early

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[121] Chacon, *Vitae, et res gestae*, vol. 2, col. 114: "Status Cardinalium S.R.E. praestantia in eo consistit, quemadmodum ipsi dum eliguntur, ex charitate se obligant, ut cum capite suo Romano Pontifice, certo Christi Vicario, cuius pars corporis mystici sunt, cumque eo unum corpus efficiunt Collegium, seu Senatum sacrosanctum ad amplificationem, atque custodiam universae Christianae Religionis, ut Christi fidem, et Christianos omnes communiter, privateque totis, ut aiunt viribus defendant, sanguinem mehercule, si opus sit, pro illis effundant, necesse est, atque in hac sententia constantissime permanere debent. Cuius rei signum est omnibus manifestissimum, quod soli Cardinales cum Pontifice summo purpureis Galeris utuntur propter Cardinalatus praestantiam, et virtutis gradus efficaciam, in S.R.E. Matre omnium Christifidelium, propter status dignitatem, ad quam assumuntur a Romano Pontifice, cum Cardinales creantur." Following 1244 the illustrations of cardinals' coats of arms in Chacon are surmonted by *galeri* (vol. 2, col. 115 onwards). See also Paul Maria Baumgarten, "Die

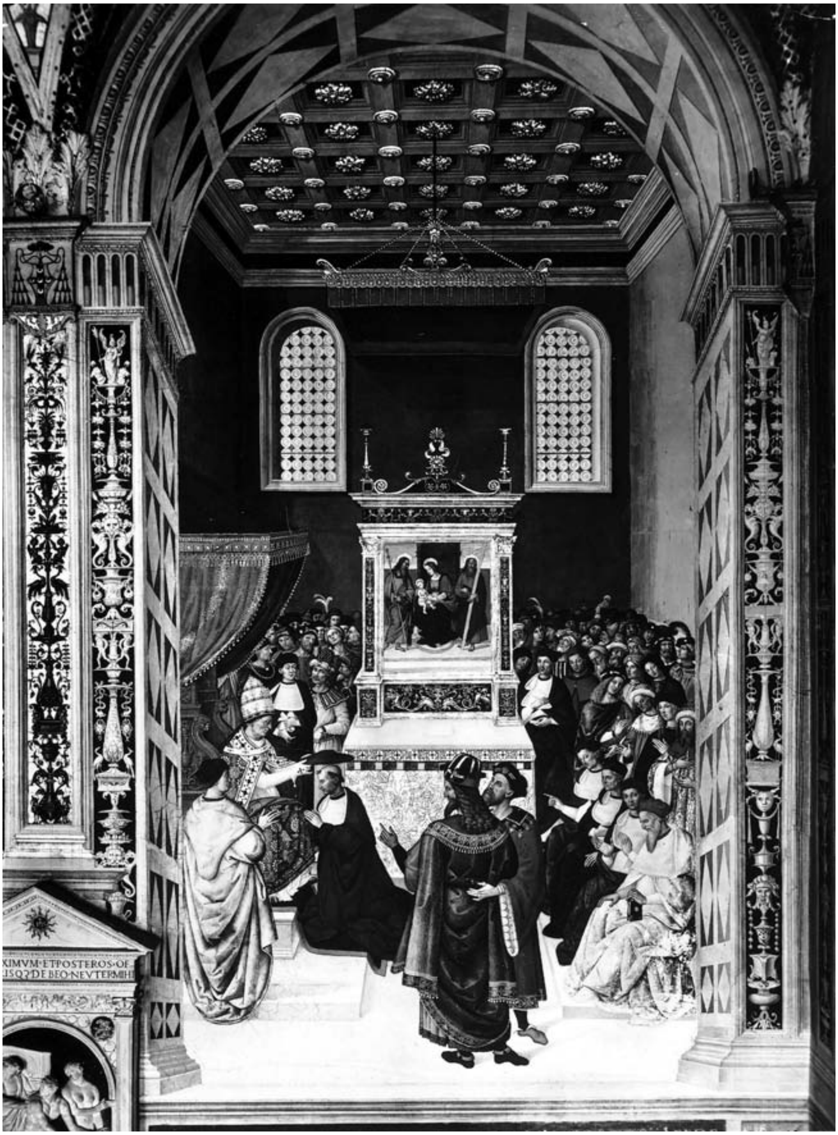

Figure 15 Pinturicchio, *Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini receiving the Cardinal's Hat from Calixtus III*, Piccolomini library, Siena Cathedral. Archivi Alinari, Florence no. BGA-F-015058-000.

fifteenth century: when Giovanni Dominici, envoy of Gregory XII, entered Constance for the council in 1415, he was described as wearing his hat.[122] The hat was an important part of the cardinal legate's regalia as it was a reminder that the cardinal's jurisdiction came direct from the pope.[123] By the middle of the fifteenth century it seemed to have become a part of the cardinal's symbols of office rather than his dress, however. We have already seen how John Kemp needed to have his hat sent from Rome to England so that he could properly call himself a cardinal. The red hat was given by a pope to a new cardinal, and during the investiture ceremonies placed briefly on his head (see Figure 15).[124] But then the hat was carried for the cardinal as part of his train by a hat bearer.

Cardinals' hats were a rare commodity, imported to Rome for the pope to give out to those he had created. In 1460 six hats were imported into the city, passing through the customs house "for the cardinals just created." They were valued at 16 ducats each, one and a half times the monthly salary of the renowned papal librarian, Platina, in 1477.[125] Pius II had created six new cardinals in March 1460, and each would have to be given his hat when he attended his investiture.[126] 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 providing the best quality items. Indeed, Rome absorbed 10 per cent of the products of the considerable Florentine

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Ubersendung des Roten Hutes," *Historisches Jahrbuch* 25 (1905): 99–103; Stephan Kuttner, "Die Konstitutionem des ersten allgemeinen Konzils von Lyon," *Studia et Documenta Historiae et Iuris* 6 (1940): 120–4.

[122] "The Council as Seen by a Papal Notary [Jacob Cerretano]," in Munday and Woody, *Council of Constance*, 481.

[123] Sägmüller, *Die Thätigkeit und Stellung der Cardinäle bis Papst Bonifaz VIII*, 164.

[124] Dykmans, *L'Oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini*, 147: "Et quisque ex deputatis a pontifice, qui primo tenebant capellum, cum pontifex ipsum imposuit capiti cardinalis, finita oratione resumit dictum capellum et ipsum portat quousque cardinalis novus equitet."

[125] 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: Il Centro di Ricerca, 1981), 39–40, who quotes ASR Mandati cam, 834, f. 147r, and 836, f. 348v: 96 fiorini di camera "pro valore sex cappellorum rubeorum pro cardinalis ultimo factis." In 1477 Platina was paid 10 ducats a month as papal librarian: Eugène Müntz and Paul Fabre, *La Bibliothèque du Vatican au XV^e^ Siècle d'après des Documents Inédits*, École française d'Athènes et de Rome, Bibliotheque, vol. 48 (Paris: Ernest Thorin, 1887), 150.

[126] The new cardinals were Angelo Capranica, Berardo Eroli, Niccolò Fortiguerra, Alessandro Oliva, Francesco Todeshini Piccolomini, and Burkhard Weisbriach: Pius II, *Commentaries*, vol. 1, 232–5.

cloth industry.[127] Nevertheless, by the 1460s, cardinals flaunting their hats, among other things, was seen by Pius II as overly ostentatious, and cause of resentment among ordinary people:

> On every single thing we do the people put the worst interpretation… The priesthood in an object of scorn. People say that we live in luxury, amass wealth, are slaves to ambition, ride on the fattest mules and the most spirited horses, wear trailing fringes on our robes and walk the streets with puffed out cheeks under red hats and full hoods, breed hunting dogs, lavish much on actors and parasites and nothing on the defense of the Faith. And they are not entirely wrong. There are many among the cardinals and the other members of the Curia who do these things and, if we are willing to tell the truth, the luxury and pride of our Curia is excessive. This makes us so hateful to the people that we are not listened to even when we speak the truth.[128]

Cardinals only ever had one official hat (*galero*), the one given to them by the pope at their investiture. It was therefore probably just as well that it was not regularly worn. The inventory made on Francesco Gonzaga's death included seventeen birettas in *rosato* but no red hat.[129] In fact, Gonzaga's hat seems to have been 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 in the evening of 26 October 1483, it was led by Francesco Godini, the cardinal's mace bearer, and then by a steward bearing his hat, the *portatore del capello*.[130] 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 adoption of the biretta was effective as it was the birettas that were worn, not the hat.[131]

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[127] Esch, "Le importazione nella Roma," 33.

[128] Pius II, "Commentaries of Pius II," 823–4; Pius II, *Commentarii*, 770–1.

[129] Chambers, *Worldly Goods*, 150, n. 196.

[130] Chambers, *Worldly Goods*, 97, 192.

[131] Maria Giuseppina Muzzarelli, *Guardaroba medievale. Vesti e società dal XII al XVI secolo* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1999), 50–1; the inventory is in Pompeo Gherardo Molmenti, *La storia di Venezia nella vita privata dalle origini alla caduta della Republica* (Trieste: Lint, 1973), vol. 2, 475–7. A cardinal's hat was placed at the foot of the catafalque during the funeral. Hanging the hat over the tomb of a dead cardinal seems to be a later practice. The earliest example I have found is that of Cardinal Richelieu (1585–1642), whose hat hangs over his tomb in the chapel of the Sorbonne, Paris. On this practice, though without historical details, see John A. Nainfa, *Costume of Prelates of the Catholic Church* (Baltimore: John Murphy, 1926), 106. Apparently at the funeral mass for the Polish cardinal, Zbigniew Oleśnicki in 1455, not one but three hats were suspended over the tomb but the source for this information is an early eighteenth century one:

Paul II, a pope renowned for his love of display, seems to have preferred his cardinals to appear in costume appropriate for their supporting role in the display of the papal monarchy.[132] It was not only the colour red that he asked them to wear that was significant in itself, but also the hue and depth of colour which indicated the dye used and the quality of fabric that carried it. As part of his veiled criticism of the Venetian pope's excesses, including the infamous gem-incrusted mitre, Platina records that he reserved for the cardinals the right to wear the scarlet biretta (*biretta coccinea*) and their brimmed hats of red silk, banning anyone else from wearing them with strict penalties attached. From the first year of his reign, he also allowed them to use scarlet cloaks to cover their mules or horses when they rode in procession. Traditionally only the pope rode with a red cloth covering his white horse, whereas the cardinals and bishops used white cloths and lesser clergy were not permitted to use cloths at all.[133] It was believed that Constantine had granted the Roman clergy the use of these horse-cloths when he made them equivalents of the Imperial Senate.[134] Therefore, Paul's concession to the cardinals to be allowed to use the papal colour was an important one, though Platina suggests that it was never enacted:

> But lest he alone should seem to differ from the rest, he made a decree that none but cardinals should, under a penalty, wear red caps [*biretta*];

Nowakowska, *The Career of Cardinal Fryderyk Jagiellon*, 24. Since Paul VI (1963–78) cardinals are no longer formally given the *galero* by the pope, although some cardinals still acquire them for this purpose.

[132] Platina, *Platynae Historici. Liber de vita Christi ac omnium pontificum (AA. 1–1474)*, ed. Giacinto Gaida, RIS 3 part 1 (Città di Castello: Lapi, 1913–32), 392: "De apparatu pontificio non est cur ambigas, maiores ab hoc uno superatos, regno praesertim, sive mitram velis appellare, in quam multas opes contulit, coemptis undique ac magnis preciis adamantibus, saphiris, smaragdis, chrysolithis, hyaspidibus, unionibus, et quicquid gemmarum in precio est, quibus ornatus tanquam alter Aron, in publicum forma humana augustiore prodibat. Inspici tum ab omnibus volebat et admirari. Hanc ob rem nonnunquam peregrinos in Urbe retinuit, intermissa ostendendi sudarii consuetudine, quo a pluribus eodem tempore cerneretur. Praeterae vero ne solus differre a caeteris videretur, publico decreto mandavit proposita poena, ne quispiam birreta coccinea (ita appellant capitis tegmen) praeter cardinales ferret: quibus etiam primo pontificatus sui anno pannum eiusdem coloris dono dedit, quo equos vel mulas sternerent dum equitant. Voluit praeterea in decretum referre, ut galeri cardinalium ex serico coccineo fierent; sed id quominus decerneretur vetuere illi, qui bene sentientes, diminuendam esse Ecclesiae pompam, non augendam cum detrimento Christianae religionis praedicabant."

[133] Dykmans, *L'Oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini*, 181–7, 553 and 554; for processions during the pontificates of Eugenius IV and Pius II see Blaauw, "Contrasts in Processional Liturgy," 362–3.

[134] Lorenzo Valla, *On the Donation of Constantine*, trans. G.W. Bowersock, I Tatti Renaissance Library 24 (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), xi, 178–9.

> to whom he had in the first year of his popedom given cloth of that colour, to make horse-cloths or mule-cloths of when they rode. He was also about to order that Cardinals' caps [*galeri* or brimmed hats] 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. Before he was made Pope, he used to give out that if ever he came to that good fortune, he would give each cardinal a castle in the country where they might retire conveniently to avoid the summer heat of the city: but when he was once got into the chair he thought of nothing less.[135]

The fact that cardinals are increasingly shown wearing the red birettas in the second half of the fifteenth century and inventories show that they owned them suggests Paul II may have been attempting to regulate what was increasingly standard practice.

There was some expectation of uniformity as Domenico de'Domenichi noted that the members of their households were often decked out in all sorts of colours—but they should all be wearing violet.[136] In the fifteenth century, Patrizi Piccolomini records that the cardinals entering into conclave were distinguished by their "cappis obscuris," a dark or violet mantle, possibly *pavonazzo*.[137] This represented their part in the papal *imperium* during the *sede vacante*.

The issue of colour is a vexed one. Violet, scarlet, carmine, and *pavonazzo* are all colours linked with cardinals' dress. When he died in 1483, Francesco Gonzaga had cloaks, hoods, and tunics in crimson (*cremesino*), *pavonazzo*, and *rosa*, as well as a few other clothes in colours such as white and green.[138] These terms refer not simply to the specific colours but also to the quality of dyes and cloth used. *Rosato*, for example, was sometimes used to refer to a red cloth but it also referred to a quality of woollen cloth.[139] The red clothes of the cardinals are divided into two grades of dye, *grano* and *cremisino*. The former came from the shells of the cochineal beetle and derived from sources all round the Mediterranean. *Cremisino* (or *cherimisi*) was a better grade of kermes that also came from the cochineal beetle but only from the trade routes to the east via Constantinople.[140] As a result it was a rare commodity between 1453 (when Constantinople fell to the Turks) and the early sixteenth century when new sources for the dye came from the New World. This may be the reason why Paul II wanted to reserve kermes as the colour worn by the cardinals (the *purpura cardinalizia*). The range of shades of red, purple, and even blue are often included in representations of the cardinals in consistory, for example in a page from the *Belles Heures* of Jean, Duke of Berry: two of the cardinals are dressed at the back in blue, in the middle in red, and at the front in white (see Figure 14). Some of the colour variations from red can be explained, as cardinals who were members of monastic communities usually kept the habit of their order, among them Juan de Torquemada, who wore his Dominican habit even when he was participating in official ceremonial, Jean Jouffroy, who was abbot of a Benedictine monastery, and Bessarion, who always wore black as he belonged to the order of St Basil.[141] this was because members of monastic orders who became cardinals were not absolved from their orders, according to Garati.[142]

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[135] Platina (Bartolomeo Sacchi), *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*, two parts, trans. William Benham (London: Griffith, 1888), 293–4. (A new and complete translation is now gradually appearing in the I Tatti Renaissance Library series.)

[136] Domenico de'Domenichi, "Tractatus de reformationibus Curie," BAV, Barberini lat. 1487, f. 292r.

[137] Dykmans, *L'Oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini*, 37, 41.

[138] Chambers, *Worldly Goods*, 148–9.

[139] Herald, *Renaissance Dress in Italy*, 119–20.

According to the inventory made on his death in 1483, a significant proportion of Gonzaga's clothes were in *pavonazzo*, a colour that has proved particularly problematic to pin down and was probably very difficult to depict in painting. Meaning peacock-coloured (*pavone*), some scholars have likened it to the colour of the body of the peahen and therefore a brownish tint of red, while others have linked it to the male, so that it is a deep, rich blue-violet.[143] Stella Newton in her book on dress in Renaissance Venice calls *pavonazzo* a "non-colour" in the same category as black, most suitable for solemn occasions, and this seems the most likely definition.[144] Figures included in Gargioli's treatise on the silk industry in Florence of 1450 provide some idea of the relative merits of kermes, *grana*, and *pavonazzo*: while kermes cost 40 soldi a pound, kermes *pavonazzo* was 35 soldi but grana the much cheaper 12.[145] *Pavonazzo* was most likely rich red (kermes) which received a final dip in blue dye to produce a violet hue and in some lights a deeper sheen.[146] The effect would certainly not have been dull for only the best fabrics were dyed in kermes—velvet, damask, or silk—lending them a subtle iridescence.[147] It was not merely the colour of the cardinals' dress that would have set them apart but also the quality of cloth and of dyes used.[148]

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[140] Herald, *Renaissance Dress in Italy*, 91.

[141] Chacon, *Vitae et res gestae*, vol. 2, col. 916: "Qua in Urbe Presbyteris Cardinalibus adscriptus, ut erat moribus gravis, ad amussim in omnibus pristinum vivendi modum, quem tot annis in ordine Praedicatorum didicerat, servavit, et apprime retinuit. Togam non mutavit, licet mutaverit gradum; utebatur lanea ad carnes subucula, tunica, cuculla, et pallio, prout ante consueverat. Religionis suae ritus sic dilexit, ut quos initio coeperat, haud quaquam dimitteret, adnitens pro viribus, ut ad amussim a ceteris servarentur." Also Dykmans, *L'Oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini*, 504.

[142] Martino Garati da Lodi, *De cardinalibus*, question 60; 75: "Utrum monachus effectus cardinalis absolvatur a substancialibus regule. Respondi non absolvitur…"

[143] Herald, *Renaissance Dress in Italy*, 224, links it to the peahen, while Carole Collier Frick, *Dressing Renaissance Florence: Families, Fortunes and Fine Clothing* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 314, and Stella Mary Newton, *The Dress of the Venetians 1495–1525* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1988), 18–21, to the peacock.

While the cardinals' dress on informal occasions was not subject to strict regulation and choir dress only increasingly so, their liturgical dress was far less ambiguous. This is because of their origins as Roman clergy—deacons, priests, and bishops—whose appearance at feast days and festivals was long established. During papal masses the cardinal-bishops wore a cassock (*superpellicio*), amice, rochet, and cope (*capa* or *pluviali*). Cardinal-priests wore the same, though a chasuble rather than a cope (*casula* or *planeta*). While a cope is worn over the shoulders and is open at the front, a chasuble is closed and therefore put on over the head. Cardinal-deacons wore a dalmatic (*tunicellam* or *dalmatica*), a tunic with narrow sleeves. All of the cardinals wore simple white mitres of linen (*fustiano*).[149] This liturgical dress is represented on the relief representing the arrival of the relic of St Andrew at St Peter's on the tomb of Pius II (see Figure 106). And in their tomb effigies the cardinals are represented wearing the liturgical vestments appropriate to their order as the pope's ministers and as clergy of the city of Rome (for example, see Figures 72, 84, 86, 119, 123).

By the second half of the fifteenth century cardinals' dress had evolved to combine the best materials, dyes, and styles to stand up in both the secular and ecclesiastical contexts in which they operated. What cardinals wore was the most visible symbol of their proximity to the pope and the dignity—and therefore superiority—they derived from him which made them the equals of kings. It was not always a straightforward relationship with monarchs, including the pope, but the show became more splendid and the message more direct as the fifteenth century wore on.

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[144] Newton, *Dress of the Venetians*, 20.

[145] Gargioli, *L'Arte della Seta in Firenze* (Florence, 1868) in Herald, *Renaissance Dress in Italy*, 92.

[146] Mary Hollingsworth and Carol M. Richardson, "Introduction," in *The Possessions of a Cardinal: Politics, Piety and Art 1450–1700*, ed. Mary Hollingsworth and Carol M. Richardson (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, forthcoming).

[147] Newton, *Dress of the Venetians*, 18.

[148] Frick, *Dressing Renaissance Florence*, 217.

[149] Marc Dykmans, *Le Cérémonial Papal: De la fin du Moyen Âge à la Renaissance*, vol. 4 *Le retour à Rome ou le Cérémonial du patriarche Pierre Ameil* (Brussels and Rome: Bibliothèque de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome, 1983), 313.

PART TWO

CARDINALS AND ROME

CHAPTER FOUR

RESTORING ROME

> Can I fix Rome for you on this poor sheet of paper? And if I could, there is no need... For who today are more ignorant of the Roman story than are the citizens of Rome? I say it reluctantly: nowhere is Rome less known than in Rome. Therefore I bewail not ignorance alone—though what is worse than ignorance?—but the flight and exile of so many virtues. For who can doubt that if Rome should commence to know itself it would rise again?[1]

This well-known passage from a letter written during the Avignon exile by Francesco Petrarch to Giovanni Colonna, a Dominican monk, sums up the sense of nostalgia and anticipation, mixed with pessimism, felt by those hoping that the papacy would one day return to Rome. Petrarch's sentiments contain an important and defining message about Rome's renewal in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: the city would not rise anew but rise again. Lapo da Castigliochio the Younger in his *De curiae commodis* (1438) expresses the same belief—that Rome was waiting, ready to be rediscovered and restored:

> once things have been set in order... and the Roman curia has been restored to its old distinction and dignity, it looks to me like there will be a more prosperous and more honourable way of life.[2]

In Rome continuity, as opposed to change, was valued above all in the decisive relationship of city, Church, and papacy.[3] Rome was not a blank canvas but a site of sacred associations crucial to rebuilding the status of the fifteenth-century papacy.

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[1] Francesco Petrarch to Giovanni Colonna di San Vito, uncertain date, Ep. Fam VI, 2, in *Letters of Familiar Matters = Rerum familiarium libri*, trans. Aldo S. Bernardo (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1975), 290–5.

[2] Christopher S. Celenza, *Renaissance Humanism and the Papal Curia: Lapo da Castigliochio the Younger's "De curiae commodis"*, Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome, 31 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999), 225.

[3] Reflecting on the twelfth-century renaissance, Gerhart Ladner detects four principal forms of renewal "in the midst of almost continuous waves of renewal movements in the West": *restoration*, linked often with official campaigns and the realignment of rulers with their patrimony; *reform*, "as a continuation of spiritual regeneration by baptism, including both personal and ecclesiastical renewal"; *rebellion*, which implies revolt against the status quo and therefore has more negative associations of revolution and upheaval; and *renaissance*, based in the idea that organic life is recycled or reborn, a term with particular connotations for Christianity. Gerhart B. Ladner, "Terms and

Inherent in restoring the papacy to Rome, in the context of the conciliar movement, was reform of the Church. This was not limited to a moral reform of the behaviour of the clergy, but implied the physical, spiritual, and intellectual re-engagement of the papal court with Rome. Bridget of Sweden had called Rome "an unhappy city" which, she warned, threatened the Catholic faith because of its perilous state.[4] The clergy lacked discipline and did not live with their churches but elsewhere, while churches were falling apart and unused which previously had been celebrated as the sites of miracles and saints' relics.[5] Rome, she declared, was the glorious city of the martyrs, its streets "spattered with the blood of the saints." But the Avignon popes, who "could have reformed and improved many things," stayed obstinately away and damaged the Church itself as a result.[6] Consequently, the restoration of Rome went with the reinvigoration of the Church and Christian faith, with the pope at its nucleus as Christ's earthly representative.

Writers at the end of the fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth tried to make sense of the actuality and ideal that was Rome. Pier Paolo Vergerio's *Description of Rome* (*c.* 1398) considers the triumph of Christian over classical Rome, which "elevates the spirit but depresses the mind." Similarly, Manuel Chrysoloras's *Comparison of Old and New Rome*, written in 1411 when he was in the entourage of John XXIII and addressed to the Byzantine emperor, contrasts antique with Christian Rome: "Ancient Rome is approached through the intellect, can be understood through reason, and is historically interesting; Christian Rome is approached through emotion, surpasses reason, and

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Ideas of Renewal," in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 1. Of these only rebellion cannot be applied to Rome in the fifteenth century.

[4] Saint Bridget of Sweden, *Revelaciones Sancta Birgitta*. Book 4 ed. Hans Aili (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1992), chpt. 138, 387; Arne Jönsson ed., *St. Bridget's Revelations to the Popes: An edition of the so-called "Tractatus de summis pontificibus"*, Studia Graeca et Latina Lundensia 6 (Lund: Lund University Press, 1997), no. 5, 46; discussed in Bridget Morris, *St Birgitta of Sweden*, Studies in Medieval Mysticism, vol. 1 (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1999), 114.

[5] Saint Bridget, *Revelaciones*, book 4, chpt. 33, 138–44. For a similar reference to the streets being spattered with martyrs' blood see note 36, below.

[6] Morris, *St Birgitta of Sweden*, 97.

is spiritually enlightening."[7] These were clever and necessary ways of reconciling the reputation with the reality of the papal city.

This chapter (and indeed this second part of the book) is concerned with the reality of the city of Rome and the practical steps taken by the popes and cardinals to restore it. In particular, the latter part of this chapter considers the major theological and humanistic themes that were used to justify and further the work of renovation.

The role of the popes

> The sanctuaries of Saint Peter and Saint Paul are tottering in decay, and what once were temples of apostles [are] left in ruin, formless heaps of stone, which might surely draw tears from those whose hearts are stone?[8]

Something of a cliché in modern books about the early Renaissance in the city, nevertheless Rome's destitution does not seem to have been an exaggeration. Deprived of the papal court for almost a century, Rome had also been without its main source of income as the city lacked significant indigenous industry or agricultural revenue. In the intervening period it had seen civil discontent, infighting between feudal clans, a major earthquake in 1349, famine, and regular outbreaks of plague. Property and other aspects of ecclesiastical patrimony in the city were devalued as churches and monasteries were forced to sell assets and libraries just to survive.[9]

The popes of the Roman obedience during the schism had not ignored these problems, aware of the power of their association with the city. Although in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the papal court had actually been based as much in towns in the Papal States (most notably Viterbo or Anagni) as in Rome itself, the events of the fourteenth century created a profound sense of the Roman-ness of the papacy, as we have seen in the first part of this book. Although most studies begin with the return of Martin V to Rome in 1420, it was arguably Boniface IX (1389–1404), successor of Urban VI in the Roman line, who set the standard for the fifteenth-century popes to follow.

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[7] These texts are discussed in Christine Smith, *Architecture in the Culture of Early Humanism: Ethics, Aesthetics and Eloquence 1400–1470* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 160, 174.

[8] Francesco Petrarch to Urban V, *Rerum senilium* letter 9.1, in Francesco Petrarca, *Letters of Old Age = Rerum senilium libri I–XVIII*, trans. Aldo S. Bernardo, Saul Levin, and Reta A. Bernardo (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 304–27. See also Meredith J. Gill, "The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," in *Artistic Centers of the Renaissance: Rome*, ed. Marcia B. Hall (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 44.

[9] Pastor, *History of the Popes*, vol. 1, 214–19; Giovanni Mattioti, *Vita di S. Francesca Romana scritta nell'idioma volgare di Roma del secolo XV*, ed. Mariano Armellini (Rome, 1882), xii–xiv, 2, 4–5, 8; see also Jean-Claude Maire Vigueur, "Les 'casali' des églises romaines à la fin du Moyen Âge (1348–1421)," *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome. Moyen âge, temps modernes* 86 no. 1 (1974): 63–136, on the economic state of Rome's ecclesiastical institutions.

While civic authority in Rome had continued in the fourteenth century—most notably the turbulent reign of Cola di Rienzo, papal agent turned self-styled tribune—by the beginning of the fifteenth, as Peter Partner put it, "the finances of Rome were, basically, those of the curia," thanks to Boniface IX.[10] Having discovered a plot against him in the middle of 1398, the pope had used it as an excuse to tighten his grip on Rome. Reforms were imposed in 1399 which effectively reduced the state treasury, including its role in taxation, to a branch of the Camera Apostolica, the most powerful financial body of the temporal administration of the Church. These changes did not, however, have a lasting impact until Martin V returned the papacy to Rome as sole occupant of the throne of St Peter.

Money was particularly tight in these early years of the century because revenue customarily paid by the nations of western Christendom in the form of annates was either going to the Avignon pope or being withheld altogether. Boniface IX's solution was to find alternative sources of funding, among them jubilees. He turned these year-long festivals, which derived from Judaism, into money-making opportunities.[11] At the same time, he used them to advertise and reinforce his connection with Rome in the face of challenge from the rival pope in Avignon.

Although Boniface IX was from Naples, the name he assumed at his election signified his intentions and relationship with Rome from the start. His predecessor in name, Boniface VIII (1294–1303), had been one of the Roman Caetani family, and was a proponent of papal authority in the face of rising ambitions of secular rulers. Boniface VIII had also proclaimed the first jubilee for 1300.[12] (There had been another jubilee in 1350, but its significance was considerably reduced by the absence of the pope, Clement VI, in Avignon.)[13] Boniface IX had inherited a jubilee planned for 1390 that had been proclaimed by Urban VI. This he exploited to boost the poor financial state of the Roman papacy with some success. Boniface IX then announced another jubilee for 1400 and began to prepare the city.[14] Despite severe financial limitations, he instigated the improvement of the urban fabric of the city for his jubilee, beginning with work on the roads leading into Rome: from the north, for example, the Via Francigena, a major pilgrim route which started in England and passed through France, with a short tributary from Florence. The more pilgrims that could be brought to Rome, the more revenue would be made.

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[10] Peter Partner, "Finanze e urbanistica a Rome (1420–1623)," *Cheiron* 2 (1983): 59.

[11] On the Jewish origins of jubilees see Herbert L. Kessler and Johanna Zacharias, *Rome 1300: On the Path of the Pilgrim* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), 2–3.

[12] Maria Luisa Madonna, "Gli interventi nella città tra il 1390 e il 1423," *Roma*

In addition to the money large numbers of pilgrims would feed into the Roman economy in general, more formal measures were taken to encourage and consolidate jubilee and other income. In 1390 a new office was established to collect indulgence revenue, the reason given that the papal purse was exhausted by the costs of defending the Church against its aggressors.[15] Leading up to the jubilee of 1400, in 1395 Boniface established a commission for the restoration of the basilica of Santissimi XII Apostoli, which was "totally ruined;" in 1397 he ordered the restoration of San Pietro in Vincoli, and in 1400 another commission was set up, this time for San Paolo fuori le mura.[16] All of the offerings

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1300–1875: La città degli anni santi, ed. Marcello Fagiolo and Maria Luisa Madonna (Milan: Arnoldo Mondadori Editore, 1985), vol. 2, 80; Kessler and Zacharias, *Rome 1300*, 1 and passim; Massimo Miglio, "Bonifacio VIII e il primo Giubileo," in *Bonifacio VIII e il suo tempo: anno 1300 il primo giubileo*, ed. Marina Righetti Tosti-Croce (Milan: Electa, 2000), 51–5.

[13] On the jubilee of 1350 see Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, "Clemente VI e il giubileo del 1350," in *La storia dei giubilei*, vol. 1: 1300–1423, ed. Gloria Fossi (Prato: Giunti, 1997), 270–7.

[14] Arnold Esch, "I giubilei del 1390 e del 1400," in *La storia dei giubilei*, vol. 1: 1300–1423, ed. Gloria Fossi (Prato: Giunti, 1997), 285–7.

[15] Bull of March 1400, ASV, Reg. Vat. 316, f. 349v: "Dudum attendentes quo propter guerram turbines que multipliciter involverunt apostolica camera erat pecuniis exhausta pro defensione status ecclesiae sponse nostre omniumque subditorum nostrorum;" in Madonna, "Gli interventi nella città tra il 1390 e il 1423," 80; also Arnold Esch, *Bonifaz IX. und der Kirchenstaat*, Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom vol. 24 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1969), 337.

[16] ASV, Reg. Lat. 36, ff. 196r–197v: Santissimi XII Apostoli was described as being "in totum devastari et in ruinam deduci verisimiliter, prout ex relacione non nullorum in arte edificiorum expertorum et eius aspectu apparet, formidatur." ASV, Reg. Vat. 316, f. 342v; Madonna, "Gli interventi nella città," 80; Esch, *Bonifaz IX.*, 211 n. 16, 226, 337–8; Esch, "I giubilei del 1390 e del 1400," 281. San Paolo fuori le mura had been particularly badly damaged by the major earthquake of 1349.

from pilgrims to San Paolo fuori le mura were to go to that basilica, while other churches were to receive a half share of donations with the Camera Apostolica. These commissions were set up to organize works to be paid for by money received from oblations, pious donations, and alms for the altars of the different basilicas—though what they actually achieved is not clear. A series of bulls after 1400 provided further indulgences for those visiting San Lorenzo fuori le mura, Santa Maria in Trastevere, and Santa Maria Rotonda (the Pantheon).

Even if the city was in a poor state, nevertheless its spiritual power was still apparent.[17] So many pilgrims flocked to Rome in 1400 that the city could not cope and by March it was full to bursting. Ever the pragmatist, the pope extended the benefits of visiting Rome for the jubilee into the next year, 1401.[18] Exploiting the financial potential of jubilees to the full, the privileges available to pilgrims by travelling to Rome—and indeed to other cities to which Boniface IX granted the right to hold jubilees—were even obtainable on payment of the costs of travel and the donation to a church that might have been made in person. It was a huge success: whereas the jubilee of 1450 would only bring 1,500 ducats to San Paolo fuori le mura, that of 1400 had seen 60,000 ducats, because, according to the wealthy Florentine merchant Giovanni Rucellai, more people had been in Rome and they had had more to give.[19] However, as well as pilgrims and money, the plague had also been brought to Rome in 1400, killing some 800 people a day in the height of the summer.[20]

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[17] "E' doventano tutti santi: tanta faticha durano in ricierchare queste Sante Chiese!": Archivio Datini di Prato, no. 545, *lett. Roma-Pisa*, unknown author to Stefano di Bonaccorso, 4 April 1400, quoted in F. Melis, "Movimento di popoli e motivi economici nel giubileo del 1400," in *Miscellanea Gilles Gérard Meersseman* (Padua: Antenore, 1970), vol. 1, 363; see also Esch, "I giubilei del 1390 e del 1400," 288.

[18] Esch, *Bonifaz IX.*, 337; Hélène Millet, "Le grand pardon du Pape (1390) e celui de l'Année Sainte (1400)," in *I Giubilei nella storia della chiesa*, Pontificato comitato di scienze storiche, Atti e documenti 10 (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2000), 290–304.

[19] Giovanni Rucellai, *Il Zibaldone quaresimale*, ed. A. Perosa (London: Studies of the Warburg Institute, 1960–81), vol. 1, 77–8: "L'altare di Sancto Pagolo pigliava il dì d'offerte circa ducati quattro, che in tutto l'anno potevano essere ducati mille cinquecento. Et pel giubileo passato, che fu l'anno 1400, si dice che prese d'offerta il detto altare ducati sessanta migliaia, perchè passò maggiore numero di persone et davano maggiori offerte." Also Arnold Esch, "L'economia nei Giubilei del quattrocento," in *I Giubilei nella storia della chiesa*, Pontificato comitato di scienze storiche, Atti e documenti 10 (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2000), 344.

[20] Esch, *Bonifaz IX.*, 339–41; Esch, "I giubilei del 1390 e del 1400," 292–3.

Despite the excitement surrounding the jubilee of 1400, Antonio di Pietro dello Schiavo, a canon of the Vatican basilica, describes in his Roman diary (1404–17) the total chaos, famine, and exhaustion nevertheless experienced by Rome's citizens. The already strained circumstances of the schism were considerably worsened by the occupation of the city by King Ladislaus of Naples (1386–1414), intent on exploiting the void left by the unstable papacy, and further deteriorated when the Roman barons, notably the Colonna and Orsini, joined in, their mobs running riot through the city.[21] Houses in the Borgo, the region adjoining St Peter's, Schiavo reported, were demolished so their stones could be used to build up the defences round the area.[22] While the canons of St Peter's tried, often in vain, to follow the religious observations of the seasons, the disruption in Rome often intervened. Santo Spirito in Sassia, the hospice and church, and St Peter's became refuges for the citizens of the Borgo when the area was sacked, first in 1409 and then in 1413.[23] Even on the major feast of the dedication of the basilicas of Saints Peter and Paul (18 November) in 1409, St Peter's basilica was inaccessible and only the bravest pilgrim ventured to San Paolo fuori le mura.[24] For the feast of Saints Peter and Paul (29 June) in 1414, the celebrations had to be very modest: the lamps could not be lit because of a shortage of oil.[25] By 1414 significant parts of the Borgo were derelict and deserted.[26] Not surprisingly, ongoing repairs to ancient buildings were low on the list of priorities when everyday life was so difficult. During this time the defence of the Borgo and the area around St Peter's (including the raised corridor that linked the Vatican complex and the papal fortress of Castel Sant'Angelo) and of San Paolo fuori le mura, which lacked the protection of the Aurelian wall, were the priority.[27]

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[21] Antonio di Pietro dello Schiavo, *Il Diario romano, dal 19 Ottobre 1404 al 25 Settembre 1417*, ed. Francesco Isoldi, RIS 24, part 5 (Cittaà di Castello: Lapi, 1917), 25: "non inveniebatur hemere panis per totam Urbem" etc.; 49: "item die supradicto [18 November 1409] ego Antonius vidi maximam crudelitatem in via Sancti Pauli, videlicet in Testacia et in multis aliis locis de bestiis, vachinis, bovis, buffalis, crastatis, et porcinis, ac etiam de'iumentis, omnes perientes et morientes fame, et relicta per patronos eorum, dicentes sic dicti patroni: nui non avendo [*sic*] de que pacare li bifolci, perchè nui non aveno [*sic*] nullo utile delle sopradette bestie. etc.."

[22] Schiavo, *Diario romano*, 51.

[23] Schiavo, *Diario romano*, 44: "Item isto die [29 September 1409] fuit posita tota porticha assacchomano per gentem armorum dominorum supradictorum…; et omnes habitantes in porticha Sancti Petri fuerunt expulxi de mandato domini senatoris et aliorum dominorum tunc tempore Urbis… Item in Sancto Petro non cantabatur nullum officium tunc tempore… propter multam tribulationem, et tota ecclesia Sancti Petri, et Sancti Spiritus erat plena de bonis habitantibus portice Sancti Petri… Multa essent scribenda, que demicto in calamo." When at the end of October 1409 one of the clergy of St Peter's went to Trastevere for bread to feed those trapped, he was refused; 47, 79.

[24] Schiavo, *Diario romano*, 49. See also 63 for the disruption to services in St Peter's.

[25] Schiavo, *Diario romano*, 87.

[26] Schiavo, *Diario romano*, 89: "Item siatis quod tunc tempore basilica Sancti Petri in divinis male erat servita, nisi de pulzatione campanarum bene. Item siatis quod

In the midst of it all, in 1409, a large proportion of the cardinals left Gregory XII in Rome for Pisa and the council which eventually elected Alexander V. In Rome it was ordered that these cardinals' arms be removed from public display.[28] After a short reign of only ten months, Alexander V was succeeded by John XXIII (Baldassare Cossa), who arrived in Rome in April 1411.[29] His arms had already replaced those of Gregory XII the year before.[30]

By the time Martin V and his entourage were able to return to Rome in 1420 on the feast of St Andrew (30 November), it was "so ravaged and devastated that it scarcely looked like a city at all."[31] The city was in an especially sorry state because the Tiber had broken its banks: the Pantheon was flooded and there was water right up to the level of the high altar.[32] But well before his actual return, Martin V had instigated a campaign of restoration in Rome. Still based in Florence, waiting for

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ecclesia Sancti Spiritus totaliter non officiabatur;... et ospitale dicte ecclesie erat totaliter depauperatum; et fratres dicte ecclesie Sancti Spiritus ibant per Urbem circumquaque celebrandum per alias ecclesias Urbis;... Item siatis quod tunc tempore portica Sancti Petri erat totaliter derelicta, et nulus habitabat in dicta porticha Sancti Petri."

[27] Schiavo, *Diario romano*, 68 (June 1411), 74 (June 1412).

[28] Schiavo, *Diario romano*, 40 (21 May 1409): "mandaverunt omnibus habitantibus per Urbem habentes armas depictas dominorum cardinalium in domibus eorum, videlicet illorum, qui tunc tempore erant in Pisis... ad pena et sub pena debeant omnes dictas armas deguastare e deguastari facere sub pena xxv florenorum auri, et ita factum fuit."

[29] Baldassare Cossa had already entered Rome in October 1409 as legate of Alexander V, at which time he had moved into the papal palace; Schiavo, *Diario romano*, 42, 44, 65–6.

[30] Schiavo, *Diario romano*, 57, 58: "Item die merchurii iv dicti mensis [4 June 1410], fuerunt picte arme domini nostri domini Joannis pape XXIII in palatio Apostolico et delete ille olim Gregorii XII." Ladislaus, in turn, had his arms displayed in the city when he occupied Rome in 1413 and those of John XXIII removed; 80, 82, 84.

[31] Platina, *Platynae Historici. Liber de vita Christi ac omnium pontificum (AA. 1–1474)*, ed. Giacinto Gaida, RIS 3 part 1 (Città di Castello: Lapi, 1913–32), 310: "Urbem Romam adeo diruptam et vastam invenit, ut nulla civitatis facies in ea videretur. Collabentes vidisses domos, collapsa templa, desertos vicos, cenosam et oblitam urbem, laborantem rerum omnium caritate et inopia. Quid plura? nulla urbis facies, nullum urbanitatis indicium in ea videbatur"; *Le Liber pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1955–7), vol. 2, 519–20.

[32] *Vitae Martin V*, in RIS vol. 3 part 2 (Milan, 1734), 864, in Pastor, *History of the Popes*, vol. 1, 214.

the right time to return in triumph to the papal city, in April 1420 he had established a commission to oversee the restoration of the city's churches.[33] Thomas de Amelia, Bishop of Ventimiglia, was put in charge with the (albeit relatively modest) sum of 200 florins to spend, in addition to the payment of 500 florins that had already been made earlier in the same year.[34] Offices for the care of public streets and byways and policing were also established in the first years of Martin's papacy.[35] This was only a beginning. Later, in 1425, Martin V reinstated the *maestri delle strade*, city magistrates whose office was directly responsible for the improvement of the urban fabric.[36] They had the power to confiscate property that obstructed public roads or that was left empty and were authorized to demolish property when necessary. They could also arrest and imprison those who did not comply with their orders.

The successors of Martin V followed the example he set. In addition to specific repairs, there were regular attempts by the popes to reform the administration of the city and to restore lands and property alienated from the Church during its long absence from the Papal States. Michele da Prato was charged by both Eugenius IV and Nicholas V with the enforcement of taxes and restoration of lands in the areas around Rome. In April 1452, he was put in charge of all the churches of Rome as procurator to oversee the return of their properties that had been illegally removed.[37] The cardinals were involved in this important work. Guillaume d'Estouteville in 1448 was charged with the restoration of properties to San Lorenzo fuori le mura. Other reforms at churches undertaken by the cardinals probably included similar obligations.

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[33] Eugène Müntz, *La Renaissance en Italie et en France à l'époque de Charles V* (Paris: Mesnil, 1885), 8–9; Pastor, *History of the Popes*, vol. 1, 216.

[34] For the 500 florins "pro portando seu mictendo Romam, in dictis reparatione et reedificacione conuertendos, tradatis et realiter expediatis," see G. Amati, "Notizia di Alcuni manoscritti dell'Archivio Secreto Vaticano," *Archivio storico italiano* 3 (1866), 199–200, 3 January 1420; for the 200 florins see Eugène Müntz, *Les Arts à la Cour des Papes pendant le XV^e et le XVI^e siècle: Recueil de documents inédits tirés des archives et des bibliothèques Romaines*, part 1 Martin V-Pie II, 1417–1464, Bibliothèque des Ècoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 4 (Paris: E. Thorin, 1878), 9 n. 1.

[35] *Vitae Martin V*, 864: "Item suo tempore tenuit stratas e vias publicas securas; quod non fuit auditum ad centis annis et circa."

[36] The bull "Et si in cunctarum" is in Müntz, *Les Arts à la Cour des Papes*, part 1 335–7. See also Charles W. Westfall, *In this Most Perfect Paradise: Alberti, Nicholas V and the Invention of Conscious Urban Planning in Rome 1447–1455* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1974), 78–84; Charles Burroughs, *From Signs to Designs: Environmental Process and Reform in Early Renaissance Rome* (Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 1990), 79–80. On the background to this office, Torgil Magnuson, *The Urban Transformation of Medieval Rome, 312–1420*, Suecoromana (Studia artis historiae instiuti romani regni Sueciae) 7 (Stockholm: Swedish Institute, 2004), 118, 130.

[37] ASV, Reg. Vat. 422, f. 195r, in Burroughs, *From Signs to Designs*, 110.

Martin V's actions mark an important stage in the erosion of the powers of the civic authorities, as they sent a clear message about his plans and expectations for the extent of his authority and control over the very fabric of the city.[38] As a Colonna, one of the strongest of the old feudal noble families that divided up the city between them, Martin V obviously had clear ideas about what to do in his native town. The account books after his return to Rome show regular payments for repairs and restoration.[39] While he was not unique among fifteenth-century popes, as the sole occupant of the papal throne for the first time for forty years, his return to Rome and his relationship with the city acquire more significance.

Nevertheless, although Martin V was in a much stronger position both ideologically and politically, papal revenue had been severely cut by concessions made at the Council of Constance when the nations had managed to limit their contributions to the papacy.[40] It was assumed the popes could live off revenue from the Papal States instead, but that had to be first brought back under control before it could be relied upon. This process could only begin when the pope was based in Rome.[41]

There were also the very practical considerations of finding somewhere to live: at first the papal court moved into the Vatican palace at St Peter's, a move that has been interpreted as an attempt to associate the papacy more closely with the Apostle, though, as Aurigemma suggests, this association was perhaps more rhetorical than physical in the first half of the century.[42] A particular issue regarding Martin V's residence at the Vatican was that St Peter's was associated with the Orsini, the Colonna family's arch-enemy. This explains why Martin V was the only pope in the fifteenth century buried at the Lateran basilica. Martin V's court moved regularly to palaces attached to other churches, presumably because they were in better condition—Santa Maria Maggiore, Santa Maria in Trastevere, and Santissimi XII Apostoli where the Colonna had their main enclave. The complex at St John Lateran, which had been the pope's traditional seat, was uninhabitable: both dilapidated and too badly damaged by recent fires.[43] Nevertheless, in 1420 the huge sum of 50,000 florins was spent on St Peter's alone to repair the roof.[44] The works were not all mundane, if pressing: Santa Maria Maggiore had a new altarpiece by Masaccio and Masolino dated 1423, while Gentile da Fabriano was commissioned to decorate the nave of the Lateran basilica in 1427.[45]

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[38] See Arnold Esch, "La fine del libero comune di Roma nel giudizio dei mercanti fiorentini. Lettere romane degli anni 1395–98 nell'Archivio Datini," *Bulletino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo a Archivio Muratoriano* 86 (1976–7): 235–77, on the decline of the Roman commune at the end of the fourteenth century; Esch, *Bonifaz IX*, 209–76.

[39] Müntz, *Les Arts à la Cour des Papes*, part 1, 1–18.

[40] See above, chapter 1.

[41] Peter Partner, *The Papal State under Martin V: The Administration and Government of the Temporal Power in the Early Fifteenth Century* (London: British School at Rome, 1958), 42–5 and passim; Peter Partner, *The Lands of St. Peter: The Papal State in the Middle Ages and the Early Renaissance* (London: Eyre Methuen, 1972), 396–9, 443.

[42] Maria Giulia Aurigemma, "Residenze cardinalizie tra inizio e fine del '400," in *Roma Le trasformazioni urbane nel Quattrocento*, vol. 2: *Funzioni urbane e tipologie edilizie*, ed. Giorgio Simoncini (Rome: Olschki, 2004), 118–19. On another important papal palace in Rome, Nicholas V's palace at Santa Maria Maggiore, Georg Schelbert, "Il palazzo papale di Niccolò V presso Santa Maria Maggiore: indagini su un edificio ritenuto

The campaign to restore the city involved all levels of society from pope to pilgrims. In 1421 Martin V advised Giovanni di Bicci de' Medici (1360–1429) in Florence to make amends for the fact that he had kept money owed to dead or missing creditors by paying 350 florins for the repair of churches in Rome.[46] King Sigismund of Hungary paid for the restoration of the hospital of San Stefano on the Caelian hill.[47]

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scomparso," in *Domus et splendida palatia: residenze papali e cardinalizie a Roma fra XII e XV secolo*, ed. Alessio Monciatti (Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2004), 114–43.

[43] Carlo Pietrangeli, "Dal Laterano al Vaticano," in *Il Palazzo Apostolico Lateranense*, ed. Carlo Pietrangeli (Florence: Nardini, 1991), 13–18. The palace at the Lateran was still in a poor state in 1432 when it was described as "miserabilem ruinam"; see Eugène Müntz, "Les Arts à la Cour des papes. Nouvelles recherches sur les pontificats de Martin V, d'Eugène IV, de Nicolas V, de Calixte III, de Pie II et de Paul II," *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire* 9 (1884): 34.

[44] Müntz, *Les Arts à la Cour des Papes*, part 1, 9.

[45] For the most recent bibliography Carl Brandon Strehlke and Mark Tucker, "The Santa Maria Maggiore Altarpiece," in *The Panel Paintings of Masolino and Masaccio: The Role of Technique*, ed. Carl Brandon Strehlke and Cecilia Frosinini (Milan: 5 Continents, 2002), 111–29; Laura Laureati and Lorenza Mochi Onori, eds, *Gentile da Fabriano e l'altro Rinascimento* (Milan: Electa, 2006), 306–9; Meredith J. Gill, "Gentile da Fabriano, il Laterano e gli albori del Rinascimento romano," in *Gentile da Fabriano "magister magistrorum": atti delle giornate di studio, Fabriano 28–30 giugno 2005*, ed. Cecilia Prete (Sassoferrato: Istituto Internazionale di Studi Piceni, 2006), 63–72; Andrea de Marchi, *Gentile da Fabriano: Un viaggio nella pittura italiana alla fine del gotico* (Milan: Federigo Motta, 2006), 235–47.

[46] George Holmes, "How the Medici became the Pope's Bankers," in *Florentine Studies: Politics and Society in Renaissance Florence*, ed. Nicolai Rubinstein (London: Faber and Faber, 1968), 380; George Holmes, "Cosimo and the Popes," in *Cosimo 'il Vecchio' de Medici, 1389–1464*, ed. Francis Ames-Lewis (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 21–31.

[47] Eileen Kane, *San Clemente: The Saint Catherine Chapel* (Rome: Collegio San Clemente, 2000), 48. Nicholas V was responsible for the most radical restoration of the church,

In September 1423 Martin V granted a special indulgence for anyone who contributed to the appeal for funds for the restoration and rebuilding of San Paolo fuori le mura. Restoration of the basilica went with the reform of the Benedictine community based there, which was entrusted to Cardinal Gabriele Condulmer (the future Eugenius IV), "tam in capite quam in membris."[48] Ordinary Romans also contributed: in 1423 Jacoba Bonchi, who lived in the *rione* Sant'Eustachio in the heart of the city near the Pantheon, left 60 florins in her will for the restoration of the churches of Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Santa Maria in Aracoeli, San Clemente, Santa Maria del Popolo, Santa Maria Nova, and Santa Sabina.[49]

Restoration—of papal power, of peace in the Papal States, and of the fabric of Rome—was a major theme of Martin V's papacy, and it set an important precedent for his successors: he was described as more *pater patriae* to the city than supreme pontiff.[50] A medal struck during

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including the removal of the second/outer aisle from the circular church: Eugène Müntz, "Les ancienne basiliques et églises de Rome au XV^{e} siècle. Documents inédits sur les travaux qui y ont été exécutés depuis Martin V jusqu'a Sixte IV," *La Revue archéologique* 34 (1877), 13–14; Müntz, *Les Arts à la Cour des Papes*, part 1, 141–3.

[48] Madonna, "Gli interventi nella città," 82; On Gabriele Condulmer's (Eugenius IV) reforms of churches, see Ian Robertson, "Musical Stalls in the Choir: An Attempted Reform of Rome's Lateran Chapter in the Fifteenth Century," in *History of the Edge: Essays in Memory of John Foster (1944–1994)*, ed. Mark Baker (Melbourne: Melbourne University History Monograph 22, 1997), 89–113. See also Hermann Hoberg, *Taxae pro communibus servitiis ex libris obligationum, ab anno 1295 usque ad annum 1455 confectis*, Studi e testi 144 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1949) on the relative size of Roman monastic establishments in this period: according to the service taxes paid to the Camera Apostolica, even a major Roman monastery such as that of the Benedictines at San Paolo fuori le mura could only contribute less than a quarter of that paid by the major French monsteries (290, 374).

[49] Anna Maria Corbo, *Artisti ed artigiani in Roma al tempo di Martin V e di Eugenio IV* (Rome: De Luca, 1969), 178; Madonna, "Gli interventi nella città," 81. See also Isa Lori Sanfilippo, "Morire a Roma," in *Alle origini dell nuova Roma. Martin V (1417–1431)*, ed. Maria Chiabò et al. (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 1992), 603–23, for testaments in this period.

[50] *Vitae Martin V*, 864 in Pastor, *History of the Popes*, vol. 1, 214: "Septembris Anno Domini Millesimo Quadringentesimo vigesimo primo. Invenit Civitatem Romanam pacificam, sed ita inopia laborantem, ut vix praese Civitatis faciem ferret. Omnis cultus, omnisque ornatus propter mala, quibus afflicta fuerat, ab ipsa recesserat. Compatiens pius Pastor Civitati suae, omnem modum, quo restaurari posset, adhibuit; et tamdem per Pontificis studium de tempore in tempus sic convaluit, ut inter primas Italiae Civitates, quo ad opes et Cives egregios, verissime Pontificatus sui tempore computari potuerit, meritoque ille non modo summus Pontifex, sed Pater patriae debuerit appellari"; see also *Liber pontificalis*, vol. 2, 520; Platina, *Platynae Historici*, 310; Wouter Bracke, "Le orazioni al pontefice," in *Alle origini dell nuova Roma. Martin V (1417–1431)*, ed. Maria Chiabò et al. (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 1992), 138.

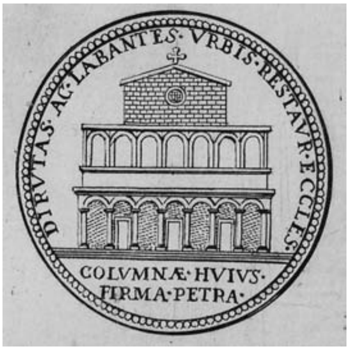
DIRVTAS· AC· LABANTES· VRBIS· RESTAVR· ECCLES·
COLVMNÆ· HVIVS·
FIRMA·PETRA·

Figure 16 Medal of Martin V, in Filippo Bonanni, *Numismata Romanorum Pontificum* (1694). British School at Rome/author.

his reign expresses the significance given to these restorations: around an image of a church facade, its lower level an arcade supported by columns, is the legend "he restored the collapsed and tottering churches of the city," and below in an epigram the columns (the heraldic device of the Colonna) which support the church are equated with Peter, the rock upon which the church is founded (Figure 16).[51]

Even when Eugenius IV was forced to be absent from the city he was still paying for repairs. In 1437–8, over and above work at the major basilicas, 100 ducats were spent on Santa Maria in Trastevere, 100 on Santa Maria sopra Minerva, and 20 on Sant'Agostino.[52] Like his predecessors, Eugenius IV also thought of some ingenious ideas for supporting Rome's institutions. In 1446 he proposed setting up a confraternity to sustain the hospital of Santo Spirito in Sassia, though the plan was not enacted until 1477–8 under Sixtus IV: within four years of its establishment more than a thousand Germans alone were members of the confraternity.[53] Under Nicholas V the amounts spent were enormous by comparison, an indication both of his ambitions for Rome and the papacy and of the relative security in the city by the middle of the century, thanks to the efforts of his predecessors. By 1453 his expenditure included, for example, 1,000 ducats on San Stefano plus 236 ducats on the windows of the church, 25 ducats on the windows of Sant'Eusebio, 445 ducats on Santissimi XII Apostoli, 254 ducats on the Pantheon, 2,000 ducats on San Teodoro, and 267 ducats at San Celso.[54] Nevertheless, although Nicholas V's efforts to restore the city have received considerable scholarly attention, in large part because of the agenda laid out in Manetti's biography, they need to be put in the wider context of restoration begun by Martin V and before, as well as the efforts of the cardinals. Just like Martin V, Nicholas V was styled as a restorer of Rome: on the epitaph for his tomb monument (see Figure 95) he is described a restorer of Rome: he "brought back to thee, O Rome, the Golden Age" and "restored morals, walls, temples and houses."[55] In fact, a striking feature of Manetti's biography is his exclusion of the cardinals, perhaps because they were subsumed within papal policy.[56]

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[51] DIRVTAS AC LABANTES VRBIS RESTAVR. ECCLES./COLUMNAE HUIUS FIRMA PETRA. Müntz, *Les Arts à la Cour des Papes*, part 1, 3 n. 1; Ridolfino Venuti, *Numismata Romanorum Pontificium praestantiora, à Martino V ad Benedictum XIV* (Rome, 1744), 1; Charles Lenormant, *Trésor de Numismatique et de Glyptique, ou Recueil général de Médailles, Monnaies, Pierres Gravées, Basreliefs etc. tant anciens que modernes*… (Paris, 1834–46), vol. 6, "Medailles des papes," pl. 1 no. 2.

[52] Eugène Müntz, "Les ancienne basiliques et églises de Rome au XV^{e} siècle. Documents inédits sur les travaux qui y ont été exécutés depuis Martin V jusqu'a Sixte IV," *La Revue archéologique* 34 (1877): 245–6.

[53] The confraternity's membership is analysed in Karl Heinrich Schäfer, *Die deutschen Mitglieder der Heiliggeist-Bruderschaft zu Rome am Ausgang des Mittelalters*, Quellen und Forschungen aus dem Gebiet der Geschichte 16 (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1913).

While the resources of Calixtus III and Pius II seem to have been otherwise allocated to the crusade against the Ottoman Turks, and those of Pius to Siena and Pienza as well, work by the cardinals continued apace, enjoying the momentum built under their predecessors. Pius II's major contributions to the city of Rome were at St Peter's, where he installed new stairs leading up to the atrium and began a benediction loggia modelled on the theatre of Marcellus.[57] Nevertheless, he still managed to contribute to the upkeep of several other churches: San Stefano Rotondo (100 ducats, 16 Sept 1463), the Pantheon (*c.* 200 florins, 1460–3), and Santi Quattro Coronati (25 ducats, 5 March 1460).[58]

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[54] Eugène Müntz, "Les ancienne basiliques et églises de Rome," 7.

[55] Carol M. Richardson, "'Ruined, untended and derelict': Fifteenth century papal tombs in St Peter's," in *Art and Identity in Early Modern Rome*, ed. Jill Burke and Michael Bury (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 196; Iiro Kajanto, *Papal Epigraphy in Renaissance Rome* (Helsinki: Suomalairen Tiedeakatemia, 1982), 54.

[56] See above, chapter 3, 108–9.

[57] Müntz, *Les Arts à la Cour des Papes*, part 1, 279–83, 289–91: including in 1461, 20 florins for a piece of marble to make the two statues of Saints Peter and Paul for the stairs; April, 200 ducats paid to Francesco del Borgo for the stairs; 1463–4, benediction loggia; 1463–4, eight marble windows in Santa Petronilla and repairs to roof.

[58] Müntz, *Les Arts à la Cour des Papes*, part 1, 293–4.

The cardinals' part

Clearly there was too much to do, even for a pope. However, with the cardinals the pope had almost two dozen powerful agents to enact a more thorough and extensive campaign of work in the city's churches. Therefore, "perceiving the impossibility of himself providing for them all, he turned to the cardinals and urged them to restore their titular churches; the appeal was not made in vain."[59] By all accounts, the cardinals followed the example of Martin V, restoring their titular churches in competition with one another, according to Platina, and so improving the face of the city.[60] It was certainly not unknown for cardinals to contribute to the restoration funds for Rome's churches—the cardinal of Sant'Angelo, whose funeral was held at St Peter's on 11 January 1408, left 400 ducats to the Vatican basilica and 50 for the abbey of San Tommaso in Formis on the Caelian—but under Martin V it became a central tenet of the papacy.[61]

In the first courtyard through which the church of Santi Quattro Coronati is approached, there is an inscription recording the restoration of the church (Figure 17):

> Whatever you see lying in its state of ancient collapse used to lie overgrown with branches, ivy and thickets; the Spaniard Alfonso Cariglio, resplendent in his cardinal's office, did not tolerate this, but he seized upon a great undertaking and repaired the palaces with lavish expenditure while Martin V was pope after the extinction of the schism.[62]

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[59] *Liber pontificalis*, vol. 2, 522: "Hic a Deo dilectus pontifex multas ecclesias Urbis reparavit… Ad eius imitacionem omnes pene sancte Romane ecclesie cardinales eorum titulos ruine pene proximos repararunt et ad magnum ornatum usque perduxerunt." Müntz, *Les Arts à la Cour des Papes*, part 1, 2 n. 3; Pastor, *History of the Popes*, vol. 1, 217.

[60] Platina, *Platynae Historici*, 312: "Martinus autem ab externo hoste quietus, ad exornandam patriam basilicasque Romanas animum adiiciens, porticum Sancti Petri iam collabentem restituit; et pavimentum Lateranensis basilicae opere vermiculato perfecit; et testudinem ligneam eidem templo superinduxit; picturamque gentilis, opus pictoris egregii incohavit. Aedes praeterea vetustate collabentes ad XII apostolos restituit, ubi et annos aliquot habitavit. Huius autem studia cardinales secuti, titulos suos ita certatim restituunt, ut iam aliqua facies rediisse urbi Romae videretur."

[61] Schiavo, *Diario romano*, 23. San Tommaso in Formis, one of the twenty abbeys of privilege in Rome, had been a dependency of the chapter of St Peter's since 1395, when the last cardinal to have it as a commendatory benefice, Poncello Orsini, died; Mariano Armellini, *Le chiese di Roma dal secolo IV al XIX* (Rome: Tipografia Vaticana, 1891), 504–6.

[62] "Haec Quaecumque Vides Veteri Prostrata Ruina/Obruta Verbenis Hederis Dumisque Iacebant/Non tulit Hispanus Carillo Alphonsus Honore/Cardineo Fulgens, Sed Opus Licet Occupat Ingens/Sic animus Magna Reparatque Palatia Sumptu/Dum

Made cardinal-deacon of Sant'Eustachio in 1404 by Benedict XIII, Alfonso Cariglio lived at Santi Quattro Coronati after he returned to Rome in the court of Martin V.[63] In the inscription his efforts are explicitly linked with those of Martin V's papacy. Significantly, restoration of the city is a powerful sign of the end of the schism. The point, which is weakened in translation, is reinforced by the order of words in the original Latin: "Dum Sedet Extinto Martinus Schismate Quintus."

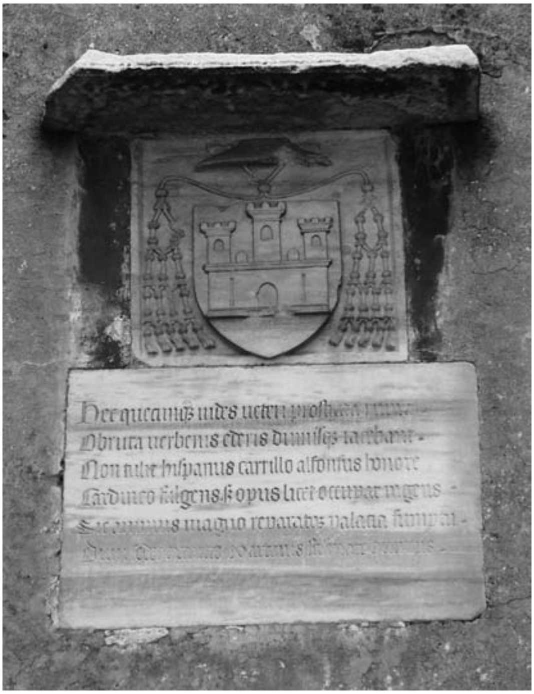

Figure 17 Arms and inscription of Cardinal Alfonso Cariglio, first courtyard, Santi Quattro Coronati. Author.

Sedet Extinto Martinus Schismate Quintus": Bruno M. Apollonj Ghetti, *I Ss Quattro Coronati*, *Chiese di Roma illustrate* 81 (Rome: Ed. Roma, 1964) 95.

[63] Appolonj Ghetti, *Ss Quattro Coronati*, 11.

Santi Quattro Coronati stands on an escarpment overlooking what was once a quiet valley between the Oppian and Caelian hills, near to San Clemente and to the *Via maior* which ran up to St John Lateran. The location of the church and its associated buildings made it a secure place which was used as a bastion to protect the cathedral or, if necessary, the popes.[64] A residential complex had developed along the north flank of the church, with a monastery for the community of Benedictine monks who had been there since 1116 along the south, and their cloister which dates to 1138. Santi Quattro Coronati was used as a titular church once more after a gap of more than 200 years when in 1338 it was assigned to the French Cistercian, Guillaume de Court Nouvel, though he had no cause to use it so by the fifteenth century the church and its attached buildings were probably little changed from their thirteenth-century form.[65] Between 1423 and 1434 Cariglio had the complex *in commendam*.[66] The buildings were enjoyed by Louis of Luxembourg from 1439 to 1442, and the two Spaniards, Alfonso Borgia (Calixtus III) from 1444 to 1455 and Luis Juan Mila from 1456 to 1510.[67] When he became pope, Alfonso passed the title to his nephew Luis, which he then held for the more than fifty years of his cardinalate, possibly enjoying the relative security such a bastion could offer the often unpopular Spaniards. Its advantageous position is vividly portrayed in Antonio Tempesta's 1593 plan of Rome and in Aldò Giovannoli's evocative etching from *Roma antica* of 1619 (Figures 18 and 19).

The theme of rebuilding and restoration lasted throughout the century for cardinals as much as popes. In his *Commentaries*, Pius II often mentions his cardinals' restoration of monasteries, communities, and buildings in and around Rome. He is also quick to criticize when they failed in their responsibilities. Ludovico Trevisan, for example,

> had acquired the ruined monastery of St Paul in Albano, founded by Pope Honorius III, and had restored it [*instauravit*]. The church, which was roofless, he repaired. He erected splendid houses and where once he hunted wolves and foxes he planted gardens and made the place delightful… The whole aspect of the place was changed under him and the

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[64] Lia Barelli, "Il palazzo cardinalizio dei Ss. Quattro Coronati a Roma nel Basso Medioevo," in *Il Lazio tra antichità e medioevo. Studi in memoria di Jean Coste*, ed. Zaccaria Mari, Maria Teresa Petrara, and Maria Sperandio (Rome: Quasar, 1999), 111.

[65] Barelli, "Il palazzo cardinalizio," 114.

[66] Barelli, "Il palazzo cardinalizio," 122; Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, vol. 1, 6.

[67] Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, vol. 2, 12, 72.

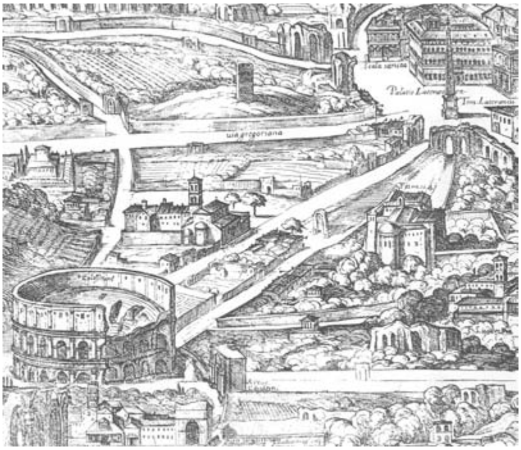

Figure 18 Colosseum, San Clemente, Santi Quattro Coronati, from Antonio Tempesta, map of Rome, 1593.

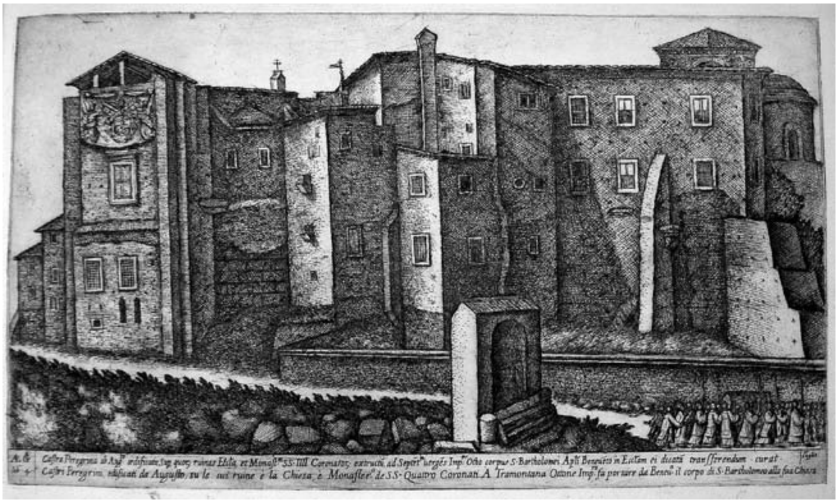

Figure 19 Santi Quattro Coronati, in Aldò Giovannoli, *Roma antica* (1619). British School at Rome/author.

> monastery repaired. Quite different was the care given to his church by the Cardinal of Foix [Pietro di Foix]. He is the Bishop of Albano, of noble birth, rich and powerful, who when he was legate in Avignon amassed so much money that he literally drained the citizens dry. His church in Albano lies without roof or altar or doors. Only the ivy-covered walls are standing and even they will soon collapse. Meanwhile they serve as stables for goats and cattle. These are the canons appointed by the Cardinal of Albano to perform divine service day and night in his church![68]

In a 1470 inscription in the courtyard of the palace of the archpriest of St Peter's, Cardinal Richard Olivier de Longueil, the church personified is shown to be strong again: "I whom you see standing firm, once lay scattered, and this refined facade has recently brought me a new glory."[69] And in the well-known lines at the bottom of Melozzo da Forlì's fresco from the Vatican library showing Sixtus IV appointing Platina his librarian, the library, like the city, which once languished in squalor, is shown to be restored (see Figure 12).[70] Even new works such as these are couched in terms of restoration, but of more than the buildings—reconstruction was not confined to the physical city but also included the spiritual. Buildings were restored to strengthen the sense of religious devotion and reform of the ecclesiastical administration of Rome, and indeed much further afield.

While there is no doubt that the cardinals played an important part in reclaiming Rome and were a major force for redevelopment of the city, it is difficult to obtain precise figures, in part because they and other curial officials were exempt from paying duties, and other records, whether household or church accounts, are exceedingly rare. This makes any details that do survive all the more valuable. The *dogana* accounts include a crude measure of the cardinals' spending power which contributed to the economic revival of the papal city: in one year, 1457, the papal palace received delivery of 118 bottles of wine via the river Tiber, which was recorded at the customs house at the harbour near Santa Maria in Cosmedin. The households of Cardinals Pietro Barbo and Prospero Colonna received almost the same amount at 104 and 108 bottles respectively, while that of the wealthy Guillaume d'Estouteville received 181 bottles. In 1465, while the papal palace received a more generous 444 bottles, Rodrigo Borgia received 158, Alain Coetivy 268, and Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini a relatively modest 53.[71] Combined, the cardinals enjoyed at least the same spending power as the popes, if not more, even if their activities as patrons were more localized, focused on particular churches, residences, or palaces to which they were attached.

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[68] Pius II, "Commentaries of Pius II," 758–9; Pius II, *Commentarii*, 703.

[69] Francesco Maria Torrigio, *Le Sacre Grotte Vaticane, cioè narratione delle cose più notabili, che sono sotto il pavimento della Basilica di S. Pietro in Vaticano in Roma, etc. come corpi santi, sepolcri de'Sommi Pontifici, Imperatori, Rè, Cardinali, etc.* (Rome, 1635), 116: "Quam bene stare vides, quonda, disiecta iacebam,/Et decus hoc facies fert modo culta novum./ Riccardus Normana tuus Constantia praesul/Cardineae struxit gloria magnae togae/ Presbyter et veneto Paulo regnante secundo./Primus in hac Petri qui fuit Ecclesia 1470." See also Simona Sperindei, "Repertorio delle residenze cardinalizie," in *Roma Le trasformazioni urbane nel Quattrocento*, vol. 2: *Funzioni urbane e tipologie edilizie*, ed. Giorgio Simoncini (Rome: Olschki, 2004), 151.

[70] "Plus tamen urbs debet; nam quae squalore latebat/Cernitur in celebri Biblioteca loco." See Ingrid D. Rowland, *The Culture of the High Renaissance: Ancients and Moderns in Sixteenth-Century Rome* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 32.

San Pietro in Vincoli

Each case of building, rebuilding, or embellishment depended on the relationship a cardinal had with his church, whether it was the church formally assigned to him by the pope which he restored or decorated to mark his position, or a benefice granted primarily for its income and exploited for the facilities it offered. In many cases, restoration and embellishment of a church went with the reform or even replacement of its incumbents, renewed emphasis on the religious cult embodied by the buildings, and the improvement of facilities for a resident cardinal and his household. The opportunities offered by each church depended on their long history. The rebuilding of Rome's churches, although often attributed to individuals, was usually a lengthy and continuous process. The following case study therefore also demonstrates that though families such as the della Rovere are often credited with the major restoration of several of Rome's churches, including San Pietro in Vincoli, such successful patrons usually followed a series of interventions and therefore enjoyed the accumulated efforts of their predecessors. It was this long history that made one church a more attractive acquisition than another.

Although it was at a distance from the Tiber bend, the church of San Pietro in Vincoli nevertheless remained central to the religious life of the city because of its location on the Via Argiletum (now Via Cavour).[72] This is the main artery from the Forum to the Esquiline hill, which is dominated by the major basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore. Processions to the basilica usually made a stop (*statio*) at San Pietro in Vincoli.[73] The stational liturgy united the city as a whole with its most sacred sites, although by the fifteenth century "this out-of-doors aspect of Christian worship" had become less common. Nevertheless, the idea persisted of the city as a "sacred space," an idea as well as a geographic area.[74]

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[71] 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*, ed. Arnold Esch (Rome: Il Centro di Ricerca, 1981), 73.

The *titulus Apostolorum*, San Pietro in Vincoli, was originally established in an area of imperial villas and gardens: the *titulus* was first mentioned in the records of the Council of Ephesus in 431. In antiquity the southern ridge of the Esquiline, the Oppian, was dominated by Nero's golden palace. The presence of these prestigious sites made the area rich in *spolia,* and it was just to the north of the church that the statue of *Laocoön* was discovered in 1506. Excavations under the nave have revealed the remains of an imperial house, its garden and fountains. From the fifth or sixth century the church was also known as the place where the relic of the chains of St Peter was kept, and it was referred to by the Venerable Bede in one of his sermons.[75] By the eighth century there were four stational masses held at the church—on the first Monday of Lent, the first Monday of Pentecost, 6 July, and 1 August, the date of the church's dedication.

Like so many other churches, by the end of the fourteenth century San Pietro in Vincoli was badly in need of repair. In 1387 the chapter sold part of its lands for 20 florins to pay for the restoration of the portico, and in 1402 further property was sold off for the church.[76] Its spiritual life was in as much need of restoration as the buildings for, although the church had six canons, only four of them were resident and available for religious functions. When in 1411 Giovanni Antonio de Azambuja (Giovanni Spagnolo, d. 1415) became titular cardinal, he complained about the state of affairs: the church was deserted and hardly ever open, apart from 1 August, its feast day, even though it was a stational church.[77] In a bull dated 17 March 1413, John XXIII transferred the church from the chapter of resident clergy (the canons) to monks of St Jerome, who followed the rule of St Augustine. They were to oversee the restoration of the fabric and of the spiritual life at San Pietro in Vincoli.[78] The community was given permission to build a monastery and cloister, though it is not clear if this work was undertaken at the time.

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[72] Samuel Ball Platner, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, completed and revised by Thomas Ashby (Oxford: Oxbow, 2002), 53–4, 500–1.

[73] Gabriele Bartolozzi Casti and Giuliana Zandri, *San Pietro in Vincoli*, CDRI n.s. 31 (Rome: Palombi, 1999), 11.

[74] John F. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development and Meaning of Stational Liturgy*, Orientalia Christiana Analecta 228 (Rome: Pont. Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1987), 267. On the development of the stational liturgy in Rome, Baldovin, *Urban Character*, 105–66.

[75] Casti and Zandri, *San Pietro in Vincoli*, 28, 37.

[76] Giuseppe Tomassetti, *La campagna romana antica medioevale e moderna*, ed. Luisa Chiumenti and Fernando Bilancia (Rome: Banco di Roma, 1975–6), vol. 4 *Via Latina*, 77.

Probably reflecting Spagnolo's complaints about the state of San Pietro in Vincoli, from 1413 the titular cardinal does not seem to have used any accommodation available there but instead used the neighbouring church and *collegiata* of Santa Maria in Monasterio, which stood just in front of San Pietro in Vincoli. Martin V confirmed the association, giving Santa Maria to the church of San Pietro and its monks. Then in 1431 Eugenius IV granted Santa Maria *in commendam* to Giovanni Cervantes, who was also titular cardinal of San Pietro in Vincoli, from 1426 until 1447.[79] When Nicholas of Cusa became titular cardinal in 1448, he almost certainly lived at Santa Maria when he was in Rome, as any property at San Pietro itself seems to have been reserved for the use of the monks.[80] No evidence of the physical relationship between the two churches and their associated buildings survives, however, as Santa Maria was demolished after 1527. The monks of St Jerome stayed at the church until 1480 when, under Sixtus IV, the complex was transferred to friars of St Ambrose "ad Nemus," a Lombard order that had also been based at San Clemente since the early fifteenth century.

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[77] On the *statio* of 1 August 1410, see dello Schiavo, *Diario romano*, 61; Casti and Zandri, *San Pietro in Vincoli*, 97. The processions which met at the stational churches had become increasingly infrequent during the fourteenth century and were revived under Sixtus V (1585–90). See Helge Gamrath, *Roma sancta renovata: studi sull'urbanistica di Roma nella seconda metà del sec. XVI con particolare riferimento al pontificato di Sisto V (1585–1590)* (Rome: Analecta Romana Instituti Danici Supplementum, 12, 1987), 3–191.

[78] Casti and Zandri, *San Pietro in Vincoli*, 97–8; Michelangelo Monsacrati, *Memorie delle s. catene di s. Pietro apostolo: dissertazioni del ch. abate; la prima inedita, la seconda tradotta per la prima volta in lingua volgare per cura di D. Lorenzo Giampaoli* (Prato: A. Lici, 1884), 84, 227–8.

[79] Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, vol. 2, 74; Casti and Zandri, *San Pietro in Vincoli*, 99.

[80] Alessandro Ippoliti, *Il complesso di San Pietro in Vincoli e la committenza della Rovere (1467–1520)*, Arte e Storia 6 (Rome: Archivio Guido Izzi, 1999), 40; Casti and Zandri, *San Pietro in Vincoli*, 109.

Giannozzo Manetti records that San Pietro in Vincoli was one of the churches restored by Nicholas V for the jubilee of 1450.[81] Nicholas of Cusa arrived in Rome in 1451 and seems to have resided at the church or its dependency regularly until his death in 1464.[82] He began a campaign of works there and, in his will, left a generous bequest to San Pietro of 2,000 gold ducats for the purpose of restoring the church and the cult of the relic of the chains of St Peter. And it was this bequest, deposited at the bank of the Pazzi, that Giuliano della Rovere was still spending in 1472.[83] With the money the church was reroofed; the beams were painted with inscriptions recording the cardinal's generosity, which were visible until a coffered ceiling was inserted in 1705 (Figures 20 and 21).[84]

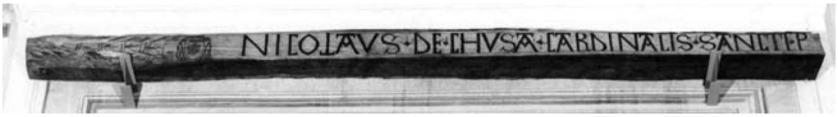

Figure 20 San Pietro in Vincoli, beams showing inscription relating to the patronage of Nicholas of Cusa. Soprintendenza Speciale per il Polo Museale Romano, Gabinetto Fotografico, neg. no. 4049.

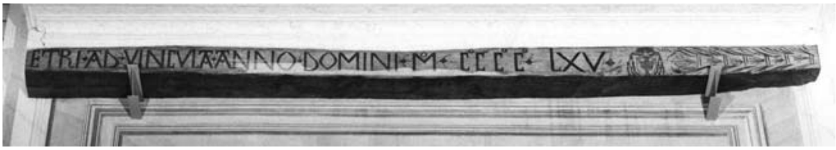

Figure 21 San Pietro in Vincoli, beams showing inscription relating to the patronage of Nicholas of Cusa. Soprintendenza Speciale per il Polo Museale Romano, Gabinetto Fotografico, neg. no. 4050.

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[81] Giannozzo Manetti, *De vita ac gestis Nicolai Quinti summi pontificis*, ed. Anna Modigliani (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 2005), book 2, paragraph 34; 76, 185.

[82] On the funeral and will of Nicholas of Cusa, Gaspare da Verona in *Le vite di Paolo II di Gaspare da Verona e Michele Canense*, ed. Giuseppe Zippel, RIS 3 part 16 (Città di Castello: Lapi, 1904–11), 92–3.

[83] Müntz, *Les Arts à la Cour des Papes*, part 3, 165.

[84] ASV, Congr. Visita Apostolica 3 (1628), f. 430r–v: "Imminet magnae arce porticus eximia, pilis quadrati marmoreis tiburtini fulta, ligneaque lacunari ornata. In media porticu adest ianua magna per quam ingredienti decem a latere dextero, et totidem a sinistro per grandes columnae ex pulchro marmore assurgunt, quae inter se aequali disterminatae spatio, fulciunt per altos parietes, quibus corpus ipsius Ecclesiae medium continetur, quibusque superimponitur tabulatum a Nicolao Cardinali de Cusa anno Domini 1465."

An altar of the chains of St Peter was also completed for Cusa from his bequest. The relic was moved from the presbytery to the north transept and into a niche which is still visible. Albertini in 1510 described the altar as small but beautiful and embellished with bronze panels.[85] The 1628 Apostolic Visitation to the church described the altar as comprising two levels of reliefs. The top showed the story of St Peter in prison while below was the relief of Cusa, St Peter, and an angel holding the chains (Figure 22) with an inscription below it. On either side were statues of

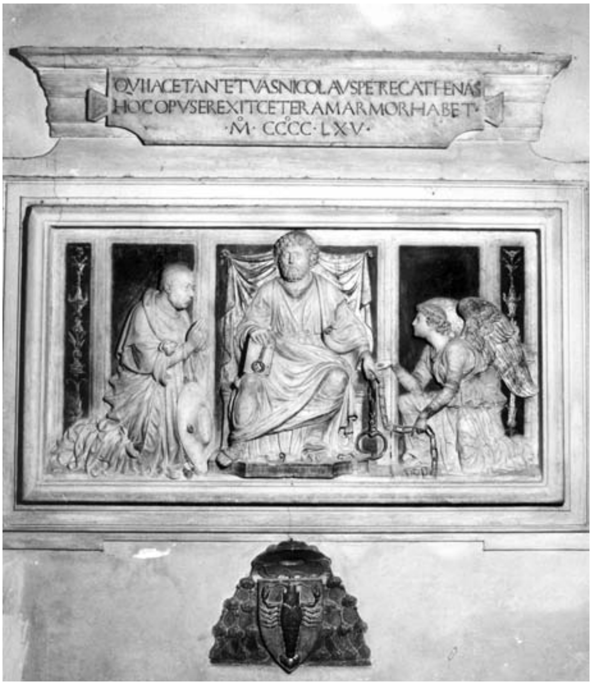
QVIIACETANTETVASNICOLAVSPETRECATTENAS
HOCOPVSEREXITCETERAMARMORHABET
·M· CCCC·LXV·

Figure 22 Votive relief from altar of chains of St Peter, San Pietro in Vincoli. Soprintendenza Speciale per il Polo Museale Romano, Gabinetto Fotografico, neg. no. 4180.

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[85] Francesco Albertini, *Opusculum de mirabilibus novae et veteris urbis Romae* (Rome, 1510), ed. August Schmarsow (Heilbronn: Henninger, 1886), 15: "Est et alia capella parva sed pulchra in ecclesia sancti Petri ad Vincula cum ferreis cathenis beati Petri apostoli, quam tua beatitudo aeneis intrinsecus et extrinsecus sculptis exornavit tabernaculis"; Pompeo Ugonio, *Historia delle stationi di Roma che si celebrano in Quadragesima* (Rome: Bonfadino, 1588), 55, who states that the metal doors which closed the relic of the chains were the work of Antonio del Pollaiuolo.

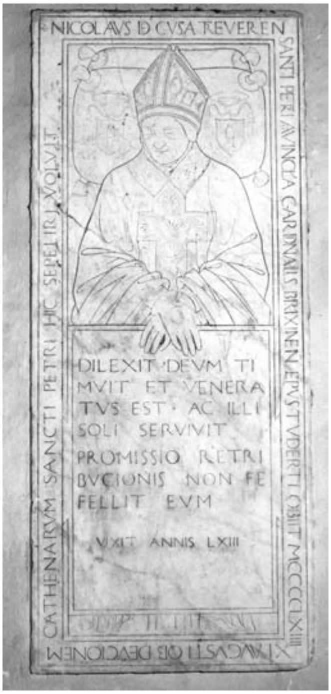

Figure 23 Tomb slab of Nicholas of Cusa (d. 1464), San Pietro in Vincoli. Soprintendenza Speciale per il Polo Museale Romano, Gabinetto Fotografico, neg. no. 4179.

Saints Sebastian and Andrew and before it, on the floor, Cusa's tomb slab (Figure 23).[86]

San Pietro in Vincoli soon became associated with the determined della Rovere family when in 1467 the church became the titular church of Francesco (Sixtus IV). Then in 1471 Giuliano della Rovere (Julius II), nephew of Sixtus IV, was made cardinal with the title. Giuliano seems to have had work undertaken there as soon as he was made cardinal, though the work on the roof of the "palace" was probably at the dependent church of Santa Maria rather than San Pietro.[87] Then, in 1475 when Giuliano's cousin Pietro Riario, titular cardinal of Santissimi XII Apostoli, died, he moved his attentions to the palace at

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[86] ASV, Congr. Visita Apostolica 3 (1628), f. 430v–431r; see also Casti and Zandri, *San Pietro in Vincoli*, 103–4, 188–9.

[87] Müntz, *Les Arts à la Cour des Papes*, part 3, 164–5.

Santissimi XII Apostoli, which he seems to have preferred.[88] Nevertheless, even when he was transferred to the suburbicarian diocese of Sabina in 1479, Giuliano kept San Pietro in Vincoli as a benefice.[89] The work begun by Cusa was continued, probably inspired by the jubilee of 1475. When the monastery was transferred to the Ambrosian monks in 1480, Giuliano was praised for his work there (as well as that which he had undertaken at Santissimi XII Apostoli and at Grottaferrata), supplanting Cusa in the history of a particular church, something at which Sixtus IV and his nephews were particularly adept and scholars have perpetuated, preferring to associate particular campaigns with particular patrons.[90]

Santa Maria sopra Minerva

At Santa Maria sopra Minerva Juan de Torquemada launched a major campaign of rebuilding and decoration. In this case, I would argue that the cardinal's interventions in this Roman church were an important aspect of his vision to reform the Church and the Dominican Order in particular.

Nicholas of Cusa moved to Rome largely because his attempts to assert his authority over the monasteries of the Tyrol had failed.[91] Since 1425 Torquemada had been directly involved in the Dominican communities in Castile, and he regularly returned there even after he had been made a cardinal in 1439. In 1440 he paid for the rebuilding of the priory and the embellishment of the church's sanctuary at San Pablo in Valladolid, "cradle" of the Spanish Congregation.[92] In 1459 he concentrated on the improvement of religious life at the convent, following the model of the reformed Lombard communities. As a result San Pablo became the headquarters for the Castilian reform and renaissance of the Dominicans which lasted into the sixteenth century. Torquemada's efforts were necessary because by the fifteenth century discipline in Dominican priories had suffered the same decline as the other major orders. The characteristic strong centralization of the Dominicans meant that the problems could be dealt with more effectively, however, not least through the increased power of the general of the order, who took over gradually from the chapters, regional clusters of communities.[93]

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[88] On the palace see Casti and Zandri, *San Pietro in Vincoli*, 107–12, and Ippoliti, *Il complesso di San Pietro in Vincoli*, 40–3.

[89] Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, vol. 2, 17.

[90] The comments are made in the bull of transference, *Si ex pastoralis officii debito* (7 March 1480): see Casti and Zandri, *San Pietro in Vincoli*, 106. On the monks of St Ambrose "ad Nemus," an order with a strong heremitical slant, see Giulia Barone, "La presenza degli ordini religiosi nella Roma di Martino V," in *Alle origini dell nuova Roma. Martin V (1417–1431)*, ed. Maria Chiabò et al. (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 1992), 356.

[91] See chapter 3 above.

[92] Julián Paz, *El monasterio de San Pablo de Valladolid. Noticias históricas y artisticas sacadas de varios documentos* (Valladolid: La Cronica Mercantil, 1897), 12.

Although Santa Maria sopra Minerva was not a titular church until 1556, the church with its attached priory was a major Dominican centre in Rome in the fifteenth century.[94] By the fifteenth century the Dominican general lived in Rome, following the custom established by Raymond of Capua (1330–99) that he should live where the pope lived. At the beginning of the schism in the 1370s, Raymond had moved to Santa Maria sopra Minerva, which thereafter became the permanent home of the head of the Dominican order. In 1460 Torquemada established the confraternity of the Annunciation there, which provided dowries for poor girls so that they could marry honourably. In 1461 Pius II gave Torquemada authority over the Dominican master, Martial Auribelli (d. 1473), so that he could reform the community by installing reformed Observant friars from Lombardy. Torquemada moved into the Minerva, and to accompany his reform of the community, he rebuilt the choir and cloister, adding a cycle of paintings.[95] In 1468, just before his death on 26 September, he donated his library to the priory.

The painted decorations in the cloister have received considerable attention and have been reconstructed, in large part because they were closely connected to illustrated manuscript and print versions of Torquemada's *Meditationes de vita Christi* (1466) (Figure 24).[96] The original

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[93] William A. Hinnebusch, *The Dominicans: A Short History* (New York: Society of St Paul, 1975), 63.

[94] As a result it was also particularly popular amongst the temporary community of bankers and humanists in the city and contains a number of important Tuscan donations and monuments. When Fra Angelico was brought to Rome by Eugenius IV, he settled at the Minerva and was buried there.

[95] Thomas M. Izbicki, *Protector of the Faith: Cardinal Johannes de Turrecremata and the Defense of the Institutional Church* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1981), 26; Paul II completed the cloister in 1469 and Sixtus completed the payments in 1474: da Verona, *De gestis Pauli Secundi*, 36.

[96] Lamberto Donati, "Escorso sulle Meditationes Johannis de Turrecremata 1467," *La Bibliofilia* 76 (1974): 1–34; Gerardo De Simone, "L'ultimo Angelico: le Meditationes del cardinal Torquemada e il ciclo perduto nel chiostro di S. Maria sopra Minerva," *Ricerche di storia dell'arte* 76 (2002): 41–87.

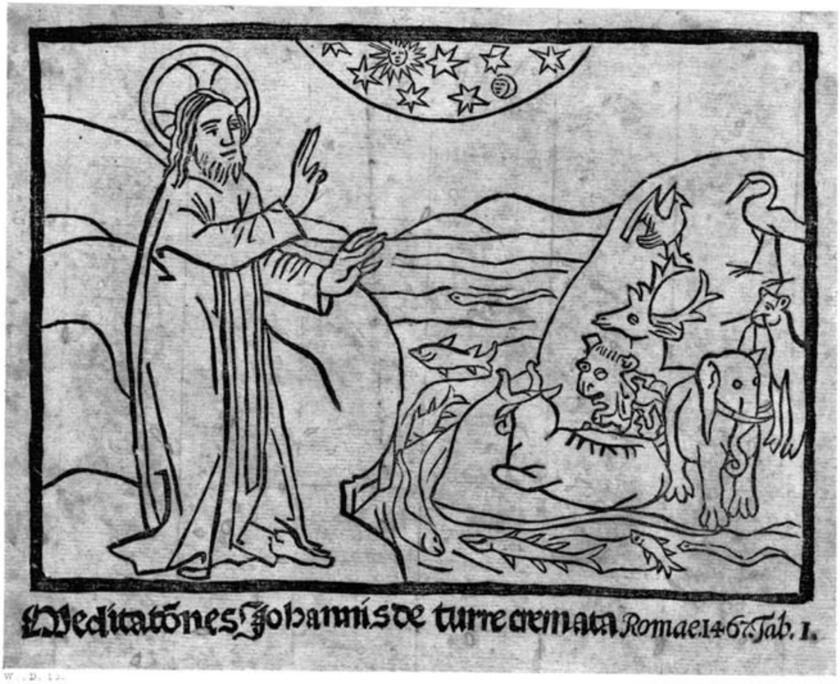
Meditatões Johannis de turre cremata Romae.1467. Tab. I.

Figure 24 Christ Preaching to the Creatures, from Juan de Torquemada, *Meditationes de vita Christi*, 1467 (eighteenth century copy). 13 × 16.8 cm, woodcut on paper. British Museum AN419158001. © Trustees of the British Museum.

text consists of thirty-four brief meditations on religious themes, both general and specific to the Dominican Order, from the Creation, Annunciation, and Passion to more specifically Dominican scenes such as a genealogical tree of St Dominic. The *Meditationes* were in great demand. Five manuscript copies were made as well as several editions in print. Sometimes attributed to Fra Angelico, the earliest illustrated manuscript version is in the Vatican, assumed to be so because in the last page there is a note saying that the cardinal himself, who died in 1468, checked it.[97] The earliest printed edition of the text of the *Meditationes* was probably made in Germany soon after it was written in 1466. The earliest printed version with illustrations is that of Ulrich Han dated to 31 December 1467. Just four copies of this first illustrated printed edition survive.[98] Thereafter the *Meditationes* were printed fairly regularly—a second edition on October 1473, a third in 1484, a fourth in 1490, and so on right up to the seventeenth century.

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[97] BAV, Cod. vat. 973.

[98] Madrid, Nürnberg, Vienna, and Manchester.

The illustrated versions of the *Meditationes* are linked directly to the cloister of Santa Maria sopra Minerva by a reference in the introductory text. The *Meditationes* themselves do not describe the paintings in the frescoes, though Izbicki describes them as "devout reflections on the paintings in the new cloister at the Minerva."[99] The text of the *Meditationes* nevertheless works closely with the images in the manuscript and print versions. For example, in the fourth contemplation on the Annunciation, the text refers specifically to the image: the viewer is told to "behold" and "look."[100] William Hood suggests that "Torquemada intended the beholder to think along the lines of the written meditations while looking at the images" but "that he never associated text and image as being somehow interchangeable."[101]

The problem with trying to link the different illustrations in the manuscripts and printed versions with the now lost fresco cycle in the cloister is that they are stylistically quite different. It is therefore best to understand the cloister, manuscripts, and printed books as all linked through the cardinal and his text as common denominator. The difference between the two kinds of book, for example, is exemplified by the 29th contemplation in which Pope St Sixtus appears to Juan de Torquemada, Cardinal of San Sisto Vecchio:

> Assuredly glorious and wonderful you Saint Sixtus appeared, while you conferred upon him in confession the unshaken virtue of faith and the Passion's glorious victory. Pastor of most excellent constancy, ever steadfast: Sixtus, fountain of clemency, river of generosity, join me with the saints fighting in the battle line, under your title of holiness after the duration of my present life.[102]

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[99] Izbicki, *Protector of the Faith*, 26.

[100] Juan de Torquemada, *Meditationes de vita Christi* (1466), chapter 4: "O res stupenda, et omni plena pietate. Ecce, quod pro conciliatione humana…O admiranda legatio, et ex omni parte veneratione dignissima…"

[101] William Hood, *Fra Angelico at San Marco* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993), 230. Hood (228) suggests that the images had a Florentine source, not least in the priory extensively decorated for Cosimo de' Medici by Fra Angelico and Benozzo Gozzoli at San Marco: "the idea itself was inspired by the Old Testament cycle in the Chiostro Verde at Santa Maria Novella, but modified according to the New Testament program in the dormitory at San Marco."

[102] Torquemada, *Meditationes*, chapter 29: "Gloriosus certe et mirabilis in sancto Sixto apparuisti, bone Iesu: dum ei et in confessione inconcussam fidei virtutem, et in passione gloriosam victoriam contulisti. O pastor eximie, basis firmitatis, adamas constantiae, exemplar omnis puritatis. Sixte, fons clementiae, rivus largitatis, militantem me in acie, sub titulo tuae sanctitatis, post cursum praesentis vitae, iunge cum beatis."

This is the closest Torquemada gets to a personal dedication of his work, praying for the intercession of St Sixtus, patron of his titular church in Rome. In the manuscript the sketchy outline of the drawing that accompanies the text is quite different to the head of the cardinal which is clearly a portrait, possibly added because it belonged to the cardinal himself (Figure 25). In the printed version it is a more generic image.

The text of the *Meditationes* and its dissemination through the cloister, manuscript, or printed versions should be viewed as an important and final act by the cardinal in his lifelong work to reform the Church and his order. It was not by chance that the first illustrated printed book in Italy came out of Dominican circles. As early as 1396 there is record of an image reproduced for the cult of Catherine of Siena, while in 1477–8 the Stampiera di San Jacopo di Ripoli was established outside the Dominican convent in Florence.[103] In 1455 Cardinal Torquemada had become commendatory abbot of the Benedictine complex of Santa Scholastica and the Sacro Speco at Subiaco. In 1465 Conrad von Schweinheim and Arnold Pannartz, clerics in minor orders but also German print makers, settled at Santa Scholastica.[104] The first books they produced were a predictable mix of ecclesiastical and classical texts—Cicero's *De oratore* and Augustine's *City of God*. By 1467 they had left Subiaco, setting up in the Palazzo Massimo in Rome, and the task of printing an illustrated version of the *Meditationes* fell to Ulrich Han. The illustrations are probably the first in any Italian book and among the first anywhere.[105]

Printed books were not cheap—figures from Guillaume D'Estouteville's will suggests that a two-volume Sweynheym and Pannartz edition of the Bible cost the same as a horse—but they were a lot more affordable

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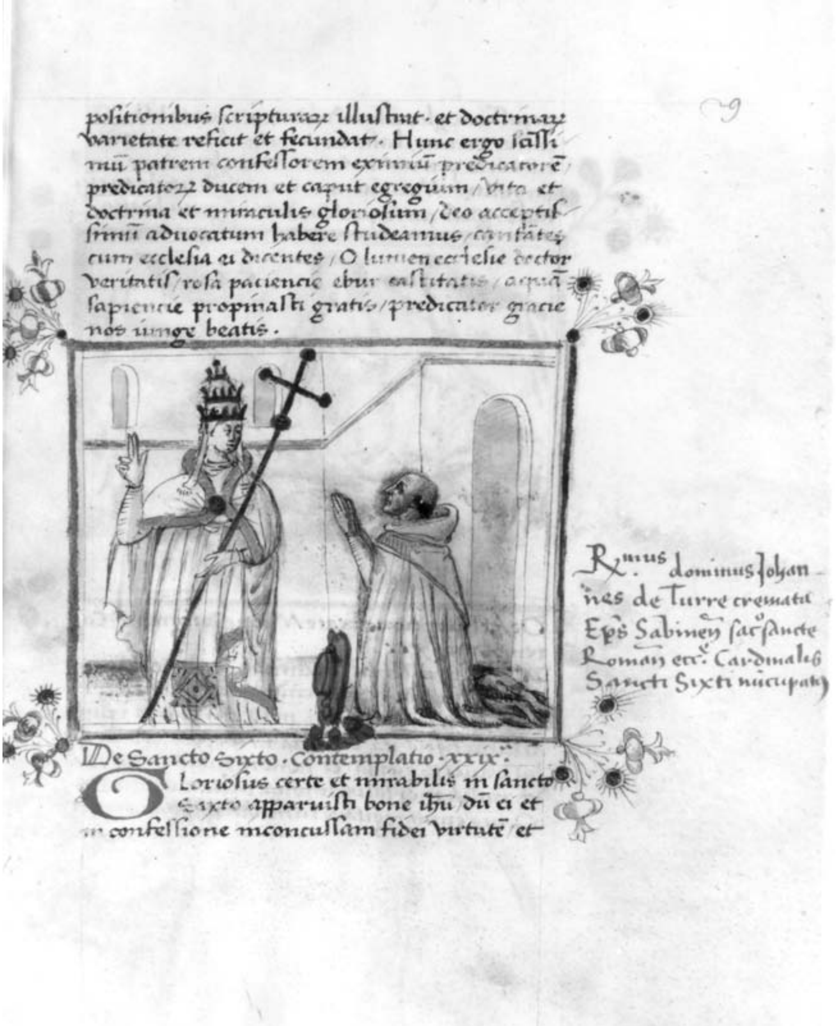
[103] H.D. Saffrey, "Ymago de facili multiplicabilis is cartis: Un document méconnu, date de l'année 1412, sur l'origine de la gravure sur bois à Venise," *Nouvelles de l'estampe* 74 (1984): 4–7; Annabel Thomas, "Images of St Catherine: A Re-evaluation of Cosimo Rosselli and the Influence of his Art on the Woodcut and Metal Engraving of the Dominican Third Order," in *Revaluing Renaissance Art*, ed. Gaby Neher and Rupert Shepherd (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 166.

[104] The fact that the printers from Germany were attracted to Subiaco is not accidental. Subiaco had links with German Benedictine houses as a result of the reform of the order which sent German monks to the community there, until they were in the majority by the middle of the fifteenth century. The increase in the German community seems to have sparked off local riots, so that in 1456 Callixtus III appointed Juan de Torquemada as commendatory abbot to sort out the problems. See Edwin Hall, *Sweynheym & Pannartz and the Origins of Printing in Italy: German Technology and Italian Humanism in Renaissance Rome* (McMinnville OR: Phillip J. Pirages, 1991).

[105] Julius Victor Scholderer, *Printers and Readers in Italy in the Fifteenth Century* (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, 1949), 3.



poſitionibus ſcripturaꝝ illuſtrat. et doctrinaꝝ
varietate reficit et fecundat. Hunc ergo ſanctiſſi-
mū patrem confeſſorem eximiū predicatorē
predicatoꝝ ducem et caput egregium / vita et
doctrina et miraculis glorioſum / deo acceptiſ-
ſimū aduocatum habere ſtudeamus / cantātes
cum eccleſia ei dicentes / O lumen eccleſie doctor
veritatis / roſa paciencie ebur caſtitatis / aquā
ſapiencie propinaſti gratis / predicator gracie
nos iunge beatis.

Rmus. dominus Johan-
nes de Turre cremata
Eps Sabinen ſacroſancte
Roman ecc. Cardinalis
Sancti Sixti nuncupatus

De Sancto Sixto . Contemplatio . xxix.
Gloriosus certe et mirabilis in ſancto
Sixto apparuiſti bone ihū dū ei et
in confeſſione inconcuſſam fidei virtutē et

Figure 25 Juan de Torquemada, *Meditationes de vita Christi*, 29th contemplation—Juan de Torquemada and Pope St Sixtus (Vat. Lat. 973, f. 29r), pen on parchment. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

than manuscripts. A printed book might cost 4 ducats where a manuscript would have cost 20; an average print run would be around 300, while there could only be a single manuscript unless it was laboriously copied.[106] Whether or not the printed version of the *Meditationes* was generally available is not known, as the book does not seem to appear on booksellers' lists for the period. It seems more likely that it was produced for dissemination to Dominican communities. The Dominican Order, or Order of Preachers, existed to preach. But it did not develop preachers who could all parrot the same formula. It emphasized the individual's contribution to this path through his particular spiritual development, an important approach in the *Meditationes*.[107]

It is problematic to study the illustrated *Meditationes* as no more and no less than a record of a fresco cycle in a cloister. They do not need to be a record of an actual part of Rome. The printed versions in particular were missives that could both physically link with Rome through the cloister at the Minerva and the cardinal's activities there, and be used to disseminate Torquemada's guidance out to the provinces and missions. Most of all, the printed *Meditationes* of Juan de Torquemada represent the centralization of the papal and Dominican institutions.

Theory versus practice

Lorenzo Valla, in his oration to the *studium urbis* which marked the beginning of the academic year 1455–6, praised the role of the papacy for its civilizing influence in conserving the Latin language and culture across the centuries (with the expection of the decadence of the Middle Ages).[108] Although he was a critic of the Church's pretensions to temporal power, famously condemning the Donation of Constantine as a forgery in 1440 (although Nicholas of Cusa had already done this at the Council of Basel in 1433), its conservation of Latin culture was a valid and important part of its spiritual authority.[109] But what was the 'Latin culture' of which he spoke?

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[106] Hall, *Sweynheym & Pannartz*, 77–8.

[107] William Hood, "Fra Angelico at San Marco: Art and the Liturgy of Cloistered Life," in *Christianity and the Renaissance: Image and Religious Imagination in the Quattrocento*, ed. Timothy Verdon and John Henderson (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), 111.

[108] Lorenzo Valla, *Orazione per l'inaugurazione dell'anno accademico 1455–1456, Atti di un seminario di filologia umanistica*, ed. Silvia Rizzo (Rome: Roma nel Rinascimento 8, 1994), 63. 200: "Ceterum eorum magistra et parens et nutrix et gubernatrix est apostoloca sedes, in qua sedet romanus pontifex, Christi vicarius, Petri successor, qui in hac navi, ut sic dicam, latine fidei clavum tenens adversus procellas ac tempestates ceteros nautas atque vectores ne ab ea tutanda desisterent semper est adhortatus. Nam cum in curia romana non nisi latine loqui fas sit et ad eam tanquam ad caput cunte christiane nationes privatim publiceque concurrant, fit ut singule operam dent lingue latine discende et ob id libris omnibus latine scriptis et ut quisque maxime aliquo in genere doctrine excellit, ita cupidissime ad hanc se curiam conferat et velit in hac tanquam in clarissima luce versari. Plus igitur hic quam usquam gentium est hominum litteratorum;

Flavio Biondo (1392–1463), humanist and papal secretary, in his treatise dedicated to Eugenius IV, *Roma instaurata* (*c.* 1444), praised the pope for "this restoration of our city, which adorns the holiness of your dignity above all, and greatly increases your renown." In his reconstruction of the topography of the city, Biondo linked ancient and Christian sites—to "point out the glorious deeds of our martyrs, where they conquered through endurance and triumphed by yielding to the mad passions of tyrants"—and in this way emphasized the continuity with the ancient past represented by the papal assimilation of Rome.[110] In contrast, the dramatic ruins of Rome inspired humanists to reflect on the inevitability of mortality and the limits of the human condition. Poggio Bracciolini wrote his *Ruinarum urbis Romae descriptio* between 1424 and 1431 and incorporated it into his *Historiae de varietate fortunae* in 1448. In it he concludes that the deeds of the ancients were no greater than those of the present day, only that they have been fortunate enough to have been recorded and promoted by the writings of the ancients.[111]

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plurimi hic atque optimi pro conditione temporum oratores; plurimi in omni doctrinarum genere eruditissimi; qui profecto nulli forent si curia romana non esset."

[109] Lorenzo Valla, *On the Donation of Constantine*, trans. G.W. Bowersock, I Tatti Renaissance Library 24 (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2007). See also Johannes Fried, *"Donation of Constantine" and "Constitutum Constantini": The Misinterpretation of a Fiction and its Original Meaning* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2007); Robert Black, "The Donation of Constantine: A New Source for the Concept of the Renaissance?" in *Language and Images of Renaissance Italy*, ed. Alison Brown (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 70–1. Cusa's expose of the Donation of Constantine is in his *Catholic Concordance*, ed. and trans Paul E. Sigmund (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), book 2, chapter 2, 216–222.

[110] Flavio Biondo, "Roma Instaurata" (1444–6), in *Codice topografico della città di Roma*, ed. Roberto Valentini and Giuseppe Zucchetti, *Fonti per la storia d'Italia*… 91, (Rome: Tipografia del Senato, 1953), vol. 4, 260: "Accedit enim nostrae huic urbis instaurationi, quae dignitatis tuae sanctimoniam in primis deceat, et tuam gloriam maxime cumulat, pontificum Romanorum qui te praecesserint innovata operum commemoratio, dum urbis partes ad veterem novamque nominationem describens basilicas quoque templa et sacra, quas vocamus ecclesias, loca, per quos pontifices et alios christianos vel fundatae primo vel auctae vel fuerint instauratae, ostendam, et quando in describanda urbis operum magnificantia multor Romanos, praestantes certe viros sed idolatras gentilesque, merita laude non fraudabo. Est animus nostrorum quoque martirum gloriam, ubi scilicet quidam patiendo vicerint, et libidini insaniaeque tyrannorum succumbendo triumphaverint, indicare." See also Stinger, *Renaissance in Rome*, 243–4.

[111] Smith, *Architecture in the Culture of Early Humanism*, 185–6.

He called Rome a "giant decaying corpse," painting a vivid picture of what was left of the ancient city in the first half of the fifteenth century:

> These buildings of the city, both public and private, which seem to be struggling with their very own mortality, some of which were thoroughly destroyed, some of which had collapsed and been overturned with a few parts still left to preserve the ancient scale, were believed to be beyond the reach of fortune. For the power and variety of fortune is amazing, for having completely destroyed even those enormous buildings which their founders considered to be beyond fate, it left almost nothing of such great things. For what greater things did the world ever see than so many buildings of the city—temples, porticoes, baths, theatres, aqueducts, manmade harbours, and palaces—consumed, destroyed by their own fate, and nothing or very little remaining from so great an abundance of magnificent things.[112]

Ancient remains and classical culture were not revered and kept at arm's length, but treated as something to be incorporated and recycled; in the evocative words of Erwin Panofsky, "The classical world was not approached historically but pragmatically, as something far off yet, in a sense, still alive."[113] Set against the extraordinary cultural background of 'Renaissance' cities such as Florence, Venice, Urbino, Mantua, and Bruges, Rome cannot begin to compare until the very end of the century. In fact, in the first half of the fifteenth century in Rome 'Renaissance' seems too dramatic. But before it can be compared with other centres, it has to be considered on its own terms. Continuity, tradition, and reconsolidation are more appropriate terms. As Paolo Prodi observed of the papal court, "It is quite difficult to perceive changes in symbols and ceremonies whose basic function in the process of the legalisation of power is to appear immutable."[114]

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[112] Poggio Bracciolini, "De Varietate Fortunae," *Codice topografico della città di Roma*, ed. Roberto Valentini and Giuseppe Zucchetti, *Fonti per la storia d'Italia*… 91 (Rome: Tipografia del Senato, 1953), vol. 4, 231–2: "At vero aedificia haec urbis, tum publica, tum privata, quae cum ipsa immortalitate videbantur certatura,partim penitus extincta, partim collapsa atque eversa, relictis admodum paucis, quae priscam magnitudinem servent, supra fortunae vires esse credebantur. Stupenda quippe vis est ac varietas fortunae, quae etiam ipsas aedificiorum moles, quas extra fatum illarum conditores existimabant, funditus demolita, nihil fere ex tantis rebus reliqui fecit. Quid enim maius orbis vidit unquam, quam tot aedificia urbis, templa, porticus, thermas, theatra, aquaeductus, portus manufactos, palatia fato suo absumpta, et ex tanta rerum magnificarum copia nihil aut parum ferme superesse?"

[113] Erwin Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1960), 110–11.

[114] Paolo Prodi, *The Papal Prince—One Body and Two Souls: The Papal Monarchy in Early Modern Europe*, trans. S. Haskins (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University

When Eugenius IV tried to reform the 'spiritual power-house' of the Lateran, replacing its secular canons with a congregation of reformed regular canons, he insisted that it was not an innovation but a return of the governance of the cathedral "to its primitive state and order: we return to the original ordinance, we restore the decisions of the Fathers."[115] Similarly, Pius II, in his *Commentaries*, does not recommend a new direction for Rome and the papacy, but a return "to paths long disused" by the martyrs and confessors of the early Church:

> We must ask by what means our elders won for us this far-flung rule of the Church and employ those. For a principate is easily kept by the means that won it in the beginning. Abstinence, purity, innocence, zeal for the Faith, religious fervour, scorn of death, eagerness for martyrdom have set the Church of Rome over the whole world. Peter and Paul were the first to dedicate it by the glory of martyrdom… Then when the Romans turned to Christ and churches were opened and the Gospel spread everywhere, martyrdom ceased and there came the holy confessors, who by the light of doctrine and the brightness of a pure life served Christian peoples no less than the martyrs had done, for they put a bridle on the vices of men which in peace are most likely to run riot. By martyrs and confessors alike our Church was made great. It cannot be preserved unless we imitate our predecessors who founded the Church's kingdom and it is not enough to be confessors and preach to the peoples, to thunder against vices and extol virtues to heaven. We must draw near to those early saints who gave their bodies as witnesses of their Lord.[116]

Like Flavio Biondo in *Roma instaurata*, Pius II emphasizes the continuity that Rome represents which comes from a sense of the Church's unchanging tradition. The tumultuous events of the preceding century represented an aberration from this single path. This was Rome's early renaissance: it was this sense of continuity with the early Church that made it aware of the break that had been made with the classical past.[117] It was controversial nonetheless.

Press, 1987), 45. See also Joaquim Nabuco, *Le Cérémonial apostolique avant Innocent VIII. Texte du manuscrit Urbinat latin 469 de la Bibl. Vat.* (Rome: Edizioni Liturgiche, 1966), introduction and 43.

[115] Quote from the bull of 1 January 1447, translated in Robertson, "Musical Stalls in the Choir," 92.

[116] Pius II, "Commentaries of Pius II" 823–4; Pius II, *Commentarii*, 770–1.

[117] According to Erwin Panofsky what was unique about the fifteenth-century Renaissance was a historical awareness that the period was different from that of the medieval and classical past: Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renascences*, 36.

Conservation and restoration

The debates surrounding the state of the fabric of the city in the fifteenth century echo the conflict of conservation, restoration, and access in modern heritage management. In the *Tractatus* (1456) of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, the future pope refers to Biondo's *Roma instaurata*, asking, "what is meant by 'Rome Restored' when we known Rome to be mutilated and everywhere lying on the ground… Even if all the forces of Europe were to unite, they could not restore Rome to its early form, for towns also have their end; the fallen ones cannot rise any more than the old can grow young."[118] The answer is given that it was not the actual buildings that were to be reconstructed but their memory and their significance.

However, Rome did require reconstruction. The relationship of the popes and the classical remains of Rome provoked controversy and two papal bulls in the fifteenth century. The last chapter of Leon Battista Alberti's *De re aedificatoria* is devoted to the "Restoration of Buildings."[119] Alberti, who probably took up residence in Rome after 1443 when Eugenius IV re-established the papal court in the city, can only have been thinking of the situation in Rome when he wrote,

> God help me, I sometimes cannot stomach it when I see with what negligence, or to put it more crudely, by what avarice they allow the ruin of things that because of their great nobility the barbarians, the raging enemy has spared; or those which all-conquering, all-ruining time might easily have allowed to stand for ever.[120]

Certainly, the gradual destruction of the Colosseum, which the Goths and Normans who sacked Rome left intact, must have saddened Alberti as it became an important source of materials—a fifteenth-century city quarry. The new steps installed for Pius II in front of St Peter's, for example, were made from its stones, while his benediction loggia consisted of columns brought specially from the Portico of Octavia.[121]

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[118] Translated in Ruth Rubinstein, "Pius II and Roman Ruins," *Renaissance Studies* 2 (1988): 197–8, from Giuseppe Cugnoni, "Aeneae Silvii Piccolomini Senensis qui postea fuit Pius II. Pont. Max. Opera inedita descripsit ex Codicibus Chisianis L. VII. 253," *Atti e memorie della R. Accademia dei Lincei* (Scienze morali storiche e filologiche), 3rd series 8 (1883), 557 (reprinted Farnborough: Gregg, 1968, 241).

[119] *Leon Battista Alberti: On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, eds Joseph Ryckwert, Neil Leach and Robert Tavernor (Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 1988), chapter 10, 320–62.

[120] Alberti, *On the Art of Building*, 320; Robert Tavernor, *On Alberti and the Art of Building* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998), 13.

[121] The documents concerning these materials from the Colosseum and Portico of

Any kind of building material was keenly sought after, both legally procured and stolen. In June 1423 Bartolomeo da Vinci, a member of the papal household and commissioner for Rome's churches, obtained recognition from the pope that building materials—from wood, lead, stone, and iron to tools and ladders—collected together for the works of restoration and repair were being stolen from their deposits at builders' yards at St Peter's, Santa Maria Maggiore, and San Paolo fuori le mura and that those involved should either give them back or be denounced and excommunicated.[122] Builders and craftsmen were, however, permitted to use materials from abandoned churches both inside and outside the city, and in 1426 Martin V permitted the removal of blocks of marble from the area of the Basilica Julia in the Forum, a concession which seems only to have confused the situation.[123]

Octavia are in Müntz, *Les Arts à la Cour des Papes*, part 1, 267; Ruth Olitsky Rubinstein, "Pius II as Patron of Art with Special Reference to the History of the Vatican" (PhD thesis, Courtauld Institute, University of London, 1957), docs 90–105, 194, 197, 199, and 202.

[122] Theiner, *Codex Diplomaticus*, vol. 3, 284–5: "Nuper siquidem ad audienciam nostram dilecto filio Magistro Bartholomeo de Vincio, scriptore et familiare ac super reparacione et fabrica Basilicarum et ecclesiarum Urbis commissario nostro, nobis referente pervenit, quod nonnulli iniquitatis filii, qui nomen domini in vanum recipere non formidant, nonnulla tabulas ligneas, plumbum, clavos, lapides, ligna, calcem, ferramenta tam nova quam antiqua, nec non canapos, funes, cordas, scalas, seras, ascias, accettas, tribellos, marchios, martellinos, clavos, bullatas et alia quecumque bona mobilia tam in sancti Petri, quam in beate Marie Maioris palaciis, necnon in capella sancti Gregorii sita in ambitu Basilice principis apostolorum de Urbe, ac in dicte Basilice et monasterii s. Pauli extra muros Urbis ordinis sancti Benedicti ecclesiis, atque aliis locis ecclesiasticis pro reparacione et reformacione ecclesiarum et locorum dictorum consistencia furtim surripere, subtrahere et usibus suis applicare minime formidarunt in animarum suarum periculum, ecclesiastice libertatis vilipendium et scandalum plurimorum. Nos igitur malignancium nequiciis obviare volentes universas et singulas personas ecclesiasticas et laicales, cuiuscumque status, gradus, ordinis vel condicionis existant…et que alias in premissis culpabiles fuerint, tenore presencium auctoritate apostolica sub excommunicacionis sentencia requirimus et monemus, quatenus infra sex dies post publicacionem presencium in valvis tam dicte, quam aliarum ecclesiarum et Basilicarum eiusdem Urbis vel aliis locis publicis faciendam immediate sequentes tabulas [etc] et alia bona huiusmodi, si illa vel aliquod seu aliqua ex illis ad valorem decem solidorum monete Romane excedencia, sue excedens per se vel alium seu alios surripuerint aut surripuerit vel subtraxerint, seu surreptores aut subtractores huiusmodi sciverint seu sciverit…alioquin lapsis dictis sex diebus declaramus ipsos surreptores et subtractores, ac illos scientes huiusmodi excommunicacionis sentenciam damnabiliter incurrisse…"

[123] Francesco Cerasoli, *Usi e regolamenti per gli scavi di antichità in Roma nei secoli XV e XVI* (Rome: Tip. Poliglotta, *Studi e Documenti di Storia e Diritto* 18, 1897), 133, 134, 141; Lucina Vattuone, "Esaltazione e distruzione di Roma antica nella città di Sisto IV," in *Sisto IV: le arti a Roma nel primo Rinascimento*, ed. Fabio Benzi (Rome: Shakespeare and Company 2, 2000), 177.

Eugenius IV promulgated a similar bull to that of Martin V concerning the illegal stripping of marbles and other precious stones from Rome's churches.[124] The ancient buildings were not only being used as quarries: institutions such as the English Hospice of St Edmund in Trastevere had a lucrative sideline burning marble to make lime for the construction industry.[125] This was a practice Pius II particularly condemned, suggesting that nothing would be left of ancient Rome if it continued.[126]

Pius II issued a bull, *Cum almam nostram*, extending the protection of Rome's fabric from its churches to its ancient ruins, while Sixtus IV extended those of Martin V and Eugenius IV to protect the city's churches against damage, whether they were already derelict or not.[127] In the former, the reasons given for the preservation of the city's ancient vestiges were both aesthetic and spiritual: not only did the ruins add dignity and splendour to the city, they were also the sites of sacred relics and pious actions.

But despite Pius II's good intentions and earlier concern for Rome's ancient remains, as Ruth Rubinstein points out, it was only once the ceremonies for the receipt of the relic of the head of St Andrew in Holy Week (14–21 April) 1462 were over that the bull was promulgated, on 28 April. These ceremonies were marked with the consolidation of the area in front of St Peter's, including the restoration of the steps made from stones from the Colosseum. And even then the pope gave himself room for manoeuvre by allowing for the issue of special permits.[128] Nevertheless, 1462 saw an increase in efforts to source materials from beyond the city, other ancient sites such as Ostia and Porto and quarries at Carrara and Tivoli among them.[129] But opportunity and convenience continued to win over principles of conservation: under Sixtus IV, for example, in December 1471 a group of architects was granted permission to undertake excavations in Rome to procure materials for the construction of the Vatican library.[130] As Rubinstein puts it, the choice of Pius II, and of other popes and their cardinals, "was to establish an awe-inspiring symbol of Christendom—and of his own pontificate—or to spare colossal columns from a ruined portico."[131]

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[124] Theiner, *Codex Diplomaticus*, vol. 3, 338: "Sane per hos dies nonnullorum ex Venerabilibus fratribus nostris sancte Romane ecclesie Cardinalibus quorumdamque aliorum, quibus fidem adhibere possumus, querula exposicione didicimus, licet alias quidem sceleste condicionis homines fuerint reperti, et quotidie reperiantur, qui ex Basilicis alme Urbis non solum, que a secularibus presbiteris reguntur, sed illis eciam, que dictorum fratrum nostrorum Cardinalium tytulis deputate sunt, marmora aliosque lapides diversi coloris non parvi precii et valoris ipsarum Basilicarum ornamento et usibus deputatos sacrilege abstulerint...."

[125] George B. Parks, *The English Traveller to Italy, Vol. 1: The Middle Ages* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1954), 360; Harvey, *England, Rome and the Papacy*, 55.

[126] Müntz, *Les Arts à la Cour des Papes*, part 1, 266: "Oblectat me, Roma, tuas spectare ruinas./Ex cujus lapsu gloria prisca patet./Sed tuus hic populus muris defossa vetustis/Calcis in obsequium marmora dura coquit./Impia ter centum si sic gens egeris annos,/Nullum hinc indicium nobilitatis erit." See also Rubinstein, "Pius II and Roman Ruins," 198.

[127] Pius II's bull of 28 April 1462, *Cum almam nostram Urbem*, banned the demolition, destruction, or pulveration of any ancient building: the bull is in Theiner, *Codex Diplomaticus*, 422–3, and Müntz, *Les Arts à la Cour des Papes*, part 1, 352–3; Rubinstein, "Pius II and Roman Ruins," 197–203; see also Matilde De Angelis D'Ossat, "Pio II e le antichità di Roma," in *Enea Silvio Piccolomini: arte, storia e cultura nell'Europa di Pio II*, ed. Roberto Di Paola (Rome: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2006), 413–22. Sixtus IV's bull of 7 April 1474, *Cum provida sanctorum*, which protected ancient churches whether derelict or not: Vattuone, "Esaltazione e distruzione," 176–7; see *Statuta almae Vrbis Romae* (Rome: In aedibus Populi Romani, 1580), appendix *Litterae apost. diversorum pont.*, 33–35.

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[128] Theiner, *Codex Diplomaticus*, vol. 3, 422–3: "Cum almam nostram Urbem in sua dignitate et splendore conservari cupiamus, potissime ad eam curam vigilem adhibere debemus, ut non solum basilice ac ecclesie eiusdem Urbis et pia ac religiosa loca, in quibus plurime sanctorum reliquie resident, in eorum miris edificiis manuteneantur et preserventur, verum etiam antiqua et prisca edificia et illorum reliquias ad posteros maneant, cum eadem edificia ornamentum et decorem maximum afferant dicte Urbe… vetustate et aliis sinistris casibus diminuta et collapsa etiam esse cernantur… qui edificia ipsa dirui vel destrui prohibuerunt expresse, vestigiis inherentes, ac statutum antiquum in eadem Urbe vigens… sub excommunicationis et pecuniariis in ipso statuto expressis penis… Volumus autem, quod nullus preter Romanum pontificem alicui in premissis licentiam dare valeat, huiusmodi vero licentia, nisi per bullas vel brevia apostolica concessa fuerit, nullius existat roboris vel momenti, Non obstantibus constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis ceterisque contrariis quibuscumque…"

[129] Rubinstein, "Pius II and Roman Ruins," 202–3.

[130] ASV, Cam. Ap., Div. Cam., 36, f. 5, in Vattuone, "Esaltazione e distruzione," 178.

[131] Rubinstein, "Pius II and Roman Ruins," 203. This is reminiscent of words of Angelo Giuseppe Roncalli (John XXIII) in 1958, quoted in Peter Hebblethwaite, *John XXIII: Pope of the Century* (London and New York: Continuum, 2000), 131: "we are not on earth as museum-keepers, but to cultivate a flourishing garden of life and to prepare a glorious future."

CHAPTER FIVE

THE TITULAR CHURCHES

Every cardinal had a foot in the gate of Rome as each one was assigned a specific church in the city. These churches, which are the subject of this chapter, were the starting point for the cardinals who played a full part in the restoration of Rome in the fifteenth century. Brand new building was relatively rare, as the priority of the first half of the fifteenth century was for restoration and embellishment of the existing fabric, as discussed in the last chapter.[1] Such venerable buildings were not altered or replaced lightly, however, as they symbolized continuity and coexistence with the past.

The origins of the cardinals' churches

What exactly were these churches to which the cardinals were attached? Like the pope who is attached to Rome as its bishop and whose seat is the cathedral, the cardinals were attached to the city as its pastors through its churches. Their churches rooted the cardinals in the early Christian history of Rome as many of them went back to the fourth century or earlier and the period in which imperial and ecclesiastical jurisdiction was being worked out. From Rome, its bishops acquired authority over western Christendom: St John Lateran, Rome's cathedral, for example, is the *basilica Salvatoris* built by Constantine in the fourth century on the site of imperial buildings. The relationship of the cardinals with their churches echoed that of the pope and the Lateran, embedding them in the city and giving them authority over all Christians in the enactment of papal power.

The etymology of the name 'cardinal' can be understood in a number of ways. Cardinals were often likened to the hinge (*cardo*) of a door, as Leo IX explained in a letter to the Patriarch of Constantinople in the eleventh century: "Like the immovable hinge that sends the door forth and back, thus Peter and his successors have the free judgement over the entire Church... therefore his clerics are named cardinals, for they belong more closely to the hinge by which everything else is moved."[2] St Augustine used 'cardinal' in the sense of *principalis*, as in 'superior'.[3] However, Stephan Kuttner has most convincingly demonstrated that the origins of the name derived from the translation of a bishop, and later other clergy, to Rome's churches so that they could assist the pope. But to be able to do this, these clergy had to be transferred or 'incardinated' into a new parish or diocese.

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[1] Eugène Müntz, "Les ancienne basiliques et églises de Rome au XV^{e} siècle. Documents inédits sur les travaux qui y ont été exécutés depuis Martin V jusqu'a Sixte IV," *La Revue archéologique* 34 (1877): 4.

The earliest cases of incardination concerned bishops in the sixth century who were transferred from one see to another. These were highly unusual cases as "the early church abhorred the transfer of a bishop to another see...as an adulterous violation of the spiritual marriage between the bishop and his Church."[4] As a result, bishops were only incardinated into a new see when their own diocese either had been destroyed or was no longer accessible if, for example, it had been overrun; but if it became available again, the bishop would return to his original see. From the early Church, priests, from taking their first orders to their ordination, were conjoined to a specific parish, known as their *titulus*.[5] While priests could be moved from one parish to another by their bishop, they nevertheless had to be incardinated into their new charge. In this case, in the sixth century, a cardinal-priest was not in any sense a senior cleric but one who had been moved from one church to another. In the same way, a cleric who had reached his ordination to the diaconate could be moved to another parish and 'incardinated' into it, thus becoming a 'cardinal-deacon'.[6] *Cardinalis* only came to be applied to Roman clergy in the second half of the eighth century when, Kuttner insists, it nevertheless carried with it the implications of incardination.

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[2] Cornelius Will, *Acta et Scripta*, chapter 32, 81–2, in Martino Garati da Lodi, *De cardinalibus* (1453) in Gigliola Soldi Rondinini, *Per la storia del Cardinalato nel secolo XV*, Accademia di Scienze e Lettere 33 no. 1 (Milan: Memorie dell'Istituto Lombardo, 1973), question 8; 60: "Quero cur cardinales appellantur hoc nomine cardinales. Respondi quod duplici similitudine: prima quia sicut domus habet ostium et cardines, sic ecclesia universalis habet papam dominum nostrum, qui est ostium dei et ecclesie, et cardinales qui sunt cardo super quem fundatum est tale ostium, vel secunda similitudine dicuntur cardinales quia sicut ostium preest et cardo subset, ita papa preest et cardinales subsunt..."

[3] See Johannes Baptist Sägmüller, "Cardinal," *Catholic Encyclopaedia* (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1908), vol. 3, 333–41: St Augustine, *De Baptismo*, 1:6.

[4] Stephen Kuttner, "*Cardinalis*: The History of a Canonical Concept," *Traditio* 3 (1945): 132–5.

[5] Kuttner, "*Cardinalis*," 138–41.

[6] Kuttner, "*Cardinalis*," 144–5.

Each cardinal at his formal investiture is attached to a deaconry or titular church and receives a ring to signify his new relationship, giving up the ring he received to represent his espousal to his diocese if he is already a bishop.[7] These churches represent the origins of the cardinals in the early history of Christian Rome, as clergy seconded to the city to help the pope in the liturgical rites and in the growing administration that surrounded his office.[8] They also represent most clearly the continuity of Christian culture within the ancient city.

The churches—*tituli* and *diaconiae*—to which the clerics who eventually emerged as cardinals were attached have different origins, each of which is revealing of the evolution of the Christian community in Rome and of the historical relationship of the cardinals with the city.[9] Their genesis also explains why, by the fifteenth century when most of the population was clustered within the area defined by the bend in the river Tiber, well within the Aurelian walls, the cardinals' churches seemed almost randomly distributed in sometimes the most inconvenient parts of the city.

The tituli

The *tituli* are among the oldest Christian centres in the city, though their precise role has been subject to reassessment in recent decades. For some time the view of Kirsch that they were all originally house churches (*domus ecclesiae*) was generally accepted. These were rooms in large dwellings—or sometimes entire buildings—that more prosperous Christians made available for meetings and celebrations.[10] More recently, based on a wealth of archaeological evidence uncovered during the twentieth century, Guidobaldi has suggested a more straightforward and physical relationship between the *tituli* and the ancient city, pointing out that they are almost always built over existing structures—including villas, tenements, and warehouses—simply because space within the Aurelian walls was at a premium and buildings at available sites had to be reused. These ancient structures do not necessarily represent any continuity of Christian worship.[11]

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[7] Marc Dykmans, *L'Oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini ou le Cérémonial Papal de la Première Renaissance*, Studi e testi 293–4 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1980), 151 (see above chapter 3 at note 39).

[8] The early liturgical development of the city is explored in Victor Saxer, "L'utilisation par la liturgie de l'espace urbaine er suburbain: l'exemple de Rome dans l'Antiquité et le haut Moyen Age," in *Actes du XIe Congrès International d'Archéologie Chrétienne, Lyon, Vienne, Grenoble, Genève et Aoste (21–28 septembre 1986)*, Studi di Antichità Cristiana 41 (Vatican City and Rome: De Boccard Collection de l'Ecole française de Rome 123, vol. 2, 1989), 917–1033.

[9] Johann Baptist Sägmüller, *Die Thätigkeit und Stellung der Cardinäle bis Papst Bonifaz VIII. historisch-canonistisch untersucht und dargestellt* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1896), 4–15.

[10] Johann Peter Kirsch, *Die römischen Titelkirchen im Alterum* (Paderborn: Schöningh,

Titulus was a legal term in Roman law. In imperial Rome *tituli* were markers, possibly written over doors, bearing the names of the owners of private property. They defined a private relationship that was distinct from any centralized or institutional ownership. Alan Brent, in his study of the earliest Christian communities in the city, explains, "*Titulus* in Roman law described the right of personal ownership, and not ownership by virtue of ecclesiastical office comparable with the... term *beneficium*."[12] These first meeting places were not public buildings but private ones used for Christian meetings which were eventually replaced with, or incorporated into, churches.[13] At San Martino ai Monti (*titulus Equitius*), for example, the large room used for meetings of the Christian community that still exists alongside the present church has been dated to the time of the Emperor Severus (146–211).

The sense of place and belonging, as opposed to legal relationship, which the *titulus* implied for the Christian community, and which intensified as the centuries wore on, is conveyed through the story in the

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1918); Charles Pietri, "Recherches sur les domus ecclesiae," *Révue des Etudes augustiniennes* 24 (1978): 7.

[11] 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, B.*, ed. Philippe Pergola, Studi di antichità cristiana 40 (Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1989), 383–5; Torgil Magnuson, *The Urban Transformation of Medieval Rome, 312–1420*, Studia artis historiae instiuti romani regni Sueciae 7 Suecoromana (Stockholm: Swedish Institute, 2004), 60. Guidobaldi lists the structures found under the *tituli*, where known (386–91).

[12] Allen Brent, *Hippolytus and the Roman Church in the Third Century: Communities in Tension Before the Emergence of a Monarch-Bishop* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995), 400. See also René Vielliard, *Recherches sur les origines de la Rome chrétienne: les églises romaines et leur rôle dans l'histoire et la topographie de la ville depuis la fin du monde antique jusqu'à la formation de l'etat Pontifical; essai d'urbanisme Chrétien* (Rome: Ed. di Storia e Letteratura, 1959), 30; on ecclesiastical property before Constantine see Maurice Besnier, "Églises chrétiennes et colleges funéraires," in *Mélanges Albert Dufourcq. Etudes d'Histoire Religieuse* (Paris: Plon, 1932), 9–19.

[13] Magnuson, *Urban Transformation*, 52–3.

Old Testament in which Jacob raised a stone to mark a holy place where he dreamt of a ladder ascending to heaven:

> Jacob woke from his sleep and said, "Truly the Lord is in this place, and I did not know it." Then he was afraid and said, "How fearsome is this place! This is no other than the house of God, this the gate of heaven." Jacob rose early in the morning, took the stone on which he had laid his head, set it up as a sacred pillar and poured oil on top of it. He named that place Beth-El [House of God].[14]

Used specifically to refer to a group of regional ecclesiastical communities in Rome, the word *titulus* first occurs in 377. At first the *tituli* bore the names of their owners: the *titulus Clementis*, and *titulus Caeciliae*, for example. The first formal list was derived from the affiliations of Roman clergy who signed the acts of a synod in 499. These *tituli* were not originally associated with martyrs, but gradually acquired associations with saints as relics were moved from the catacombs outside the city walls to the churches inside where they could be better protected and venerated: at another synod in 595 the same institutions had become *sancti Clementis* and *sanctae Caeciliae*.[15] However, at San Clemente, for example, there were at least two Clements, the Clement who owned the original *titulus* and Pope Clement I (*c.* 91–101), whose relics were brought back to Rome by Cyril and Methodius in 868 from the Baltic where he had been martyred, and left in the keeping of the *titulus*

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[14] Genesis 28:18; Louis Nolan, *The Basilica of San Clemente in Rome* (Rome: Tipografia Cuggiani, 1910), 15–16.

[15] The 595 list of *tituli*, in alphabetical order, is given in Magnuson, *Urban Transformation*, 60 n. 105: 1) Sta Anastasia (tit. Anastasiae), 2) Sta Balbina (tit. Tigridae), 3) Sta Cecilia (tit. Caeciliae), 4) S Clemente (tit. Clementis), 5) S Crisogono (tit. Chysogoni), 6) S Ciriaco in Thermis (tit. Cyriaci), 7) S Eusebio (tit. Eusebi), 8) Ss Giovanni e Paolo (tit. Pammachi), 9) Sta Maria in Trastevere or Ss Giulio e Calisto (tit. Iuli), 10) S Lorenzo in Damaso (tit. Damasi), 11) S Lorenzo in Lucina (tit. Lucinae), 12) S Marco (tit. Marci), 13) S Marcello (tit. Marcelli), 14) Ss Marcellino e Pietro (tit. Nicomedis), 15) S Martino ai Monti (tit. Aequitii or tit. Silvestri), 16) Ss Nereo e Achilleo (tit. Fasciolae), 17) S Pietro in Vincoli (tit. Apostolorum), 18) S Prassede (tit. Praxedis), 19) S Prisca (tit. Priscae), 20) S Pudenziana (tit. Pudentis), 21) Ss Quattro Coronati (tit. Aemilianae), 22) Sta Sabina (tit. Sabinae), 23) S Sisto Vecchio (tit. Crescentianae), 24) Sta Susanna (tit. Gai), 25) S Vitale (tit. Vestinae). Ss XII Apostolorum was added to the list by Pelagius (555–61) but was not one of the original *tituli*. Santa Croce in Gerusalemme was also a later addition. Major changes and additions were made to the list from the sixteenth century as the number of cardinals was increased. In the twentieth century modern churches in outlying areas of Rome were added to the list to reflect changed urban settlement patterns following the Risorgimento in the nineteenth century.

Clementis.[16] At other *tituli* more obscure names like *Tigrida* were replaced by 'Balbina,' the name of a martyr whose relics had been moved there.

The *tituli* varied greatly in size and location. They were often fairly modest structures in comparison with the churches and mausolea constructed in the fourth century in centres frequented by the emperor, such as Ravenna. In Rome they were confined by the size of the plot of private land they were built on, and were usually sited well away from the official secular and pagan centres of the city.[17] Like the imperial basilicas, many of the *tituli* were located on the edges of the city where they could not be seen as a direct challenge to the established authority at the Capitol, Palatine, and Forum. St John Lateran is at the very southern edge only just inside the city walls, where it replaced the barracks of the horse guards of Maxentius, Constantine's rival as emperor who was defeated at the Milvian Bridge in October 312.[18] St Peter's is, in fact, outside the walls of Rome proper, to the west across the river Tiber, in an insalubrious area that was dominated by graves and tombs along the Via Triumphalis.

It was an enormous undertaking for an emperor such as Constantine to construct such buildings as St Peter's and St John Lateran for a religion whose devotees were not, in the fourth century, any more than a significant minority in Rome; neither were they of much use in the imperial armoury of symbols and sites. However, as Lex Bosman has pointed out, the imperial basilicas were relatively low risk projects controlled by the emperor and designed to bother as few of Rome's inhabitants as possible. Only later, in the case of Santa Maria in Trastevere and Santa Maria Maggiore, for example, were churches built in direct competition with pagan sites, the former over a miraculous well and the latter close to a large market and the fourth-century basilica of Junii Bassi.[19]

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[16] See Leonard E. Boyle, "Dominican Lectionaries and Leo of Ostia's *Translatio S. Clementis*," in *San Clemente Miscellany II: Art and Archaeology* (Rome: Collegio San Clemente, 1978), 195–214, on the translation of the relics and its literary record.

[17] Guidobaldi, "L'inserimento delle chiese titolari," 383–96; Magnuson, *Urban Transformation*, 61.

[18] Lex Bosman, *The Power of Tradition: Spolia in the Architecture of St. Peter's in the Vatican* (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2004), 20–8.

[19] The association of Santa Maria in Trastevere with the oil fountain may be a later development from the ninth century: see Dale Kinney, "Santa Maria in Trastevere from its Founding to 1215" (PhD thesis, New York University, 1975), 170–6. Paolo Liverani, "L'ambiente nell'antichità," in *Santa Maria Maggiore a Roma*, ed. Carlo Pietrangeli (Florence: Nardini, 1988), 42–53.

Most of the *tituli* were of simple basilican form with a central nave, side aisles divided by colonnades, and a shallow apse. Even those churches that were extensively remodelled, such as San Clemente in the twelfth century, were rebuilt to reflect their early Christian character, mirroring earlier structures.[20] Until the sixteenth century when major changes were made to many of Rome's churches in line with the Tridentine decrees, many of them had subterranean shrines (*confessii*) under their high altars where antique vestiges were clearly visible, as is the case still at Santissimi XII Apostoli. Because of their age and their often ad hoc construction to start with, and as popes and other patrons added or removed elements over the centuries, all of them were in constant need of repair. By the fifteenth century a few of them were derelict.

The *tituli*, unlike the Constantinian basilicas, were entirely dependent on the community that built them and quite separate from any nascent centralized Church administration. Indeed, the urban and fragmented nature of Rome's first Christian communities differed from those of other centres in that its organization was decentralized and based round the *tituli*, not a cathedral.[21] Piétri suggests, therefore, that the *tituli* were the original urban parishes, each one tied to its own district and with its own local character.[22] Still, in the fifteenth century, each of the churches had its own history and associations, and its own specific relationship with the area of the city in which it was located. They had also accumulated their own properties and dependencies, *quasi diocesis*—"like a minor diocese within the diocese of Rome."[23]

The cardinals inherited their position from the chief priest or 'titular priest' of the *titulus*, who was assisted by *socii* or companions.[24] By the eighth century the priests of the *tituli* were called *cardinales*. As the role of these priests in the papal court increased, their pastoral work in the parish fell more and more on canons, secular clergy, or religious orders.[25] Income generated within the parishes was originally used for the upkeep of the church and its community until Pope Simplicius (468–83), in an early move to centralize the Church, decreed that half of it should go to the pope, a quarter for the upkeep of the church, and a quarter to its dependent clergy.[26] By the fifteenth century this arrangement varied greatly from place to place, usually depending on the clergy or monks by then associated with each *titulus*. More often than not, the income generated by each church seems to have been allocated to the chapter, confraternity, or order in return for their upkeep of the buildings and cult. They were rarely, if ever, money-spinners for Renaissance cardinals.

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[20] Joan Barclay Lloyd, *San Clemente Miscellany III: The Medieval Church and Canonry of S. Clemente in Rome* (Rome: Collegio San Clemente, 1989), 117–21, 222.

[21] Kuttner, "*Cardinalis*," 146–7.

[22] Charles Piétri, "Régions ecclésiastiques et paroisses romaines," *Actes du XIe Congrès International d'Archéologie Chrétienne, Lyon, Vienne, Grenoble, Genève et Aoste (21–28 septembre 1986)* Studi di antichità cristiana 41 (Vatican City and Rome: De Boccard/Collection de l'École française de Rome 123, vol. 2, 1989), 1062.

[23] Magnuson, *Urban Transformation*, 61; Piétri, "Régions ecclésiastiques," 1043.

[24] Michel Andrieu, "L'origine du titre de cardinal dans l'Église romaine," *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1946), vol. 5, 113–44.

The *Liber Pontificalis* merges the early development of the *tituli* into the later history of Rome's ecclesiastical administration. It states that the 'popes' before Constantine founded twenty-five cult places. These were centres of parish life located in each of the districts of Rome. At the start of the second century Cletus (the third of the popes named in the *Liber Pontificalis*) ordained twenty-five priests to look after the parishes or *tituli* of Rome.[27] Urban I (222–30) gave each of these churches chalices and silver patens. Marcellus I (308–9) ordained twenty-five priests and authorized them to administer baptism, penitential rites, and funerals. But the writers of the *Liber Pontificalis* were simply trying to tidy up their history of the sixth century in Rome, so details are often confused. The main point is there were twenty-five *tituli* through which the Christian Church in Rome served the Roman populace.[28]

Under Simplicius, as part of his efforts to centralize the Church, each of the *tituli* was subordinated to one of the basilicas under direct papal jurisdiction, according to which of the seven ecclesiastical districts (established by Pope Fabian (236–50) in the third century) it was in, so that its activities could be regulated. The number of *tituli* was subsequently increased from twenty-five to twenty-eight, and in the eighth century they were divided between the four major basilicas: St Peter's, San Paolo fuori le mura, San Lorenzo fuori le mura, and Santa Maria Maggiore.[29] This was the point at which the bishops of the seven suburbicarian dioceses surrounding Rome, who had been delegated to enact the liturgies on behalf of the pope in his cathedral, and the priests of the *tituli* became known as 'cardinals' because of their role in helping the pope to perform his liturgical and administrative duties.[30] And to do this these clergy had been incardinated into Rome.

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[25] Sible de Blaauw, *Cultus et decor: liturgia e architettura nella Roma tardoantica e medievale*, Studi e testi 355–6 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1994), 49–50.

[26] Piétri, "Régions ecclésiastiques," 1043.

[27] *Le Liber pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1955), vol. 1, 122, 126.

[28] Piétri, "Régions ecclésiastiques," 1045.

[29] *Liber Pontificalis*, vol. 1, 249 and 250–1 n. 5. Recorded in the twelfth century by John the Deacon in his work *De ecclesia Lateranensi*, to each of four principal churches

Around the middle of the twelfth century, after the Roman civic administration, the Senate, was restored in 1144, the city seems to have been divided into twenty-six *rione* (regions that were probably not unlike Siena's famous *contrade*), a system that probably existed alongside the thirteen administrative districts that had been in place since the seventh century.[31] By the beginning of the fourteenth century, the city was divided into the thirteen *rione* which remained relatively unchanged thereafter.[32]

By the fifteenth century major demographic shifts, as the populace was concentrated in the Tiber bend well within the Aurelian walls, meant that in many cases the titular churches must have seemed almost randomly distributed through the city, several of them completely isolated, apart from the buildings of their own complexes. Of these can be included San Ciriaco in Thermis, so-called because it was behind the baths of Diocletian, San Sisto Vecchio near the baths of Caracalla, and Santa Sabina on the Aventine. Many of them survived relatively untouched, if dilapidated, in the fifteenth century, and were

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was assigned seven cardinal-priests; Sägmüller, "Cardinal," 335: "Cardinales Sanctae Mariae Maioris sunt ii: Ss Apostolorum, S Cyriaci in Thermas, S Eusebii, Sta Pudentianae, S Vitalis, SS Marcellini et Petri, S Clementis. Cardinales Sancti Petri sunt ii: Sta Mariae Trastiberium, S Chrysogoni, Sta Ceciliae, Sta Anastasiae, S Laurentii in Damaso, S Marci, SS Martini et Silvestri. Cardinales Sancti Pauli sunt ii: S Sabinae, S Priscae, Sta Balbinae, SS Nerei et Achillei, S Sixti, S Marcelli, Sta Susannae. Cardinales Sancti Laurentii sunt ii: Sta Praxedis, S Petri ad Vincula, S Laurentii in Lucina, S Crucis in Jerusalem, S Stephani in Caelio monte, SS Joannis et Pauli, SS Quattuor Coronatorum."

[30] See Kuttner, "*Cardinalis*," 148–9. At the beginning of the twelfth century the number of the dioceses of the cardinal-bishops was fixed at seven: Ostia, Porto, Santa Rufina (Silva Candida), Albano, Sabina, Tusculum (Frascati), and Praeneste (Palastrina), and then reduced to six when Silva Candida and Porto were united.

[31] Magnuson, *Urban Transformation*, 117–18.

[32] These thirteen *rione* have been added to as the city has expanded since the nineteenth century. They are: I Monti; II Trevi; III Colonna; IV Campo Marzio; V Ponte; VI Parione; VII Arenula; VIII Sant'Eustachio; IX Pigna; X Campitelli; XI Sant'Angelo; XII Ripa. XIII Trastevere was added slightly later, while the Borgo, the area between the Vatican and the river which is outside the city proper, was not added to the system until 1586 when it became the fourteenth *rione*. These had little to do with the *regiones* of the Emperor Augustus, who had divided Rome into fourteen administrative districts.

the clearest physical sign of the continuity of the cardinals with the ancient past of Rome. Some, including San Ciriaco in Thermis, were abandoned completely in the fifteenth century and their titles transferred to other churches, as is discussed in the next chapter. Those that happened to stand on major routes into the inhabited part of the city (such as San Lorenzo in Lucina or San Marcello on the Via Flaminia), or close to the Tiber bend (notably San Lorenzo in Damaso), or near major basilicas (Santa Prassede and Santa Pudentiana next to Santa Maria Maggiore) or administrative centres (San Marco facing the Capitol) were particularly popular among cardinals in the fifteenth century.

The diaconiae

Along with the *tituli*, the *diaconiae* were the clearest statement of the cardinals' place in the continuity of Rome's past, both physical and mythical. The *diaconiae* (like the stational churches) were a later development than the *tituli*, dating from the period of Gregory the Great (590–604) and his consolidation of papal administration in the city. Unlike the *tituli*, which were usually built over the remains of ancient Roman buildings and therefore replaced them, the *diaconiae* more often incorporated existing (usually utilitarian) structures, as is still visible at Santa Maria in Cosmedin where the north wall of the nave reuses an ancient structure. The *diaconiae* emerged with the establishment of a welfare system in Rome set up to respond to the needs of the populace and the tens of thousands of refugees who fled from the Gothic wars and the Lombard invasions to the safety of Rome, events that quadrupled its population between the years 500 and 600.[33] The *diaconiae* have been linked specifically to the provision of food for the Roman people. They were distribution centres for the grain brought to the city from papal lands in central Italy, of which a large tract had been accumulated by the seventh century. Indeed, the main purpose of the lands that became the Papal States was the sustenance of the clergy and of the poor in the city.[34]

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[33] The population of Rome can only be estimated. It may have risen from around 50,000 in the year 500 to as much as 200,000 by the year 600: Magnuson, *Urban Transformation*, 70.

[34] Peter Partner, *The Lands of St. Peter: The Papal State in the Middle Ages and the Early Renaissance* (London: Eyre Methuen, 1972), 9; Magnuson, *Urban Transformation*, 71.

The institution of the diaconate goes back to the Acts of the Apostles (6:1–6) when the Apostles, Christ's first followers, delegated the distribution of food and charity to seven representatives. This may explain why Fabian divided the city into seven regions in the third century, each one presided over by a deacon. By the fifth century the deacons were managed from the Lateran, and by the seventh century there were fourteen of them linked to the fourteen regions. Then, late in the eighth century, Hadrian I (772–95) fixed the number of *diaconiae* at eighteen.[35] By 807 there were twenty-three and their role in the city was increasingly assimilated with that of the *tituli*.[36]

As the *diaconiae* were public institutions designed to serve the Roman populace and visitors to the city, they were generally in more accessible areas than the *tituli*. The oldest buildings at the *diaconiae* have been dated to around 600 AD. Archaeological evidence suggests they were originally warehouses, pilgrim hostels, and even bath houses, usually with a small chapel or an oratory attached, facilities located where the populace needed them. Most likely originally a warehouse, Santa Maria in Cosmedin was close to the river and the port where the grain arrived for the city. Similarly, San Giorgio in Velabro is close to the river, while Santa Maria in Via Lata and Sant'Eustachio stood on main thoroughfares between the Forum and the river, unlike the two *tituli* San Clemente and Santi Quattro Coronati. They were located near to the Lateran, an area which, by the fifteenth century, "once… populated by numerous inhabitants, is now almost fallen in ruins, and deserted of inhabitants."[37]

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[35] The *diaconiae* listed in the *Le Liber pontificalis*—ed. L. Duchesne (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1955–1957), vol. 2, 18—under Leo III (795–815) were: S Adriano nel Foro Romano, Sta Agata dei Goti, S Angelo in Pescheria, S Bonifacio, SS Cosma e Damiano, S Eustachio, S Giorgio in Velabro, Sta Lucia in Orphea, Sta Lucia *in septem vias*, Sta Maria Antiqua, Sta Maria in Domnica, Sta Maria in Aquiro, Sta Maria in Cosmedin, Sta Maria in via Lata, S Nereo ed Achilleo, Ss Sergio e Bacco, Ss Silvestro e Martino, S Teodoro, S Vito e Modeste. The two added by Hadrian I were S Adriano nel Foro Romano and SS Cosma e Damiano; Jean Gaudemet, "Diaconia," in Levillain, *Dizionario Storico del Papato*, 507–8.

[36] Blaauw, *Cultus et decor*, 50–1. The extra *dioconiae* were Sta Maria in Porticu (transferred to Sta Maria in Campitelli in 1662 by Alexander VII because the church was derelict and had no revenues), S Nicola in Carcere, Sta Maria Novae, S Vitale, S Apollinare, S Cesareo.

[37] Bull of Eugenius IV for the reform of San Giovanni in Laterano, 10 January 1446, *Bullarium Lateranensis* 1727, 162–3; translated in Ian Robertson, "Musical Stalls in the Choir: An Attempted Reform of Rome's Lateran Chapter in the Fifteenth Century," *History of the Edge: Essays in Memory of John Foster (1944–1994)*, ed. Mark Baker (Melbourne: Melbourne University History Monograph 22, 1997), 92.

The maximum number of cardinals was not directly linked to the number of churches available for the cardinal-deacons, priests, and bishops (fifty-four in total).[38] While the Council of Constance restricted the number of cardinals to twenty-four, Martino Garati da Lodi could find no reason why there could not be as many as seventy, the number of the disciples of Christ.[39] This was why the numbers of deaconries and title churches saw significant increase as the numbers of cardinals grew from the end of the fifteenth century onwards to some hundreds in the present day.

The example of the Lateran

By the fifteenth century the parish and welfare systems represented by the *tituli* and *diaconiae* had largely broken down, though this was the end of a gradual process that lasted much longer than the dramatic events of the fourteenth century and was as much a consequence of the shrinking population. At the beginning of the fifteenth century the population of Rome had slumped to somewhere between 17,000 and 25,000 from a height of around 200,000 in 600.[40] Some churches were hardly used, San Pietro in Vincoli, San Sergio e Bacco, and San Giorgio in Velabro among them. A 1320 report on the state of the churches of Rome includes several described as in ruins and without any priest attached to them.[41] The efforts made by Eugenius IV and his successors to reform the Lateran is revealing of some of the specific problems that faced the popes and cardinals in the fifteenth century.

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[38] Sägmüller, "Cardinal," 335.

[39] Martino Garati da Lodi, *De cardinalibus*, question 2; 57–8: "Queritur au certus sit numerus dominorum cardinalem de iure. Quidam dicunt quod debent esse LXX, quemadmodum fuerunt discipuli domini nostri Jesu Christi…" (Luke 10:1). It was to this passage that Pius II referred when he argued to increase the number of cardinals in 1462—Luke 10:2: "The harvest is plentiful but the labourers are few." See above, chapter 2, 80. Pius II also harked back to the number of Apostles when he wanted to increase the size of the College: Pius II, *Commentaries*, vol. 2, 93.

[40] Magnuson, *Urban Transformation*, 70, 146–7. This can be compared with Florence in 1450 which had around 50,000 inhabitants. Venice, Milan, Paris, and London were larger still with about 200,000 inhabitants each. The numbers in Rome were often swelled by the thousands of pilgrims who visited the city every year. In the jubilee year 1450, for example, one contemporary estimate was that there were 40,000 pilgrims arriving in the city every day, while another described the effect as like a swarm of ants or a flock of starlings descending on the city. Pastor, *History of the Popes*, vol. 2, 77–8.

[41] The report is in Turin Bibl. Naz lat. A. 381, cited by Christian Huelsen, *Le chiese di Roma nel Medio Evo. Cataloghi ed appunti* (Florence: Olschki, 1927), 26–43. See also Eileen Kane, *San Clemente: The Saint Catherine Chapel* (Rome: Collegio San Clemente, 2000), 44 n. 32.

The Lateran was a particular focus for papal reform because of its significance as the foremost church in western Christendom and the cathedral of Rome. Its large collection of relics, notably the heads of Saints Peter and Paul, represented its universal significance. They were an unparalleled attraction for pilgrims and "essential providers and guarantors of the identity of Rome as a city, of its primacy of the cities of Christendom."[42] Ian Robertson has traced the attempts of Eugenius IV to reform the basilica and the reasons why the pope was destined to fail.

Not only were the canons and clergy of the basilica not resident, as they should have been, and therefore not always available to perform their liturgical duties, but in 1438 some of the clergy and one of the canons were found guilty of stealing many of the precious stones that decorated the reliquaries containing the heads of Peter and Paul, which had been given to the basilica in 1370 by Urban V.[43] The thieves were first excommunicated, degraded in Santa Maria in Aracoeli, and then exposed in wooden cages for four days in Campo dei Fiori before being executed in front of the Lateran basilica. The episode was commemorated in frescoes that adorned the north transept of the cathedral, commissioned by Cardinal Angelotto de'Foschi, archpriest of the basilica.[44]

The two major obstacles to lasting changes were the local importance of the basilica and its relics and the canons' control over the lands they administered—probably as much as 10 per cent of the Roman Campagna.[45] When Boniface VIII replaced the regular canons at the Lateran with secular canons in 1299, possibly because he hoped they would be better equipped to halt the alienation of church lands, the fifteen positions were allocated to members of important and powerful Roman families.[46] The secular canons continued to be almost exclusively

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[42] Robertson, "Musical Stalls in the Choir," 104–5.

[43] Robertson, "Musical Stalls in the Choir," 93–4.

[44] The frescoes survived until the late sixteenth century and are recorded in sixteenth-century drawings. See Rossella Magrì, "La Lupa Capitolina dal Laterano al Campidoglio," in *Da Pisanello alla nascita dei Musei Capitolini: L'antico a Roma alla vigilia del Rinascimento* (Milan: Mondadori, 1988), 225–6; Robertson, "Musical Stalls in the Choir," 94, 109 n. 19.

[45] Philippe Lauer, *Le Palais du Latran. Étude historique et archéologique* (Paris: Leroux, 1911), 513–28; Robertson, "Musical Stalls in the Choir," 103–4.

[46] Charles Burroughs, *From Signs to Designs: Environmental Process and Reform in Early Renaissance Rome* (Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 1990), 145.

Romans—*cittadini*—and they were closely identified with the significance of the relics in the minds of the populace: no foreigner from outside the city could fulfil the same role. These Romans were also from families with interests in the agrarian economy of the city, *bovattiere*, "the entrepreneurial lessees of the estates of others" for whom control of the lands under the jurisdiction of the Lateran chapter was particularly lucrative.

As a young man, Gabriele Condulmer had been a founder member of the regular canons of San Giorgio in Alga in Venice and was a leading member of the "strong Venetian strain in Italian reform" in the fifteenth century.[47] As pope, Eugenius IV tried to install regular canons at the Lateran from the community at Santa Maria di Fregionaia near Lucca, a group closely related to the Venetian canons, opening negotiations with them in April 1431, just after his election, and again in 1439 when he had returned to Rome from exile in Florence.[48] The pope wanted to return the basilica to the care of a group of regular canons to wrest it from the lax administration of secular canons who, he argued, were more likely to be distracted by worldly affairs. They had also only been in place for a century so his reforms were not innovative but a return to the original administration of the cathedral.

The secular canons at the Lateran were not going to go easily, however. They rallied the Roman mob to help them, and the May 1440 procession of Corpus Domini turned into a battle for precedence. Similar conflicts continued into the 1450s with the secular, then the regular, canons gaining and losing control over the cathedral. Calixtus III had the regular canons removed from the Lateran and reinstalled the secular before Paul II tried to complete his uncle's work, including offering the secular canons pensions and benefices. The 'Venetian' reforms at the Lateran were finally unpicked by Sixtus IV, when the cathedral was handed back to the secular canons with their civic and local associations. The regular canons from Lucca, who had acquired by then the name of Lateran canons, moved to Santa Maria della Pace in the heart of Rome.[49] Patrons, particularly popes and cardinals who were not Romans, tackled the city's ingrained structures and hierarchies at their cost.

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[47] Denys Hay, *The Church in Italy in the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977) 85; see also Sandro Corradini, "Note sul Cardinale Latino Orsini fondatore di S. Salvatore in Lauro ed il suo elogio funebre," in *Sisto IV: le arti a Roma nel primo Rinascimento*, ed. Fabio Benzi (Rome: Shakespeare and Company 2, 2000), 123–4, on the canons of San Giorgio in Alga in Rome. The bull granting the canons exemptions and privileges (7 June 1442) is at *Bullarum, diplomatum et privilegiorum sanctorum romanorum*…, ed. Seb. Franco and Henrico Dalmazzo (Turin: Augustae Taurinorum, 1857–72), vol. 5, 65–7.

[48] Hay, *Church in Italy*, 77–8.

The cardinals' duty of care for their churches

The titular churches were the most obvious and enduring symbol of the cardinals' relationship with Rome. As Aurigemma observes, in a ramshackle city where there were few physical points of reference or opportunities to appear in public, the churches and their attached residences guaranteed the cardinals a permanent presence and an unequivocal association with its fabric and history.[50] Even if they did little else, the cardinals had their coats of arms displayed on the facades of their churches.[51] Others went much further: the restoration or embellishment of a church was the most conspicuous means of embedding their name in the site and thus in Rome. We have already seen how Nicholas of Cusa provided a new receptacle for the relic of the chains of St Peter in his own titular church, at the same time incorporating his own *memoria* into it.[52]

Conversely, cardinals are officially known by the names of their titular churches. Cardinal-priests signed themselves, for example, 'Santa Sabina'—with the exception of the cardinal assigned to Santissimi XII Apostoli because it was not one of the original *tituli*.[53] This convention was applied with greater or lesser rigour in the fifteenth century; often cardinals were known also by their diocese, so Branda da Castiglione was known as Cardinal of Piacenza, Jacopo Ammannati as Cardinal of Pavia, and Francesco Piccolomini as Cardinal of Siena. Cardinal-deacons, although they were attached to one of the *diaconiae*, did not, properly speaking, have a *titulus* or a titular church. However, from the eleventh century the convention was often applied to the cardinal-deacons as well, a signal that their status had moved closer to that of the cardinal-priests.[54] On the other hand, cardinal-bishops were attached to one of the suburbicarian dioceses, which were in effect their *tituli*.[55] The titles applied to cardinals could be confusing, however, and varied according to individual circumstance. In an inscription dated 1483 near St Peter's, Giovanni Battista Zen (cardinal 1468–1501) was referred to as "episopus Tusculanus cardinalis S. Mariae in Porticu."[56] He was made cardinal by his uncle, Paul II, with the deaconry of Santa Maria in Portico Octaviae in 1468. In 1470 he became cardinal-priest of Sant'Anastasia and later that same year archpriest of St Peter's. In 1479 he became cardinal-bishop of Tusculum (Frascati), so the inscription at the Vatican referred to him by his earliest and last cardinalatial charges.

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[49] Hay, *Church in Italy*, 89–90. On the Lateran canons see Nicola Widloecher, *La congregazione dei canonici regolari Lateranensi: periodo di formazione (1402–1483)* (Gubbio: Scuola Tipografica Oderisi, 1929).

[50] M. Giulia Aurigemma, "Residenze cardinalizie tra inizio e fine del '400," in *Roma Le trasformazioni urbane nel Quattrocento*, vol. 2: *Funzioni urbane e tipologie edilizie*, ed. Giorgio Simoncini (Rome: Olschki, 2004), 120: "con un gioco di parole potrei dire che erano un indirizzo e davano un indirizzo."

[51] For example, Francesco Gonzaga had his arms raised on the facade of Santa Maria Nova: David S. Chambers, "The Housing Problems of Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 39 (1976): 28 n. 51; David S. Chambers, *A Renaissance Cardinal and his Worldly Goods: The Will and Inventory of Francesco Gonzaga (1444–1483)* (London: Warburg Institute Surveys and Texts, vol. 20, 1992), 90. Letter of 23 August 1462, from Marasca, the head of the cardinal's household, to Gonzaga's mother, Barbara of Brandenberg: "Ho ricevuto da Roma el disegno de le arme novamente compite nela fazata de Sancta Maria Nova como per usanza fanno cardinali a le chiese de soi tituli" (Archivio di Stato di Mantova, Archivio Gonzaga, b. 841, c. 708).

[52] See above, chapter 4.

[53] Martino Garati da Lodi, *De cardinalibus*, question 55; 74: "Utrum domini cardinales

Boniface VIII (1294–1303) confirmed that cardinals had the same authority in their titular churches and deaconries in Rome as bishops had in their dioceses.[57] According to Martino Garati da Lodi, in their titular churches the cardinal-priests held *ius episcopale* or "episcopal

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scribantur cum titulo suo. Respondi... quod omnes presbiteri cardinales scribantur cum titolo suo, excepto Basilica XII apostolorum qui sine titulo suo scribitur."

[54] Kuttner, "*Cardinalis*," 198.

[55] Martino Garati da Lodi, *De cardinalibus*, question 90; 82–3: "Utrum dyaconi cardinales habent titulum. Respondi quod non... Nam episcopi cardinales esse non possunt sine titulo... Sed et presbiteri cardinales dicuntur habere titulum... Sed cardinales dyaconi non habent... nisi titulus cardinalium episcoporum vel presbiterorum poneretur, quia est de stilo Curie, et tu qui vis scribere literas domino cardinali habes modum et formam scribendi cum titulo..."

[56] Bertrand Jestaz, "Il caso di un cardinale veneziano: le committenze di Battista Zen a Roma e nel Veneto," in *Arte, Committenza ed Economia a Roma e nelle Corti del Rinascimento (1420–1530)*, ed. Arnold Esch and Christoph Luitpold Frommel (Turin: Einaudi, 1995), 335. The deaconry of Sta Maria in Porticu (or Portico Octaviae) was tranferred to Sta Maria in Campitelli in 1662.

[57] Harry Gerard Hynes, *The Privileges of Cardinals: Commentary with Historical Notes*, Canon Law Series, no. 217 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America, 1945), 13–16. The decree of Boniface VIII, *De maioritate et obedientia*, is discussed in Cardinal Giovanni Battista de Luca (Albizzi), *Disceptatio de Iurisdictione quam habent S.R.E. Cardinales in Ecclesiis Titulorum*, in *Theatrum Veritatis et Justitiae, sive decisivi discursus ad veritatem editi in forensibus controversiis canonicis et civilibus* (Rome, 1669–81), vol. 4, part 8, 220ff.

rights."[58] Although Garati does not distinguish between the authority of cardinal-priests and cardinal-deacons, the cardinal-deacons in fact seem to have had less authority in their titles because Sixtus V, in 1589, had to grant them some of the same privileges as the cardinal-priests.[59]

Ius episcopale refers to the rights of a diocesan bishop to exercise "pontificals" in his cathedral and in every church of his diocese, even in churches which are formally exempt from his rights of visitation, such as an abbey church. The exercise of pontificals was most visible in ceremonials: a bishop, when celebrating mass or undertaking other sacred functions in one of his churches, was entitled to use a throne, mitre, crozier, and certain other vestments reserved to bishops. He was also accompanied by certain attendants, including deacons, assistant priests and servers, such as mitre and crozier bearers. While cardinal-priests had episcopal rights in the *tituli*, cardinal-deacons (even if they had received the order of the priesthood) were not permitted to celebrate mass "pontifically" in their diaconal churches, but presided from a throne in choir dress, usually the *cappa magna*, while another priest or bishop celebrated the mass.[60]

The Council of Basel stressed that while cardinals had the right of visiting their church in the same way that a bishop did in all the churches in his diocese, and of conferring benefices from these churches, they were also responsible for the care of the souls of their parishioners.[61] The extent to which they did so varied from one cardinal to another, and whether or not he was resident in Rome or had representatives there. This level of responsibility continued until the pontificate of Innocent XII (1691–1700), when jurisdiction over all of the city's churches was transferred to the cardinal-vicar of Rome. To this day, cardinals have a benign relationship with their charge in Rome.[62]

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[58] Martino Garati da Lodi, *De cardinalibus*, question 61; 76.

[59] G. Moroni Romano, "Cardinali della Santa Romana Chiesa," *Dizionario di Erudizione Storico-Ecclesiastica* (Venice, 1841), vol. 9, 282.

[60] I am grateful to Father David Ward of the diocese of St Andrews, Scotland, for this information.

[61] Council of Basel, session 23, chapter 4, in Jean Hardouin, *Acta Conciliorum et Epistolae Decretales ac Constitutiones Summorum Pontificum Conciliorum et Epistolae Decretales ac Constitutiones Summorum Pontificum* (Paris, 1714–15), vol. 8, 1206.

[62] *Code of Canon Law* (1983): Can. 357 §1. "The cardinals who have been assigned title to a suburbicarian church or a church in Rome are to promote the good of these dioceses or churches by counsel and patronage after they have taken possession of them. Nevertheless, they possess no power of governance over them nor are they to intervene in any way in those matters which pertain to the administration of their goods, their discipline, or the service of the churches."

In the mid-fifteenth century, in his treatise on the reform of the curia, Domenico de'Domenichi added more specifically that the cardinals had particular responsibility for their titular (and diaconal) churches and other churches that they might have as commendatory benefices. If these were half fallen down or even derelict, they should contribute to their restoration where necessary and not neglect the celebration of the divine cult within them.[63] Domenichi enforces his expectation by quoting St Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153): "I see churches and roads, some half derelict others altogether overthrown. You are burdened by your offices but not honoured by them." It was up to the cardinals to turn this burden into an adornment of their dignity, and therefore that of the papacy as well.

In practice, cardinals had to negotiate with existing incumbents and the long traditions of the churches to which they were assigned. Revenues were often reserved to monastic communities or other associated groups so that the cardinals were left to exploit other opportunities, particularly accommodation, available to them. When he was made cardinal in 1461, for example, Francesco Gonzaga was allocated the deaconry of Santa Maria Nova near the Forum (Campo Vacchino). However, Gonzaga's agent reported that the church had only a modest income of 50 ducats, which was allocated to the Benedictine community who lived there.[64] Nevertheless, the cardinals' formal relationship with their churches meant that they did not have to negotiate for patronage rights in the same way that lesser patrons did—they were automatically entitled to leave chapels, altars, and tomb monuments inside their churches that might have cost lesser patrons and their families substantial benefactions. Burial within a church, rather than in an adjoining cemetery outside, was reserved to the most senior members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy: bishops, cardinals and popes or major benefactors.[65] Although many cardinals did leave large legacies to their churches, the fact of their relationship with them was of arguably more enduring value: by embellishing their churches, the cardinal witnessed to the continuous presence of the papacy in Rome and, at the same time, ensured that his own memory would be kept alive in the future. Ironically, the continuity of cardinalatial presence and their regular contribution to their churches, especially from the fifteenth century onwards, resulted in centuries of additions and then subsequent replacement of altars and even chapels, so that most of what was achieved in the fifteenth century and earlier is rarely in its original form or, more often, is no longer extant. There are a few important and surprising exceptions which are indicative of the interventions the cardinals made at their churches, San Clemente being an important example.

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[63] Domenico de'Domenichi, *Tractatus de reformationibus Curie*, BAV Barb Lat 1487, f. 293r: "Ex huius dictis beati Bernardi sequitur quod providendum est de ecclesiis titulorum Cardinalium quarum alique sunt semidiruptae et derelicte quod reparentur et cultus divinus in eis non neglegatur. Et similiter per bonum modum requirendum quomodo sunt tractate ecclesie eis commendate ne verificetur de eis praedictum Bernardi: 'Video ecclesiae vias, alias semiruptas, alias omnino abruptas. Onerati estis de dignitatibus vestris, non honorati.' "

[64] Alessandro Gonzaga to Barbara of Brandenburg, Marchioness of Mantua, 5 April 1462 (Archivio Gonzaga 841/800), in Chambers, "Housing Problems," 24 n. 18; see below, chapter 6, for further discussion of this episode.

[65] Julian Gardner, *The Tomb and the Tiara: Curial Tomb Sculpture in Rome and Avignon in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 5–10.

San Clemente

Even though the church was only three centuries old, having been replaced in the twelfth century, in 1395 San Clemente was described as in "such a ruinous state that it was in danger of falling down and blocking the street."[66] Thereafter it was subject to major restoration and embellishment, which has led Eileen Kane to remark that by the middle of the fifteenth century it "contained some of the more remarkable paintings in Rome."[67]

San Clemente's proximity to the Lateran seems to have made it an obvious candidate for repair. By the time Martin V entered Rome in 1420, it had already been part of Boniface IX's campaign to restore the city for the jubilees of 1390 and 1400. In March 1395 the pope had conceded the revenue of San Clemente to the "Confraternity of the Image of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ at the Sancta Sanctorum," to help support their hospital of San Giacomo near the Colosseum.[68] The confraternity was one of the most important in Rome in the fifteenth century and included popes and bishops among its members.[69] According to the conditions of the transfer, as the canons who were attached to San Clemente died, the income they were allocated was to be redirected to the confraternity instead until it had replaced them entirely. In return, the confraternity agreed to "repair, maintain and conserve" San Clemente and to provide a priest. This was an extension of their existing duties in that part of Rome; according to the 1386 confraternity statutes, they had responsibility for consolidation and repair of properties in the area.[70]

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[66] Eileen Kane, "Contribution to a History of the Basilica of Saint Clement at Rome," *Studies* (University College Dublin) 73 no. 290 (1984): 138; Leonard E. Boyle, *San Clemente Miscellany I: The Community of SS. Sisto e Clemente in Rome, 1677–1977* (Rome: Collegio San Clemente, 1977), 6. Eileen Kane's more recent study of the chapel of St Catherine—*San Clemente, The Saint Catherine Chapel* (Rome: Collegio San Clemente, 2000)—brings together the current state of research and presents a full picture of the state of the church in the early fifteenth century.

[67] Kane, "Contribution," 142.

[68] Details are given in Kane, *Saint Catherine Chapel*, 44–5. The letter of Boniface IX is at ASV, Reg. Lat. 36, ff. 258r–259r.

The fact that the canons at San Clemente were to be replaced by the confraternity is revealing of the extent to which ecclesiastical structures that governed Rome had broken down by the beginning of the fifteenth century. The activities of the canons, six of them in 1320, were closely related to the secular canons at the Lateran (that Eugenius IV tried to reform), and the major feasts of the cathedral were also celebrated at San Clemente.[71] Since at least the twelfth century, the Great Litanies, which started each year on the feast of St Mark (25 April), were marked by the pope, clergy—including the canons in strict order, with those from St Peter's leading the procession and the Lateran's canons following—and the Roman people processing barefoot from one basilica to another. On the first day the procession left the Lateran and stopped first at San Clemente, then Santa Maria Nova (now San Francesca Romana), San Marco, and finally continued to St Peter's. (On the second day it went to San Paolo fuori le mura, via Santa Sabina, and on the third to San Lorenzo fuori le mura, via Sant'Eusebio and San Bibiana, returning to the Lateran via Santa Croce in Gerusalemme.) San Clemente is also a stational church, and because of its position on the route of the *possesso*, close to the Lateran basilica, was incorporated into the lengthy ceremonies that framed the coronation of a new pope.[72]

The day-to-day life of the canons, which had originally been "an elaborate sequence of mass, Divine Office, reading, sermons, processions and penance," seems to have been in decline since the thirteenth century as they were largely superseded by the new mendicant orders; Joan Barclay Lloyd makes the point that St Dominic began as a regular canon, following the rule of St Augustine, before setting up his own more militant Order of Preachers.[73] Regular canons followed strict rules forbidding them from owning property and requiring that they be resident at their churches. They were often replaced by secular canons who, although they followed a rule, were allowed the secular concerns of property and income and could live apart from their churches if they wanted to. Their number also declined so that by the beginning of the thirteenth century what had been canonries attached to churches were available as cardinals' residences.

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[69] Partner, *The Lands of St. Peter*, 102–6; Burroughs, *Signs to Designs*, 25.

[70] Burroughs, *Signs to Designs*, 149.

[71] Christian Huelsen, *Le chiese di Roma nel Medio Evo. Cataloghi ed appunti* (Florence: Olschki, 1927), 26–43; Barclay Lloyd, *San Clemente*, 214–21, who discusses the twelfth-century liturgical office of the Lateran, written by the prior, Bernard, who was also Cardinal of San Clemente 1145–58.

[72] Olivier Michel, "Possesso," in Levillain, *Dizionario storico del papato*, 1195; Herbert L. Kessler and Johanna Zacharias, *Rome 1300: On the Path of the Pilgrim* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), 72.

At the same time, the ceremonial life of Rome, in which the canons had played a major part, became less obvious. The pope's appearance on processions was rare as these were increasingly enacted within the Vatican palace, although the pilgrims who continued to flock to the city kept the old traditions alive.[74] The friars and monks who took over many of the churches in the fifteenth century were given the task of restoring churches and providing clergy to perform regular services in them, while pilgrims were encouraged by regular jubilees, indulgences, and the restoration of the papacy to visit Rome.[75] This created a sacred city that operated on a number of parallel—but rarely interconnecting—levels, from the pilgrims on the streets to the pope and his entourage in the Vatican. The creation of new hospices and expansion of existing ones attests to the better organization of support to meet the needs of pilgrims, among them San Giacomo at the Colosseum. Similarly, in 1446, Eugenius IV permitted the English confraternity of the Holy Trinity and St Thomas of Canterbury to expand its activities and build a church and cemetery near Campo dei Fiori next to the convent established by Bridget of Sweden.[76] In many ways, in the fifteenth century the cardinals were merely embellishing these grass-roots developments.

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[73] Barclay Lloyd, *San Clemente*, 223.

[74] Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, "Der Einfluss des avignonesischen Zeremoniells auf den Vatikanpalast seit Nikolaus V," in *Functions and Decorations: Art and Ritual at the Vatican Palace in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Capellae Apostolicae Sixtinaeque collectanea acta monumenta vol. 9), ed. Tristan Weddigen, Bram Kempers, and Sible de Blaauw (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana/Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 41–5.

[75] Giulia Barone, "La presenza degli ordini religiosi nella Roma di Martino V," in *Alle origini della nuova Roma. Martin V (1417–1431),* ed. Maria Chiabò et al. (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 1992), 353–65.

[76] John Allen, "Englishmen in Rome and the Hospice 1362–1474," in *The English*

Among the other duties of the confraternity at San Clemente was the maintenance of the street on which it stands, which led from the Campidoglio, past the Colosseum and up to the Lateran.[77] The route was known as the Via Maggiore, the "urban street par excellence," according to Charles Burroughs, which "formed a fundamental topographical, ritual, and symbolic axis within the city."[78] Around 1395 the church of San Clemente was reroofed and the new gable decorated with frescoes of angels, now hidden by the flat ceiling added in the early eighteenth century by Clement XI (Figure 26). The frescoes were probably studded with crystal and coloured glass to provide a more opulent effect and form a counterpoise with the late thirteenth-century mosaics in the apse.[79] Then, in 1403 or 1404, the friars of St Ambrose "ad Nemus," an order founded in Milan in 1375, took over at San Clemente, but since they complained that all their resources were used up serving the poor, it is unlikely they were able to continue the work of the confraternity to restore the church.[80]

The confraternity and the Ambrosian friars took over at San Clemente when there was no cardinal assigned to it. Cardinal Poncello Orsini, who died in early 1395, had withdrawn to his estates to the north of Rome to escape the temper of Urban VI years before.[81] Gabriele Condulmer was made Cardinal of San Clemente in 1408 by Gregory XII, his uncle. But then Branda da Castiglione was created cardinal of the same title, after the deposition of Gregory XII at the Council of Pisa, in 1411. As noted earlier, neither seems to have been in a position to contribute to the upkeep of the church until the 1420s, however, due to their activities as papal legates and diplomats.[82] Nevertheless, in the meantime, frescoes were added to both aisles, probably by secular patrons. A seventeenth-century source records that the "nave was completely painted in several registers of pictures painted in the

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Hospice in Rome (Leominster: Gracewing, 2005; first published in 1962 as *The Venerabile* sixth centenary edition), 4, 50–2, 60.

[77] On the roads and changes to them in the sixteenth century, see Barclay Lloyd, *San Clemente*, 8–10.

[78] Burroughs, *Signs to Designs*, 144.

[79] Kane, "Contribution," 136–8.

[80] Boyle, *SS. Sisto e Clemente*, 6–8; on the order see Kane, *Saint Catherine Chapel*, 45 n. 35.

[81] Chacon, *Vitae, et res gestae*, vol. 2, col. 645; Kane, *Saint Catherine Chapel*, 45.

[82] See above, chapter 2.

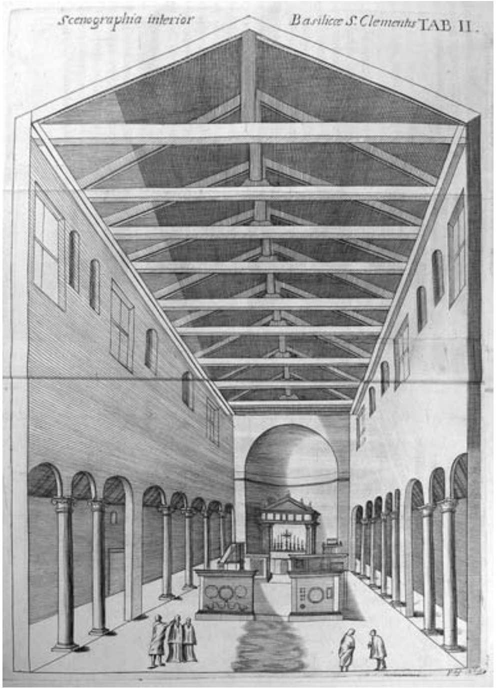
Scenographia interior
Basilicae S. Clementis TAB. II.

Figure 26 San Clemente interior, in Filippo Rondinini, *De S. Clemente papa et martyre eiusque basilica in urbe Roma, libri duo* (1706). British School at Rome/author.

year 1416 as can be read near the door, on the left hand side as one enters."[83] Although by the seventeenth century the frescoes were in a poor state, an image of St Francis and the name of a possible patron, Salli de Celano, were still discernable.[84] So, the chapel that Branda da Castiglione commissioned from Masolino in the 1420s was not exceptional but part of a longer series of works carried out at San Clemente and in the area. It is nevertheless a rare survival of the kind of additions the cardinals were making to their churches in the fifteenth century, using their rights in their churches to make major interventions.

More often than not, the chapel commissioned by Cardinal Castiglione, known as the St Catherine Chapel, is discussed in relation to the collaboration between the two artists from Florence, Masaccio and Masolino, overshadowing its significance in its broader context. The problem began when Vasari in his 1550 edition of the *Lives* gave the series wholly to Masaccio.[85] Since then, Masolino has been credited with most of the work. The two artists seem to have travelled from Florence, where they had worked together on the Brancacci Chapel in Santa Maria del Carmine, to Rome in May 1428. By the end of June Masaccio was dead.[86] Between his arrival in the city and February 1431, Masolino (probably working with Masaccio for a short time) was engaged in the decoration of the chapel in San Clemente. Castiglione was promoted cardinal-bishop of Porto in March 1431, and Masolino went on to work at the Orsini enclave on Monte Giordano around 1432, where he painted a cycle of *uomini famosi*, before moving to Castiglione Olona where he was employed by the Castiglione court, suggesting that the chapel at San Clemente was already completed.[87]

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[83] Benedetto Mellini, *Delle Chiese e Antichità di Roma*, 1667 (Vat. lat. 11905, f. 36r), translated in Kane, *Saint Catherine Chapel*, 46.

[84] On the possible identity of Salli di Celano see Kane, *Saint Catherine Chapel*, 47 n. 42.

Despite the heavy weight of the artists' reputations, viewed in the context of a cardinal's titular church, the frescoes deftly combine the interests of the patron, the church and the community who used it and its conventual buildings, as well as the pilgrims who visited it. Despite its undeniable importance as one of the treasures of Italian Renaissance art, nevertheless it is important to note that the chapel was added to the church with as little alteration to the fabric of the church of San Clemente as possible, and therefore probably as cheaply as possible.

Until the end of the nineteenth century it was not clear who was the patron of the St Catherine Chapel because of the duplicate cardinal-incumbents at the beginning of the fifteenth century; the Castiglione coat of arms on the entrance arch had been replaced with those of Cardinal Antonio Franciotti, titular cardinal at the time of Urban VIII (1623–45), and the scenes on the right-hand (north) wall were identified with St Clement and not Ambrose (Figures 27 and 30).[88]

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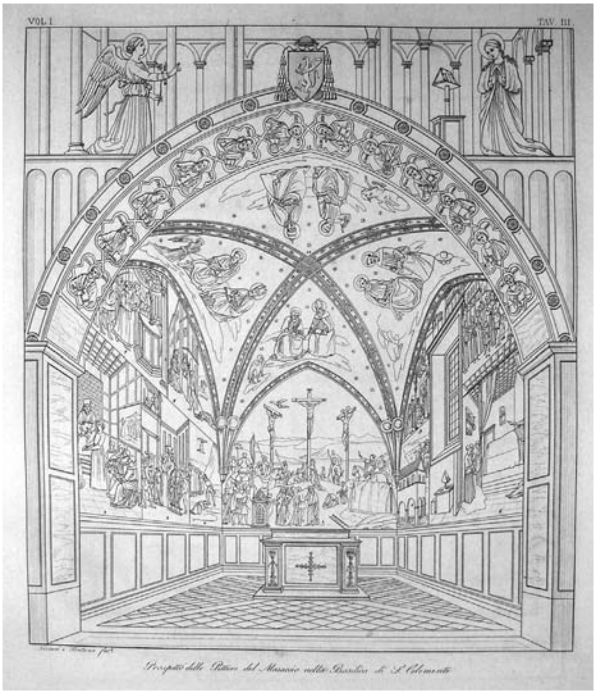
[85] For example, Vincenzo Farinella, "Oltre Masolino: Masaccio a San Clemente," in *Masaccio e Masolino: Il gioco delle parti*, ed. Andrea Baldinotti et al. (Milan: 5 Continents, 2002), 137–86.

[86] Paul Joannides, *Masaccio and Masolino: A Complete Catalogue* (London: Phaidon, 1993), 33; Kane, *Saint Catherine Chapel*, 50–1.

[87] On the Orsini frescoes see Annelies Amberger, *Giordano Orsinis Uomini Famosi in Rom: Helden der Weltgeschichte im Frühhumanismus* (München: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2003).

[88] For example, Franz Wickhoff, "Die Fresken der Katherinenkapelle in S. Clemente zu Rom," *Zeitschrift für bildende Künst* 25 (1889): 301–10; R. Pantini, "La Cappella della Passione in San Clemente a Roma," *Emporium* (1904): 31–52. For the bibliographic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Prospetto delle Pitture del Masaccio nella Basilica di S. Clemente

Figure 27 Chapel of Saints Catherine and Ambrose (Castiglione Chapel), in Giacomo Fontana, *Raccolta delle migliori chiese di Roma e suburbane, esposte con tavole disegnate ed incise* (1855). British School at Rome/author.

The chapel comprises five main parts: the entrance wall bears frescoes of St Christopher (whose "vigour and grandeur" Paul Joannides maintains would even have impressed a Florentine!) and the two figures of the Annunciation (Figure 28).[89] On the south wall of the chapel are five scenes from the life of St Catherine of Alexandria: *St Catherine Rejecting Idolatry, Dispute with the Pagan Doctors, Conversion and Execution of the Empress Faustina, Miracle of the Wheels*, and *Decapitation of St Catherine* (Figure 29). The north wall bears four scenes (one less than the south wall because of the—possibly later—addition of a window) relating to the life of St Ambrose: the *Miracle of the Bees, Selection of St Ambrose as Bishop of Milan, Collapse of the Rich Man's House*, and the *Death of St Ambrose* (Figure 30). On the altar wall, opposite the entrance, is the Crucifixion

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record see Eileen Kane, "The Painted Decoration of the Church of San Clemente," *San Clemente Miscellany II* (Rome: Collegio San Clemente, 1978), 123.

[89] Joannides, *Masaccio and Masolino*, 208.

which dominates the chapel and has been ascribed to Masaccio as a result (Figure 31). Above, in the cross vault, a cosmetic rather than structural addition to the fabric of the basilica, the four Evangelists are paired with the four Doctors of the Church (Figure 32).

Branda da Castiglione was a close friend and ally of Martin V, leading Perri Lee Roberts to characterize the chapel of St Catherine in San Clemente as "an act of support for Martin V's declared policy of restoring the Roman churches to their former splendour," which it undoubtedly was.[90] The narrative scheme of the chapel incorporates the interests of all the parties attached to San Clemente—from the patron and the friars of St Ambrose to the pilgrims.

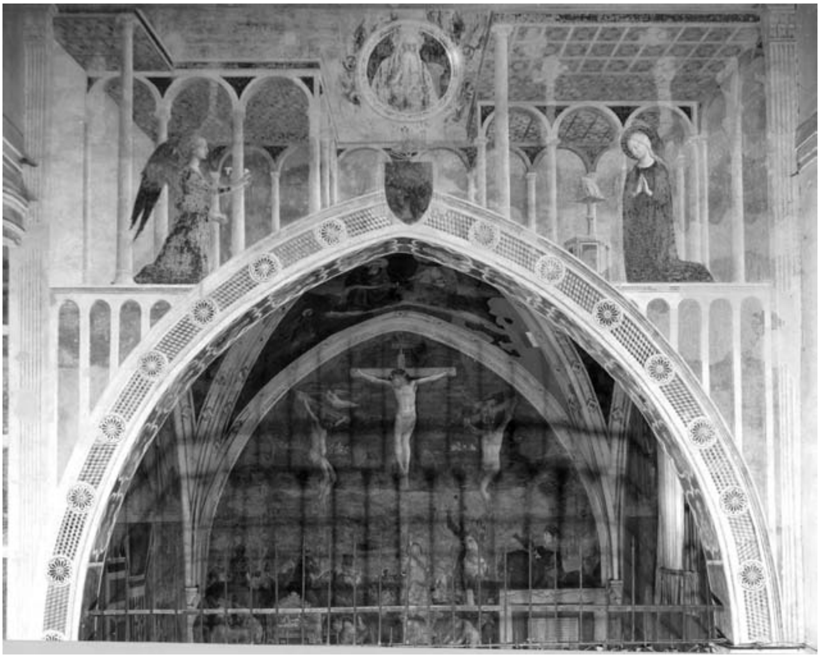

Figure 28 *Annunciation*, St Catherine Chapel, San Clemente, Rome. Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione, Rome, no. E 26658.

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[90] Perri Lee Roberts, *Masolino da Panicale* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 101; D. Girgensohn, "Castiglione, Branda da," DBI, vol. 22, 69–75.

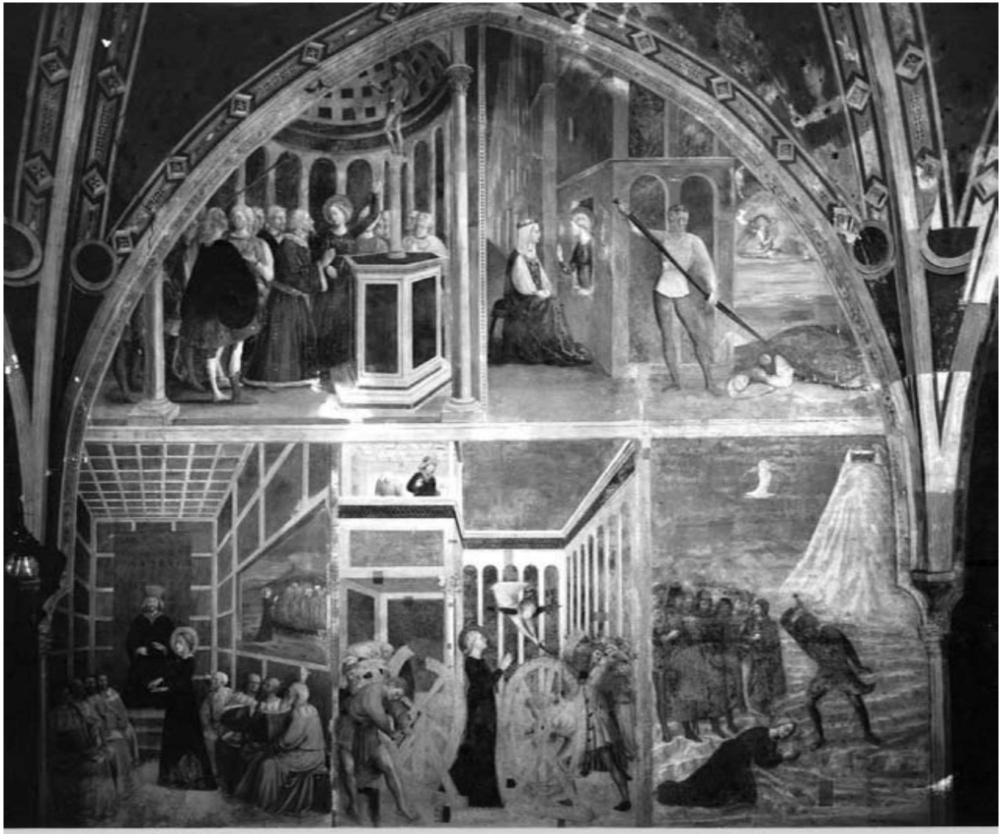

Figure 29 St Catherine scenes, south wall, St Catherine Chapel, San Clemente, Rome. Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione, Rome, no. E 83708.

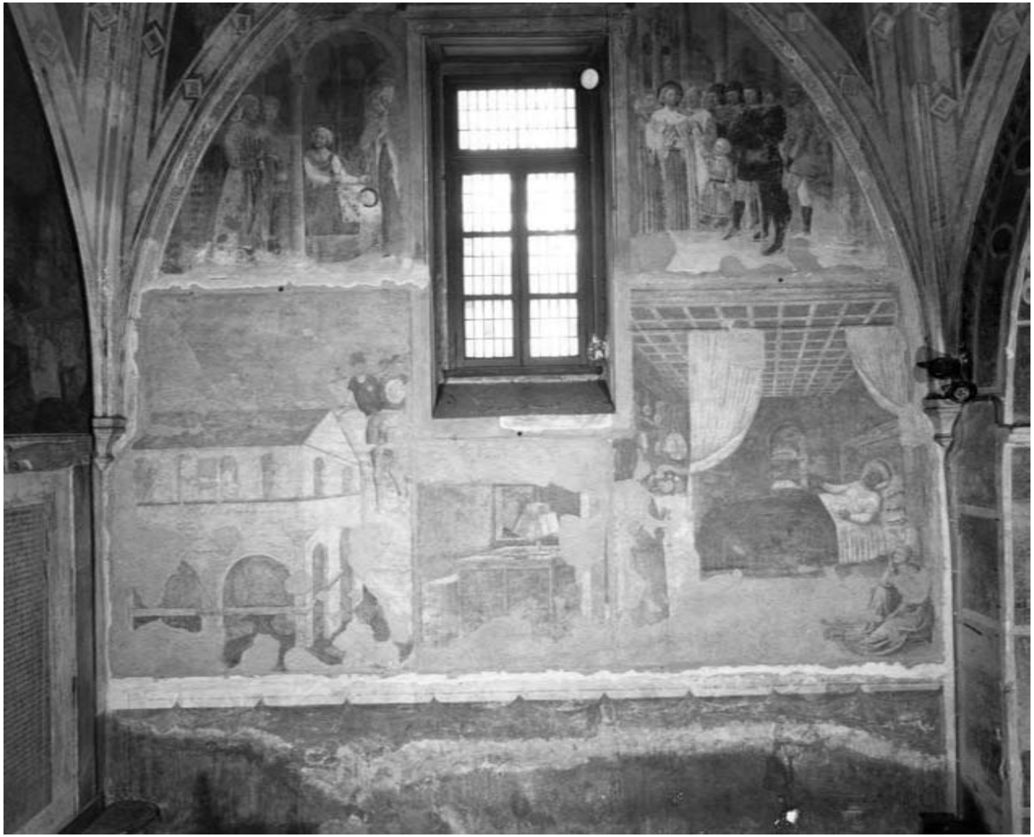

Figure 30 Ambrose scenes, north wall, St Catherine Chapel, San Clemente, Rome. Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione, Rome, no. E 73401.

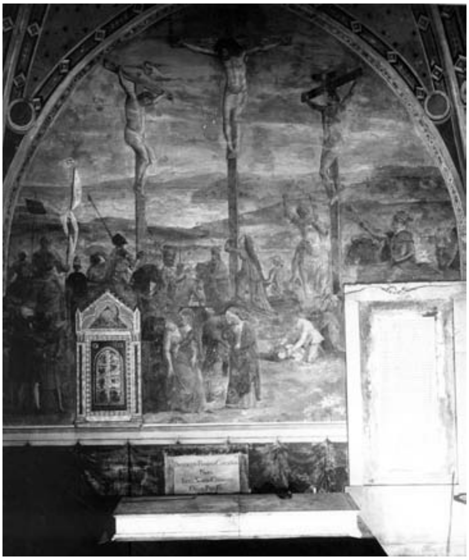

Figure 31 *Crucifixion*, St Catherine Chapel, San Clemente, Rome. Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione, Rome, no. E 13075.

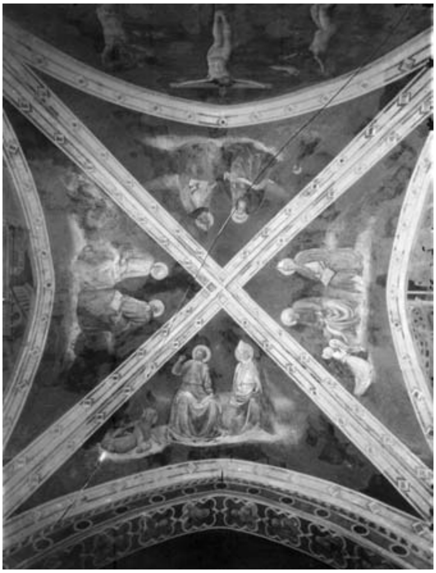

Figure 32 Vault, St Catherine Chapel, San Clemente, Rome. Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione, Rome, no. E 24325.

As chaplain to Boniface IX between 1392 and 1404, Castiglione first acquired the bishopric of Piacenza before being made cardinal in June 1411, whereafter he served for more than a decade on diplomatic missions to Hungary, Germany, and eastern Europe, where he was for a time involved in suppressing the Hussite heresy. He and his family were based in Castiglione Olona in Lombardy. Castiglione's career is paralleled by the life of St Ambrose (*c*. 338–97), one of the two titular saints of the chapel, who was Archbishop of Milan, the centre of Lombardy, and a combatant against the Arian heresy.

The scenes of the south wall, relating to the life of Catherine of Alexandria, can also be linked with the concerns of the cardinal. Castiglione was active at the Council of Constance and operated in an intellectual climate, illustrated in the frescoes. The scene of *Catherine Disputing with the Orators*, for example, comes from the *Golden Legend* but it parallels contemporary events. The Emperor Maxentius called together fifty orators to debate with Catherine, but rather than defeat her they all converted to Christianity, for which they were burnt, a scene shown through a window painted on the right. The figure of the emperor has been identified with Emperor Sigismund, who presided at the Council of Constance and whom Branda da Castiglione later crowned King of the Romans at Sant'Ambrogio in Milan in 1431. Seated around him are men identified as cardinals, including perhaps the two Italian popes deposed by the Council of Constance: on the right-hand side, Angelo Correr (Gregory XII) turning away from Catherine, and Baldassare Cossa (John XXIII), who sports a beard (Figure 33).[91]

The most direct explanation for the inclusion of Catherine in the chapel's iconographic programme is her symbol, the wheel, which is depicted—both intact and broken—at eye level in the centre of the scenes on the south wall (Figure 29). The wheel was also the symbol of the Rota, the papal judicial court where Castiglione had begun his career in the curia as auditor. Like Ambrose, Catherine of Alexandria was a learned saint. Castiglione founded schools in Rome and in Pavia: the distinctive position of Catherine's hands in *Catherine Disputing with the Orators* has been shown to be an accurate depiction of the *comput digitalis*, a gesture employed by orators at the universities (Figure 33).[92]

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[91] Lajos Vayer, *Masolino és Róma: mecénás és müvész a reneszánsz kezdetén* (Budapest: Képzömüvészeti Alap Kiadóvállalata, 1962); Edith Pásztor, review of Vayer, *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* 58 (1963), 614–16; Edith Pásztor, *Onus Apostolicae Sedis: Curia romana e cardinalato nei secoli XI–XV* (Rome: Edizioni Sintesi Infomazione, 1999), 397.

[92] O. Chomentovskaja, "Le Comput Digital, histoire d'un geste dans l'art de la

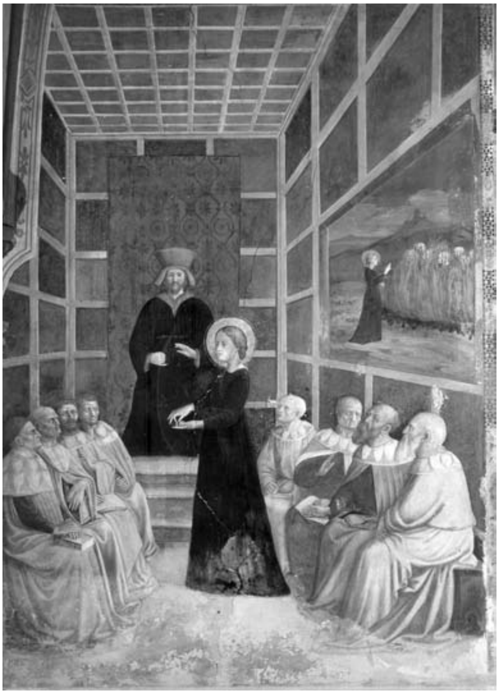

Figure 33 Masolino, *Catherine Disputing with the Orators*, St Catherine Chapel, San Clemente, Rome. Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione, Rome, no. E 23709.

The pairing of Catherine and Ambrose was not uncommon in Lombardy, however, and can be linked directly with the cardinal's family. Castiglione's grandparents on his mother's side, Stefano and Caterina Porro, were responsible for commissioning frescoes for a chapel at Mochirolo in Lombardy, dating to the 1370s, which included the two saints.[93] There, the central scene is also a Crucifixion. Another chapel commissioned by Porro and his wife, the Oratory of San Stefano at Lentate, includes a larger Crucifixion close in organization to that on the altar wall at San Clemente.

But the chapel is not solely dedicated to personal references relevant to the cardinal. The inclusion of Ambrose had a particular bearing on

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Renaissance italienne," *Gazette des Beaux Arts* 20 (1938): 157–72; Kane, *Saint Catherine Chapel*, 41.

[93] The frescoes were detached in 1949 and are now in the Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan. Joannides, *Masaccio and Masolino*, 401; Kane, *Saint Catherine Chapel*, 41–2.

the friars who had been installed in San Clemente since the early 1400s.[94] The inclusion of the apocryphal scene from Ambrose's life in the lower left portion of the right-hand wall, the *Collapse of the Rich Man's House*, must have seemed particularly relevant in the 1420s, a warning that material restoration was not enough unless it was in the service of spiritual renewal (Figure 30). The inclusion of St Christopher, the patron saint of travellers, on the exterior pier of the chapel was relevant for the many pilgrims who would have visited the church on their way to the Lateran or met the processions that gathered there (Figure 34).

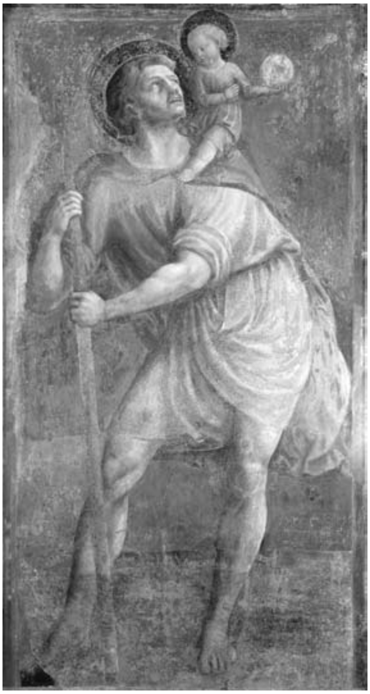

Figure 34 St Christopher, St Catherine Chapel, San Clemente, Rome. Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione, Rome, no. E 73344.

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[94] Eugenius IV consolidated the various houses of the friars into a single congregation in 1441; see *Bullarum, diplomatum et privilegiorum sanctorum romanorum pontificum*…, ed. Seb. Franco and Henrico Dalmazzo (Turin: Augustae Taurinorum, 1859), vol. 5, 54–8.

Joannides eloquently explains the relevance of the two narratives that dominate the chapel:

> The Annunciation and Crucifixion form the axis of the chapel; both these events, according to the *Golden Legend*, occurred on 25 March. The Annunciation of Christ's Incarnation initiates us into the chapel; His redemptive sacrifice stands above the altar. To this axial statement of the central Christian doctrine, the lives of the two saints form glosses whose moral message is more important than its dramatic content.[95]

The frescoes are also tied in with the existing decoration in San Clemente. The Calvary scene that dominates the chapel alludes to the thirteenth-century mosaic in the apse of the basilica, which depicts Christ raised in glory on the cross from which tendrils and plants spring and rivers flow, symbolic of the wellspring of life. Overall, the narratives of Catherine and Ambrose, two figures from the earliest days of Christianity, are shown in their attempts to overcome paganism and replace it with the new life of Christ, represented by the cross of the Crucifix rising over the landscape on the altar wall (Figure 31).

John Capgrave, the English Augustinian friar who was in Rome for the jubilee of 1450, entered in his diary for the station at San Clemente that although little was known about Clement:

> some say that he was pope next Peter and some say that two were before him. Also his legend saith that he was buried in the sea and lieth there unto this day and this book saith he lieth in Rome... In Justinian's time... Saint Cyril brought his body out of the sea by revelation and laid it at the church of his name. Eke the same Cyril within a few days died and is buried in the same church doing many miracles.[96]

There was a strong sense among pilgrims that the church of San Clemente belonged to these first attempts to replace the pagan cults with the Roman Church. This link with the martyrs was no doubt strengthened by the monks of St Ambrose: Ambrose and Augustine, his follower, made much of the cult of martyrs, following the example of Christ's sacrifice, which therefore became a feature of the Ambrosian rite.[97]

While it is not known if Castiglione was responsible for other work at San Clemente, his chapel is remarkable not only for the rich complexity of the fresco cycle and its execution by a top-rank artist, but also because it succeeds in achieving maximum impact for as little outlay as possible. Rather than construct a new chapel which would have pierced the side of the basilica and necessitated more costly building works, probably made difficult as there were other buildings constructed along the church's flanks, the first bay of the left-hand aisle was closed in with a wall and the entrance into the space from the aisle closed by a large iron gate (Figure 35). Castiglione may not even have had a window added to illuminate the space.[98] This contrasts markedly with the additions made by Bartolomeo Roverella, Cardinal of Ravenna, to the church in the 1460s that involved much more drastic intervention in the church's fabric.

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[95] Joannides, *Masaccio and Masolino*, 401.

[96] John Capgrave, *Ye Solace of Pilgrimes: A Description of Rome, circa A.D. 1450* (London: Frowde, 1911), 105–7; Kane, "Contribution," 122.

[97] G. Mellera and Marco Navoni, *Il Duomo di Milano e la liturgia ambrosiana = The Duomo of Milan and Ambrosian Liturgy* (Milan: NED, 1992), 18.

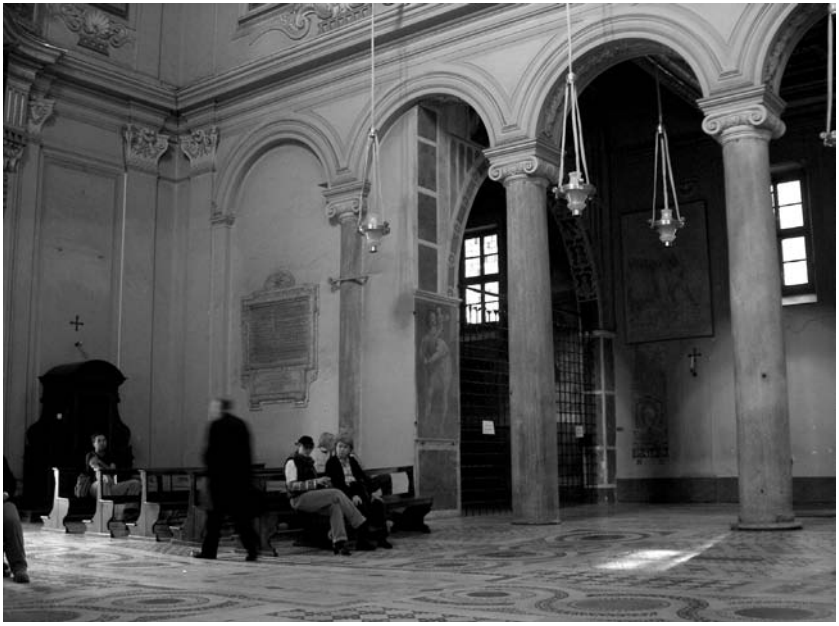

Figure 35 San Clemente, view of north aisle with St Catherine Chapel. Author.

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[98] Kane, *Saint Catherine Chapel*, 54; Beatrice Provinciali, "La tecnica di Masolino in San Clemente a Roma," in *Masaccio e Masolino: pittori e frescanti* (Milan: Skira, 2004), 121 n. 2.

Roverella served as papal diplomat for Eugenius IV and Nicholas V, Pius II (who made him cardinal in 1461), Paul II, and Sixtus IV; he died in 1476.[99] A painted coat of arms of the Piccolomini family was discovered on the medieval facade, probably linked to Roverella's patronage of the basilica at the time of Pius II. Roverella's extant additions to San Clemente include a chapel, which was made by piercing the end of the south aisle to form the entrance to a barrel-vaulted chapel, and his elaborate tomb at its entrance, largely the work of Giovanni Dalmata (Figures 36–8). In the early eighteenth century, Rondinini recorded that the Roverella arms were still visible in the glass of the window of the chapel.[100] Frescoes of *John the Baptist accusing Herod* and the *Beheading of John the Baptist* and a statue of John, which survive in the chapel today, were probably added in the sixteenth century. More recently, the chapel was extensively refurbished in 1960 for Cardinal Amleto Giovanni Cigognani and any further traces of earlier decoration lost: the cardinals' interventions to their titular churches, and the endless layering of one project over another, continue.

The relationship of Roverella's chapel and tomb monument will be discussed in more detail in chapter 9 (407–8), for such assemblages were not unusual in the period. However, the location of the chapel within the choir enclosure (*schola cantorum*), where it forms a subsidiary apse, may point to its serving a purpose in the enactment of the liturgies particular to San Clemente in the fifteenth century. The friars of St Ambrose "ad Nemus" followed the unique Ambrosian liturgical rite, which was established in Milan in the fifth century, a result of the city's geographical—and political—location between the twin empires of Byzantium and Rome.[101] As Cardinal of Ravenna, which in the fifth

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[99] Chacon, *Vitae, et res gestae*, vol. 2, col. 1051.

[100] Filippo Rondinini, *De S. Clemente papa et martyre eiusque basilica in urbe Roma, libri duo*, (Rome: Francesco Gonzaga in Via Lata, 1706), 268: "Sedente Pio II. Pontifice Bartholomaeum Roverellam tituli sancti Clementis presbyterum cardinalem sacellum in capite dextrae navis divo Johanni Battistae sacrum aedificasse non levis conjectura suadet, quae primum ab antiqua vitrea eiusdem sacelli fenestra eiusque forma deducitur ubi veterum more depictum cardinalis Roverellae gentilium insigne spectatur, deinde ab eius pernobili sepulcro, quod apud sacellum eximio artis opere exstructum est." Rondinini's text was part of the renewed interest in and restoration of San Clemente by Clement XI; see Christopher M.S. Johns, *Papal Art and Cultural Politics: Rome in the Age of Clement XI* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

[101] Christian Troelsgaard, "Stational Liturgy and Processional Antiphons in the Ambrosian Rite," in *Liturgy and the Arts in the Middle Ages*, ed. Eva Louise Lillie (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 1996), 85; Piero Borella, *Il rito ambrosiano* (Brescia, 1964). For a useful outline of the history of the Ambrosian rite see Mellera and Navoni,

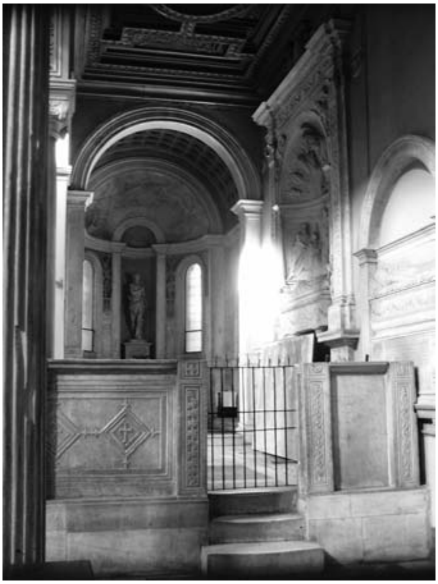

Figure 36 Chapel of St John and monument of Cardinal Bartolomeo Roverella, San Clemente. Author.

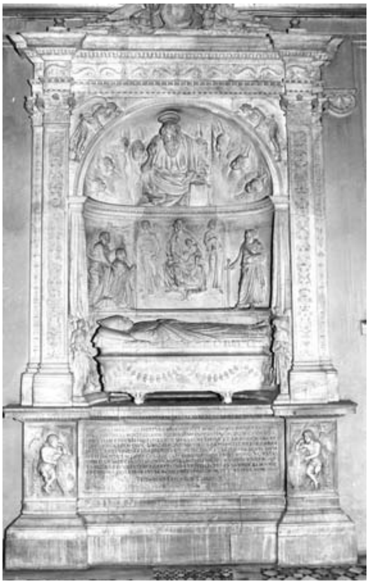

Figure 37 Sepulchral monument of Cardinal Bartolomeo Roverella, San Clemente. Soprintendenza Speciale per i Polo Museale Romano, Gabinetto Fotografico, neg nr. 163531.

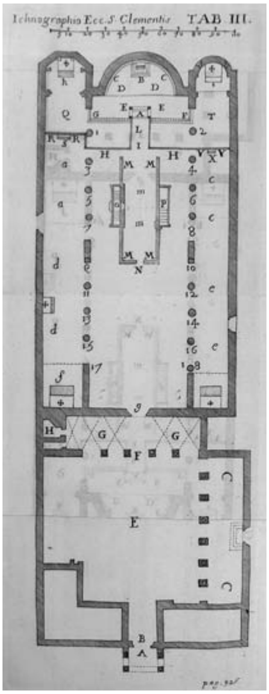

Figure 38 San Clemente, plan, in Filippo Rondinini, *De S. Clemente papa et martyre eiusque basilica in urbe Roma, libri duo* (Rome, 1706). The Castiglione Chapel is at 'f' and the chapel of St John at 'i'.

century had been the imperial residence, replacing Milan, Roverella may well have been particularly sensitive to the requirements of such ancient, regional liturgies, of which the Ambrosian rite was a rare survivor.[102] This particularly Christocentric rite is characterized by a greater degree of movement around the churches in which it is performed in comparison with the Roman rite, reflecting influences from the

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Il Duomo di Milano, 16–26. When, as a result of the reforms of the Council of Trent, liturgies were to be regularized, the Ambrosian rite, which had been in decline between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries, was revived as a result of the efforts of Carlo Borromeo. Among its influences on the Roman rite is the washing of the feet on Holy Thursday. The liturgy as a whole remains a rare survival from the early Church of more local practices since reformed into extinction.

[102] Branda da Castiglione's relationship with the Ambriosian rite is unclear: in 1440 or 1441, the cardinal apparently tried to rout the rite in Lombardy, provoking the locals' anger. See R. Sabbadini, "Il Card. Branda da Castiglione e il Rito romano," *Archivio storico lombardo* (1903), 397–408. However, Pietro Borella—*Il rito Ambrosiano* (Brescia: Morcelliana, 1964), 128—describes this episode as "clearly fantastic."

Byzantine Church. The mass, for example, begins with a long procession through the nave of the church, punctuated by the litany of the twelve *Kyrie eleison*, after which the clergy separate from the congregation and approach the high altar in the chancel.[103] On Good Friday, following the Eucharist, the sacrament is carried in procession to a side altar where it is venerated until the Easter vigil the next evening.[104] The liturgy of baptism, which is an integral part of the Easter celebrations, also required a separate space to complement the high altar as a focus for processions.[105] In close proximity to St John Lateran, with its Constantinian baptistery, San Clemente had no need of its own, but a chapel of St John the Baptist which could perform a similar role was perhaps a necessary part of the Ambrosian liturgies celebrated within the complex. Similarly, Roverella's chapel may well have been constructed to serve the unique requirements of Ambrosian vespers, which are understood as a continuation of the sacrifice represented by the Eucharist. These ended with a procession which derived from the ancient Jerusalem liturgy at which the congregation moved from the basilica of the Resurrection to the chapel of the Holy Cross. In the Ambrosian rite this procession was replicated in a procession to the baptistery, perhaps in San Clemente, the chapel of St John the Baptist.[106]

Santissimi XII Apostoli

Although it now seems exceptional simply because it survives, Branda da Castiglione's chapel at San Clemente was one of a number of important fresco cycles commissioned by the cardinals at their titular churches in the fifteenth century. In 1959, during work on the Palazzo Colonna adjoining Santissimi XII Apostoli, the remains of the chapel of Cardinal Bessarion, the work of Antoniazzo Romano, were discovered sandwiched between the two buildings.[107]

Unusually, in this case, there are a number of surviving documents to complement these frescoes. In a bull of 30 April 1463 Cardinal Bessarion secured rights from Pius II to the chapel of Sant'Eugenia, which had fallen into disrepair, in his titular church of Santissimi XII Apostoli.[108] In February 1464 the decoration was proposed, and payment authorized on 14 September 1464 and 23 August 1465. It was then completed in 1467–8.[109]

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[103] Mellera and Navoni, *Il Duomo di Milano*, 38.
[104] Mellera and Navoni, *Il Duomo di Milano*, 88.
[105] Mellera and Navoni, *Il Duomo di Milano*, 101.
[106] Mellera and Navoni, *Il Duomo di Milano*, 64, 66.
[107] On the chapel after its restoration see Vitaliano Tiberia, *Antoniazzo Romano per il Cardinale Bessarione a Roma* (Todi: Ediart, 1992).

Bessarion's first will, written in Venice on 17 February 1464, where he was working to ensure the support of the Venetians for a crusade, describes the main elements to be included in the chapel's decoration.[110] A large opening in the wall of the chapel, at the end of the south transept, was to be reduced so that it was just large enough for a man to enter, and closed with a lockable wooden door. The exterior of the chapel was to be tidied up and whitewashed. (Bessarion's house was just behind the church, and the exterior of the chapel was probably visible from it. Perhaps he planned to access the chapel from there, hence the small door.) The interior of the chapel was to be completely covered in painting, *per modum pontis*—like that of the pope's chapel, perhaps one of the three chapels decorated by Fra Angelico for Eugenius IV or Nicholas V in St Peter's basilica and the Vatican palace.[111] The altar wall was to be decorated with Christ enthroned, with the Madonna, St Michael the Archangel, John the Baptist, and St Eugenia. Bessarion was to be included represented kneeling at the feet of Christ with his coat of arms below him. An ornamented balustrade would separate the chapel from the rest of the church, surmounted by a finely worked iron enclosure, with foliage at the top, like that around the altars at St Peter's, and topped with candelabra (Figure 39). In addition to the frescoes, Bessarion commissioned an altarpiece from Antoniazzo Romano, which for a long time was thought to be a Byzantine icon brought to Rome by the cardinal (Figure 40).[112] To the right of the altar, just inside the gate, was to be Bessarion's tomb (Figure 120). On 16 September 1467 Bessarion received a bull from Paul II confirming that all the donations made by the cardinal to the chapel were to be administered by the Franciscan friars who were based at the church.[113]

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[108] Henri Vast, *Le Cardinal Bessarion, 1403–1472. Étude sur la Chrétienté et la Renaissance vers le milieu du XVe siècle* (Paris: Hachette, 1878), 293; Aloysius Bandinius (Bandini), *De vita et rebus gestis Bessarionis: cardinalis Nicaeni commentarius* (Rome: Franzesi, 1777), col. 3, chapter 47 and appendix 6, which reproduces the bull.

[109] The relevant documents are to be found in Tiberia, *Antoniazzo Romano*, 118–131. See also Gregory Hedberg, "Antoniazzo Romano and his School" (PhD thesis, New York University, 1980), 10 and 25; Eugène Müntz, *Les Arts à la Cour des Papes pendant le XV^{e} et le XVI^{e} siècle: Recueil de documents inédits tirés des archives et des bibliothèques Romaines*, part 2, Paul II, 1464–71, *Bibliothèque des Ècoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome* 9 (Paris, E. Thorin, 1879), 82–3.

[110] The relevant passage from the 1464 will is included in Tiberia, *Antoniazzo Romano*, doc. 3, 120–1: "Item volo et ordino ut omnino depingatur capella eo modo prout conveni et ordinavi cum magistro; item, postquam depicta fuerit capella, primo fiat subtus tectum ligneo quod est in quadro exteriori unum supercilium pulchram, et super trabes tecti imponantur aliquae tabulae grasse per modum pontis, ut possint transiri per longitudinem de una parte ad aliam; et claudantur bene foramina muri; et a parte orientali illa magna apertura in qua dimetatur, apertum tantum quantum sufficiet uni homini ad intrandum; et illud etiam claudatur ostio ligneo cum clavi; item post supercilium totum illud quadrum exterius incoletur et dealbetur bene, et in facie majori, videlicet septentrionali, quae est contra altare, depingatur Dominus noster Jesus sedens in sede, cui assistant B. Virgo, S. Angelus, S. Joannes Baptista et S. Eugenia, et imago mea genuflexa ante pedes Christi, et sub me arma mea; item, istis factis volo ut adaptetur et suppleatur si quid deficit in pavimento inter cancellos; item ponantur in cancello colupnae altiores, pulchriores et aequales, et trabs marmorea pulchra supra colupnis, item parapecta marmorea ornentur melius; deinde spatium vacuum inter parapecta et trabem superiorem claudatur cratibus ferreis quae in summitate habeant folia, sicut solent fieri, et sicuti in altari S. Petri, quae attingant trabem superiorem, ita ut nullus possit illic intrare. Fiat etiam porta ferrea pulchra cum bona serratura. Supra autem trabem marmoream fingatur candelabra sex de ferro pulchro, prout in capella palatii pro torticiis. Item in altari in angulo dextrae partis intrando prope cancellos fiat sepulchrum meum…" The full text is in Bandinius, *Bessarionis*, appendix 70, 144–5. See also Eugène Müntz, *Les Arts à la Cour des Papes*, part 2, 298–303. The document does not survive in its original form.

As executed, the figure of Christ enthroned dominated the apse, surrounded by a choir of angels. The four Evangelists and the Doctors of the Greek and Latin Churches in a blue field with gold stars decorated the cross-vault of the ceiling around a central boss of a half-length Christ. Below were two narrative scenes relating to the Archangel

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[111] The two chapels for Eugenius IV were in St Peter's: the Cappella Maggiore was destroyed when the apse of the St Peter's was demolished under Julius II (1503–13), and the chapel of the Sacrament in 1540 when it was replaced by a staircase. For Nicholas V Fra Angelico decorated the extant chapel of Saints Laurence and Sebastian in the Vatican palace. See Innocenzo Venchi, *Fra Angelico and the Chapel of Nicholas V*, Recent Restorations of the Vatican Museums 3 (Vatican City: Edizioni Musei Vaticani, 1999), 10–11; Creighton Gilbert, "Fra Angelico's Fresco Cycles in Rome: Their Number and Dates," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 38 (1975): 245–65; Carl Brandon Strehlke, *Angelico* (Milan: Jaca Book, 1998), 49–56.

[112] Tiberia, *Antoniazzo Romano*, doc. 11 (1655), 124–5: "Questo pietosissimo Card. per la devotione che haveva a questa Basilica volle arricchirla d'un altro pretioso thesoro, che fu il portar seco da Costantinopoli a Roma la bellissima Imagine della Madre di Dio, dipinta in tavola, se bene un moderno scrittore vuole, che questa pittura sia di Giacomo Vandi Bolognese; la comune opinione però tiene, che la donasse il Bessarione a questa sua devota basilica. Questa imagine per la sua antichità ben dimostra esser di quelle dipinte dall'Evangelista S.Luca (io però non l'affermo)." See also Gisela Noehles, "Antoniazzo Romano: Studien zur Quattrocentomalerei in Rom." (DPhil thesis, University of Münster, 1974), 20–6; Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 1994), 330–48.

[113] Bandinius, *Bessarionis*, appendices 9 and 10; Vast, *Bessarion*, 295.

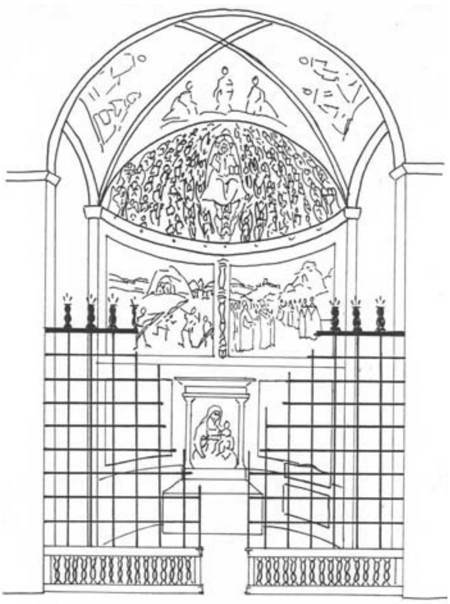

Figure 39 Reconstruction of the chapel of Sant'Eugenia (Bessarion Chapel) *c*. 1467, Santissimi XII Apostoli. Author.

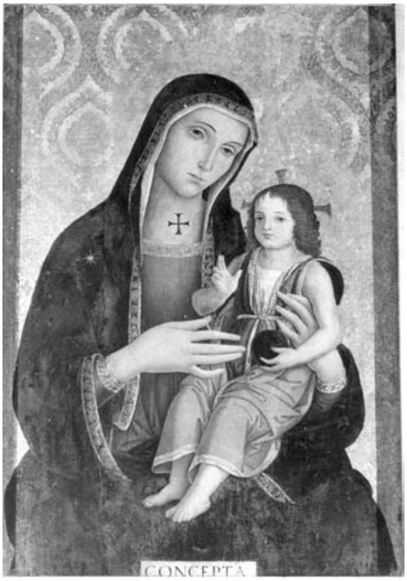

Figure 40 Antoniazzo Romano, *Madonna of Cardinal Bessarion*, Santissimi XII Apostoli, *c.* 1467. Soprintendenza Speciale per il Polo Museale Romano, Gabinetto Fotografico, neg nr. 45329.

Michael in the upper register and below, on either side of the *Bessarion Madonna*, narratives of John the Baptist and St Eugenia.

One of the most interesting aspects of the chapel, which has prompted the most comment from scholars, is the inclusion of scenes from the story of St Michael—the apparition of the archangel at Monte Gargano on the east coast of the Italian peninsula and at Mont-Saint-Michel off the north coast of France (Figures 41–4). The two apparitions were closely related, sometimes confused, and led to the establishment of important pilgrim shrines.[114] In the first, the scene is dominated by archers aiming at the bovine form of the archangel; in the second, the apparition at Mont-Saint-Michel, the scene is witnessed by two groups of monks representing orders relevant to Bessarion: he was protector of the observant Franciscans (in brown at the rear), which he had installed in the church, and was himself a monk of St Basil (in black in the middle ground), and their protector in Italy as they were exiled in increasing numbers from the eastern Mediterranean by the invasions of the Ottoman Turks.

Meredith Gill draws particular attention to the apparitions of the archangel and as a result pairs the chapel of Cardinal Bessarion with that of Guillaume d'Estouteville in Santa Maria Maggiore, where the French cardinal was archpriest from around 1443, attributed to Piero della Francesca and Benozzo Gozzoli.[115]

> The two primary subjects of Bessarion's chapel, the miracles of Monte Gargano and Mont-Saint-Michel, were complemented by d'Estouteville's chapel and the adaptation there of the theme of the third major apparition of St Michael: the archangel's manifestation in Rome, as told also by Voragine, in the time of Pope Gregory the Great. The two Quattrocento chapels may even be seen to have traced a parallel and uniquely Roman pilgrimage trajectory, encouraging as they did a condensed performance of the route from Mont-Saint-Michel to Monte Gargano to Rome, and promulgating the most favoured Michael subjects.[116]

Rome has its own site which had been graced by a miraculous appearance of the Archangel Michael. In 590, to assuage the plague ravaging

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[114] Tiberia, *Antoniazzo Romano*, 39.

[115] Meredith J. Gill, "Where the Danger was Greatest: A Gallic Legacy in Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 59 no. 4 (1996): 498–522; see also Simona Olivetti, "La cappella dei Ss. Michele e Pietro ad Vincula: Piero della Francesca, il cardinale d'Estouteville e la crociata di Pio II," *Storia dell'arte* 93–94 (1998): 177–82.

[116] Gill, "Gallic Legacy," 508.

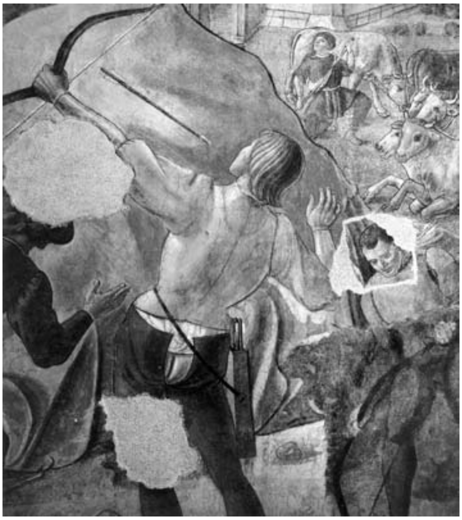

Figure 41 *Apparition of St Michael at Monte Gargano*, archers (detail), chapel of Sant'Eugenia (Bessarion Chapel), Santissimi XII Apostoli. Soprintendenza Speciale per il Polo Museale Romano, Gabinetto Fotografico, neg nr. 146495.

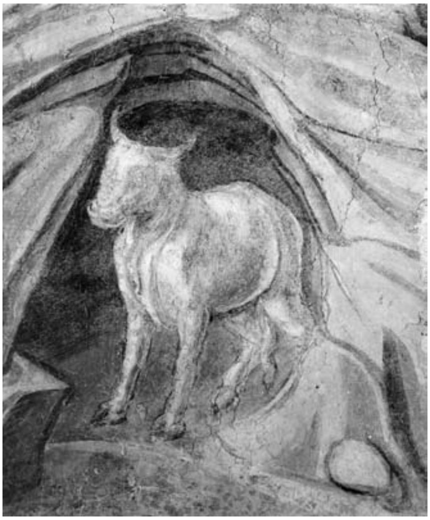

Figure 42 *Apparition of St Michael at Monte Gargano*, archangel appears as a bull (detail), chapel of Sant'Eugenia (Bessarion Chapel), Santissimi XII Apostoli. Soprintendenza Speciale per il Polo Museale Romano, Gabinetto Fotografico, neg nr. 146503.

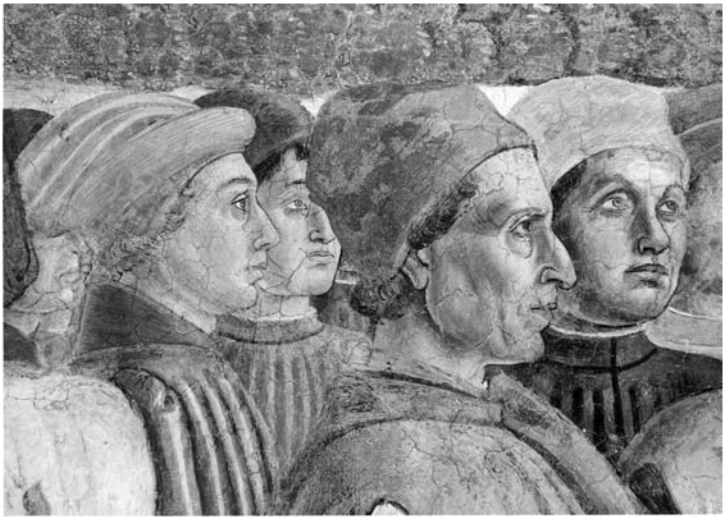

Figure 43 *Apparition of St Michael at Mont-Saint-Michel*, observers (detail), chapel of Sant'Eugenia (Bessarion Chapel), Santissimi XII Apostoli. Soprintendenza Speciale per il Polo Museale Romano, Gabinetto Fotografico, neg nr. 146498.

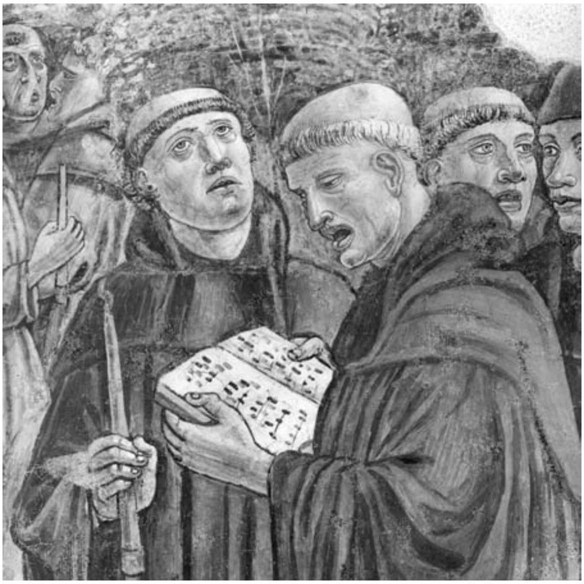

Figure 44 *Apparition of St Michael at Mont-Saint-Michel*, chanting friars (detail), chapel of Sant'Eugenia (Bessarion Chapel), Santissimi XII Apostoli. Soprintendenza Speciale per il Polo Museale Romano, Gabinetto Fotografico, neg nr. 146505.

the city, Gregory the Great carried in procession the precious icon of the Virgin and Child, known as the *Salus Populi Romani*, to this day housed in Santa Maria Maggiore.[117] As the procession neared the crossing of the Tiber at the mausoleum of Hadrian (thereafter known as Castel Sant'Angelo), a vision of the angelic host appeared to Gregory, in the midst of which could be seen the archangel sheathing his sword, signal that the plague was over. The pope commemorated the event by erecting a chapel on top of the mausoleum. Nicholas V had the statue of St Michael replaced in 1453 as part of his rebuilding of the papal fortress.[118] Gill continues, explaining why the two cardinals chose Michael for their chapels: the "revival of the Byzantine predisposition for St. Michael was part of a renascence in militant symbolism, and underlies both cardinals' selection of the saint as defender of Christianity in circumstances of explicit threat."[119] More specifically, in Bessarion's case, the particular veneration of the angels, and Michael in particular, was a characteristic of the Byzantine Church; d'Estouteville had been commendatory abbot of Mont-Saint-Michel from 1444, in 1445 had obtained a bull granting an plenary indulgence to pilgrims to the abbey, and had commissioned a new choir for its church in 1446. There was also a family connection, for Louis d'Estouteville (d. 1464), the cardinal's brother, was captain of the mount.[120]

The narrative scenes that survive in the second register are easily read as they are labelled with inscriptions that make their subjects clear.[121] Monte Gargano, the scene labelled on the left-hand side, was known as the site of the first earthly apparition of the Archangel Michael. Monte Gargano has a long religious history. In the pre-Christian era, it was site of a shrine to Podaleirius, an ancient warrior-hero, and it was associated with soothsayers. Thus it was a natural place for a Christian miracle to take place on 5 May 493. A local farmer who had lost his prize bull found it in a cave. The bull would not come out so eventually he fired an arrow at it which turned back and hit his thigh.

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[117] Gill, "Gallic Legacy," 509 n. 29; Maria Andaloro, "L'icona della Vergine 'Salus Populi Romani'," in *La basilica romana di Santa Maria Maggiore*, ed. Carlo Pietrangeli (Florence: Nardini, 1987), 124–7; Gerhard Wolf, *Salus populi Romani: die Geschichte römischer Kultbilder im Mittelalter* (Weinheim: VCH, Acta Humaniora, 1990), 135–45.

[118] Charles Burroughs, "Below the Angel: An Urbanistic Project in the Rome of Pope Nicholas V," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 45 (1982): 94–124; Gill, "Gallic Legacy," 506.

[119] Gill, "Gallic Legacy," 506.

[120] Gill, "Gallic Legacy," 516–17.

[121] The inscriptions are APPARITIO EIUSDEM IN MONTE GARGANO and APPARITIO EIUSDEM IN MONTE TUMBA.

He went back and told Laurentius, Bishop of Siponto, who reacted by ordering a three-day fast throughout the diocese. On the third day the bishop went to the cave and before him appeared the Archangel Michael, dressed in armour, who declared that the cave was to become a shrine for all the angels. The archangel then disappeared, leaving behind only one of his iron spurs. Bishop Laurentius left and returned a few days later to discover a chapel had been built by the angels, hung with purple cloth, and bathed in a warm light. Four months later, on 29 September, Laurentius' own church was consecrated over the entrance to the cave. Since the sixth century it has been an important pilgrim destination. St Gregory the Great visited the shrine at the end of the sixth century; St Francis went there in the twelfth.[122] Monte Gargano had particular attraction for the Normans of France. On their return from the Holy Land they went to the shrine because Michael is the patron saint of seafarers and because his other major shrine is at Mont-Saint-Michel.[123] It was the site of many manoeuvres in the Norman conquest of the Italian peninsula in the eleventh century. More specifically, Bessarion held Siponto as one of his benefices from 1447 until 1449, when it passed to Angelo Capranica, brother of Cardinal Domenico Capranica and a member of his household.[124]

Mont-Saint-Michel is referred to in the chapel's inscription by its ancient name of 'Mont-Tombe' (Monte Tumba) as it was originally a Celtic sea-tomb.[125] The miraculous vision of the archangel on Monte Gargano and the erection of the first shrine dedicated to him led on to several other apparitions, most notably that of Mont-Saint-Michel where the angel appeared to St Aubert, Bishop of Avranches at the beginning of the eighth century. According to the legend, Michael appeared to the bishop and ordered him to build a church to celebrate his memory. When the bishop was unsure of the exact location, Michael told him to look for a site where some thieves had hidden a bull. Unsure of size of the church, he was to use the circuit traced by the bull's hoof prints. Then, when two huge boulders needed to be moved, a man who was instructed to do the work moved them with no effort. To cope with a lack of water, the angel told them to cut a hard rock from which then poured out more water than they needed, the story goes.[126] The two cults at Monte Gargano and Mont-Saint-Michel were closely related, as Aubert drew explicitly on the example of the earlier shrine and even begged relics from there for his own church.[127] After the twelfth century and the Lombard invasions, the two stories were often synthesized.

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[122] John Julius Norwich, *The Normans in the South 1016–1130* (London: Longmans, 1967), 3–4.

[123] Michele d'Arienzo, "Il pellegrinaggio al Gargano tra XI e XVI secolo," in *Culte et pèlerinages à Saint Michel en Occident: les trois monts dédiés à l'archange*, ed. Pierre Bouet (Rome: École française de Rome, 2003), 219–44.

[124] Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, vol. 2, 262. Presumably Bessarion did not keep Siponto as the revenue was fairly modest at only 500 florins a year.

[125] See Wolfgang Braunfels, *Monasteries of Western Europe: The Architecture of the Orders* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1972), 186–7.

Despite this emphasis on the scenes of the archangel at Mont-Saint-Michel and Monte Gargano, the upper and lower parts of the chapel, between which the scenes relating to the archangel are depicted, should not be forgotten. Above, the apse decoration was dominated by the figure of Christ, the bottom of whose cloak is all that now remains of him, surrounded by a host of angels, divided into the nine choirs described by Dionysius the Areopagite and further developed by Thomas Aquinas in the *Summa Theologiae* (Figures 45 and 46).[128] This 'celestial hierarchy' was well known in Byzantine and Latin Christendom. It was part of a larger corpus of writing by Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite of the late fifth or early sixth century which attempted to define what was knowable about God—"how does God share his life with creation?"[129] The *Celestial Hierarchies* (*De Coelesti Hierarchia*) was accompanied by another treatise on the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchies* (*De Ecclesiastica Hierarchia*). Together these works sought to demonstrate how heavenly structures mirrored earthly ones. On earth, for example, the tripartite ministry of bishops, priests, and deacons echoed the heavenly hierarchy. All of the parts and their tripartite ordering come ultimately from the three persons of God in the Trinity. Ordering in three was particularly important for the Platonists who searched for the ideal of "intelligible realities."[130] God, it was argued, through his love for humanity, shares himself through this ordering. Such a fixed, idealized ordering in the chapel may also be suggestive of Bessarion's intellectual activities in the years in which the chapel was being painted. Between 1467 and 1472 the controversy over the philosophical systems of Plato and Aristotle reached its climax in Rome with Bessarion representing the Platonic recourse to the ideal and George of Trebizond Aristotle.[131]

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[126] Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 202.

[127] François Neveux, "Les reliques du Mont-Saint-Michel," in *Culte et pèlerinages*, 245–69.

[128] Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 203.

[129] Rowan Williams, *The Wound of Knowledge: Christian Spirituality from the New Testament to St John of the Cross* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1979), 119; Tiberia, *Antoniazzo Romano*, 55–7; see also Fran O'Rourke, *Pseudo-Dionysius and the Metaphysics of Aquinas* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992).

[130] Williams, *Wound of Knowledge*, 120.

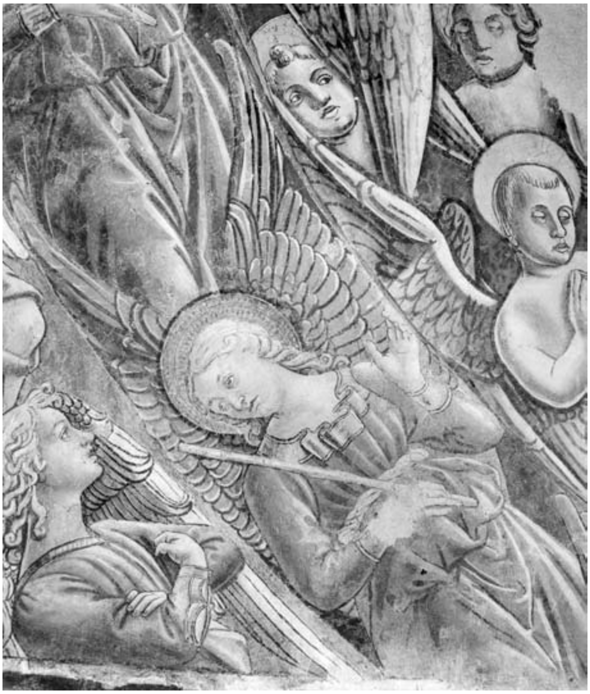

Figure 45 *Choirs of Angels* (detail), chapel of Sant'Eugenia (Bessarion Chapel), Santissimi XII Apostoli. Soprintendenza Speciale per il Polo Museale Romano, Gabinetto Fotografico, neg nr. 146510.

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[131] John Monfasani, *George of Trebizond: A Biography and a Study of his Rhetoric and Logic*, Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition vol. 1 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1976), 210–29; Charles L. Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), 122; John Monfasani, "A Tale of Two Books: Bessarion's *In Calumniatorem Platonis* and George of Trebizond's *Comparatio Philosophorum Platonis et Aristotelis*," *Renaissance Studies* 22 (2008): 1–15.

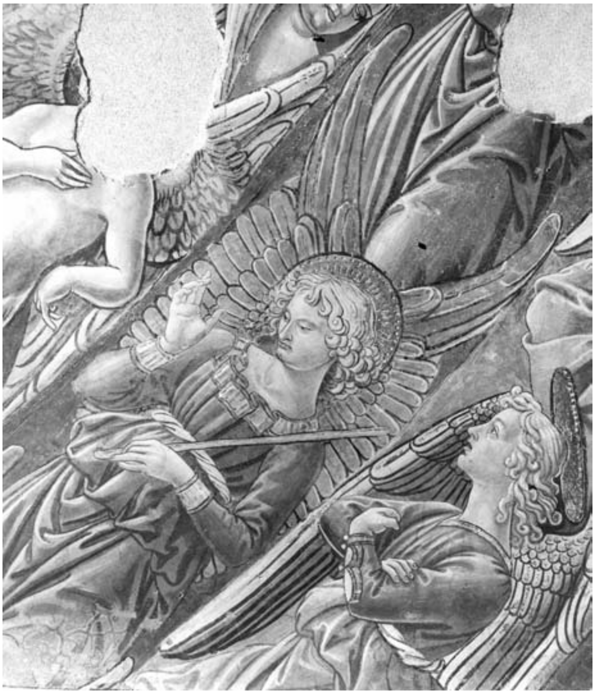

Figure 46 *Choirs of Angels* (detail), chapel of Sant'Eugenia (Bessarion Chapel), Santissimi XII Apostoli. Soprintendenza Speciale per il Polo Museale Romano, Gabinetto Fotografico, neg nr. 146512.

The lower part of the chapel was badly damaged soon after it was completed by the regular flooding of the Tiber. Decorated with a scene of the birth of John the Baptist and of Saints Eugenia and Claudia, it was in fact repainted at the end of the fifteenth century. In 1545 the chapel was restored for a second time though not sympathetically, the lower part again requiring most attention.[132] The scenes relating to John and Eugenia therefore do not survive, but their relevance in the chapel is easy to explain. Tiberia ascribes John the Baptist's inclusion to his traditional role as defender of Christianity against the Turks. Notably, the last stronghold of the Christians in the Holy Land against the Turks was St John of Acra, which got its name from the Baptist and fell in 1291.[133] Tiberia stresses this aspect of the chapel as a call to arms of all parts of Christendom against the threat of the Ottoman Turks.[134] There is a simpler explanation, however, as John was Bessarion's first name. As will be discussed in chapter 9, baptism—and chapels including references to John the Baptist—was closely connected with death and rebirth, and was a relatively common theme for chapels associated with burials.

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[132] See Tiberia, *Antoniazzo Romano*, docs 7–17; 122–31.
[133] Tiberia, *Antoniazzo Romano*, 21, 30.

The original dedication of the chapel was to Eugenia, and it contained her relics before Bessarion took over its patronage. The saint's story, as retold in the *Golden Legend*, is also one of persecution and the conversion of non-Christians. Eugenia was the daughter of a wealthy Roman who became prefect of Alexandria in the first half of the third century. Exposed to the influences of local Christians and the threat of marriage, Eugenia and her servants, Protus and Hyacinthus, entered a monastery. The head of the monastery, Helenus, did not let women anywhere near him so she dressed as a man. She did not manage to deceive Helenus, however, as he had been told by God who she was. She and her companions became monks and Eugenia became Brother Eugene. Her parents assumed she was dead. Then, some time later, Eugene was accused of trying to violate a noble woman, Melancia. She revealed her true sex to the prefect—her father—causing her family to convert to Christianity. Her father lost his prefecture, became a bishop, but was put to death. Eugenia, her mother Claudia, and her brothers returned to Rome and converted many people, and were eventually killed for their efforts.[135] The official Apostolic Visitation to the church on 28 October 1628 mentions the relics of both Eugenia and Claudia in the chapel, which by then was dedicated to the Immaculate Conception.[136]

Bessarion's chapel, like that of Branda da Castiglione in San Clemente, represents a complex web of historical, personal, site-specific, and contemporary references and allusions. This was nothing new in the history of the frescoed chapel in early modern Italy, but the extent to which it was done signalled the intellectual and political hothouse of papal Rome in which early Christian, medieval, and contemporary references were brought together to highlight the continuity that the papal presence there represented.

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[134] Tiberia, *Antoniazzo Romano*, 36–7.

[135] Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 165–7.

[136] ASV, Congr. Visita Ap. 2, 1624, f. 371ff, in Tiberia, *Antoniazzo Romano*, doc. 9, 123.

Other chapels commissioned by cardinals in their churches in Rome were works of sculpture rather than painting. A drawing attributed to Andrea Bregno (1418–1503) now in the British Museum is a design for an altar for Ludovico Trevisan (d. 1465), Cardinal of San Lorenzo in Damaso, probably destined for Sant'Agata dei Goti, a church he held *in commendam* (Figure 47).[137] The cardinal's emblem, the half-wheel (the reason he is often called 'Mezzarota'), is used in decoration on the friezes, while the cardinal is represented kneeling in the centre on the right-hand side, facing the saint of his titular church, St Laurence. Behind him is his name saint, St Louis of Toulouse. At Sant'Eustachio Francesco Piccolomini restored the roof in 1473, adding an inscription to one of the wooden beams which was still visible at the end of the seventeenth century, and a frieze along the walls of the nave. He also added an altar of St Pius in memory of his uncle, Pius II, to the sanctuary which was used for the reservation of the host.[138] Nothing of either altar survives, apart from the drawing and references in official visitation records. Like the fragments of the Bessarion Chapel, they give a tantalizing glimpse into the interventions of the cardinals in their churches in the fifteenth century.

The *tituli* and *diaconiae* are among the city's most venerable churches, with long associations with the evolution of Rome from imperial to papal city. In addition to their symbolic associations, in the fifteenth century they were particularly important for cardinals new to Rome as they could offer accommodation or even income. All of them provided cardinals with an automatic focus for their patronage if they wanted to make their own contribution to the larger restoration of Rome. It was a mutually beneficial relationship: churches were embellished and restored, while cardinals fulfilled their duty and left a record of their place in the apostolic succession. In some cases, the churches even provided an existing set of networks and connections—national or familial. This is the subject of the next chapter.

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[137] Francesco Caglioti, "Sui Primi Tempi Romani d'Andrea Bregno: un Progetto per il Cardinale Camerlengo Alvise Trevisan e un San Michele Arcangelo per il Cardinal Juan de Carvajal," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 41 no. 3 (1997): 213–53; Francesco Caglioti, "La Cappella Piccolomini nel Duomo di Siena, da Andrea Bregno a Michelangelo," in *Pio II e le arti: la riscoperta dell'antico da Federighi a Michelangelo*, ed. Alessandro Angelini (Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 2005), 403–7.

[138] 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*, ed. Mary Hollingsworth and Carol M. Richardson (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, forthcoming).

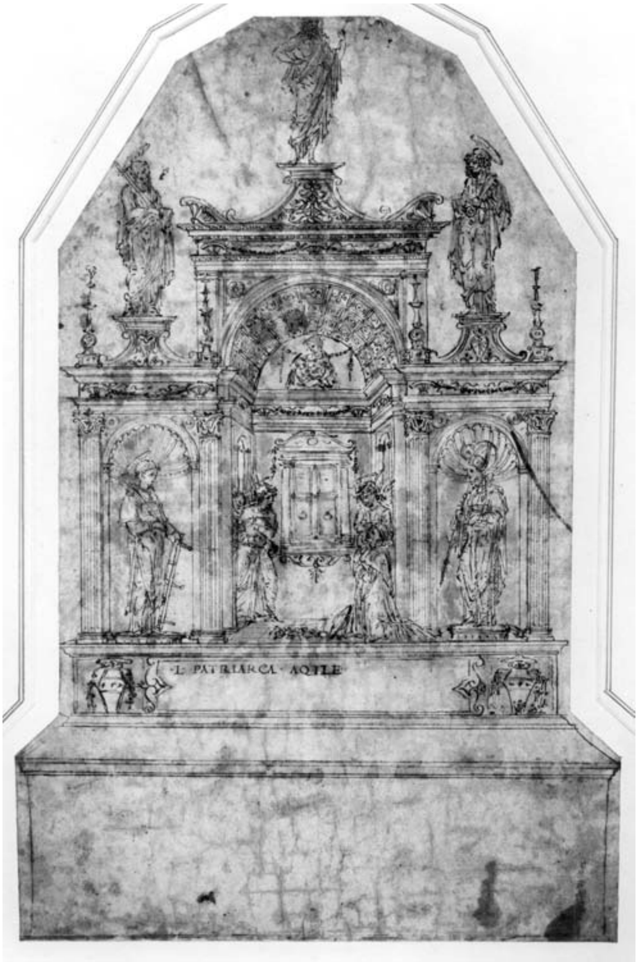

Figure 47 Andrea Bregno (attributed), drawing for the Trevisan altar, Sant'Agata dei Goti, *c.* 1465. 38.2 × 24.6 cm, pen, brown ink and black chalk on paper. © Copyright the Trustees of The British Museum, London.

CHAPTER SIX

THE ALLOCATION OF TITLES

The churches to which each cardinal was attached embedded them in the historical and physical fabric of Rome. There were rules which dictated who was assigned to which kind of church, as well as family and national relationships that were maintained at particular sites. These are the subject of this chapter. The most significant aspect of the relationship of the cardinals with Rome's churches was practical, however, as they were often used to provide accommodation. This was the major concern when cardinals were allocated their churches, and they moved between them when they could to secure the best residences, as will be discussed further in the next chapter. It was this practical relationship that expedited the cardinals' part in restoring the city to an extent impossible for a single pope.

After the twelfth century, cardinal-deacons, priests, and bishops were almost indistinguishable from one another as the three orders combined as equals to elect a pope. In their official relationship with the pope, the cardinals acted in concert as a college and not individually. The only exceptions were cardinals who held particular offices such as vice-chancellor, who governed the financial side of the curia, especially appointments to bishoprics and abbeys, and resulting fees and taxes, or chamberlain (*camerarius* or *camerlengo*), who administered ecclesiastical property and revenues, and controlled the agents who acted on behalf of the papacy throughout western Christendom.[1] These offices could be held by cardinal-deacons, priests, or bishops; Rodrigo Borgia was made vice-chancellor in May 1457 by his uncle, Calixtus III, just a few months after he had been created cardinal-deacon, and then held the office for the next thirty-five years. They were often filled by cardinals close to the pope not least because they were in the pope's gift, and there was a great deal of money to be made through these offices: Francesco Condulmer was, under Eugenius IV (his uncle), chamberlain from 1432 to 1439 and vice-chancellor from 1437 until his death in 1453; Filippo Calandrini was chamberlain for his half-brother, Nicholas V, in 1454 and 1455.[2] The personal relationship a cardinal had with a pope—whether as a relative or friend—was more significant in his advancement than his position within the college.

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[1] Paulius Rabikauskas, "Cancelleria pontifica," 226–31; Olivier Guyotjeannin and François-Charles Uginet, "Camerlengo," 223–5, both in Levillain, *Dizionaro storico del papato*; Peter Partner, *The Pope's Men: The Papal Civil Service in the Renaissance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 21–2, 24, and chapter 2 *passim* on the complexities of the administrative aspects of the papal courts and changes in the later fifteenth century. On the apostolic chamber, see Maria Grazia Pastura Ruggiero, *La Reverenda Camera Apostolica e i suoi archivi, secoli XV–XVIII* (Rome: Archivio di Stato di Roma/Scuola di Archivistica Paleografia e Diplomatica, 1984).

Service fees that were shared among the members of the college present at consistory were divided equally among them whether they were cardinal-deacons, priests, or bishops, an indication, according to Garati, that they acted as a group of equals.[3] There was, however, an important internal hierarchy that dictated precedent in ceremonial, addressing consistories, or voting in conclave, as well as access to the best titular churches, which was based on seniority: the length of time an individual had served as a cardinal, not age. Moreover, each cardinal could distinguish himself from his peers through his own personal and political connections, ambition, and style of life. In his treatise *De cardinalibus*, Martino Garati da Lodi set down the basic rules that applied for making cardinal-deacons, priests, or bishops, although these could always be set aside according to the whim of the pope.

Who got what

Until the 1470s, the evidence suggests that there were clear distinctions applied according to age and status that dictated whether a man promoted to the college became a cardinal-deacon or a cardinal-priest. (Cardinal-bishops were promoted from within the college.) According to Garati, cardinals who were bishops or archbishops before they were raised to the purple automatically became cardinal-priests—as long as they were ordained bishops and not simply administrators of a diocese, as, for example, Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini had been.[4] There was some controversy, however, in the question of whether or not cardinals who were bishops or archbishops should be able to retain their original dioceses *in commendam* once they had been made cardinal.[5] Overall, Garati concedes that they should be allowed to retain their previous benefices, but only as long as this did not compromise the satisfactory running of those places, and especially observance of necessary feast days and mass obligations. However, this was largely in the gift of the pope, and cardinals often held onto their original dioceses and even picked up more lucrative ones. Officially, cardinal-priests had to be ordained priests and cardinal-bishops had to hold episcopal orders. Rodrigo Borgia, for example, was ordained priest and bishop in 1471 so that he could opt for the suburbicarian diocese of Albano, fourteen years after he had first been made a cardinal.[6]

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[2] On Condulmer see Chacon, *Vitae, et res gestae*, vol. 2, cols 894–5; on Calandrini, *idem.*, 973–4.

[3] Martino Garati da Lodi, *De cardinalibus* (1453) in Gigliola Soldi Rondinini, *Per la storia del Cardinalato nel secolo XV*, Accademia di Scienze e Lettere 33 no. 1 (Milan: Memorie dell'Istituto Lombardo, 1973), question 92; 83–4: "Utrum domini cardinales censeantur iure singulorum et an archam comunem habeant. Respondeo... quod cardinales habent jus collegii et capituli, quoniam fuerunt cardinales in ecclesia Dei antequam aliquis titulus eis asignaretur, et hac consideratione attenta dicuntur cardinales simpliciter, nulla alia ecclesia expressa... et dicebatur tunc domini cardinales ecclesie Romane... et habent archam comunem quoad servicia comunia, et camerarium specialem, loco sindici, qui oblata dividit inter eos equaliter, et simul congregantur ad tractatus comunes in totius mundi utilitatem expediendos, et sacrum collegium dominorum cardinalium vulgariter nuncupatur, et est excellens collegium super omnia alia collegia." See Anthony V. Antonovics, "A Late Fifteenth Century Division Register of the College of Cardinals," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 35 (1967): 87–101, on these service charges.

Younger men who were made cardinals or those who only had minor orders were made cardinal-deacons.[7] Increasingly common in the fifteenth century were the 'crown cardinals' or political appointments, among them Don Jaime, known as the Cardinal of Portugal, and

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[4] Martino Garati da Lodi, *De cardinalibus*, question 15; 62: "An episcopus vel archiepiscopus possit fieri presbiter cardinalis. Respondi fieri posse… promoti ad maiores dignitates non desinunt habere inferiores dignitates ecclesiasticas."

[5] Martino da Lodi, *De cardinalibus*, question 43, 69–71: "Questionis dubie est an episcopus vel archiepiscopus promotus in dominum cardinalem perdat episcopatum vel archiepiscopatum, vel retineat utrumque in titulum.… concluditur episcopum vel archiepiscopum promotum ad cardinalatum retinere priora beneficia. Advertant tamen domini cardinales habentes episcopatum vel alia beneficia, ut faciant ecclesie servire per numerum clericorum consuetum et hospitalia reliqua similia tenere et facere in dictis ecclesiis in quibus habent beneficia, alias peccant… Nycola Abbas Sciculus… dicit contra cardinales habentes ecclesiam in commenda, qui non conservant ecclesias in cultu divino et ceteris oportunis, secundum primum et solitum statum ecclesie." See also Marc Dykmans, *L'Oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini ou le Cérémonial Papal de la Première Renaissance*, Studi e testi 293–4 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1980), 151–2, for this dispensation.

[6] Chacon, *Vitae, et res gestae*, vol. 2, cols 991 and 1293–1352; Eubel, *Hierachia catholica*, vol. 2, 12, 69.

[7] Officially, to be made cardinal an individual had to be at least an ordained deacon—Martino Garati da Lodi, *De cardinalibus*, question 14; 61: "An possit esse cardinalis qui constitutus est in minoribus. Respondeo nemo potest esse cardinalis nisi saltem sit dyaconus…" In reality this stipulation was often overlooked.

Francesco Gonzaga, son of the Duke of Mantua, both of whom were young men when they were promoted: Don Jaime was in his early 20s, while Gonzaga was only 17 years old.[8] The other most significant group of cardinal-deacons were the relatives of the pope, referred to as 'cardinal-nephews' (*nipotes*), whatever their degree of relationship. The majority of those created between 1426 and 1468, from Martin V's first creation to Paul II's last, were made cardinal-deacons: Prospero Colonna, cardinal-deacon of San Giorgio in Velabro in 1426; Pietro Barbo, Santa Maria Nova in 1440; Rodrigo Borgia, San Nicola in Carcere in 1456; and Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini, cardinal-deacon of Sant'Eustachio in 1460. All of them held the minor clerical orders of apostolic protonotary, a position that nevertheless had precedence over bishops in terms of office and brought with it some proximity to the pope, while Rodrigo Borgia was sacristan or sexton of the diocese of Valencia.[9] The exceptions—who were more established churchmen or bishops in their own right—were Francesco Condulmer, who, although he was an apostolic protonotary at the time, was presumably also a priest, as he was made cardinal-priest of San Clemente in 1431; Filippo Calandrini, who as Bishop of Bologna received the title of Santa Susanna in 1448; Luis Juan Mila, Bishop of Segorbe in Spain, who in 1456 was made cardinal-priest of Santi Quattro Coronati.[10]

Although they were usually younger and therefore less experienced churchmen, in some ways the cardinal-deacons' position was more advantageous than that of the cardinal-priests and bishops because their duties involved regular access to the pope, something that was particularly useful for a cardinal-nephew. Among their duties, the cardinal-deacons served the pope at consistories. Positioned on the pope's right, a cardinal-deacon held the papal ring, removed or replaced the papal mitre at appropriate moments, passed the thurible to the pope for censing, helped him wash his hands, and performed other similar duties.[11] They also processed just in front of the pope and behind the cardinal-bishops and priests (Figure 48).

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[8] On Don Jaime's promotion see Eric Apfelstadt, "Bishop and Pawn: New Documents for the Chapel of the Cardinal of Portugual at S. Miniato, Florence," in *Cultural Links Between Portugal and Italy in the Renaissance*, ed. K.J.P. Lowe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 183–5; on Gonzaga's, Gaspare da Verona, in *Le vite di Paolo II di Gaspare da Verona e Michele Canense*, ed. Giuseppe Zippel, RIS 3 part 16 (Città di Castello: Lapi, 1904–11), 28.

[9] Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, vol. 2, 6, 9, 12, 14. On opposition to apostolic protonotaries, Denys Hay, *The Church in Italy in the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 86.

[10] It is not known if Francesco Condulmer was ever ordained, though his background in the Venetian reforming movement would suggest that he was. Though he was only administrator of the see of Narbonne, 1433–6, he opted for Porto and Santa Rufina in 1445, suggesting that he had been ordained bishop some time in the intervening period: Chacon, *Vitae, et res gestae*, vol. 2, cols 894–895; Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, vol. 2, 7, 11, 12.

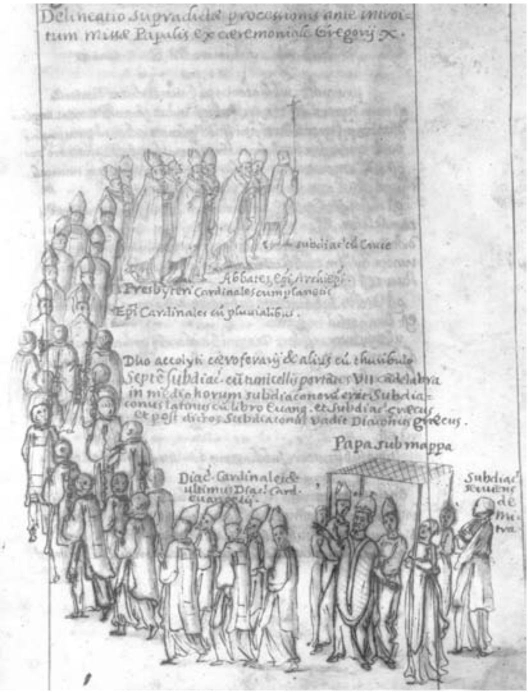
Delineatio supradictae processionis ante introitum Missae Papalis ex caeremoniale Gregorij X.
subdiac. cu Cruce
Abbates, Epi, Archiepi.
Presbyteri Cardinales cum planetis
Epi Cardinales cu pluuialibus.
Papa sub mappa
Subdiac.

Figure 48 Entrance procession before the Mass from the ceremonial of Gregory X, in Giacomo Grimaldi, *San Pietro in Vaticano* (1606), Barb. lat. 2733, f. 51r. © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

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[11] Norman Zacour, "The Cardinals' View of the Papacy, 1150–1300," in *The Religious Roles of the Papacy: Ideals and Realities 1150–1300*, ed. Christopher Ryan, Papers in Medieval Studies 8 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1989), 417; on the role of the cardinal-deacons 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 and Rome: Bibliothèque de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome, 1981), 340, 374, 381, 385, 463, 465, 466.

No new cardinal was made a cardinal-bishop. The suburbicarian dioceses were reserved for promotions within the college itself and were an important part of its internal hierarchy.[12] The cardinal-bishops had to be ordained bishops, and only they were entitled to stand in for the pope by celebrating mass at the high altar in St Peter's and in St John Lateran: as a result, they were commonly called *vice dominus*.[13] Therefore, their official role was more executive than the parish or local character of the cardinal-deacons and priests. The cardinal-bishop of Ostia was usually also dean of the college (with the exception of a spell at the end of the fifteenth century, discussed below), official recognition that he was the most senior member of the college.[14] He sat closest to the pope, and among his duties was the consecration of a new pope as Bishop of Rome.[15] Thus, for example, Guillaume d'Estouteville was cardinal-bishop of Ostia and dean from 1461 until his death in 1483. As such, he consecrated both Paul II and Sixtus IV.

Under Sixtus IV, however, the deanship and Ostia were separated, causing some confusion. Rodrigo Borgia became dean of the college when Guillaume d'Estouteville died in 1483; however, he remained as cardinal-bishop of Porto and Santa Rufina from 1476 until his election as pope (Alexander VI) in 1492. Giuliano della Rovere, Sixtus IV's nephew, took over as cardinal-bishop of Ostia from d'Estouteville in 1483, which he held until he became pope (Julius II) in 1503: as cardinal-bishop of Ostia he had consecrated Pius III only a month previously. Nevertheless, it was Borgia who had consecrated Innocent VIII in 1484, not Giuliano della Rovere.[16] In 1492 Oliviero Carafa became dean of the college. The deanship and Ostia were finally reunited when Carafa opted for the suburbicarian diocese in 1503.[17] Sixtus IV, more than any other pope in the fifteenth century, disregarded the rules, which then took some twenty years to be resolved. Further examples will be given below.

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[12] The number of dioceses of the cardinal-bishops was fixed at seven at the beginning of the twelfth century: Ostia, Porto, Santa Rufina (Silva Candida), Albano, Sabina, Tusculum (Frascati), and Praeneste (Palestrina), and then reduced to six by the fifteenth century after Santa Rufina and Porto were united. See Dykmans, *L'Oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini*, 155–6, on the creation of cardinal-bishops where the point is made that it was up to the pope whom he made cardinal-bishop, in theory consulting the other cardinal-bishops (fratrum); Patrizi Piccolomini was writing during the pontificate of Sixtus IV: "Licet igitur videre quod pontifex pro suo arbitrio, cum consilio fratrum, de personis presbiterorum sive diaconorum providere consuevit titulis episcopalis cardinalium." Pius II made Juan de Carvajal cardinal-bishop of Porto, although he was cardinal-deacon of Sant'Angelo in Pescheria. See below, 251–2.

[13] Martino Garati da Lodi, *De cardinalibus*, question 89; 82: "Qui cardinales habeant titulum episcoporum in Urbe. Respondi quod sunt: Hostiensis, Portuensis, Albanensis, Prenestinus, Sabinensis et Tusculanus… omnes isti sunt episcopi et [de numero] dominorum cardinalium, qui cum assistunt domino nostro pape habent vicarium in eorum ecclesiis, qui vulgariter dicitur vice dominus."

[14] The cardinal-bishop of Ostia was recognized as dean of the College by Eugenius III in 1150. It was his job to keep track of income and properties that came to the College and of the business of consistories.

[15] Martino Garati da Lodi, *De cardinalibus*, question 26; 64; Dykmans, *L'Oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini*, 68–8 (and 109*–110*).

Connections

Over and above the theory, certain nations and families maintained long connections with particular *diaconiae* and *tituli*. The reasons seem to have been both sentimental and practical, but most of all, they were an important means by which certain groups could maintain some kind of foothold in Rome, where loyalties changed quickly as a result of the regular turnover of popes. It was also common for cardinals who were members of particular monastic orders to be attached to churches that were the possessions of these same orders.

All of the popes between Martin V and Paul II used their position to pass what had been their titular church to a relative or close associate when they created cardinals. For some of the popes it was a one-off gesture, whereas for others they used their position to establish or maintain longstanding relationships with some sites. For example, Martin V's cardinal-nephew, Prospero Colonna, an apostolic notary, was assigned the deaconry of San Giorgio in Velabro on his creation in 1426, which he maintained until his death in 1463.[18] This had also been the title of the pope when he was cardinal (Oddo Colonna).[19] It was their only chance to offer some continuity as other popes did not usually respect the loyalties of their predecessors, and in some cases seem to have deliberately broken the hold of a particular family or nation over a titular church. When, following Prospero Colonna's death,

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[16] Johann Burchard, *Johannis Burckardi Liber notarum : ab anno MCCCCLXXXIII usque ad annum MDVI*, ed. Enrico Celani RIS 32 (Città di Castello: Lapi, 1910–1942), part 1, 6 January 1485, 100–105. Rodrigo Borgia consecrated the new pope, placing the mitre on his head while Francesco Piccolomini as senior cardinal-deacon crowned the pope, placing the tiara on his head.

[17] Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, vol. 2.

[18] Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, vol. 2, 6; Chacon, *Vitae, et res gestae*, vol. 2, col. 863.

[19] Chacon, *Vitae, et res gestae*, vol. 2, col. 1405.

Giovanni Colonna was the next member of the family created a cardinal (by Sixtus IV in 1480), he was assigned Santa Maria in Aquiro, a deaconry that had not been assigned to a cardinal since the fourteenth century. San Giorgio in Velabro had already gone to Raffaele Riario, one of Sixtus IV's nephews, in 1477, who was subsequently assigned to the *titulus* of San Lorenzo in Damaso in 1480, which he then rebuilt.[20] Although Riario was an apostolic protonotary and was not ordained, by the pontificate of Sixtus IV less distinction seems to have been made in the assignment of the *tituli* and *diaconiae*. The fact that cardinal-nephews were assigned San Giorgio suggests it was an advantageous title. Why was this?

San Giorgio 'in Velabro' took its name from the level area between the Palatine and the Aventine and the Tiber (Figure 49). Its location close to the river meant that it flooded regularly, but its proximity to Rome's river port was the reason why one of the deaconries was established there in the first place. Its original role had been as a warehouse from which food was distributed, although it is not clear if the church maintained any aspect of this role by the fifteenth century or had any specific rights relating to the arrival of provisions in the city via the port. In fact, although it had been extensively restored and embellished at the end of the thirteenth century, the church was closed for much of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, opening only on Sundays for the celebration of mass.[21] Nevertheless, Flavio Biondo suggests that Prospero Colonna restored his church, for which he is praised as a modern Maecenas.[22]

It was not always the churches themselves that made them attractive acquisitions so much as the areas in which they were located. The Velabro was still a busy area in the fifteenth century. It had also been associated with the Stefaneschi, a powerful family in Trastevere during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and it is possible that the Colonna took it to break their hold over the area.[23]

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[20] Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, vol. 2, p. 19, 20, 76. Raffaele Riario restored the roof at San Giorgio in Velabro when he took over as titular cardinal in 1477.

[21] A. Giannettini and C. Venanzi, *San Giorgio in Velabro*, CDRI 95 (Rome: Marietti, 1967), 25.

[22] Flavio Biondo, "Roma Instaurata" (1444–6), in *Codice topografico della città di Roma*, *Fonti per la storia d'Italia* 91, ed. Roberto Valentini and Giuseppe Zucchetti (Rome: Tipografia del Senato, 1953), vol. 4, 298; Charles Burroughs, *From Signs to Designs: Environmental Process and Reform in Early Renaissance Rome* (Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 1990), 180.

[23] Giannettini and Venanzi, *San Giorgio in Velabro*, 25, 75–9; Antonio Muñoz, *Il restauro*

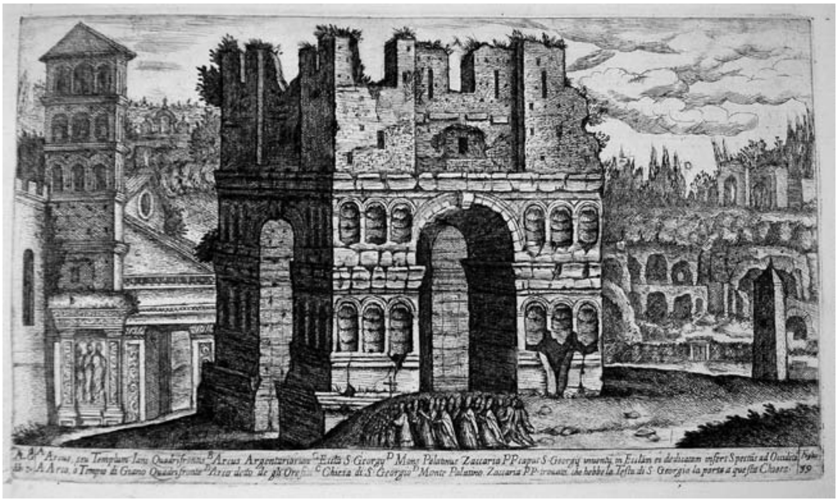
A Arcus, seu Templum Iani Quadrifrontis B Arcus Argentariorum C Eccla S. Georgii D Mons Palatinus Zaccaria PP caput S. Georgii
A Arco, ò Tempio di Giano Quadrifronte B Arco detto de gli Orefici C Chiesa di S. Georgio D Monte Palatino Zaccaria PP trouato che hebbe la Testa di S. Georgio la portò a questa Chiesa
39

Figure 49 Arch of Janus and San Giorgio in Velabro, in Aldò Giovannoli, *Roma antica* (1619). British School at Rome/author.

Gabriele Condulmer (Eugenius IV) was Cardinal of San Clemente, a title he shared with Branda da Castiglione, a remnant of the coexistence of three colleges and the difficulties of sorting them out, as discussed in chapter 2. At his first creation of cardinals in September 1431, Eugenius IV made his nephew, Francesco Condulmer, cardinal-priest of San Clemente. Castiglione had been transferred to the bishopric of Porto on 14 March, just three days after the coronation of Eugenius on 11 March, suggesting that the sharing of San Clemente had, in fact, been something of an issue.[24]

When Nicholas V made his half-brother, Filippo Calandrini, cardinal in February 1448, he assigned him the title of Santa Susanna because it had become his own title when he had been made a cardinal by Eugenius IV in 1446.[25] Nicholas V had had the relics of Santa Susanna taken from St Peter's to the church and established a community of Augustinian monks there.[26] Calandrini had also followed his brother as

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della basilica di S. Giorgio al Velabro in Roma (Rome: Società Editrice d'Arte Illustrata, 1926), 17–18. Giacomo Caetani Stefaneschi was Cardinal of San Giorgio 1295–1341.

[24] Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, vol. 2, 7, 70.

[25] Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, vol. 2, 11, 75. On Calandrini see C. Gennaro's article in DBI, vol. 16, 450–2.

[26] John Capgrave, *Ye Solace of Pilgrimes: A Description of Rome, circa A.D. 1450* (London: Frowde, 1911), 342.

Bishop of Bologna in December 1447, following the brief episcopacy of Giovanni di Poggio. Although the pope explicitly gave his brother the same title in the hope that he would continue its restoration, Calandrini complained of the inadequate accommodation available for him at the church and its poor state of repair. On 24 November 1451, Calandrini was transferred to San Lorenzo in Lucina, as will be discussed in more detail below. Nonetheless, Calandrini held onto Santa Susanna for the next decade (as well as the bishopric of Bologna) *in commendam*.

Calixtus III continued the tradition by assigning his nephew, Luis Juan Mila, Bishop of Llerida, the church that had been his own title since 1440, Santi Quattro Coronati.[27] But Pius II could not continue the trend because his own title, Santa Sabina, was a *titulus*—his nephew, Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini, was far too young and not ordained so he could be no more than a cardinal-nephew.[28] Chacon, however, records that Francesco Piccolomini received Sant'Eustachio because his uncle, Pius II, had also had that church.[29] This is the only source for this information, and it may be an explanation given in retrospect because Pius II's predecessors and successors reserved what had been their own title for one of their *nipotes*. In fact, Sant'Eustachio was assigned to Don Jaime, the Cardinal of Portugal, by Calixtus III in 1456.[30]

Don Jaime was a member of the royal house of Portugal. His remarkable—but short—career began on the battlefield of Alfarrobeira in May 1449 where, at the age of 15, he fought for his uncle, Prince Pedro of Portugal, in Pedro's challenge to Alfonso V. Don Jaime was on the losing side and only just survived, discovered after three days under a pile of corpses.[31] Fortunately his sister Isabel, wife of Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy, and the sister of Pedro intervened and secured his release from prison in 1450. With his brother and sister, accompanied by their tutor, Álvaro Afonso, Bishop of Silves, Jaime moved to Bruges and then on to Perugia to study canon law. In spring 1453 he was given first the bishopric of Arras through the intervention of Philip the Good and then transferred to the archbishopric of Lisbon. As was usual for such a young man—he was only 19 years old—he would have been given the administration of these dioceses until such time as he had been ordained bishop.[32] And in 1456 he became cardinal-deacon of Sant'Eustachio. The deaconry was a good choice for him, not too far from the Portuguese national area at the top of Piazza Navona and the Spanish at the newly reconstructed church of San Giacomo degli Spagnoli, right in the heart of the city. Sant'Eustachio was also used as the spiritual home for the *studium urbis* (Rome's university), and the formal opening took place there each year.[33] Its parish was a large and important one, adjoining those of Santa Maria Rotonda (the Pantheon) and San Lorenzo in Damaso, a fact reflected in Pius II's decision to assign Francesco Piccolomini the church and to hold the synod of Rome there in 1461.[34]

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[27] Eubel, *Hierachia catholica*, vol. 2, 12.

[28] Pius II, *Commentarii*, 253; Pius II, "Commentaries of Pius II," 306.

[29] Chacon, *Vitae, et res gestae*, vol. 2, col. 990, 998, 1001, who quotes Onofrio Panvinio's brief life of Pius II, col. 1027: "Diaconus primo S.Eustachii, mox Presbyter Cardinalis tit.S.Sabinae creatus est."

[30] João Martins da Silva Marques, *Descobrimentos portugueses. Documentos para a sua história*, 3 vols in 5 parts (Lisbon, 1944–71), i/I, 525–7. The Cardinal of Portugal attended his first consistory in December 1456. While his official entry into Rome seems to have taken place on 1 December, in fact he had accommodation in the city from at least April 1455, waiting for his family's ambitions for him to pay off.

[31] Apfelstadt, "Bishop and Pawn," 183–4.

Although his titular church was Santa Sabina on the Aventine, Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini did not stay there, presumably because he was not a Dominican, the order that used the church and its convent. Instead, his house was next to Sant'Apollinare, just off the north end of Piazza Navona, in an area now called the 'Piazza delle Cinque Lune' after the Piccolomini arms of five crescent moons that were originally displayed there. It was also not far from Sant'Eustachio. When he became pope, Pius II made his old friend and close associate, the powerful Berardo Eroli, cardinal-priest of Santa Sabina in 1460.[35]

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[32] Manuel Cardoso Mendes Atanázio, *A Arte em Florença no Século XV e al Capela do Cardeal de Portugal* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1983), 18, 105–7, in Apfelstadt, "Bishop and Pawn," 185.

[33] On the *studium urbis* see David S. Chambers, "Studium Urbis and Gabella Studii: The University of Rome in the Fifteenth Century," in *Cultural Aspects of the Italian Renaissance: Essays in Honor of P.O. Kristeller*, ed. Cecil H. Clough (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1976), 69–110; Anna Bedon, *Il Palazzo della 'Sapienza' di Roma* (Rome: Roma nel Rinascimenta inedita 4, 1991), 11–12; Cristina Mantegna, *Lo studium Urbis nei diversa Cameralia dell'Archivio segreto Vaticano. Nuova edizione di documenti universitari romani (1425–1517)* (Rome: Viella, 2000), 7–8, 18–19, 23, 31, 38; Salvatore Monda, "Le circostanze storico-biographiche dell'*Orato*," in Lorenzo Valla, *Orazione per l'inaugurazione dell'anno accademico 1455–1456, Atti di un seminario di filologia umanistica*, ed. Silvia Rizzo (Rome: Roma nel Rinascimento 8, 1994), 63.

[34] Cecilia Pericoli Ridolfini, *Guide Rionali di Roma. Rione VIII: S.Eustachio* (Rome: Palombi, 1989), 34; Carla Appetiti, *S. Eustachio*, CDRI 84 (Rome: Marietti, 1964), 45.

[35] Burroughs, *From Signs to Designs*, 110–1, 263 n. 25; and 312–3 below on his house

Pius II is infamous for the number of his family and compatriots for which he managed to secure positions in Rome and elsewhere during his papacy. Of 800 appointments he made to the curia, 15 per cent went to Sienese, while even more were employed through other opportunities the city offered.[36] It is known that one of them, Antonio de Senis (Antonio Paltoni di Siena), was head of the toll office (*dogana*) at Sant'Eustachio, because on 26 September 1458 he was ordered by the papal chamberlain to pay the monies received direct to the Apostolic Camera "every week or day, as may be more convenient for you." Paltoni was paid 8 ducats a month for his duties as customs official. At the same time, Lollio de Senis, "administrator of the tolls on the transportation by water of the benign city," was similarly told to pay all the duties he received direct to the curia.[37] Imports by land into Rome were processed through the *dogana* next to Sant'Eustachio, which was established there by the middle of the fifteenth century. Those that arrived by sea went through a different office, the *dogana di Ripa* just below the Aventine hill.[38] The fact that Pius II installed his nephew, Francesco Piccolomini, as cardinal-deacon of Sant'Eustachio almost as soon as it became vacant, on the death of the Cardinal of Portugal in 1459, suggests that there may have been some money to be made in these new arrangements.

Paul II kept tight control of the *titulus* and surrounding properties at San Marco—where he had invested so much effort as a cardinal and was to continue to live when he became pope in 1464. Although his original title as a cardinal-deacon was Santa Maria Nova, which he kept *in commendam* until 1461, he opted for San Marco in 1451, where he had great ambitions for the development of the site. San Marco had briefly been the titular church of Angelo Correr (Pietro Barbo's great-

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in Rome. Eruli was later buried close to the monument and altar of Pius II in St Peter's. See below, 341–5.

[36] Richard B. Hilary, "The Nepotism of Pope Pius II," *Catholic Historical Review* 64 (1978): 34.

[37] ASV, Div. Cam. 219, f. 6, translated in William Edward Lunt, *Papal Revenues in the Middle Ages* (New York: Octagon Books, 1965), vol. 2, 26; Ivana Ait, "La dogana di S. Eustachio nel XV secolo," in *Aspetti della vita economica e culturale a Roma nel Quattrocento*, ed. Arnold Esch (Rome: Il Centro di Ricerca, 1981), 89–90.

[38] 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*, ed. Arnold Esch (Rome: Il Centro di Ricerca, 1981), 9–79; Arnold Esch, "Roman Customs Registers 1470–80: Items of Interest to Historians of Art and Material Culture," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 58 (1995): 72–87.

uncle) in 1405–6, who became Gregory XII and established the long line of Venetians at the papal court. It was also particularly fitting for a Venetian to have the church of the patron saint of Venice. In 1467 San Marco was passed to Marco Barbo, Paul II's nephew, who in turn kept the church *in commendam* when he was transferred to the suburbicarian diocese of Palestrina in 1478. Indeed, as will be discussed below, the work at San Marco was as much that of the pope as the cardinal. When Marco Barbo died in 1491, the restored church and palace complex went to Lorenzo Cibò, nephew of the then pope, the Genoese Innocent VIII. It reverted to the Venetians in 1503 when Domenico Grimani, who had been cardinal-deacon of San Nicola in Carcere since 1493, transferred there.[39]

The pattern continued with Sixtus IV's nephews, who were given access to some of the better churches in Rome, most of which had already been subject to improvements in the preceding half-century. Sixtus IV gave what had been his own title when he was made cardinal by Paul II in 1467, San Pietro in Vincoli, to his nephew Giuliano della Rovere in 1471.[40]

National connections also kept certain churches within the same group. In 1439 Guillaume d'Estouteville was made cardinal by Eugenius IV with the title of San Martino ai Monti.[41] He opted for the bishopric of Porto and subsequently, in 1461, Ostia at which point Jean Jouffroy, like d'Estouteville a French cardinal closely associated with the French crown, was made Cardinal of San Martino ai Monti which he held until his death in 1473. Then in 1477 Charles de Bourbon, another French royal candidate for the cardinalate, was assigned the title by Sixtus IV.[42] It was obviously thought an appropriate title for French cardinals as Martin of Tours is one of the patron saints of France. Other churches nearby, leading up to the Cispian summit of the Esquiline hill, were also assigned to French cardinals. Raimond Mairose, Bishop of Castres, was given the title of Santa Prassede by Martin V in 1426; Jean le Jeune de Contay, Bishop of Terouanne (a suffragen diocese of Rheims), similarly received Santa Prassede in 1439 from Eugenius IV. Although Jean le Jeane may have been transferred to San Lorenzo in Lucina in 1441, probably for its palatial accommodation, he may have held onto Santa Prassede *in commendam* as it was not reallocated until 1448 when Alain Coetivy, Bishop of Avignon, was assigned to it by Nicholas V.[43] Although Coetivy was transferred to Palestrina in 1465, he kept Santa Prassede until his death in 1474 and was indeed buried there.[44]

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[39] Eubel, *Heirarchia catholica*, vol. 2, 73.

[40] Alessandro Ippoliti, *Il complesso di San Pietro in Vincoli e la committenza della Rovere (1467–1520)*, Arte e Storia 6 (Rome: Archivio Guido Izzi, 1999).

[41] ASV, Reg. Vat. 399, ff. 367r–v; ff. 370–371r in Gill, "A French Maecenas," 26.

[42] Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, vol. 2, 14, 18, 75.

Other churches were often allocated on the basis of the religious order that used them. Although Filippo Calandrini held onto Santa Susanna *in commendam* from 1451 when he was moved to San Lorenzo in Lucina, it was reassigned to Alessandro Oliva da Sassoferrato in 1460, prior general of the Augustinian Order: Santa Susanna had been an Augustinian house since Nicholas V put it in their care in 1447.[45]

The Dominicans were closely associated with two important *tituli*, San Sisto Vecchio and Santa Sabina, which resonated with significance for the founding of the order. In 1219 Santa Sabina was given to the community of Dominicans already based at San Sisto Vecchio for their use. This was only three years after the Dominicans had received papal sanction in 1216. San Sisto was the first Dominican house in Rome, and Dominic himself had visited the church and convent. The union of San Sisto and Santa Sabina was confirmed by Honorius III in a bull of 5 June 1222, which conceded the latter church and its adjoining buildings on the Aventine to the Dominicans, with the exception of the baptistery, its garden, and a house for two priests who looked after the parish.[46] A cloister was built over the site originally occupied by the Savelli fortress, in which Dominic and some of his followers had taken refuge.

In 1412 Gregory XII gave San Sisto Vecchio to Giovanni Dominici, a Dominican, who had it until he died in 1419. Then Juan Casanova, another Dominican, had it between his creation in 1430 and his death in 1436. In 1439 Juan de Torquemada, a Dominican, was assigned San Sisto Vecchio, which he maintained throughout his career until he died in 1468 as it was not reassigned until 1471, when it went to Pietro Riario, a Franciscan friar.[47] The only title church with Franciscan associations was Santissimi XII Apostoli, where Cardinal Bessarion installed a community of Franciscan conventuals in 1463; it had the advantage of being closer to the populated centre of Rome than the relatively isolated San Sisto and Santa Sabina.[48] In the period between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as the Aventine was depopulated, the Dominicans focused increasingly on Santa Maria sopra Minerva in the centre of Rome. Similarly, the main Franciscan (observant) house is in the heart of the medieval city, at Santa Maria in Aracoeli on the Capitoline hill. Neither Santa Maria sopra Minerva nor Santa Maria in Aracoeli was a *diaconia* or *titulus*, but medieval foundations built for the new orders of friars.[49] This was why, despite his association with San Sisto, much of Torquemada's efforts were focused on Santa Maria sopra Minerva, where he established the Confraternity of the Annunciation, which provided dowries for poor girls, and restored the church and its cloister.[50]

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[43] Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, vol. 2, 73, 74.

[44] Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, vol. 2, 8, 11, 74; Pastor, *History of the Popes*, vol. 1, 262, 320; Chacon, *Vitae, et res gestae*, vol. 2, cols 912–13. See below, 380–82.

[45] See above, note 26.

[46] Antonio Muñoz, *La Basilica di Santa Sabina in Roma* (Milan: Editori Alfieri et Lacroix, 1919), 12.

[47] Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, vol. 2, 16.

Santa Sabina also had a long history of being assigned to Dominican cardinals. The first was Hugo de San Caro as early as 1244. He was followed by a series of Dominican cardinals until 1353 and then after 1382.[51] However, in the fifteenth century it was not assigned until 1440, and no Dominicans had it throughout the century. It was a popular focus for patronage, however, including among the cardinals. An inscription in the apse records the restorations undertaken by Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini in 1441, who probably had Santa Sabina *in commendam* as his title was Sant'Angelo in Pescheria. He was responsible for repairs to the roof, the opening of a large side door, inlaid with cosmatesque decoration and inscriptions of the martyrs, and two Gothic biforate windows in the apse.[52] This was then followed under Sixtus IV when Cardinal Pogio del Monte di Auxia (Auxias de Podio) was buried in the church, commemorated by a large monument. At the top of the right-hand aisle where there was originally a door in the fifth-century church, an arched apsidal opening was made as the burial place for the cardinal, and his monument, generally attributed to Andrea Bregno, erected there.[53] Cardinal Guillaume d'Estaing of Verdun was also buried in the church, commemorated by a floor slab bearing the date 1455 and his coat of arms.[54] The same pattern emerges at Santa Maria sopra Minerva and Santa Maria in Aracoeli because these were mendicant churches. As was the case throughout western Christendom, the churches of the friars were particularly popular places for patronage as there were plenty of priests available to say commemorative masses. But more often than not, the reason why titular churches were 'kept in the family' was because of the accommodation they could offer.

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[48] R. Coccia, "Bessarione e il suo sepolcro," *Almanacco dei Bibliotecari Italiani* (1972), 42; R. Coccia, "Il cardinale Bessarione e la basilica dei Ss. XII Apostoli in Roma," *Miscellanea Francescana* 73 (1973), 371–86.

[49] On these churches in the fifteenth century, see Diana Norman, "The Chapel of Saint Catherine in San Domenico: A Study of Cultural Relations between Renaissance Siena and Rome," in *Siena nel Rinascimento: l'ultimo secolo della repubblica. II, Arte, architettura e cultura*. Atti del convegno internazionale, Siena (28–30 sett. 2003, 16–18 sett. 2004), ed. Mario Ascheri, Gianni Mazzoni and Fabrizio Nevola (Siena: Accademia degli Intronati, forthcoming). Santa Maria in Aracoeli was made a title in 1517 by Leo X, just after he had created a large number of cardinals, and Santa Maria sopra Minerva in 1557 by Paul IV.

[50] See above, chapter 4, 168–74.

[51] Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, vol. 1, 46.

[52] F. Darsy, *Santa Sabina*, CDRI 63–4 (Rome: Edizioni Roma, 1961), 36.

Changing titles

Since the thirteenth century, cardinals resident in Rome had been allowed to change the titles to which they were assigned.[55] The *jus optionis*, or right of option, was exercised in strict order of seniority, first the cardinal-bishops, followed by the priests, and then the deacons in order of precedence. While cardinal-priests and deacons could move as often as they wished both among the *tituli* and *diaconiae* and also from a *diaconia* to a *titulus*, cardinal-bishops were expected to maintain stability in the suburbicarian diocese and could not easily transfer from one to another. The exception was that only a cardinal-bishop could move to Porto or Ostia as these are the most senior positions in the college. Of course, the pope also had to confirm the move requested.

Although Alexander V had allowed cardinals to move titles in 1409 and Eugenius IV had confirmed that they could opt to transfer, the majority kept the same church that they were first assigned, although some popes seem to have allowed moves more easily than others. The exception was promotions to the suburbicarian dioceses, which were a matter of course as these had to be constantly occupied because of their seniority. Only one of the cardinals created by Martin V opted to move during his pontificate (or was allowed to move): Hugh of Cyprus transferred from the deaconry of Sant'Adriano to the *titulus* of San Clemente in 1431 before becoming cardinal-bishop of Palestrina the same year.[56] The number of cardinals moving from one title to another gradually increased during the fifteenth century, so that by the papacy of Sixtus IV more than half of the thirty-four cardinals he created moved from one titular church or deaconry to another.

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[53] Darsy, *Santa Sabina*, 136.

[54] Darsy, *Santa Sabina*, 144.

[55] Johannes Baptist Sägmüller, "Cardinal," *Catholic Encyclopaedia* (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1908), vol. 3, 333–41; Johannes Baptist Sägmüller, *Die Thätigkeit und Stellung der Cardinäle bis Papst Bonifaz VIII. historisch-canonistisch untersucht und dargestellt* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1896), 179–81; J.P. Baumgarten, "Die Translation der Kardinale von Innocenz III bis Martin V," *Historisches Jahrbuch* 22 (1901): 85ff.

Swapping titles was an increasingly common part of consistory affairs and was often, but not always, attached to the business of creating new cardinals, because it was at this crucial point that existing cardinals had to be won over to the idea of having their number increased. The titles also had to be regularly redistributed as cardinals died, when the senior bishoprics or more attractive titles were released to existing cardinals. When Pius II began the process of making his second round of additions to the college on 18 December 1461, he took the opportunity to fill the senior bishoprics. Guillaume d'Estouteville was moved from the suburbicarian diocese of Porto and Santa Rufina to Ostia, but on condition that he did not oppose the pope's creation of new cardinals. Meredith Gill suggests that, "given d'Estouteville's significance in the Curia during Pius' pontificate, this must have represented a hard bargain."[57] It is worth reviewing Pius II's memoir of the event in full:

> During this time the Cardinal of Genoa, Bishop of Ostia [Giorgio de Flisco], had died and the Cardinal of Rouen [Guillaume d'Estouteville] came forward as a candidate for his church; for the Bishop of Ostia holds the highest place among the cardinals and has the honour of [consecrating] the Pope. The Pope agreed to grant Rouen's suit on condition that he should not oppose him in the matter of creating cardinals, and on receiving his promise he absolved him in a secret consistory from his obligations to the church of Porto and transferred him to Ostia. He then appointed to the church of Porto Giovanni [Juan de Carvajal], Cardinal Deacon of Sant'Angelo, recently returned from his mission in Hungary, who had had no idea of such a thing and for a long time tried to refuse it.[58] This appointment was resented by some who thought that they should have preference as being presbyters [cardinal-priests] and senior in the cardinalate. Pius did not give so much weight to seniority and rank in the order as to their labours and obedience and he thought the man who

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[56] Chacon, *Vitae, et res gestae*, vol. 2, col. 860; Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, vol. 1, 34, 37, 41, 48, 366; vol. 2, 6, 27, 60, 61, 62, 66, and 202.

[57] Gill, "A French Maecenas," 27.

[58] Dykmans, *L'Oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini*, 155–6.

> had risked greater danger in the service of the Church of Rome was the man deserving of the honour. He said that [Carvajal] had twice been Legatus to Germany and Hungary, had incurred heavy expenses, had discharged the business entrusted to him conscientiously and loyally, had often risked his life, had always been found ready and willing to suffer martyrdom for Christ's name, had never been heard to say an unbecoming word of the popes, had always consistently defended the dignity of the Church of Rome. Why had he not the very best of claims to be put among the cardinal bishops? Pius finally carried his point and by a procedure unheard of for many years [Carvajal] was raised from cardinal deacon to bishop. Because of this favour he did not venture to oppose the Pope openly in the matter of the creation of cardinals.[59]

The list of attributes with which Carvajal is credited is used to suggest what some of the cardinals were obviously not doing. It also demonstrates that the pope could break with convention when he so desired, disregarding the internal hierarchy of the college to make a cardinal-deacon a cardinal-bishop.

It is in the changing round of titles that the relative worth of the *diaconiae, tituli*, and suburbicarian dioceses—their value as a kind of currency unique to the cardinals—is most apparent.[60] The financial benefits a titular church might offer seem to have been fairly low on the list of priorities, though if they came with some benefits then all the better. When he was made a cardinal in 1461, Francesco Gonzaga was assigned the deaconry of Santa Maria Nova on the edge of the Campo Vacchino (Forum). Pietro Barbo, who had held it *in commendam* since he managed to get San Marco in 1451, informed the young cardinal's household that it only had a modest income of 50 ducats, which was used by the Benedictine community of the Monte Oliveto congregation who resided there. This was one of the reasons that Barbo was so willing to give it up, that and because it would be Gonzaga's first and only title.[61] This suggests both that some titles were better than others in financial terms and that it was not unusual for cardinals to have more than one titular church. Only one of them, however, was a cardinal's official title: the rest were commendatory benefices that were acquired and traded at regular intervals.

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[59] Pius II, "Commentaries of Pius II," 496–7; Pius II, *Commentarii*, 442–3. Carvajal's character is attested to by Iacopo Ammannati Piccolomini, *Lettere (1444–1479)*, ed. Paolo Cherubini (Rome: Ministero per i beni culturali e ambientali, Ufficio centrale per i beni archivistici, 1997), 354–5 and 453–4; Gaspare da Verona in *Le vite di Paolo II*, 27.

[60] In this area the first part of the century remains neglected: David S. Chambers, "The Economic Predicament of Renaissance Cardinals," in *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, vol. 3, ed. William M. Bowsky (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), 302; Peter Partner, "Papal Financial Policy in the Renaissance and Counter-Reformation," *Past and Present* 58 (1980): 60; Partner, *Pope's Men*, 61.

[61] Alessandro Gonzaga to Barbara of Brandenburg, Marchioness of Mantua, 5 April 1462 (Archivio Gonzaga 841/800), in David S. Chambers, "The Housing

This was perhaps not as avaricious as it might first appear to the modern mind. In the fifteenth century there were around twenty-four cardinals at any one time: there were a lot more *tituli* and *diaconiae*, as well as other churches in Rome, than cardinals. These were more likely to be repaired if they were allocated to a major patron such as a cardinal. At the same time, from the 1460s or 1470s, service taxes and annates (a proportion of the annual income of a benefice if it was exempt from service taxes) were extended to all benefices in Rome, including the cardinals' titles. According to the *Liber taxarum* (after 1470), "necessities arising, it was introduced that from the benefices of the city it is paid in the same manner as from others of other places; that is, from those which the pope confers, or from benefices of the titular cardinals, if about these a new provision is issued: and this began in the time of Pius."[62] Service taxes (*servitia*) were traditionally paid by everyone from patriarchs and bishops to abbots when they were first assigned to a new appointment in consistory. The sums involved could be small or large—normally a third of the annual income of a diocese or benefice—although Eugenius IV limited service taxes to churches and monasteries that had an income of more than 200 florins per year. The overall sums collected represented the largest source of income for the papacy, and half of it went into the papal purse and half to the College of Cardinals, shared out among those resident in the city.[63] As Lunt points out, the service taxes were an important signal of the pope's supreme authority, of "the superior right possessed by the pope to dispose of ecclesiastical benefices and dignities."[64] This was one of

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Problems of Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 39 (1976): 24 n. 18. See also David S. Chambers, "The Economic Predicament of Renaissance Cardinals," in *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, vol. 3, ed. William M. Bowsky (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), 298 who reports that in 1492 Santa Maria in Via Lata was thought to be a valuable church, by the beginning of the sixteenth century Santa Sabina was worth 1,000 ducats a year and in 1522 Cardinal Thomas Wolsey found that his titular church, Santa Cecilia was "not of small value."

[62] For a description of what these taxes were, see Lunt, *Papal Revenues*, vol. 1, 81–99. *Liber taxarum*, after 1470, translated in Lunt, *Papal Revenues*, vol. 2, 297.

[63] Antonovics, "Division Register," 88–90.

[64] Lunt, *Papal Revenues*, vol. 1, 81.

the many ways in which the popes tried to restore their income following the crises of the fourteenth century. Only curial cardinals and those on formal legation and absent from Rome with the pope's permission were exempt from these payments, making it all the more necessary for cardinals to reside in the city. Those absent from the curia, "who after their assumption were not in the court and have not begun to speak [i.e. participated in the ceremony of 'opening the mouth'], pay all things fully as if they should not be cardinals."[65] This development seems to have gone with the gradual development of the sales of venal offices as a major income stream for the popes.[66] By claiming any money they could, even on the titular churches, by the time of Sixtus IV papal income was back on a level with what it had been in Avignon, before the councils which managed to halve the income available to the popes.

While details are rare, the titles could give cardinals access to other kinds of revenue, including rental income from properties that were part of the church's portfolio, as well as a place to stay. Very often, though, income was tied up in bequests to pay for services and clergy; Francesco Piccolomini used part of the revenue from San Saba, a church he held as a commendatory benefice, as a pension for his chaplain.[67] The suburbicarian dioceses were, not surprisingly, much larger concerns. They included properties outside Rome and therefore at a remove from direct papal control. Ostia, for example, included a number of income streams—including salt mines and fishing. Guillaume d'Estouteville, as cardinal-bishop of Ostia from 1461, had a right to a sixth of all the sturgeons caught in the Tiber and in the 1470s received a percentage of all the revenue from the salt mines. By the beginning of the sixteenth century, the fishing rights earned the cardinal-bishop of Ostia the not insignificant sum of 330 ducats a year.[68] This amount makes more sense if it is borne in mind that a single ducat could buy between 30 and 50 litres of imported wine (*vino latino*), while Platina's salary as head librarian at the Vatican was 10 ducats a month.[69]

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[65] *Liber taxarum* in Lunt, *Papal Revenues*, vol. 1, 296.

[66] Barbara McClung Hallman, *Italian Cardinals, Reform, and the Church as Property, 1492–1563* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985).

[67] Biblioteca Angelica, 1077, f. 101v. See below, chapter 7, 293–4.

[68] Luisa Capoduro, "Ricerca Svolta nel'Archivio Segreto Vaticano sui Documenti Concernenti l'Episcopato Ostiense del Cardinale Guglielmo d'Estouteville," in *Il '400 a Roma e nel Lazio: Il Borgo di Ostia da Sisto IV a Giulio II* (Rome: De Luca, 1981), 88–99; Gill, "A French Maecenas," 36; Peter Partner, "The 'Budget' of the Roman Church in the Renaissance Period," in *Italian Renaissance Studies: A Tribute to the Late Cecilia M. Ady*, ed. Ernest Fraser Jacob (London: Faber & Faber, 1960), 256–78.

Accommodation

The evidence overwhelmingly demonstrates that the titular churches were most significant to the cardinals in the fifteenth century because of the accommodation they offered. This was the most obvious reason behind their transfer from one church to another or their acquisition of additional benefices in the city. More often than not, the titular churches are discussed for the *domus* or *palatium* attached to them, to the exclusion of the churches themselves. Indeed, the accommodation attached to a church was often the determining factor when cardinals sought one rather than another. Francesco Albertini's description of the Rome, written at the beginning of the sixteenth century, celebrates, first of all, the number and splendour of the various palaces and residences, secondly the importance of the cult celebrated nearby, and thirdly the original and most recent inhabitants—these elements combine to create the marvels of the restored city.[70] Nevertheless, pilgrims came to Rome to visit its relics and shrines first and foremost, and the cardinals' historical relationship with the city depended on their churches, whatever their practical needs or political ambitions.

Less than a year before Filippo Calandrini was made cardinal in 1447, Nicholas V had assigned Santa Susanna and the churches linked to it to Augustinian canons, no doubt hoping that they would help improve the spiritual and physical condition of the church: the bull of transfer describes the poor state of the church itself and of the buildings next to it.[71] It is no wonder, then, that when Filippo Calandrini returned to Rome in the early 1450s following regular missions abroad, he wanted to be transferred to a church with facilities that were in a state he could use.[72] As Burroughs has pointed out, Calandrini was assigned the palace at San Lorenzo in Lucina before his title was moved: the bull granting him the palace is dated 10 September 1451 while he was assigned the *titulus* on 24 November.[73] He maintained some connection with Santa Susanna, however, as its prior acted on his behalf in property dealings in 1452 and he held the church *in commendam* until 1460, when it was assigned to the prior general of the Augustinian hermits, Alessandro Oliva da Sassoferrata, as noted above.[74] Even though he opted for Albano in January 1465, Calandrini probably used the palace at San Lorenzo in Lucina until his death in 1476, as it was not reassigned to another cardinal until the 1480s.

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[69] Esch, "Roman Customs Registers," 74–5.

[70] Maria Giulia Aurigemma, "Residenze cardinalizie tra inizio e fine del '400," in *Roma Le trasformazioni urbane nel Quattrocento*, vol. 2: *Funzioni urbane e tipologie edilizie*, ed. Giorgio Simoncini (Rome: Olschki, 2004), 136.

[71] ASV, Reg. Vat. 406, f. 196r, in Burroughs, *Signs to Designs*, 166–7.

[72] For the reassignment of Santa Susanna see ASV, Reg. Vat. 406, f. 196r (1 June 1447), and for Calandrini's transfer to San Lorenzo in Lucina see ASV, Reg. Vat. 418, f. 173v (10 September 1451), in Burroughs, *Signs to Designs*, 166–7.

San Lorenzo in Lucina was in a much busier part of Rome than Santa Susanna. It is located just off the Via Flaminia, the main artery along which travellers from the north entered the city. Between the sixth and the fourteenth centuries, the church stood on the boundary between the edge of the inhabited part of the city and the semi-rural *disabitato* between the adjoining Arco di Portogallo, which stood as an unofficial gate into the city, and the Porta Flaminia.[75] Santa Susanna is in the Alta Semita, which by the fifteenth century was at a distance from the *abitato*, close to the ruins of the baths of Diocletian (Figure 50) and relatively isolated. In 1830 during work to replace the terracotta floor of the church with marble, remains of Roman buildings were discovered. The remains of windows and matroneum (women's gallery) of the ancient basilica are still visible on the exterior of the chancel.[76] Inside the apse there was a mosaic which included the figures of Leo III (795–816), who rebuilt the church, and Charlemagne; it was destroyed in 1595 when Cardinal Girolamo Rusticucci transformed the church into the Baroque monument it is today. There is now no sign of any intervention that may have been made there under Nicholas V.

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[73] Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, vol. 2, 73; Burroughs, *Signs to Designs*, 167.

[74] Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, vol. 2, 14, 75. Above, 248.

[75] The 'Arco di Portogallo' was, in fact, the Arch of Marcus Aurelius. It was demolished in 1662 when Alexander VII had the Corso broadened. Fragments of the arch include the reliefs now in the Museo Capitolini. See Carlo Pietrangeli, "Arco 'di Portogallo'," in Urbano Barberini Ceccarius et al., *Via del Corso* (Rome: Cassa di Risparmio di Roma/Staderini, 1961), 34–5. Carlo Fontana recorded the appearance of the arch and its location immediately before its demolition: see BAV Cod.Vat. Chigi P. VII 13, f. 32. The cardinal's palace is "Palazzo de Signori Ludovisii."

[76] Bruno M. Apollonj Ghetti, *Santa Susanna*, CDRI 85 (Rome: Edizioni Roma, 1965), 10, 16–25; Richard Krautheimer and Wolfgang Frankl, "Recent Discoveries in Churches in Rome, S. Lorenzo in Lucina, S. Susanna," *American Journal of Archaeology* 43 no. 3 (1939): 398–400.

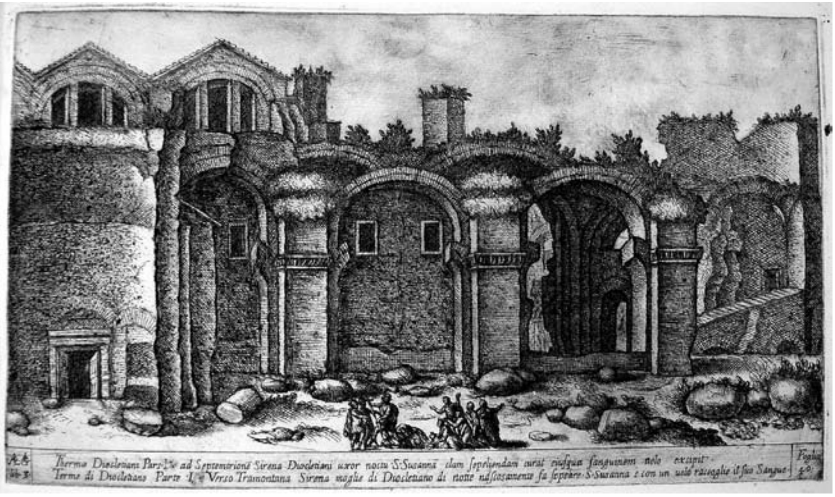
Thermæ Diocletiani Pars I.a ad Septentrionē Sirena Diocletiani uxor noctu S. Susannā clam sepeliendam curat eiusque sanguinem velo excipit
Terme di Diocletiano Parte I.a Verso Tramontana Sirena moglie di Diocletiano di notte nascosamente fa sepelire S. Susanna e con un velo raccoglie il suo Sangue
Foglio 40.

Figure 50 Baths of Diocletian, in Aldò Giovannoli, *Roma antica* (1619). British School at Rome/author.

While the original structure of San Lorenzo in Lucina dated back to the sixth century, the name 'in Lucina' came from the origins of the church in the fourth- or fifth-century property of a Lucina who was probably a Roman matron. Indeed, parts of a late antique structure are evident in both the church and in the cardinal's palace attached to it.[77] The church was a casualty of the sack of the city in 1084 by the troops of the Norman adventurer, Robert Guiscard (1016–85), so it had to be subsequently reconstructed. Like San Clemente, which was rebuilt in the same period, it maintained its basilican form of a nave and two aisles with an apsidal east end.[78] The church was reconsecrated in 1196 and became one of the largest parish churches in Rome. Then little seems to have been done until the fifteenth century when both the church and the attached palace, which was reserved for the use of the titular cardinal, were restored.

The fifteenth-century restorations were begun by the French cardinal, Jean de la Roche-Taislée (Ruppescissa), Archbishop of Rouen, who had the title from his creation in 1426 until his death in March 1437.[79] The late thirteenth-century residence seems to have fallen into disrepair as he had to restore it from the foundations up, according to Biondo. Then in August 1437 it was briefly assigned to Giovanni Vitelleschi, the Archbishop of Florence best known for the military campaigns he led in the Papal States. In 1441, following Vitelleschi's death in April 1440, Jean le Jeune de Contay acquired the title. He probably completed Roche-Taislée's works at the palace and added a chapel of St John the Baptist to the church, where he was buried under a marble slab on his death on 9 September 1451. The tomb was rediscovered during excavations in 1993 next to a much earlier baptismal font. Shortly after Contay's death, Calandrini was moved to San Lorenzo because it was so much more commodious than Santa Susanna. He may have started some work in the church or palace while his brother, Nicholas V was still alive, as an inscription in the courtyard of the palace suggests (Figure 51). Further work was carried out, recorded in an inscription dated 1462 now in the portico of the church, which included re-roofing the basilica and adding the sizeable chapel of Santi Filippo e Giacomo. During the construction of the chapel, some of the bronze markings for the sundial of the Emperor Augustus were uncovered. Indeed, the Ara Pacis, Augustus' altar, originally stood just behind where the church is now located. The chapel was later converted into the sacristy as the result of a papal visitation in 1593 (Figure 52).[80]

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[77] On the origins of San Lorenzo in Lucina see Maria Elena Bertoldi, *San Lorenzo in Lucina*, CDRI n.s. 28 (Rome: Istituto Nazionale di Studi Romani, 1994), 9–28.

[78] *Le Liber pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1955–7), vol. 2, 209; Bertoldi, *San Lorenzo in Lucina*, 31–2.

[79] Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, vol. 2, 73; Bertoldi, *San Lorenzo in Lucina*, 35–6; Vincenzo

Flavio Biondo in 1444–6 recorded that San Lorenzo in Lucina had a noble palace, second only to that at the Vatican. Probably referring to an inscription which was still visible in the fifteenth century, Biondo records that the palace was built in the ruins of a building from the time of Emperor Domitian in the 1280s by the English cardinal, Hugh of Evesham (d. 1287), who also restored the church.[81] The ruins were

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Forcella, ed., *Iscrizioni delle chiese e d'altri edificii di Roma dal secolo XI fino ai giorni nostri* (Rome: Tip. delle Scienze Matematiche e Fisiche, 1869–84), vol. 5 no. 345, records a now lost inscription. See also A. Reumont, "Il palazzo Fiano di Roma e Filippo Calandrini cardinale," *Archivio della Società romana di storia patria* 7 (1884): 549–54.

[80] Luigi Salerno, "San Lorenzo in Lucina," in Urbano Barberini Ceccarius et al., *Via del Corso* (Rome: Cassa di Risparmio di Roma/Staderini, 1961), 158. ASR, Chierici Regolari Minori di S. Lorenzo in Lucina, vol. 1446, Diario dal 1639 al 1651, 130, in Bertoldi, *San Lorenzo in Lucina*, 39 n. 51: "Nell'anno 1593 visitando Papa Clemente VIII questa chiesa, decretò che per sacrestia servisse la cappella della famiglia Calendrina fabricata dal Cardinale di detto cognome"; Forcella, *Iscrizioni*, vol. 12, 121 n. 347.

[81] Bertoldi, *San Lorenzo in Lucina*, 30–1; Cesare D'Onofrio, "Palazzo Fiano-Alagià," in Urbano Barberini Ceccarius et al., *Via del Corso* (Rome: Cassa di Risparmio di Roma/Staderini, 1961), 163; Flavio Biondo, *Roma ristaurata, et Italia illustrata* (Venice, 1542), 28r.

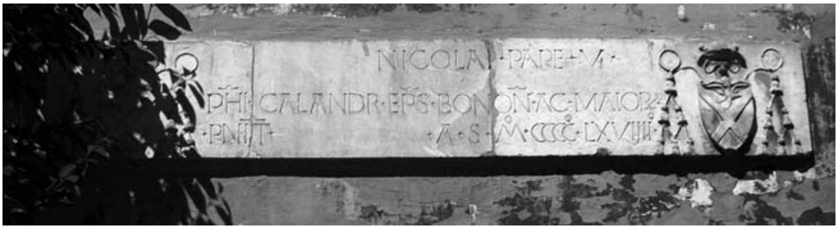
NICOLAI · PAPE · V ·
PHI · CALANDR · EPS · BONOÑ · AC · MAIOR ·
· PNIT · · A · S · M · CCCC · LXVIIII ·

Figure 51 Inscription of Cardinal Filippo Calandrini, courtyard, Palazzo Fiano, Rome. Author.

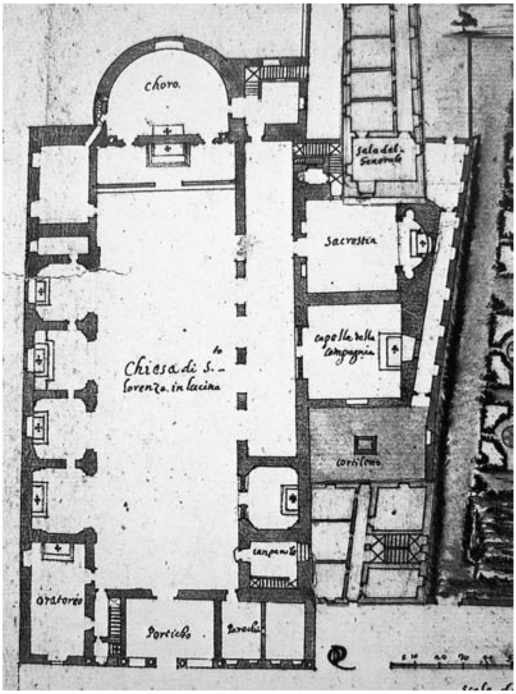
choro
sala del Generale
Sacrestia
capella della Compagnia
Chiesa di S. Lorenzo in Lucina
cortiletto
campanile
oratorio
Portico
Parochia

Figure 52 San Lorenzo in Lucina, plan, 1630s, Archivio di Stato, Rome, Coll. disegni e piante, cart. 85 no. 50 8. Author. (The Calandrini Chapel in marked 'Sacrestia'.)

probably, in fact, the remains of the *titulus Lucinae*. The palace itself was separated from the Via Flaminia by a narrow garden with trees, enclosed by a high wall, and on the other side a space between it and the church which was the site of the cemetery. A large coat of arms of Calandrini is recorded on the Arco di Portogallo in Aldò Giovannoli's *Roma antica* (1619) (Figure 53).[82] The palace may have been extended out over the arch, hence Calandrini's *stemma* displayed in as public a place as possible, visible to all those entering the populated part of the city. Other arms on the buildings included those of Eugenius IV and of the Kings of France, probably testimony to the earlier renovations undertaken by the two French cardinals.

Calandrini was followed at the palace in 1476 by Giovanni Battista Cibò, who was elected Innocent VIII in 1484, and then by Giorgio Costa, the illustrious and wealthy Portuguese cardinal who died at the age of 102 in 1508, from whom the arch adjoining the property prob-

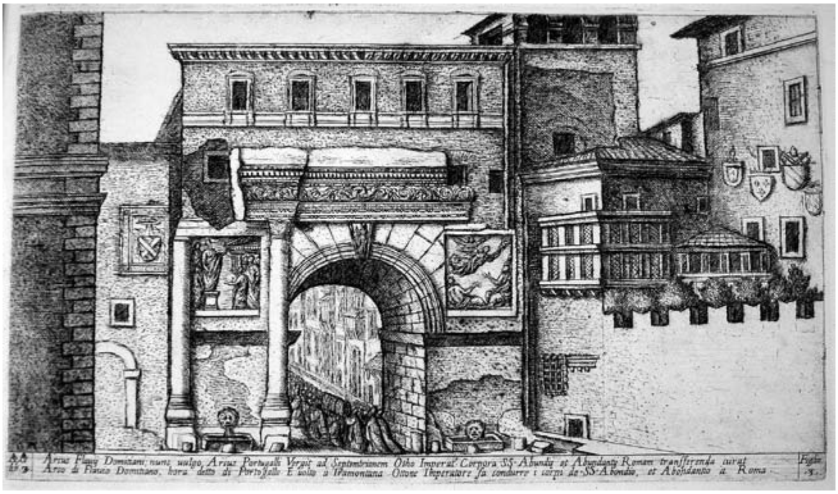
Arcus Flauij Domitiani nunc vulgo Arcus Portugalli Vergit ad Septemtrionem Otho Imperat. Corpora SS. Abundij et Abundantij Romam transferenda curat
Arco di Flauio Domitiano, hora detto di Portogallo E volto a tramontana Ottone Imperatore fa condurre i corpi de SS. Abondio, et Abondantio a Roma
Figu. 3.

Figure 53 Arch of Marcus Aurelius (or 'Arco di Portogallo') and the Palazzo San Lorenzo in Lucina, in Aldò Giovannoli, *Roma antica* (1619). British School at Rome/author.

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[82] Aldò Giovannoli, *Roma antica* (Rome, 1619), vol. 3, c. 3; D'Onofrio, "Palazzo Fiano," in Ceccarius et al., *Via del Corso*, 164.

ably got its name.[83] These two were not, however, titular cardinals of the church. It was in the gift of the pope to separate the allocation of church from palace. The property was reserved primarily for the use of the titular Cardinal of San Lorenzo until 1620, when Paul V allowed one of the nephews of Sixtus V, Alessandro Peretti, to alienate it from the church and through whom, in 1624, it became the private property of the Peretti family. Only in 1690 did it pass to the Ottoboni, Dukes of Fiano, and become known, as it is today, as the Palazzo Fiano.

Calandrini's position as a cardinal-nephew gave him access, while Nicholas V was alive, to the best accommodation the city had to offer, despite the pope's initial hopes that the cardinal would follow a more altruistic route at Santa Susanna. The same pattern was followed by the cardinal-nephews of Calixtus III and Pius II, who laid the foundations of the property portfolios that they enjoyed for the rest of their long curial careers during the relatively brief periods when their papal uncles were still alive. They demonstrate the extent to which the papacy had embedded itself in the urban fabric—both physically and legislatively—and was able to encroach on the secular as much as the ecclesiastical city.

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[83] D'Onofrio "Palazzo Fiano," in Ceccarius et al., *Via del Corso*, 165; Chacon, *Vitae, et res gestae*, vol. 3, 52, 89; Francesco Albertini, *Opusculum de mirabilibus novae et veteris urbis Romae* (1510), ed. August Schmarsow (Heilbronn: Henninger, 1886), 24. Eubel (*Hierarchia catholica*) does not, however, mention Cibò and Costa in relation to San Lorenzo in Lucina.

CHAPTER SEVEN

PROPERTY PORTFOLIOS

Nicholas of Cusa was adamant that a cardinal should "be content with just his one titular church" and no other benefices because, "on its account, he incurs obligations and [may incur] blame."[1] This stipulation, however, was rarely practical and so it was rarely observed. More often than not, cardinals had one or more churches in Rome as well as papal dispensation to hold a diocese and various other benefices elsewhere. There were limits, however: when Jean Jouffroy, Cardinal of Arras, asked for both the metropolitan see of Besançon in Burgundy and the bishopric of Alby in the Auvergne, Pius II responded, "We do not give two pontifical churches to anyone unless one of them is a titular church [*ex titulis cardinalium*]," suggesting that it was par for the course for cardinals to have benefices *in commendam* in addition to their formal title in Rome.[2] Although Cusa stressed that benefices came with duties and obligations, this was outweighed by the opportunities: in Rome itself there were a number of churches that were either unallocated *diaconiae* and *tituli* or other available ecclesiastical establishments that could provide cardinals with access to the accommodation and, to a lesser extent, the revenue they might entail.

A major practical consideration for cardinals in Rome was finding somewhere to live, and this seems to be where benefices in the city had most to offer. Notably, visitors to Rome such as Giovanni Rucellai in 1450, Francesco Albertini in 1510, and Fra Mariano da Firenze in 1517 remarked upon the real estate in addition to—and usually before—the churches when they visited the city.[3] Pius II plots the progress of the procession of the relic of St Andrew's head according to the cardinals' residences, not their churches. Their residences enabled them to make their mark on the city—building was "the ransom that any public man must pay to fortune if he would display the mask of virtue to his fellow citizens"—and, as will be discussed below, added up to a greater sum than the many parts.[4]

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[1] Nicholas of Cusa, "A General Reform of the Church," in Morimichi Watanabe, *Concord and Reform: Nicholas of Cusa and Legal and Political Thought in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Thomas M. Izbicki and Gerald Christianson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 212–13.

[2] Pius II, "Commentaries of Pius II," 831–2; Pius II, *Commentarii*, 780. *In commendam* implied the temporary assignment of a benefice: see Barbara McClung Hallman, *Italian Cardinals, Reform, and the Church as Property, 1492–1563* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 19.

[3] Giovanni Rucellai, *Il Zibaldone quaresimale*, ed. Alessandro Perosa (London: Studies of the Warburg Institute, 1960), 76; Francesco Albertini, *Opusculum de mirabilibus novae et veteris urbis Romae* (Rome, 1510), ed. August Schmarsow (Heilbronn: Henninger, 1886),

Although much has been made of the monetary value of these benefices, it was more likely that a church or abbey would receive the patronage of a wealthy cardinal if it was in his portfolio. McClung Hallman based her study of cardinals and benefices from the late fifteenth century on the premise that plurality of office or benefice represented abuse of position because "they have nothing to do with theology, doctrine, or authority—they are solely concerned with money, or with money and property."[5] However, the allocation of benefices was also an expression of loyalty and allegiance in the papal court and further afield.[6] The most lucrative benefices were usually reserved for those closest to the pope, while outside Rome the occupation of dioceses was only accepted in some cases if the candidate suited the local ruler and represented him in the curia. Benefices in Rome, in particular, represented more than a financial transaction. The opportunities they provided the cardinals allowed them to manifest their ambitions and dignified style of life—some more altruistic or dignified than others—in the papal court. As the century wore on and the papal court became more settled in Rome, it was increasingly common for cardinals to acquire property and build separately to their benefices. They were indeed encouraged to do this by legislation promulgated by the popes in the second half of the century which was explicitly designed to

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23–31; Fra Mariano da Firenze, *Itinerarium Urbis Romae*, ed. P. Enrico Bulletti (Rome: Pontificio Istituto di Archaeologia Cristiana, 1931), 63–7.

[4] Joseph Rykwert, "Introduction," in *Leon Battista Alberti: On The Art of Building in Ten Books*, ed. Joseph Ryckwert, Neil Leach, and Robert Tavernor (Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 1988), xvi.

[5] McClung Hallman, *Church as Property*, 1. In the middle of the fifteenth century before the sale of offices multiplied in the pontificate of Alexander VI, as Nicholas of Cusa and Domenico de'Domenichi suggest (see above, chapter 6), at least in theory, benefices came with responsibilities.

[6] Pio Paschini gives a valuable insight into the acquisition and trade of benefices in the case of Ludovico Trevisan. An extreme case who collected a huge number of benefices inside and outside Rome, nevertheless, Paschini's study demonstrates that these indeed came with obligations; *Lodovico Cardinal Camerlengo († 1465)* (Rome: Facultas Theologica Pontificii Athenaei Lateranensis, 1939), 117–42.

foster a building boom in the city, a subject that will be discussed later in the chapter.

Palaces at titles

Why would a cardinal invest in a property in the first place that was entailed to a particular church and so could only ever be in his temporary possession? The answer must be, in some cases, wishful thinking. Having invested so much in a property, the pope might grant the cardinal permanent rights to it but this was very unusual before the last decades of the century. In the case of Pietro Barbo, who became Paul II and considerably extended his palace at San Marco during his pontificate, the best hope was to become pope, but even this was only temporary—Marco Barbo, his cardinal-nephew retained it until his death in 1491 but then the desireable residence passed to the Cibò clan.[7] In most cases, however, the answer was that for many cardinals it was their only option: it was the only property to which they had any rights in Rome.

Diaconiae and *tituli* could be allocated separately from their attached residences: as was noted in the last chapter, Filippo Calandrini received the palace attached to San Lorenzo in Lucina before he transferred his title to the church. This meant that it was not unusual for the traditional rules regarding the allocation of cardinals to churches to come second to the development of their property portfolios in Rome. This is a significant point for the study of cardinals, as it explains some of the confusion often evident among scholars over who was attached to which church and what their responsibilities were. Santa Maria in Via Lata is a case in point.

Santa Maria in Via Lata

Just down the Corso from San Lorenzo in Lucina is Santa Maria in Via Lata.[8] The properties at the church seem to have been in great demand, although the *diaconia* only briefly had cardinal-deacons formally assigned to it in the fifteenth century—Antonio de Challant between

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[7] Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, vol. 2, 15, 73.

[8] The Corso is the name given to the Via Flaminia/Via Lata inside the gates of Rome, which Paul II liked to use for races, or *corsi*.

1404 and 1412, Domenico Capranica from 1431 until he opted for Santa Croce in Gerusalemme in 1443 or 1444 (though he kept Santa Maria in Via Lata as a commendatory benefice until his death), and Juan Borgia from 1496 until 1500. The church stood at the confluence of two major thoroughfares: the Via Recta, which followed the line of an ancient street running from Ponte Sant'Angelo, the main crossing to the Borgo and the Vatican, through Piazza Navona to the Pantheon, and on to the Via Lata, and the Via Flaminia, the main route north.[9]

Although Domenico Capranica opted for Santa Croce in Gerusalemme as his titular church, he nevertheless continued an active relationship with Santa Maria in Via Lata. At the cardinal's request, Eugenius IV conceded the neighbouring monastery of San Ciriaco to its impoverished chapter. The community at San Ciriaco, which by 1451 only consisted of eight monks, was relocated. With the suppression of the monastery and of another small chapel dedicated to St Nicholas nearby, nine new canonries and a priorate were established at Santa Maria in Via Lata; these were ratified by a bull of Calixtus III in 1457. Then the church was assigned *in commendam* to Rodrigo Borgia from 1458, when Domenico Capranica died, until 1492, when he became Pope Alexander VI.[10]

The church of Santa Maria in Via Lata was apparently in a very poor state mid-century, mainly because it was regularly flooded when the Tiber broke its banks. Nicholas V—or possibly Domenico Capranica, as Nicholas did not usually credit his cardinals for their own efforts—apparently had plans to replace it with a new building dedicated to the Virgin and Saints Cyriac and Nicholas (presumably of Tolentino, who was canonized in 1447), incorporating the nearby chapels brought together under Eugenius IV. These plans were not carried out until 1491 under Rodrigo Borgia, who no doubt wanted to finish the work his uncle had ratified. According to Stefano Infessura's Roman diary, on 23 August 1491 the church and the adjoining *arcus*

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[9] Charles Burroughs, *From Signs to Designs: Environmental Process and Reform in Early Renaissance Rome* (Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 1990), 79. Samuel Ball Platner, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, completed and revised by Thomas Ashby (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 568: the ancient Via Tecta, so-called because it was protected by a covered colonnade, later misread as Via Recta.

[10] Archivio Capitolare di S. Maria in Via Lata, *Possessi de'Cardinali, Titolari, Vicariati e Canonici Indulti*, ff. 146–7, in Luigi Cavazzi, *La diaconia di S. Maria in Via Lata e il monastero di S. Ciriaco* (Rome: Federico Pustet, 1908), 403; on the consolidation and rebuilding of the church see 101–5.

novus (a fourth-century marble triumphal arch attributed to Diocletian) were demolished. The pope—Innocent VIII—Rodrigo Borgia, and the *camerarius* contributed 400, 300, and 200 ducats each.[11] With all these changes at the church itself, it is not surprising that there has been some confusion among scholars over who was using the residential property attached to the church, and when.

The property at Santa Maria in Via Lata seems to have changed hands regularly, making it difficult to attribute the works carried out there. It also demonstrates how difficult it can be to pin down exactly who lived where, and when. Albertini in 1508 attributed construction of the palace to the observant Franciscan cardinal, Gabriele Rangone, whereas in fact it went back much further to at least the 1430s.[12] It was probably largely constructed by Cardinal Niccolò Acciapaccio on the site of buildings which formed part of the complex, starting in 1439 after he was made cardinal-priest of San Marcello, a church which stands very close to Santa Maria in Via Lata on the other side of the street.[13] San Marcello, before it had to be reconstructed following a fire in 1519, was orientated in the opposite direction so that rather than facing onto the Via Lata (Corso) as it does now, the church faced onto the same square as Santissimi XII Apostoli with its apse visible from Santa Maria in Via Lata (Figure 54).[14]

Charles Burroughs describes how Jean Rolin (d.1483), made cardinal by Nicholas V in 1448, was assigned the title of San Stefano Rotondo on the Coelian hill, but he in fact lived on the Via Flaminia, closer to the centre of the city, at Santa Maria in Via Lata. Any facilities at San Stefano were presumably more suited to the Augustinian hermits who took over there in 1454.[15] But the source given for this information, a 1453 entry in Infessura's diary, has another French cardinal, Guillaume

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[11] Stefano Infessura, *Diario della Città di Roma di Stefano scribasenato*, ed. Oreste Tommasini, Fonti per la storia d'Italia (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano, 1890), 268–9; Cavazzi, *S. Maria in Via Lata*, 105; on the arch see Platner, *Topographical Dictionary*, 41–2.

[12] Albertini, *Opusculum*, 25: "Domus S. Mariae in via lata a Reverendiss. Gabrielle Agriensi Card. tit. S.Sergii et Bacchi fundata fuit"; see also Maria Giulia Aurigemma, "Residenze cardinalizie tra inizio e fine del '400," in *Roma: le trasformazioni urbane nel Quattrocento*, vol. 2: *Funzioni urbane e tipologie edilizie*, ed. Giorgio Simoncini (Rome: Olschki, 2004), 133–4.

[13] Chacon, *Vitae, et res gestae*, vol. 2, col. 902.

[14] Fra Mariano, *Itinerarium Urbis Romae*, 212: "Ante ecclesiam supradictam Apostolorum, in angulo plateae eius, altera ecclesia non parva est sancti Marcelli papae et martyris." See also Laura Gigli, *San Marcello al Corso*, CDRI n.s. 29 (Rome: Palombi, 1996), 21.

[15] ASV, Reg. Vat. 430, f. 256v, in Burroughs, *Signs to Designs*, 148; Infessura, *Diario*, 56.

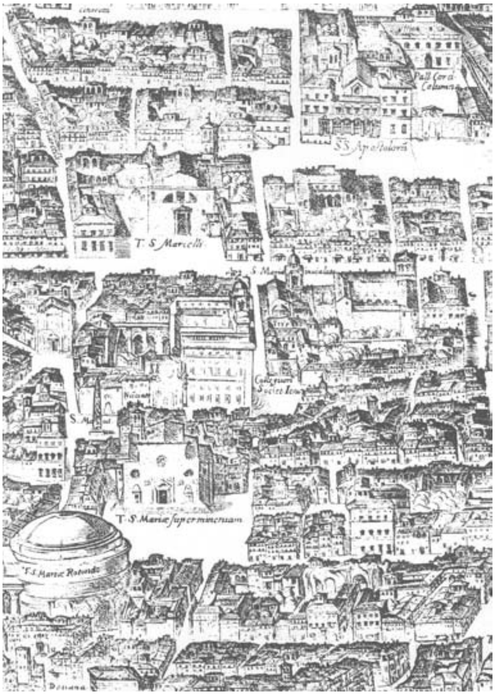

Figure 54 Santa Maria in Via Lata, Santissimi XII Apostoli and San Marcello, from Antonio Tempesta, map of Rome (1593).

d'Estaing, at the palace, not Rolin. In fact, Chacon suggests that Rolin was hardly ever in Rome, preferring to stay in France, where he was eventually buried in Besse.[16] D'Estaing had been made a pseudo-cardinal by Felix V, the anti-pope elected by the Council of Basel in 1439 and who abdicated in April 1449. D'Estaing was then reconciled to Nicholas V, who made him cardinal of Santa Sabina in December 1449, where he was eventually buried when he died on 28 October 1455.[17] As Santa Sabina was occupied by an important Dominican community, the cardinals assigned there usually lived elsewhere, among them d'Estaing's successor, Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, who lived at the north-east end of Piazza Navona. But other sources suggest that if d'Estaing did live at Santa Maria in Via Lata until 1455, then either there was more than one property or it changed hands in a short space of time, evidence for which no document survives.

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[16] Chacon, *Vitae, et res gestae*, vol. 2, col. 973.

[17] Chacon, *Vitae, et res gestae*, vol. 2, cols 946, 977; Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, vol. 2, 12.

When Niccolò Acciapaccio died in 1447, Dionysius Szech (d.1465) apparently acquired the right to use the palace in the same year and made his own contribution to its redevelopment.[18] Szech had been made cardinal-priest with the title of San Ciriaco in Thermis (*titulus Cyriaci*) in 1439. San Ciriaco in Thermis was one of the original *tituli* and on the edge of the city, probably built over a private property in memory of the Christians killed during the persecutions enacted under Emperor Diocletian. The church seems to have been semi-derelict, however; possibly it was assigned to a cardinal in the hope that it might be restored. Eventually, in 1477 under Sixtus IV, because it had fallen into such a poor state and was deemed beyond repair, the title of San Ciriaco was transferred, along with the station traditionally celebrated there on the Tuesday after Passion Sunday, to Santi Quirico e Giulitta behind the Forum of Trajan (Figure 55).[19] Santi Quirico e Giulitta was thereafter known, somewhat confusingly, as 'San Ciriaco e Santi Quirico and Giulitta' until the original title of San Ciriaco was suppressed in 1587, leaving only Santi Quirico e Giulitta. It is tempting to think that this is why Paul II assigned San Ciriaco in Thermis in 1468 to Thomas Bourchier, Archbishop of Canterbury, who does not seem to have spent much time in Rome as he was an English cardinal, and why Sixtus IV was then able to transfer it. Bourchier died at Canterbury in March 1486.[20] Another reason for the abandonment of San Ciriaco in Thermis was almost certainly its location in the *disabitato* at the north corner of the baths of Diocletian on the Via Nomentana, the major route to

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[18] Cavazzi, *Sta Maria in Via Lata*, 116; Luigi Salerno, "Palazzo Doria Pamphilj," in Urbano Barberini Ceccarius et al., *Via del Corso* (Rome: Cassa di Risparmio di Roma/ Staderini, 1961), 250; Chacon, *Vitae, et res gestae*, vol. 2, col. 913.

[19] Fra Mariano, *Itinerarium Urbis Romae*, 204–5: "Post thermas templum fuerat sancti Cyriaci martyris ubi et domus sua sibi a Diocletiano imperatore constructa ob liberationis gratiam a daemone filiae suae Arthemiae. In qua multae reliquiae fuere et in Quadragesima statio erat feria tertia post Dominicam de Passione. Quo die anni erant decem millia indulgentiae. Aliis vero diebus totius anni, anni centum. Verum, ecclesia diruta, cum in loco nimis solitario esset, Xystus quartus stationem et indulgentias ad ecclesiam sancti Quirici in ascensu montis Quirinalis apud Forum Nervae transtulit"; Mario Bosi, *Ss. Quirino e Giulitta*, CDRI 60 (Rome: Marietti, 1961), 11; Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, vol. 3, 70. Ferruccio Lombardi, *Roma, Le chiese scomparse. La memoria storica della città* (Rome: Fratelli Palombi, 1996), 53, states that the church was deconsecrated under Sixtus V (1585–90), but this is probably a confusion with Sixtus IV. See also Pasquale Adinolfi, *Roma nell'età di mezzo* (Turin, Rome, Florence: Fratelli Bocca, 1882), vol. 2, 265. The ruins of the church were still visible in the seventeenth century.

[20] Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, vol. 2, 15, 39, 55.

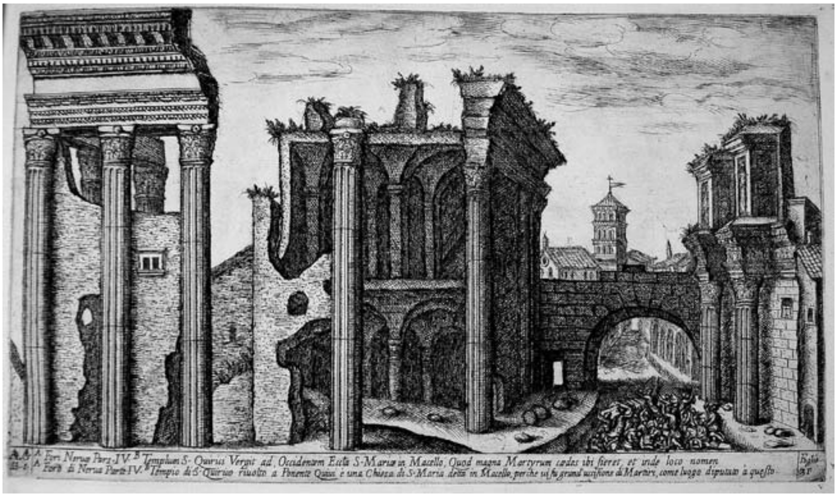
A Fori Nervæ Pars IV B Templum S. Quirici Vergit ad Occidentem Eccla S. Mariæ in Macello, Quod magna Martyrum cædes ibi fieret, et inde loco nomen
A Foro di Nerua Parte IV B Tempio di S. Quirico riuolto a Ponente Quiui è una Chiesa di S. Maria detta in Macello, perche ui fu grand uccisione di Martiri, come luogo diputato à questo
Foglio 31

Figure 55 Santi Quirico e Giulitta, in Aldò Giovannoli, *Roma antica* (1619). British School at Rome/author.

the north-east of Rome, just inside the Aurelian walls (see Figure 50).[21] Clearly, not all of the churches in the city could be restored.

The fact that Szech was cardinal of San Ciriaco in Thermis from 1439 and the small chapel of the monastery of San Ciriaco was integrated with Santa Maria in Via Lata around the same time may lie behind the confusion over who was resident at the palace. The palace, or at least the area, also seems to have acquired some connection with the Hungarians, perhaps as a kind of informal embassy. Dionysius Szech was Bishop of Erlau 1439–40, the suffragan diocesan of Esztergom which he held from 1440 to 1465. As cardinal he was legate to Hungary for Eugenius IV, sent to contract peace between King Ladislav, the Hungarian bishops and nobility. He died in Hungary.[22] Gabriele Rangone (cardinal from 1477 until 1486), who Albertini credited with the palace in 1508, was also Bishop of Erlau from 1475 to 1486 and had close associations with the Hungarian king.[23]

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[21] On the baths of Diocletian in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries see Corrado Ricci, "S. Maria degli Angeli e le Terme Diocleziane," *Bollettino d'arte del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione* 3 (1909): 361–372; idem, "Isolamento e sistemazione delle Terme Diocleziane," *Bollettino d'arte del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione* 3 (1909): 401–405.

[22] Chacon, *Vitae, et res gestae*, vol. 2, col. 914.

[23] Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, vol. 2, 19, 93, 266; Cavazzi, *Santa Maria in Via Lata*, 117–19.

Apparently yet another cardinal, Jean Jouffroy, also lived at or near Santa Maria in Via Lata in a building granted to him by Pius II. A document describes what this building was like three years after his death in 1473: suites of rooms stood above cellars, behind which was a cortile or garden.[24] Again, it is unclear exactly which building, or part of a building, this is. Rather than having their own landmark buildings, it is possible that in Rome cardinals shared larger residences, or at least lived very close to one another.

The fate of the old palace at Santa Maria in Via Lata, which was apparently used by so many cardinals, represents that of other early examples of palatial residences in Rome. Giovanni Battista Falda's engraving of Santa Maria in Via Lata, made during the pontificate of Alexander VII (1655–67), shows the church with its new Baroque facade and, on the left-hand side, the fifteenth-century palace (Figure 57). Standing between newly renovated palazzi, by the seventeenth century the old palace was clearly a remnant of Rome's past. After the changes of the mid-fifteenth century, the property had been further extended by Cardinal Fazio Santorio of Viterbo, who in 1507 bought up various small buildings between Acciapacci's mid-fifteenth-century palace and the church, which had been rebuilt by the start of the sixteenth century.[25] Santorio had the palace from 1489 when he was still a canon of Santa Maria in Via Lata. Then it passed to Santorio's nephew, Francesco Maria, Duke of Urbino.[26] In the engraving a double loggia is just visible behind the buildings, which may represent some of the fifteenth-century additions to the building or the early sixteenth-century consolidation of the properties when it was joined onto the church.

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[24] Aurigemma, "Residenze cardinalizie," 126 and n. 40, which includes a transcript of the document at ASV, Reg. Suppl. 755, ff. 166r–v, dated 31 July 1476; Simona Sperindei, "Repertorio delle residenze cardinalizie," in *Roma: le trasformazioni urbane nel Quattrocento*, vol. 2: *Funzioni urbane e tipologie edilizie*, ed. Giorgio Simoncini (Rome: Olschki, 2004), 150–1: "salis cameris anticameris tinelli lobiis coquinis cellario stabulis orto puteis de claustro ac omnibus et singolis coherentiis attinentiis."

[25] Cavazzi, *Santa Maria in Via Lata*, 116–18. Francesco Albertino described it as a sumptuous palace with loggias, chapel, and a large public room, beautifully decorated: see fioravante Martinelli, *Roma ex ethica sacra Sanctorum Petri et Pauli apostolica praedicatione profuso sanguine* (Rome: 1653), 144. The palace seems to have been then used by the Dukes of Urbino before it was sold to Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini in 1601, from whom it passed to the Pamphilj family at the time of Innocent X.

[26] Adinolfi, *Roma nell'età di mezzo*, vol. 2, 292–4. Part of the property, or one nearby, seems to have been rented to Antonio vescovo Agiense, but I have not been able to find any trace of who this might have been.

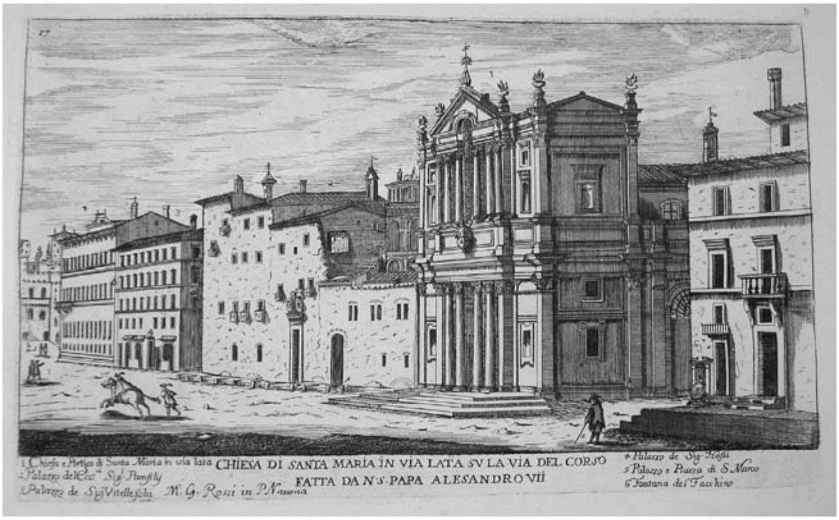
1 Chiesa e Portico di Santa Maria in via lata
2 Palazzo del Ecc.mo Sig. Panfilij
3 Palazzo de Sig. Vitelleschi
M. G. Rossi in P. Navona
CHIESA DI SANTA MARIA IN VIA LATA SV LA VIA DEL CORSO
FATTA DA N·S·PAPA ALESANDRO VII
5 Palazzo e Piazza di S. Marco
6 Fontana del Facchino

Figure 56 Giovanni Battista Falda, *Santa Maria in Via Lata*. British School at Rome/author.

The cardinal's palace was later incorporated into the Palazzo Doria Pamphilj, hence no trace survives.[27]

The popularity of the area around Santa Maria in Via Lata may be explained by its proximity to the Colonna enclave at Santissimi XII Apostoli and the busy streets in and out of the *abitato*. Just visible in the Falda engraving, at the left, is the palace of San Marco, the largest of all the cardinals' residential complexes. It was one of the 'fixed points' on the *possesso*.[28]

San Marco

By far the best known example of a titular church and its attached palace restored in the fifteenth century is the still extant San Marco. Fortunately, its history is less complex than Santa Maria in Via Lata as it is dominated by one man. Pietro Barbo moved to San Marco as its cardinal-priest in 1451 from Santa Maria Nova where he had been cardinal-deacon. On 12 March 1455 a bull of Nicholas V enabled Barbo to acquire some houses "located in the *rione* Pigna of the city and next to the new square of the church of San Marco."[29] On 8 May 1455 Calixtus III conceded houses and gardens which belonged to Carlo Papazzurri, Giuliano Capranica, and Nicola Cesari (Bishop of Tiburtino) and even part of a public thoroughfare to Barbo so that he could repair and enlarge the buildings attached to San Marco "for the comfort of the cardinal's dignity and that of his household."[30] The work affected a large area, including an old house used as a hospital for the poor. A medal struck in 1455 makes Barbo's ambitions for the site clear: it depicts an impressive villa-castle structure, though at this stage this was probably no more than the extension of the existing property on the right-hand side of the church (Figure 57).[31] Georgia Clarke points out that the medal, which was sealed into the walls of the new palace, bound the patron "into the act of foundation and the very building he inhabited."[32] This first phase lasted until Pietro Barbo became pope in 1464, when it took on a new character as a palace for a pope.[33] In 1464 the house at San Marco was still described as less than salubrious with thick walls and no open space adjoining it, not even a courtyard.[34] Now, as pope, Barbo had it extended. Between 1465 and 1470 the height of the building was raised to the level of the church's campanile, while enormous rooms inside were embellished with decoration appropriate for use as a papal palace.[35] Medals were also struck for the building in 1465 and 1470 and sealed into the foundations, a

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[27] Torgil Magnuson, *Studies in Roman Quattrocento Architecture* (Stockholm: Almquist and Wiksell, 1958), 227.

[28] Torgil Magnuson, *The Urban Transformation of Medieval Rome, 312–1420*, Studia artis historiae instiuti romani regni Sueciae 7 (Stockholm: Swedish Institute, Suecoromana, 2004), 121.

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[29] Philipp Dengel, ed., *Palast und Basilika San Marco in Rom: Aktenstücke zur Geschichte, Topographie, Bau- und Kunstgeschichte des Palazzo di San Marco, genannt Palazzo di Venezia, und der Basilika von San Marco in Rom* (Rome: Loescher, 1913), 7.

[30] Dengel, *San Marco*, 6; Maria Letizia Casanova, *Palazzo Venezia* (Rome: Editalia, 1992), 39.

[31] Casanova, *Palazzo Venezia*, 40.

[32] Georgia Clarke, *Roman House—Renaissance Palaces: Inventing Antiquity in fifteenth Century Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 25–8. Clarke goes on to discuss the ancient allusions intended by the placing of these medals according to the "best auspices." This was used as evidence by Platina of Paul II's preference for classical over Christian Rome, a comment not intended as a compliment: Platina, *Platynae Historici. Liber de vita Christi ac omnium pontificum (AA. 1–1474)*, ed. Giacinto Gaida, RIS 3 part 1 (Città di Castello: S. Lapi, 1913–32), 388.

[33] Magnuson, *Studies*, 259.

[34] David S. Chambers, "The Housing Problems of Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 39 (1976): 35; Magnuson, *Studies*, 249–60.

[35] Eugène Müntz, *Les Arts à la Cour des Papes pendant le XV^e^ et le XVI^e^ siècle: Recueil de documents inédits tirés des archives et des bibliothèques Romaines*, part 2, Paul II, 1464–1471, Bibliothèque des Ècoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 9 (Paris: E. Thorin, 1879), 71.

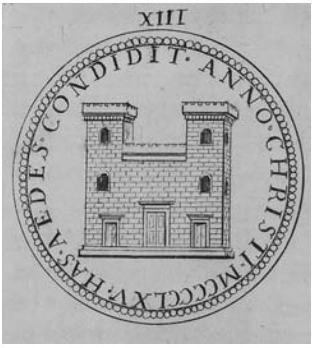

Figure 57 Foundation medal of Palazzo San Marco, in Filippo Bonanni, *Numismata Romanorum Pontificum* (Rome, 1694). British School at Rome/ author.

surprising act given that, as the palace of the titular cardinal, Barbo could never own it outright. Or perhaps he thought as pope he could do otherwise.

The San Marco complex is considered an important stage in the evolution of the Roman palace because of the relative coherence and sheer scale of the complex as it appears today. In the fifteenth century there was nothing to match it in Rome. However, the uniformity of the block is deceptive, the result of the nineteenth-century systematization of the area, as an early photograph clearly shows (Figure 58). Rather than examples of the "compact centralised planning" of buildings of the same period in, for example, Florence, Torgil Magnuson characterized these Roman palaces by their additive extent.[36]

At its heart was the ancient *titulus*, which was extensively restored by Pietro and then Marco Barbo, his cardinal-nephew. The basilica was not completely subsumed within the palace, which was a more sprawling enclave than the great bastion of today, but encompassed within it (Figure 59). From the exterior the basilica is distinguished from the adjoining buildings by a benediction loggia, closely related to that begun at St Peter's around the same time and modelled on the bays of the theatre of Marcellus.[37] Variety rather than coherence seems to

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[36] Magnuson, *Studies*, 274, 343; Magnuson, *Urban Transformation*, 150.

[37] See Charles W. Westfall, "Alberti and the Vatican Palace Type," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 33 (1974): 119–21, on the significance of this loggia for the processions linked with San Marco. Westfall also points out that the development of the basilica and the palace was two distinct projects: "the location of the basilica

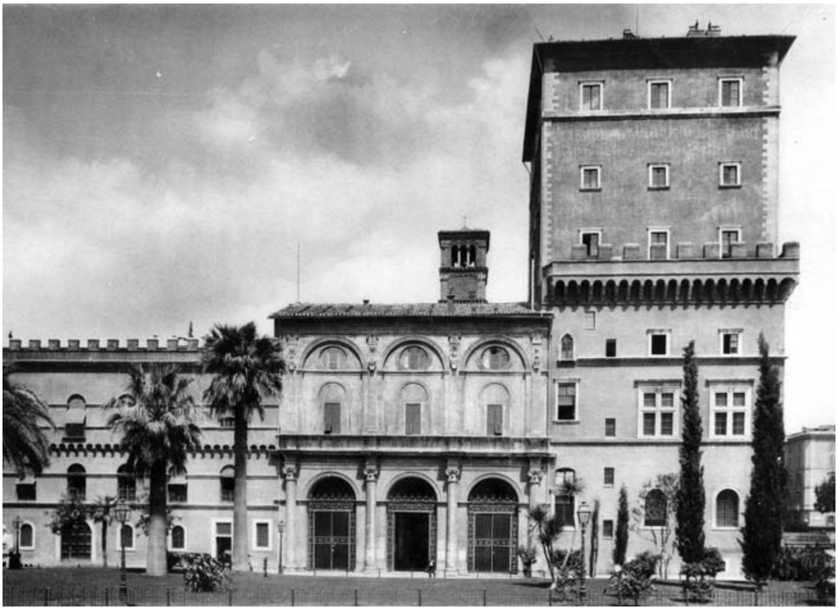

Figure 58 Basilica and Palazzo San Marco at the end of the nineteenth century, after the palazzetto was moved from the RHS and before the screen wall on the LHS was raised. Soprintendenza Speciale per il Polo Museale Romano, Gabinetto Fotografico, neg nr. 106085.

have been the desired effect. Inside, new Gothic-traceried windows, possibly to let in more light as the basilica was subsumed by the palace, are still visible in the nave, while fragments of the new ciborium and altar commissioned by the Barbo were reassembled as an altar in the sacristy in the eighteenth century.[38]

San Marco and its palace could never belong exclusively and in perpetuity to the Barbo, despite Pietro Barbo/Paul II's best efforts, although he used his palace at San Marco as a bargaining tool when he sought election as pope in 1464, promising it to Francesco Gonzaga in return for his vote. It turned out to be an empty promise, but Gonzaga's problems in finding housing in Rome may have made him particularly susceptible to such offers.

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determined the location of the palace, but the construction activity at the two buildings was undertaken for different reasons."

[38] Vitaliano Tiberia, "San Marco," *Roma Sacra* 15 (1995): 55.

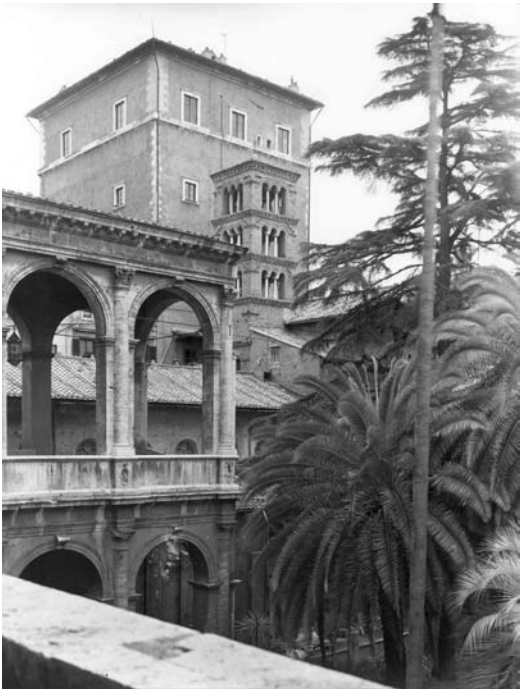

Figure 59 San Marco, view from courtyard of palace. Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione, Rome, no. E 44213.

Francesco Gonzaga's "housing problems"

While few records survive to shed light on the practical significance of the titular churches and the details of the cardinals' relationship with them, David Chambers's research in the archives at Mantua have uncovered the correspondence between Francesco Gonzaga's household in Rome and his parents in Mantua.[39] The correspondence contains a wealth of detail about the particulars of acquiring property in Rome, what a cardinal could expect to get out of his church, why they regularly changed or acquired additional benefices among the *tituli* and *diaconiae*, and why some of the churches were particularly popular. It also reveals some of the politics, factionalism, and partisanship involved. What follows is unashamedly based on David Chambers's seminal work, which warrants extended mention.

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[39] See the collected essays in David S. Chambers, *Renaissance Cardinals and their Worldly Problems* (Ashgate: Aldershot, 1997), and *A Renaissance Cardinal and his Worldly Goods: The Will and Inventory of Francesco Gonzaga (1444–1483)* (London: Warburg Institute Surveys and Texts, vol. 20, 1992).

Gonzaga had four options open to him when he moved to Rome following his creation in December 1461: to rent a property, to build a new palace, to buy a house and modernize it, or to move to a titular church with better facilities than the one he had been allocated. First of all, from March until September 1462, a house was rented from Giorgio Cesarini, a protonotary, but it was too small and had to be supplemented with a neighbouring property, while the household's horses were stabled at an inn. The cardinal and his household took to the road in May 1462 as part of Pius II's entourage, first to Viterbo and then on to Corsignano (Pienza) where the pope had plans to rebuild his birthplace.[40] There Gonzaga was put under pressure to contribute to the redevelopment of Pienza by building a palace—he would lose out on the bishopric of Mantua when it next became available if he did not do so.[41] Although Gonzaga pleaded that he had no money as he was also having to pay for accommodation in Rome, Jacopo Ammannati, who was created cardinal at the same time as Gonzaga, suggested that his wealthy father should help him as he would no doubt be keen to have his son favoured at the papal court.[42] Pius II himself names Gonzaga as one of the cardinals who did contribute to Pienza.[43] Bartolomeo Marasca (master of Gonzaga's household until 1468) even reported that the cardinal was being teased at the curia because of his noble and wealthy parents: he had so much money, they said, that surely he had no need of benefices to provide him with further income.[44]

When the cardinal and his retinue returned to Rome in December 1462 from the expensive journey north, they seem to have moved into a house rented from Cardinal Prospero Colonna. Vittoria, Francesco's sister, had married into the Colonna family. It was not a large property, however, as there was no room to accommodate distinguished members of the family who visited Rome, a cause of some disappointment to Marasca, who thought that receiving guests would have added considerable kudos to the cardinal.[45] In March 1463 Prospero Colonna died, leaving Gonzaga with the hope that he might be given the house he had been renting for a few months. This did not transpire, so he was still considering buying a house in Rome that same autumn.

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[40] Pius II, "Commentaries of Pius II," 546–7, 597–604; Pius II, *Commentarii*, 494, 546–54.

[41] Gonzaga became administrator of the diocese of Mantua in 1466.

[42] Charles R. Mack, *Pienza: The Creation of a Renaissance City* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1987), 137; Chambers, "Housing Problems," 29, n. 53.

[43] Pius II, *Commentarii*, 554. In September three houses were bought for 178 ducats and a fourth added by the pope's sister. By the middle of 1463 work had not been started on the Gonzaga plot; the cardinal's agent had suggested that it would be cheapest to hire a gang of convicts to do building work, and the pope was informed—to his delight—that the house would be finished by April 1464. No trace of a Gonzaga palace remains. Mack, *Pienza*, 139.

[44] Bartolomeo Marasca to Barbara of Brandenburg (Archivio Gonzaga, Mantua, 841/712.) in Chambers, "Housing Problems," 29, 48 doc. 11, 2 September 1462.

In the end it was the habitual trade in Rome's churches that came to the rescue. First of all, Gonzaga secured the use of a house attached to the unallocated *diaconia* of Sant'Agata dei Goti on the Quirinal, which had been in the portfolio of Isidore (1439–62), the Cardinal of Russia, and was worth 40 florins a year.[46] Marasca reported that the property at the church consisted of accommodation on two levels, two rooms and a loggia below and three rooms above, one of them larger than the others. It had a fine garden surrounded by a wall, which provided quiet and privacy and was a good place for the cardinal to exercise—though not the kind of exercise with women that Cardinal Giovanni de Primis (1440–9), the abbot of San Paolo fuori le mura, had taken there and which, it was rumoured, had killed him.[47] It was too remote and too small to be any more than a suburban villa, however. Although in 1475 some land belonging to Sant'Agata was sold to pay for repairs to the roof and other parts of the apparently dilapidated structure, there is no other evidence that the work was actually undertaken.[48]

With the election of Paul II in August 1464, new possibilities opened up for Cardinal Gonzaga, whose vote the new pope had tried to buy with his own palace. In September it looked like one of the fine houses of Guillaume d'Estouteville, at Sant'Apollinare, or Alain Coetivy, near Campo dei Fiori, might become available as one of them was likely to be made legate to Avignon.[49] Again, nothing happened. In October the Gonzaga household moved into part of the Colonna palace at Santissimi XII Apostoli, presumably thanks to the cardinal's sister, but while the cardinal's rooms were much improved, the household had to be spread out in other parts of the palace and two other properties and there was still no room for any guests. There Gonzaga and his household stayed until 1468, when the palace at San Lorenzo in Damaso became available following the death of Juan de Mella (1456–67), who had used it for just two years after the death of Ludovico Trevisan in 1465. However, Gonzaga's use of the palace at San Lorenzo in Damaso was delayed for six months until March 1468, because Paul II himself was using it while building works proceeded at San Marco.[50]

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[45] Chambers, "Housing Problems," 32.

[46] Chambers, *Worldly Goods*, 42 n. 43.

[47] Chambers, "Housing Problems," 32 n. 78, 51 doc. 16.

[48] Chambers, *Worldly Goods*, 90–1. Chambers points out that suggestion of Gonzaga's major investment at Sant'Agata comes from a 1527 document, although there is no reference that such works were ever carried out: see Carlo Cecchelli, "Appendici: documenti, epigrafi," in *S. Agata dei Goti*, ed. Christian Hülsen (Rome: Sansaini, 1924), 173–4. Richard Krautheimer et al.—*Corpus basilicarum Christianarum Romae* (Vatican City:, Istituto di archeologia cristiana, 1937–1980), vol. 1, 2—refers to the Gonzaga arms being visible in the cross vaults, accroding to a drawing of the church before 1557 in the Bodleian Library (Sutherland Collection 149, tier 5, shelf 46). See also Renata Samperi, "Repertorio delle chiese," in *Roma: le trasformazioni urbane nel Quattrocento*, vol. 2: *Funzioni urbane e tipologie edilizie*, ed. Giorgio Simoncini (Florence: Olschki, 2004), 95. The Sutherland Collection is now at the Ashmolean, but there is no trace of such a drawing ever having existed in Oxford.

Finally, seven years after becoming a cardinal, Gonzaga was well housed in a central location and in one of the most sought-after residences in Rome.[51] Although Trevisan had invested in the palace and surrounding area at San Lorenzo in Damaso, somewhat reluctantly Gonzaga spent some 2,000 ducats on improvements to the palace—repairs to the roof, the addition of a spiral staircase to give access to eleven rooms on the upper floor, the addition of a fireplace, a new kitchen, and so on.[52] The palace also had a garden of which the cardinal seemed particularly fond: he was angry when he discovered that his gardener planned to dig up pomegranate trees he had planted himself.[53] Chambers remarks, "not surprisingly, the gardener was replaced shortly afterwards." The garden wall was to be decorated with scenes of the battle of Lapiths and Centaurs, Theseus, Meleager, and possibly Hercules, subject to the advice of the poet Niccolò Cosmico.[54] Money was a concern, however; he wanted all of this work to be paid for out of proceeds from the sale of hay from his other properties. The *titulus* of San Lorenzo in Damaso was also embellished while Gonzaga had it as a benefice, although it is not clear how much, if any, of this work was instigated by the cardinal rather than the canons.[55]

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[49] Pius II, *Commentarii*, 481; Pius II, "Commentaries of Pius II," 535, on Coetivy's house in Campo dei Fiori.

[50] Chambers, "Housing Problems," 38.

[51] Paolo Cortesi, *De cardinalatu. Libri tres* (San Gimignano: Castro Cortese, 1510), book 2, 67.

[52] Chambers, *Worldly Goods*, 91–2. On Ludovico Trevisan's contributions to the palace at San Lorenzo in Damaso and the surrounding area, including the paving of Campo dei Fiori with stone, see Chacon, *Vitae, et res gestae*, vol. 2, col. 921; Ottavio Panciroli, *I tesori nascosti nell'alma città di Roma*, (Rome: Zannetti, 1625), 778; Simonetta Valtieri, "La zona di Campo de' Fiori prima e dopo gli interventi di Sisto IV," *L'Architettura. Cronache e Storia*, 30 (1984), 346–72, 648–60. Campo dei Fiori had also been repaved at the time of Eugenius IV: Magnuson, *Urban Transformation*, 151. Trevisan's patronage seems to have been focused on his country retreat at the ruined monastery of St Paul at Albano, particularly after the election of Nicholas V; Pius II, "Commentaries of Pius II," 758–60; Pius II, *Commentarii*, 703–4; Burroughs, *Signs to Designs*, 89.

[53] Chambers, "Housing Problems," 40 and 55–6, docs 26 and 27.

But all along, throughout all these moves, Francesco Gonzaga's titular church was Santa Maria Nova where the Benedictine monks continued to live. It was a particularly lively church at the time. In 1425 Francesca Romana (1384–1440), a Roman matron, founded a community of oblates (laypeople affiliated with a monastic community) at the church who met every week before the thirteenth-century icon of the Virgin and Child at the main altar. Even after 1433 when the oblates joined the community at the Tor de'Specchi nearby, they kept close links with the Benedictines at Santa Maria Nova. When Francesca Romana died, she was buried in Santa Maria in front of the high altar, and her cult, which was already popular, continued to grow.[56] The fifteenth century saw various works in the church and monastery, including the consolidation of the twelfth-century cloister. It is not clear if Francesco Gonzaga was involved.[57]

Paradoxically, while the complex at San Lorenzo in Damaso was one of the largest, it is the least visible in contemporary or later drawings or prints, as it was replaced only thirty years after it was built by Cardinal Raffaele Riario (1488–1511) (Figure 60).[58] This new palace, faced with marble and travertine and articulated with classical orders, raised the stakes for Roman palace building.[59] Excavations carried out in the late 1980s and early 1990s revealed the original fourth-century basilica established by Pope Damasus underneath the courtyard of the palace. The Damasian basilica was, in turn, built on the remains of a

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[54] Chambers, "Housing Problems," 41.

[55] Chambers, *Worldly Goods*, 91. A fine white marble water stoup probably added in the fifteenth century, a shallow basin on an ornamented pedestal, was uncovered in the excavations carried out in the 1980s and 1990s under the courtyard of the Cancelleria in the remains of the Damasian basilica.

[56] Placido Lugano, *S Maria Nova*, CDRI 1 (Rome: Edizione Roma, 1923), 8–9. Francesca Romana was canonized in 1608 by Paul V.

[57] Chambers, *Worldly Goods*, 90–1.

[58] On the building of Riario's palace, see Clarke, *Roman House*, 211–15.

[59] Christoph Luitpold Frommel, "Raffaele Riario, committente della Cancelleria," in *Arte, Committenza ed Economia a Roma e nelle Corti del Rinascimento (1420–1530)*, ed. Arnold Esch and Christoph Luitpold Frommel (Turin: Einaudi, 1995), 197.

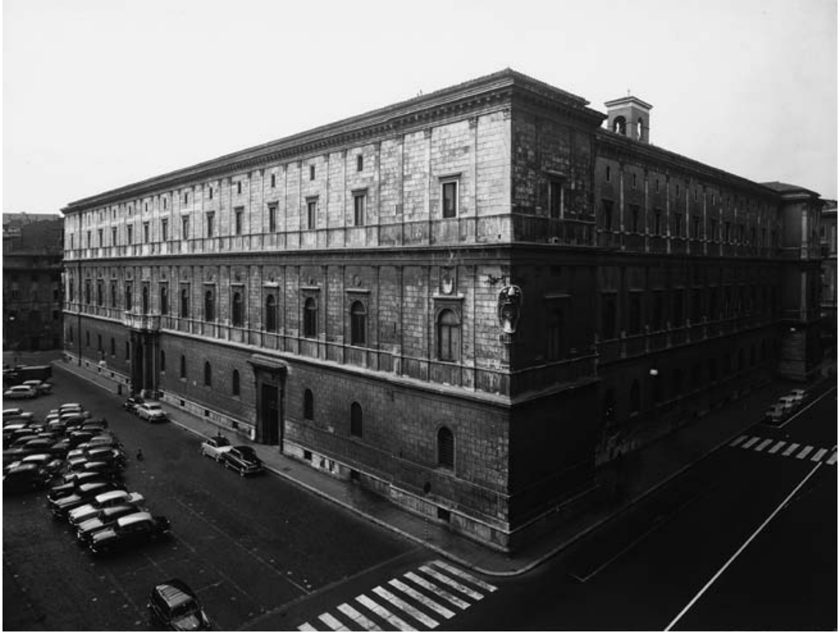

Figure 60 Palazzo della Cancelleria and San Lorenzo in Damaso from the north east. Archivi Alinari, Florence, no. ACA-F-054363-0000.

vast complex dating to the end of the first century AD.[60] The *libri dei conti* of Cardinal Riario, which were published in 1982, made it clear that the Damasian basilica was still in use during the construction of Riario's new palace around it. A new church was first constructed on the site of the old palace, whereupon the fourth-century basilica of Damasus was demolished to make way for the new palace. Ensuring continuity of worship at San Lorenzo in Damaso, in effect the church and palace swapped places. The Damasian basilica was wider and extended beyond the wall of the present church.[61] The original complex did not cover exactly the same ground as the new complex, as the old church did not run directly along the Via del Pellegrino as the palace does now.

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[60] Massimo Pentiricci, "La posizione della basilica di S Lorenzo in Damaso nell'Itinerario di Einsiedeln," in *Architectural Studies in Memory of Richard Krautheimer*, ed. Cecil L. Striker (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1996), 127. Initial observations on the excavations are in "Seminari di Archeologia Cristiana," *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana*, 65 no. 1–2 (1989): 201–3, by Johannes G. Deckers and 67 no. 1 (1991), 151–4, by Richard Krautheimer.

[61] Magnuson, *Studies*, 227. The arrangement can also be discerned on the Mansion House plan with the church and its campanile to the left and the palace to the right-hand side. See Frutaz, *Piante di Roma,* Tav. 167–9.

Inside, the original basilica was paved with large numbers of tomb slabs dating between 1396 and 1476, and burials seem to have been carried out in the church right up to 1480.[62] A new altar seems to have been added just before its demolition, the base and foundations of which were revealed in the excavations. The most remarkable change as a result of Riario's rebuilding was the conflation of palace and titular church, completely encasing a new replacement basilica within its precincts and facade, making the church both the private chapel of a cardinal and a parish church. This was a bold move that was not easily imitated. Even at San Marco the basilica retains a separate presence through the articulation of the facade. In 1521, the chancery, which had been based since the 1450s in the palace of Rodrigo Borgia (see Figure 3) further along the Via Pellegrino, moved to the palace at San Lorenzo in Damaso, which became known as the Cancelleria as a result.[63] Riario's new palace was all the more remarkable considering changes to property law that would have made it easier for him to build for himself, separately from a church, discussed below.

The "Vatican palace type"

Christoph Frommel describes Raffaele Riario's palace at San Lorenzo in Damaso as the epitome of Quattrocento palace design in Rome (Figure 60).[64] However, the consistency of its plan and facade also makes it quite untypical. It marked a "radical change" from anything built in Rome, or even elsewhere, before the 1480s.[65] It is a single, coherent, and consistent block, faced with travertine and marble, which even the titular church that explained its presence was not allowed to disturb, whereas previously such palaces were more additive in evolution and therefore in style, faced with stucco. Up until that time, those cardinals' palaces that do survive point to a markedly different but nonetheless distinctly Roman model, which was as much a product of circumstance as of design.

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[62] Christoph Luitpold Frommel, "Die Ausgrabungen von S. Lorenzo in Damaso," *Max-Planck-Gesellschaft Jahrbuch* (München: Max-Planck-Gesellschaft, 1991), 60.

[63] Partner, *Pope's Men*, 20, 22: before being moved into the newly constructed Borgia palace during the pontificate of Calixtus III when Rodrigo Borgia began his long tenure of the office of vice-chancellor, the chancery was based nearby, close to the theatre of Pompey and the market, Campo dei Fiori.

[64] Christoph Luitpold Frommel, *Der römische Palastbau der Hochrenaissance*, Römische Forschungen der Bibliotheca Hertziana 21 (Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1973), vol. 1, xi, who is referring to the arrangement of the interior in particular.

[65] Clarke, *Roman House*, 212.

As was discussed in chapter 4, lodgings attached to churches often started out as quarters for regular canons, communities of clergy attached to churches. As Joan Barclay Lloyd suggests, the gradual demise of the regular canons in the Middle Ages, and fashions for other forms of ecclesiastical community, released some of the accommodation built for them in Rome to the cardinals.[66] At San Clemente, for example, by the late thirteenth century one wing of the canonry had a large upper room, decorated with painted foliage and fictive architecture, that may well have been reserved for the titular cardinal. She suggests that a similar arrangement was in place at several other churches, among them Santa Maria in Cosmedin, Santi Quattro Coronati and Santi Giovanni e Paolo (Figure 61). But although Branda da Castiglione contributed a chapel to his titular church, San Clemente, he did not stay there, probably because the Ambrosian friars required the space. Instead he used the property attached to another church, Sant'Apollinare.[67]

Located in the valley between the Colosseum and the Lateran, San Clemente was also in the *disabitato*: it was not the most salubrious area in which an ambitious cardinal could live. In 1427 Martin V granted Castiglione the residence next to Sant'Apollinare, a church in the Tiber bend close to Piazza Navona, which was reserved for the use of cardinals. Carol Pulin makes the point that although the palace is most closely associated with Guillaume d'Estouteville, in fact the building dated from at least the end of the fourteenth century and had already been extended and modernized by the time the French cardinal inherited it in 1449.[68] This is an important point and a defining one for patronage of the cardinals in fifteenth-century Rome: developments cannot normally be attributed to a single patron, but were the result of a series of investments made by a succession of incumbents over a

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[66] Joan Barclay Lloyd, *San Clemente Miscellany III: The Medieval Church and Canonry of S. Clemente in Rome* (Rome: San Clemente, 1989), 193, 224.

[67] Sant'Apollinare was made a titular church in 1517 by Leo X, possibly because it had long been used by cardinals. It was suppressed in 1587 and then re-established as a deaconry in 1929.

[68] Carol Pulin, "Early Renaissance Sculpture and Architecture at Castiglione Olona in Northern Italy and the Patronage of a Humanist, Cardinal Branda da Castiglione" (PhD thesis, University of Michigan, 1984), 24 n. 5, 30. See also the discussion in Westfall, "Vatican Palace Type," 101–21.

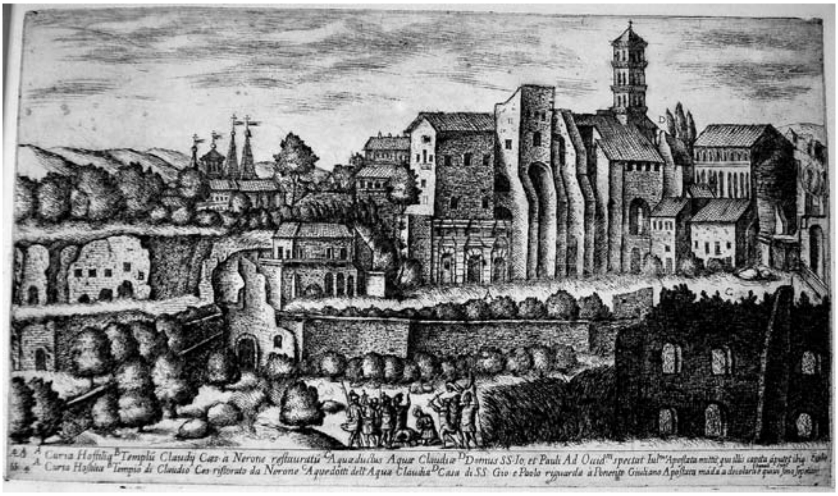
A Curia Hostilia
B Templū Claudij Cæs à Nerone restauratū
C Aquæductus Aquæ Claudiæ
D Domus SS. Io. et Pauli Ad Occid.m spectat
A Curia Hostilia
B Tempio di Claudio Ces ristorato da Nerone
C Aquedotti dell'Acqua Claudia
D Casa di SS. Gio e Paolo riguarda à Ponente Giuliano Apostata

Figure 61 Santi Giovanni e Paolo, in Aldò Giovannoli, *Roma antica* (1619). British School at Rome/author.

number of years, usually decades. This entirely agreed with so much of the character of building in the city, which is additive and rarely pristine, indicating the long line of patrons involved—and in some cases representing a continuous link back to the earliest Christian communities in the city. It was not a link that was easily forgotten.

The property at Sant'Apollinare had gained some notoriety as from 1377 it had been the home of Pedro di Luna, who became Benedict XIII, one of the popes deposed at the Council of Constance, though according to Dietrich of Niem, while he was there Pedro also reformed the church.[69] The palace was available for Castiglione because Ludovico Fieschi (1385–1423), Cardinal of Sant'Adriano, its previous inhabitant, had died a few years before.[70] According to the 1427 papal bull, Castiglione already lived in the property and had spent large amounts of money on rebuilding and extending it.[71] In addition to the palace, Castiglione was also granted various buildings nearby which he could use for his new college for the education of poor students. While the college itself does not seem to have materialized in the end, the cardinal was still resident at the palace in 1429. Instead, he seems to have changed his focus to his home town of Castiglione Olona for his charitable activities, where he did set up a college for students who would not otherwise have been able to study. It is not clear if he continued to use the palace at Sant'Apollinare until his death in 1443 at the age of 93, though it remained a part of his portfolio.

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[69] Dietrich von Niem, *De Scismate libri tres* (completed 1410), discussed in Edith Pásztor, "Cardinali italiani e francesi tra Avignone e Basilea: Due testimonianze," *Échanges religieux entre la France et l'Italie du Moyen Âge à l'époque moderne*, ed. Mgr M. Maccarone and A. Vauchez (Geneva: Slatkine, 1987), 123–45.

[70] Carol Pulin, "The Palaces of an Early Renaissance Humanist, Cardinal Branda da Castiglione," *Arte lombarda* 61 (1982): 23–4; Pulin, "Branda da Castiglione," 25–6; ASV Arm. 39, vol. 4 c. 218a, in R. Valentini, "Gli Istituti Romani di alta cultura e la presunta crisi dello 'Studium Urbis'," *Archivio reale della Società romana di Storia Patria* 59 (1936), 213–15, appendix doc. 6.

It was certainly a popular property, no doubt because of its location and condition, changing hands regularly in the period. In 1446 Eugenius IV granted its use to Cardinal Giovanni da Tagliacozzo (or Tarentino, 1439–49), cardinal-bishop of Palestrina.[72] In 1450 Giovanni Rucellai admired the palace, which by then had been granted to Guillaume d'Estouteville, who went on to refurbish the building. Rucellai described it as "built in the modern manner, a beautiful and genteel house, and the roof of its courtyard projects from the wall about four braccia, and under the projecting roof is a story in the manner of a box."[73] The "story in the manner of a box" probably refers to a tower topped with an *alzana* like that at the Palazzo Capranica (Figures 62 and 63).[74] Although there is some evidence of systematization of the facade in the two large windows, the irregularity of the smaller apertures betrays its gradual enlargement (Figure 62). The complex is also clearly visible in Antonio Tempesta's 1593 map of Rome, by which time Sant'Apollinare and its attached buildings had become the seat of the German College.[75]

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[71] Pulin, "Branda da Castiglione," 58; Westfall, "Vatican Palace Type," 101–2.

[72] Claudio M. Mancini, *S. Apollinare, La chiesa e il palazzo*, CDRI 93 (Rome: Marietti, 1967), 55.

[73] Rucellai, *Zibaldone*, 76, translated in Westfall, "Vatican Palace Type," 102. See also Albertini, *Opusculum*, 28; Piero Tomei, *L'architettura a Roma nel Quattrocento* (Rome: Palombi/R. Istituto d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte, 1942), 215; Aino Katermaa-Ottela, *Le casetorri medievale in Roma*, Commentationes humanarum litterarum 67 (Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 1981), 38.

[74] Girolamo Francino, *Le cose meravigliose dell'Alma città di Roma* (Rome: Francini, 1600), 40v; Aurigemma, "Residenze cardinalizie," 122 fig. 3; Pulin, "Branda da Castiglione," 21 n. 125: BAV Vat Lat 5699, f. 127, in Amato Pietro Frutaz, *Le piante di Roma* (Rome: Stabilimento Arti Grafiche Luigi Salomone, 1962), vol. 3, 137.

[75] The mason of the works executed under d'Estouteville was Salvatore Andrea de Troko, who was possibly from Florence as he employed Florentine workers. Troko subsequently used his work for the French cardinal as evidence of his skill when he

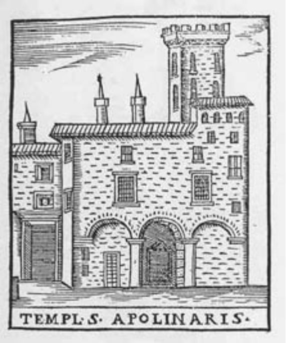

Figure 62 Church and palace of Sant'Apollinare, from G. Francino, *Le cose meravigliose dell'Alma città di Roma* (Rome, 1600), 40v. British School at Rome/ author.

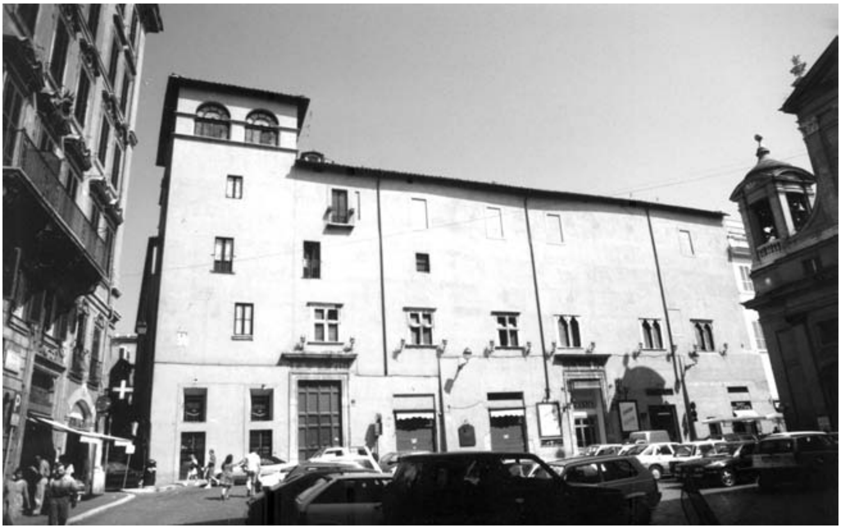

Figure 63 Palazzo Capranica, 1450s. Author.

Charles Westfall includes the palace at Sant'Apollinare and Palazzo Capranica in his discussion of the palace type in Rome before Riario's palace at San Lorenzo in Damaso, as "representative of secular architecture in Rome before the middle of the century," a "developing type"

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applied to work for the English Hospice in the late 1440s: see Harvey, *England, Rome and the Papacy*, 57.

of palace design.[76] These buildings were characterized by a closed ground floor, tower at one end, *piano nobile*, often lit by cross-mullioned windows, and an enclosed courtyard or garden overlooked by a loggia.[77] Westfall mourns the fact that between Martin V's return to Rome in 1420 and the pontificate of Nicholas V, there was a "lack of clearly defined qualities and of clearly articulated types" in secular architecture, whereas in Florence there had been a "hierarchy of building types that received careful design" for some time.[78] I would argue that Westfall overstates the importance of coherence in plan and typology, however, overlooking the significance of continuity in Rome. The mix of window styles evident on the palace at Sant'Apollinare or Palazzo Capranica deliberately shows how these buildings evolved from smaller structures that are encased within them. In style, the Palazzo Capranica—which survives, unlike Sant'Apollinare—can be seen as a confident reassertion of the large medieval houses or baronial complexes that flaunt their enlargement and are typical of secular architecture in Rome up to the last quarter of the fifteenth century.

The fact that Domenico Capranica chose to have his palace built separate from any of his benefices in Rome suggests that he had plans for it. In fact, the Capranica palace seems to have been intended to house a college as well as a cardinal. Capranica had been rewarded for his loyalty to Martin V with a cardinal's hat in 1423, although his name was not actually published as such until 1430. Probably begun in the early 1450s for an inscription over one of the lintels refers to Nicholas V and 1451, in 1456–7 the cardinal made arrangements for his palace to be transferred to a college on his death.[79] He died in

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[76] Westfall, "Vatican Palace Type," 105.

[77] On the cross-mullioned or 'square cross' window as a distinctive feature of Roman Quattrocento architecture see Westfall, "Vatican Palace Type," 106.

[78] Westfall, "Vatican Palace Type," 101–2.

[79] On the palace and college see Prospero Simonelli and Giuseppe Breccia Fratadocchi, *Almo Collegio Capranica: lavori di restauro* (Tivoli: Chicca, 1955), 14–17; Westfall, "Vatican Palace Type," 117–18; Piero Tomei, *L'architettura a Roma nel Quattrocento* (Rome: Palombi/R. Istituto d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte, 1942), 60–3; Alfred A. Strnad, "Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini, Politik und Mäzenatentum in Quattrocento," *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* (1964–6): 337–8; David S. Chambers, "Studium Urbis and Gabella Studii: The University of Rome in the fifteenth Century," in *Cultural Aspects of the Italian Renaissance: Essays in Honor of Paul Oscar Kristeller*, ed. Cecil H. Clough (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1976), 64. On Domenico Capranica see Anthony V. Antonovics, "The Library of Cardinal Domenico Capranica," in *Cultural Aspects of the Italian Renaissance: Essays in Honour of Paul Oskar Kristeller*, ed. Cecil H. Clough (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1976), 141–59.

1458, two days before the conclave that elected Pius II, probably just missing out on becoming pope himself.[80] To fulfil his wishes, by 1459 the Capranica college was set up in the palace. However, when Pius II made Domenico's younger brother, Angelo, cardinal in 1460, Angelo clearly had different views of the purpose to which the palace should be put. Between 1458 and 1460, he had a new, quite separate, wing built at right angles behind the palace's tower and blocking the Via Recta to house the college. It was not until 1478 that Sixtus IV finally allowed Angelo to keep the original palace exclusively for his own use. Although the palace was built quite separately from any of Rome's churches, it nevertheless necessitated a lengthy and a complex process before Angelo Capranica could call it his own.

Westfall sees in palaces such as Sant'Apollinare and the Capranica the origins of the "Vatican palace type" established by Nicholas V's building work at the papal residence alongside St Peter's.[81] However, this claim is part of Westfall's agenda to single out the pontificate of Nicholas V and the influence of Leon Battista Alberti in the papal court, his treatise on architecture a guide and commentary to development in urban planning and building in Rome. These assertions have since been somewhat modified with the possibility that Alberti was more of an outsider in papal Rome.[82] It is going too far to claim that Nicholas V's "Vatican Palace had sanctioned a complete program for the palaces of those inferior to the pope, and they would draw on it to reveal their relationship to the pope." Inevitably, reality seems to have been much more mundane, led more by practical necessity and opportunity than by social or political ideology.

Sant'Apollinare was not a titular church, and in any case it is not clear what relationship, if any, the cardinals who lived next door had with it.[83] Nevertheless, the palace there remained in the gift of the pope. On the other hand, the properties converted into the Capranica palace were not attached to a church at all, and perhaps deliberately so, as Domenico Capranica clearly had further plans for the building beyond the confines of his lifetime. This option, of building separately from churches, became more common as the century wore on.

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[80] Pius II, *Commentaries*, vol. 1, 176–7.

[81] Westfall, "Vatican Palace Type," 110.

[82] See chapter 9 and in particular the discussion of Manfredo Tafuri's "*Cives, esse non licere*: The Rome of Nicholas V and Leon Battista Alberti: Elements towards a Historical Revision." *Harvard Architecture Review* 6 (1987): 61–75. Also published in idem, *Interpreting the Renaissance: Princes, Cities, Architects*, trans. Daniel Sherer (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006). (Original edition *Ricerca del Rinascimento: principi, città, architetti*. Turin: Einaudi, 1992.)

[83] Sant'Apollinare was made a *titulus* by Leo X in 1517.

Palaces and villas

Throughout the period, the practice of the *villeggiatura*, whereby city dwellers could escape to country residences for prolonged periods in the summer, grew in popularity. The duality of Rome's urban environment, with both town and countryside within the walls, provided an ideal opportunity for the cardinals to seek their leisure close by, as well as land where food and fuel could be obtained to feed the cardinal's household.[84] Alberti advised:

> The villa, then, must be located at no great distance from the city, along an easy and unobstructed route, and in a convenient place accessible in summer and winter to visitors and for supplies of provisions… also, if the villa is now distant, but close by a gate of the city, it will make it easier and more convenient to flit… between town and villa, whenever desirable, without the need to dress up and without attracting anyone's attention.[85]

With the expansion of the property market in Rome and the more common accumulation of a number of Rome's churches, cardinals often used their links with secondary churches as a means to procuring suburban villas in addition to a more central property.[86] In addition to the suburban property at Sant'Agata, for example, Francesco Gonzaga also had a *vigna* near Frascati.[87]

The Casa Bessarione, as it is now called, gives a rare glimpse into these suburban residences, what they must have looked like and the purposes they served (Figures 64 and 65). Modest in size and construction, the *casina* lies just inside the Aurelian walls at the Porta di San Sebastiano, which leads to the Via Appia, removed from the busy centre yet within easy reach of it. It was an area of the city where Pius II

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[84] The cost of food and fuel varied hugely, depending, for example, on whether or not the pope and curia were in Rome. See David S. Chambers, "The Housing Problems of Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 39 (1976): 27.

[85] Alberti, *On the Art of Building*, 141.

[86] On this subject see David R. Coffin, *The Villa in the Life of Renaissance Rome* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979).

[87] Coffin, *Villa*, 41.

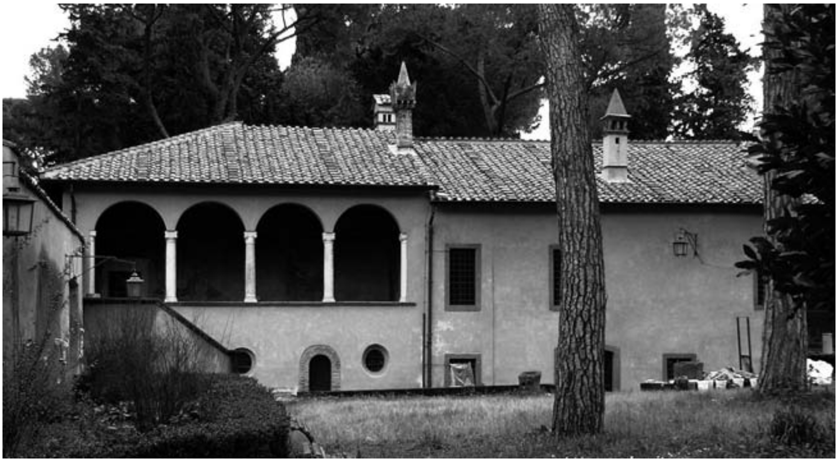

Figure 64 *Casina* of Cardinal Bessarion from San Cesareo. Author.

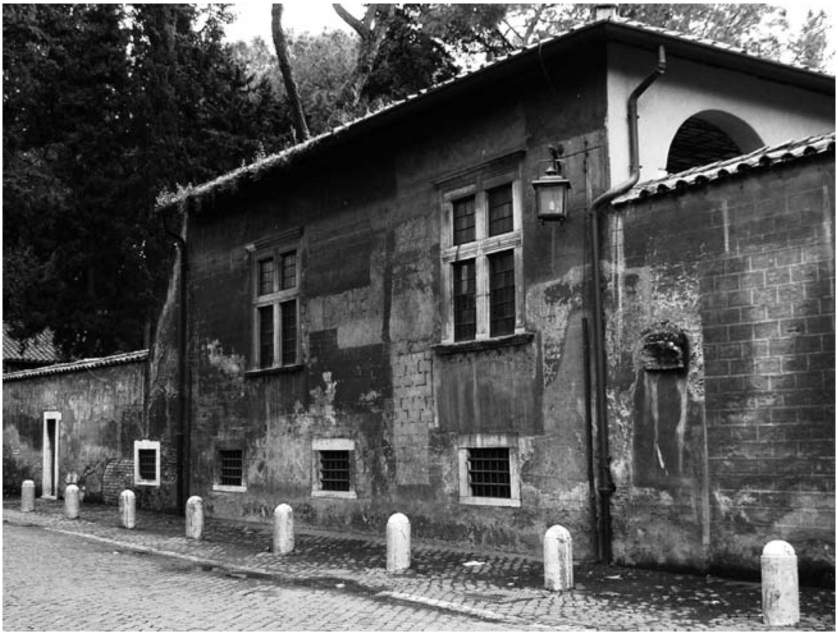

Figure 65 *Casina* of Cardinal Bessarion from Via di Porta di San Sebastiano. Author.

described the roads as being "hemmed in on both sides by the hedges and walls of vineyards"—and it still is.[88]

Although no documentary evidence substantiates Bessarion's connection with the villa, it is known that the cardinal had an unspecified place of retreat in the open country near San Cesareo. The church had been under the jurisdiction of the cardinal-bishop of Frascati (Tusculum) since 1302, a position which Bessarion had held since 1449.[89] Inside the loggia which dominates the front aspect of the villa are crescent moons which probably allude to the Piccolomini pope, though the interior rooms were redecorated between 1479 and 1492 by Giovanni Battista Zen, who became cardinal-bishop of Frascati in 1479.[90] Bessarion also had access to the abbey of Grottaferrata in the Alban hills where he was abbot (the Casa Bessarione lies in this direction). In 1462 Pius had assigned the eastern rite monastery to the Greek cardinal with the express purpose of restoring it and its community, though it is not known if he stayed there.[91]

Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini also used one of the churches on the edge of Rome to provide him with a suburban residence. This he developed at the same time that he was building a palace in the centre of the city, and the two seem to have been undertaken in parallel. Made cardinal in March 1460, at first Piccolomini became a palatine cardinal as he was given rooms in the Vatican palace alongside his uncle.[92] Then Pius II enabled his nephew to purchase the property of Cardinal Giovanni Castiglione, who had died on legation on 14 April 1460.[93] Though in the same *rione* as his titular church of Sant'Eustachio, it was quite separate from it, close to Campo dei Fiori.[94] In 1461 Piccolomini paid the first of two instalments of 1,000 florins for Castiglione's house, and the sale was authorized by papal brief in 1461.[95] The area was then cleared to make way for a Piccolomini palace which seems to have been completed by the mid-1470s (Figure 66).[96] It appears to have been a four-square block of a type common in the cardinal's native Siena.[97] At any rate, in the seventeenth century, some years after it had been demolished to make way for Sant'Andrea della Valle, it was remembered as a large and most beautiful building.[98] Then, in 1476, the cardinal passed the ownership of his new palace to his brothers Andrea and Giacomo, probably to

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[88] Dante Biolchi, *La casina del Cardinale Bessarione* (Rome: Antichità e Belle Arti del Comune di Roma, 1954); Pius II, *Commentarii*, 300; Pius II, "Commentaries of Pius II," 350.

[89] Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, vol. 2, 8; Isidoro Liberale Gatti, *La Basilica dei Santi XII Apostoli* (Rome: L'Apostoleion, 1988), 6, 21; a bull of Boniface VIII of 1302 recorded that the church of San Cesareo was under the jurisdiction of the cardinal-bishop of Tusculum, a position which Bessarion had acquired under Nicholas V: Coffin, *Villa*, 64–5.

[90] Coffin, *Villa*, 64–5, and Toby E.S. Yuen, "Illusionistic Mural Decoration of the Early Renaissance in Rome" (PhD thesis, New York University, 1972), 104; On Cardinal Zen and the villa see Bertrand Jestaz, "Il caso di un cardinale veneziano: le committenze di Battista Zen a Roma e nel Veneto," in *Arte, Committenza ed Economia a Roma e nelle Corti del Rinascimento (1420–1530)*, ed. Arnold Esch and Christoph Luitpold Frommel (Turin: Einaudi, 1995), 337–8. Latino Orsini was cardinal-bishop of Franscati from Bessarion's death in 1468 until 1477; then Jacopo Ammannati followed him from 1477 to 1479. As Ammannati was an adopted member of the Piccolomini *consorteria* he used their coat of arms, so it is possible that the crescent moons refer to his patronage.

[91] Pius II, *Commentarii*, 711. See also A. Grossi-Gondi et al., *La Badia greca di Grottaferrata nel settimo centenario della traslazione del quadro prodigioso di Maria Santissima dalla città di Tuscolo: 1230–1930* (Rome: Bucciarelli, 1930), 11.

[92] ASV, Reg. Vat. 496, f. 3r, in Alfred A. Strnad, "Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini, Politik und Mäzenatentum in Quattrocento," *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* (1964–6): 196.

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[93] ASV, Reg. Lat. 1995, ff. 187v–r.

[94] Carol M. Richardson, "The Housing Opportunities of a Renaissance Cardinal," *Renaissance Studies* 17 (2003): 609.

[95] ASV, Reg. Vat. 481, f. 26, in Raffaele Ciprelli, "Le costruzioni dei Piccolomini in un manoscritto inedito," *Regnum Dei: Collectanea Theatina* 40 no. 110 (1984): 230.

[96] Howard Hibbard, "The Early History of Sant'Andrea della Valle," *The Art Bulletin* 43 (1961): 290.

[97] Richardson, "Housing Opportunities," 610–12; the 1577 Dupérac-Lafréry map indeed represents a large, crenellated, towerless block on the south side of the 'Platea de Senis' set around a central court: Frutaz, *Piante di Roma*, tav. 244: "1576 Roma di Mario Cartano (grande) zona del Pantheon." In 1497 Riario's palace at San Lorenzo in Damaso was described as having crenellations, though no sign of these survives today: Clarke, *Roman House*, 180; Christoph Luitpold Frommel, "Il cardinal Raffaele Riario ed il palazzo della Cancelleria," in *Sisto IV e Giulio II: mecenati e promotori di cultura*, ed. Silvia Bottaro (Savona: Coop Tipograf, 1989), 78–9. The Palazzo Piccolomini was large enough to become a Roman landmark. Records in the Venerable English College archive locate several of the hospice's properties as situated behind the Piccolomini palace on the Piazza di Siena, e.g. VEC, Liber 18, f. 93v: "unam domum… in theatro pompei retro palatium Reverendissimo Signore Cardinalio Senensis."

[98] Panciroli, *Tesori nascosti*, 799. Howard Hibbard, "The Early History of Sant'Andrea della Valle," *The Art Bulletin* 43 (1961): 290: in 1582 Donna Costanza Piccolomini of Aragon, Duchess of Amalfi, left the family palace in Rome to the Order of the Theatines. A church to St Andrew—the dedication being an obvious reference to Pius's pontificate when the relic of the head of the apostle was brought to Rome—was quickly erected in what must have been a sizeable courtyard, with the palace around it serving as the monastery. Unfortunately its prestigious position in the very centre of the city between the new church of the Gesù and the Cancelleria sealed the palace's fate, as well as that of the little church of San Sebastiano in front of it. When, by 1588, the popularity of the order attracted too many of the faithful for the little courtyard church to hold, a larger church (the present Sant'Andrea della Valle) was planned. The new, large church covered almost the whole of the Piazza di Siena in front of the Palazzo Piccolomini, and enough of the palace itself to make its demolition unavoidable. On the centre of Rome and the new religious orders see Enrico Guidoni and Angelo Marino, *Storia dell' urbanistica: Il Cinquecento* (Bari: La Terza, 1982), 614.

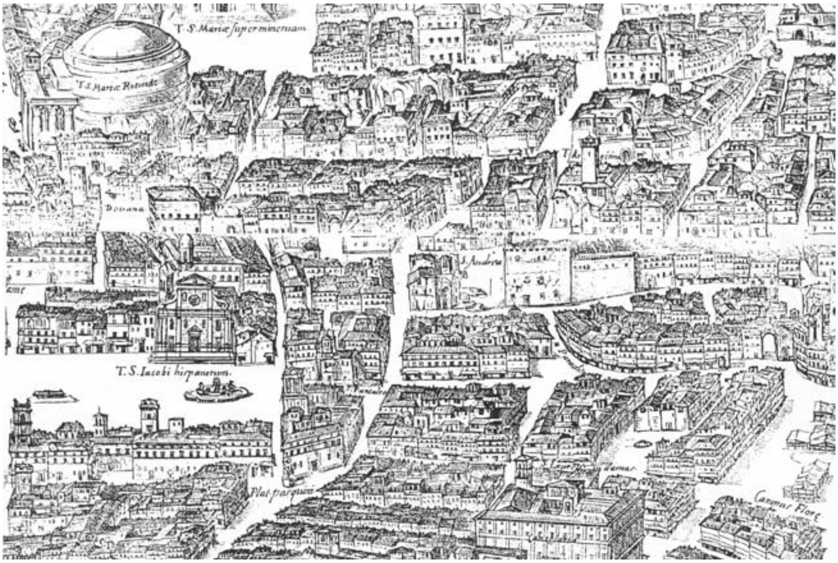
T. S. Mariæ super minervam
T. S. Mariæ Rotunde
Dovana
S. Andrea
T. S. Iacobi hispanorum
Plat pasquini
Campus Flore

Figure 66 Sant'Andrea della Valle (marked 'S. Andrea,' in center) in construction and the Palazzo Siena, from Antonio Tempesta, map of Rome (1593).

protect it from any other claim—especially papal—although he reserved the right to live there during his lifetime.[99]

Piccolomini's relationship with San Saba occupies the decade or so between his promotion to the college in 1461 and the completion of his palace by the early 1470s. At the same time that his palace was under construction, the cardinal secured the church and convent of San Saba on the Piccolo Aventino, the day after Prospero Colonna, who had had the church as a benefice, died in March 1463.[100] In 1465 the cardinal gave his chaplain, Giovanni Antonio da Perugia, a pension of 6 gold florins from the income procured from the charge.[101] He did not simply use San Saba as a source of income, however: by 1499 the cardinal had spent 3,000 ducats on the fabric of the church and its associated buildings. This is the same amount the cardinal spent on his uncle's tomb in St Peter's and three-quarters of the 4,000 ducats deemed an acceptable minimum annual income for a cardinal.[102] The church and convent, occupied by a community of Cluniac Benedictines, were restored and embellished. In the church itself frescoes depicting the Annunciation and recording the cardinal's patronage were added high up in the nave and over the triumphal arch (Figure 67). In the convent work was carried out on the monks' dormitory, stores, prior's rooms, and rooms reserved for the cardinal himself, while an impressive loggia was added that still dominates the facade and lends the church the distinctly domestic air of a suburban retreat (Figure 68).[103] San Saba also gained the additional dedication of St Ansanus, one of the patron saints of Piccolomini's native Siena, in the same period.[104]

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[99] Carol M. Richardson, "The Lost Will and Testament of Cardinal Francesco Todeschini-Piccolomini (1439–1503)," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 66 (1998): 207, 210.

[100] Prospero Colonna had held San Saba since at least 1432. ASV, Schedario Garampi 113, Indice 556 (Chiese di Roma), f. 142v: "1432 md. prospero Card. Georgii commend. mon S. Sabbe Urbis… 1463 Francesco Card. S. Eustachii commendatur mon. S. Sabe. Urbis ad Prosperii Card. S.Georgii." See also Carlo la Bella, *San Saba*, CDRI ns 35 (Rome: Palombi, 2003), 76. Therefore, Francesco Piccolomini was not, as Pasquale Testini maintains, the first to hold the monastery *in commendam*. The church was restored and embellished under Innocent III (1198–1216). Pasquale Testini, *San Saba* (Rome: Marietti, 1961), 14. Piccolomini expenditure on San Saba is detailed in archives of Sant'Andrea della Valle, Testamenti della Duchessa d'Amalfi 589 cass. 10 (see Ciprelli, "Costruzioni dei Piccolomini," 244.)

A particular reason for the association of Francesco Piccolomini with San Saba was its links with the cult of Pope Gregory the Great. The large house that became San Saba—named after St Sabbas of Cappadocia (439–532)—incorporated an oratory to Gregory's mother, St Sylvia.[105] His uncle, Pius II, held particular devotion for Gregory the Great as they shared their coronation date of 3 September—Gregory

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[101] Biblioteca Angelica, Rome, liber 1077, f. 101v.

[102] Richardson, "Housing Opportunities," 612–26.

[103] Archivio Storico dei Teatini, Curia Generalizia dei Chierici Regolari, cass. 10, Roma-S. Andrea, fasc. 589, note 1, in Ciprelli, "Costruzioni dei Piccolomini," 247: "Item nel monastero di Sancto Sauo tra li tecti della chiesa facti tucti di nouo scialbi fenestre inuetreate dormitorio loge da basso et da alto rifectorio cucina, stanze nostre, stanze del Priore, mure delli orti, tecti rifacti doue stanno li fieni: ornamenti di sacrestie et di altiri intucto vicino ai 3. mila ducati."

[104] Fra Mariano, *Itinerarium Urbis Romae*, 121; Ciprelli, "Costruzioni dei Piccolomini," 247; Daniela Gallavotti Cavallero, *Guide Rionali di Roma: Rione XXI—San Saba* (Rome: Palombi, 1989), 40; La Bella, *San Saba*, 78.

[105] The bibliography for the description of this early part of the church is reasonably extensive, unlike that for the Piccolomini contributions. See, for example, A. Bacci, "Studio sopra la Chiesa Aventinese di S.Saba," *Römische Quartalschrift* 24 (1910): 155–71, and P. Styger, "Die Malereien in der Basilika des hl. Sabas auf dem Kl. Aventine in Rom," *Römische Quartalschrift* 28 (1914): 49–96; Krautheimer et al., *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum*, vol. 4, 51–3. On the dating of the original church see Jean Lestocquoy, "Notes sur L'Eglise de St. Saba," *Rivista di Archeaologia Christiana* 6 (1929): 313–57; Krautheimer et al., *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum*, vol. 4, 68, 69; Emile Mâle, *The Early Churches of Rome*, trans. D. Buxton (London: Benn, 1960), 127–8.

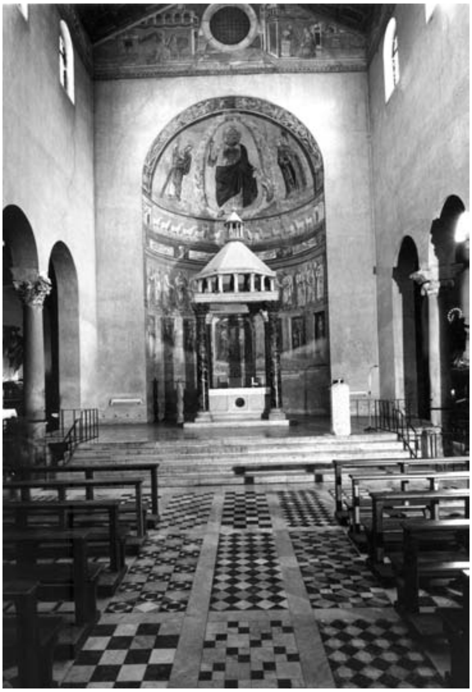

Figure 67 San Saba, interior. Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione, Rome, no. C 3601.

in 590 and Pius II in 1458. Pius II further exploited this link when he embellished the chapel of Gregory the Great in St Peter's.[106]

The Piccolomini loggia at San Saba altogether changed the aspect of the building. Looking across the valley to the monasteries on the Aventine and to the Tiber, it affords the gentle breezes and view recommended by Alberti for villas.[107] Between the Piccolo Aventino

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[106] Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *Between Renaissance and Baroque: The first Jesuit Paintings in Rome 1564–1610* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 126. Early in the twentieth century, an oratory dedicated to St Sylvia, Gregory's mother, was discovered under the floor of the church. See A. Bacci, "Studio sopra la Chiesa Aventinese di S. Saba," *Römische Quartalschrift* XXIV (1910), 155–71, and P. Styger, "Die Malereien in der Basilika des hl. Sabas auf dem Kl. Aventine in Rom," *Römische Quartalschrift* XXVIII (1914), 49–96, Krautheimer et al., *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum*, vol. 4, 51ff; see also 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*, ed. Mary Hollingsworth and Carol M. Richardson (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, forthcoming).

[107] Alberti, *On the Art of Building*, 145. The loggia gives access to (on the floor below at the left-hand side) a large room with a corner fireplace which is today called the

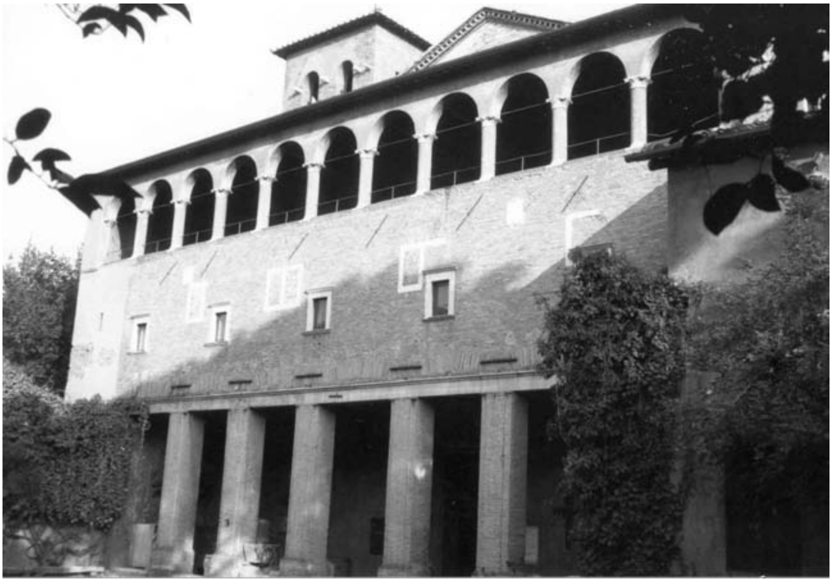

Figure 68 San Saba, exterior. Author.

on which San Saba sits and the Aventine itself runs one of the main roads from the centre of Rome to Porta San Paolo, the southern gate that lets onto the Via Ostiense, which leads out along the Tiber to the west to Ostia. Anyone travelling to Rome by sea would have entered through the Porta San Paolo. Pilgrims moving east between the major basilicas and stational churches of San Paolo fuori le Mura, where the major relics of St Paul are kept, and St John Lateran, the cathedral of Rome, or travelling to the west to San Pietro in Vaticano, would have had to follow the Vicus Piscinae Publicae (the modern Viale Aventino) below the walls of San Saba. With the addition of the loggia in the 1460s, the road could be seen from the church, and the loggia (and anyone in it) could be seen from the road (Figure 69). The best known benediction loggia was being added to St Peter's by Pius II at the same time that Piccolomini acquired San Saba, while around 1465 Paul II had a loggia added in front of San Marco.[108] This latter example was

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Piccolomini room, though it contains no reference to the family, unlike the church interior and its facade which bear painted and sculpted coats of arms.

[108] Westfall, "Vatican Palace Type," 120–1.

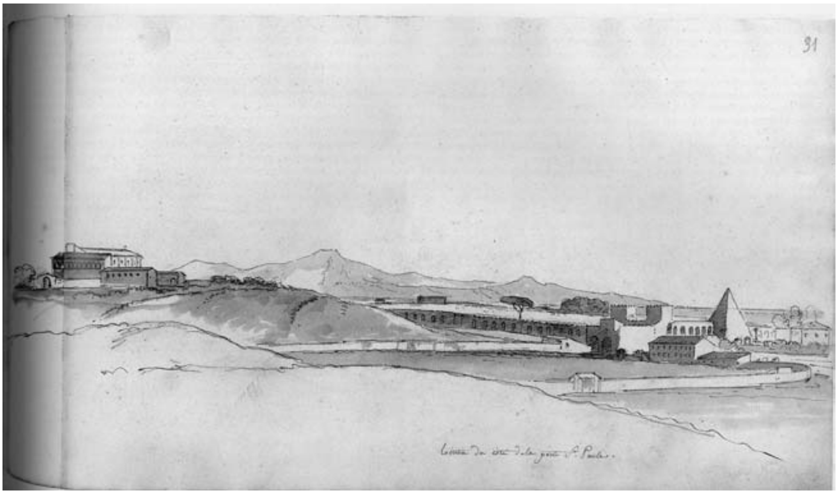

Figure 69 Nicolas-Didier Boguet (1755–1839), San Saba to the Porta San Paolo, drawing on paper (San Saba is on the LHS and the Porta San Paolo on the RHS). British School at Rome.

particularly associated with the procession that went from St Peter's to San Marco to mark the feast of Corpus Domini.[109]

As an asset in a cardinal's portfolio, the example of Francesco Piccolomini's association with San Saba demonstrates the range of ways in which a church in Rome could be exploited: it was redeveloped to provide more salubrious surroundings for its patron as a suburban villa; it was branded with references to both Siena and to Pius II to witness to the Piccolomini presence in Rome; and in a relatively minor way, even though its income was restricted, parts of it were used to pay members of the cardinal's household.

The property market in Rome

The majority of studies of cardinals' residences in Rome place them somewhere on a long line that plots the development of the type from the reuse and redevelopment of existing sites, as at Sant'Apollinare or Santa Maria in Via Lata, through to the modern palace built *ex novo*, such as Riario's palace at San Lorenzo in Damaso with its sophisticated classical articulation.[110] However, the development of the type depended as much (if not more) on the gradual establishment of a stable economic and political context as on aesthetic concerns. Arnold Esch has recently related this trend to improvements in the building trades in the city, as craftsmen from outside were increasingly attracted to work there.[111] Nevertheless, until the last decades of the century, the majority of cardinals depended on what was already in existence. Before changes in property law in the 1470s which opened the market to individuals far more than before, building anew, or even investing in major changes to existing structures, was risky.

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[109] The procession was instigated by Nicholas V in 1448 and confirmed by Calixtus III, Pius II, and Paul II: Westfall, "Vatican Palace Type," 121; Infessura, *Diario*, 47.

While the titular churches and other churches and properties in Rome offered cardinals a variety of facilities, they had a number of disadvantages, not least that they were in the gift of the pope. The main drawback to investing in residential property at a titular church was that it could never be privately owned but remained part of the ecclesiastical benefice and therefore in the gift of the reigning pope. No wonder, then, that cardinals such as Pietro Barbo tried so hard to secure a succession at the churches and attached palaces they had extended, which was helped by becoming pope. Their efforts were always short term, however: a large palace might raise visibility and help promote an individual's candidacy for the papacy, which in turn could be used to further the papal family's fortunes, but it ultimately left that family with nothing unless they were quick to exploit other possibilities during their pope's reign to last them through their inevitable fall from grace—as the example of Francesco Piccolomini demonstrates.[112] As a result, many of the curia and the cardinals maintained interests outside Rome and, where possible, passed property and income to their relatives while they were still alive.[113] It was not until Sixtus IV's pontificate that, for the first time in Rome, cardinals could bequeath property they had secured which was separate from churches without the risk of it being seized by the pope. Both these facts—that property was commonly passed on to relatives and that it was done without controversy—explain why Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini passed the ownership of his new palace to his brothers in 1476.

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[110] Aurigemma, "Residenze cardinalizie," 124, 128. At the end of the same article Simona Sperindei has compiled an invaluable list of cardinals and the residences with which they were associated in the fifteenth century, with bibliographical notes: Simona Sperindei, "Repertorio delle Residenze Cardinalizie," in *Roma: le trasformazioni urbane nel Quattrocento*, vol. 2: *Funzioni urbane e tipologie edilizie*, ed. Giorgio Simoncini (Rome: Olschki, 2004), 137–58.

[111] Arnold Esch, "Progetti edilizi dei cardinali a Roma e l'importazione dei materiali da costruzione (1470–1480)," in *Il principe architetto*, ed. Arturo Calzona, Francesco Paolo fiore, Alberto Tenent et al. (Florence: Olschki, 2002), 361–76; Aurigemma, "Residenze cardinalizie," 124.

[112] "Non semper pontificis nepos," Pius II wrote to one of Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini's brothers, Antonio, the Duke of Amalfi, in 1459. Biblioteca Angelica 1077, f. 85v.

The pope's actions to encourage property dealing in Rome and to release the cardinals from the disadvantages have to be viewed against a backdrop of his unbridled nepotism, however, establishing the della Rovere and Riario in the city on a scale and to an extent previously unparalleled.[114] Despite legislating to improve and clarify property dealing in Rome, the pope was not averse to ignoring the intricacies and delicate links that existed in Rome to suit himself and his family.

The ownership and rights to the group of properties clustered round Santissimi XII Apostoli are particularly complex, and Sixtus IV's promotion of his family made a difficult situation worse. Adjoining the Colonna enclave, the buildings closest to the church itself were claimed by the titular cardinal of the basilica and by the community of Franciscans assigned to the church. In 1446 Eugenius IV conceded Bessarion the church of Sant'Andrea in Via Erzatica (now Via della Pilotta), which stood apse to apse with Santissimi XII Apostoli. In 1462 Pius II revoked all concessions made to the brothers of Martin V, Giordano and Lorenzo Colonna, to a property just behind and to the right-hand side of Santissimi XII Apostoli because they had done nothing to restore or repair the building.[115] Bessarion's control over Sant'Andrea and this property seems to have enabled the cardinal to extend whatever domestic quarters he had in the area, adding a library which was later praised for its dignity and simplicity.[116] Bessarion's house was eventually incorporated into the Palazzo Colonna in its rebuilding in 1730. When Bessarion died in 1472, Sixtus IV's nephews took over at Santissimi XII Apostoli; between 1471 and 1503 first Pietro Riario then Giuliano della Rovere (Julius II from 1503) extended the adjoining properties.[117] Della Rovere added a small palace of his own on the left-hand side of Santissimi XII Apostoli, while the Franciscans had conventual buildings constructed just behind it. In 1508 Francesco Soderini (d. 1524), who had been made cardinal of Santa Susanna in 1503 by Alexander VI, opted for Santissimi XII Apostoli and therefore gained access to the building on the right-hand side of the church that had become known as the titular cardinal's.[118] Soderini proceeded to enlarge and improve the palace and its garden.[119] But the Colonna still owned the property *in feudis* because they still owned the land it was built upon, a fact that seems to have been ignored by Sixtus IV's nephews. In 1517, the same year that Soderini was forced into exile, Leo X gave the property back to the Colonna in return for their paying the titular cardinal 40 ducats per year.[120] As Kate Lowe notes, "the ownership problem was resolved by a pope, just as it was started by a pope."[121]

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[113] Peter Partner, "Sisto IV, Giulio II e Roma rinascimentale: la politica sociale d una grande iniziativa urbanistica," *L'età dei Della Rovere, Atti e Memorie*, n.s. 25 (Savona: Società Savonese di Storia Patria, 1989), 85.

[114] Bram Kempers, "Capella Iulia and Capella Sixtina: Two Tombs, One Patron and Two Churches," in *Sisto IV: Le Arti a Roma nel Primo Rinascimento*, ed. Fabio Benzi (Rome: Shakespeare and Company 2, 2000), 34. On the della Rovere see, most recently, the essays in *Patronage and Dynasty: The Rise of the della Rovere in Renaissance Italy*, ed.Ian Verstegen, (Kirksville: Truman State University Press, 2007).

[115] Vitaliano Tiberia, *Antoniazzo Romano per il Cardinale Bessarione a Roma* (Todi: Ediart, 1992), doc. 2, 118–20.

[116] Frutaz, *Piante di Roma*, vol. 2, tav. 147: "Sec XIV—la parte centrale della città: ricostruzione di Christiano Hülsen (1926)" shows the church of San Andrea dei Biberatica apse to apse with Santissimi XII Apostoli. See also Platina, *Panegyricus in laudem*

During the Avignon exile the income the cardinals (and curia) derived from their benefices was simply that—it was not reinvested in the churches' estate, resulting in their impoverishment and deterioration. In the fourteenth century, most of the curia and the cardinals were not even Italians, so they had little interest in acquiring and keeping real estate in Rome. In the fifteenth century, the majority were Italians again but few were actually Roman.[122] Moreover, Partner explains that in the first half of the fifteenth century most of the wealth of the Roman curia was deposited in banks owned and run by Tuscan families, a fact that certainly stimulated the prosperity of cities such as Florence and prompted Branda da Castiglione to invest in Castiglione

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amplissimi patris domini Bessarionis (1470), in *Patrologiae cursus completus… Series Graeca*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, 161 (Paris: Migne, 1866), cols ciii–cxvi.

[117] K.J.P. Lowe, *Church and Politics in Renaissance Italy: The Life and Career of Cardinal Francesco Soderini, 1453–1524* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 209, who cites the relevant bibliography for the complex situation at Santissimi XII Apostoli.

[118] Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, vol. 3, 67; Lowe, *Church and Politics*, 211. Soderini swapped titular churches with Leonardo Grosso, a member of the della Rovere family, who took Santa Susanna.

[119] Lowe, *Church and Politics*, 211; Albertini, *Opusculum*, 20–54.

[120] ASV, Reg. Vat. 1089, ff. 163r–164r, in Lowe, *Church and Politics*, 213.

[121] Lowe, *Church and Politics*, 213.

[122] Peter Partner, "finanze e urbanistica a Rome (1420–1623)," *Cheiron* 2 (1983): 60.

Olona and Pius II in Pienza.[123] Even under the Colonna pope, Martin V, investment was made outside Rome in the acquisition of huge tracts of land to the south from the Alban hills to Subiaco. The popes had to do something to encourage investment in Rome itself. There were both economic and ideological reasons for this.

Nicholas V, in words recorded by Manetti, famously believed that building in Rome would remind the people both of the power of God and of the authority of the Church.[124] Even if they were illiterate, they could not fail to understand that the Roman Church is supreme and therefore be inspired to greater devotion by impressive buildings, "as if made by God himself." Similarly, in his bull *Et si de cunctarum civitatum* (1480), Sixtus IV promoted the idea that Rome deserved restoration and embellishment because it is "the city consecrated to our lord Jesus Christ by the glorious blood of the martyred apostles Peter and Paul... and because the most high established in it the principate of his bishop and the capital of the Christian religion, and because he chose in it the seat of his vicar, to which the faithful gather in large numbers from all parts of the world."[125]

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[123] Partner, "Sisto IV, Giulio II," 84.

[124] Giannozzo Manetti, *De vita ac gestis Nicolai Quinti summi pontificis*, ed. Anna Modigliani (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 2005), book 3, paragraph 11; 122, 212–3: "Duas principales edificationum nostrarum causas extitisse venerationes vestras scire atque intelligere volumus. Romane nanque Ecclesie auctoritatem maximam ac summam esse ii soli intelligunt, qui originem et incrementa sua ex litterarum cognitione perceperunt. Ceterorum vero cunctorum populorum turbe litterarum ignare penitusque expertes, quamvis a doctis et eruditis viris qualia et quanta illa sint crebro audire eisque tamquam veris et certis assentiri videantur, nisi tamen egregiis quibusdam visis moveantur, profecto omnis illa eorum assensio, debilibus et imbecillis fundamentis innixa, diuturnitate temporis ita paulatim elabitur, ut plerunque ad nihilum recidat. At vero cum illa vulgaris opinio, doctorum hominum relationibus fundata, magnis edificiis perpetuis quodammodo monumentis ac testimoniis pene sempiternis, quasi a Deo fabricatis, in dies usque adeo corroboratur et confirmatur, ut in vivos posterosque illarum admirabilium constructionum conspectores continue traducatur, ac per hunc modum conservatur et augetur atque, sic conservata et aucta, admirabili quadam devotione conditur et capitur." Charles W. Westfall, *In this Most Perfect Paradise: Alberti, Nicholas V and the Invention of Conscious Urban Planning in Rome 1447–1455* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1974), 33–6; Partner, "finanze e urbanistica," 61; Burroughs, *Signs to Designs*, 9–11, who points out that in this well-known and often quoted passage from Nicholas V's deathbed testament, the pope's "account of the purpose of his buildings on their rhetorical or communicative function distracts attention from their physical substance to features, which might be quite incidental, conveying meaning."

[125] Eugène Müntz, *Les Arts à la Cour des Papes pendant le XV^e^ et le XVI^e^ siècle: Recueil de documents inédits tirés des archives et des bibliothèques Romaines*, part 3 Sixte IV–Léon X, 1471–1521, Bibliothèque des Ècoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 28 (Paris: E. Thorin, 1882), 179, 180; translated in Henry Dietrich Fernández, "Bramante's Architectural

The inspiration of jubilees or grand papal statements about Rome's glorious past was, in the end, not quite enough. Papal Rome was only an effective symbol if its reality was improved upon.[126] Certainly, there was a lively trade in the restoration of properties linked to Rome's churches, but by the 1470s it required a boost which would also ensure that more of the revenues of the Church were invested in Rome. A major challenge was that in Rome much property was not available for private sale, nor could it be as it was entailed to churches and ecclesiastical institutions, while occasional papal dispensations confused the issue and rarely resolved it. As we have seen, however, most cardinals relied on their links with their churches for accommodation, leisure, food, and fuel.

Although in the 1460s Paul II made some moves to control the alienation of Church property, these were relatively easily evaded by those in the favour of the pope. The bull of 1467, *Ambitiosae cupiditati*, forbade the leasing or mortgaging of Church property for any more than three years, but nevertheless allowed exceptions "permitted by law, or which concern things and goods which it has long been customary to concede... in the apparent utility of the churches, or those which concern fruits and goods that cannot be kept because of the exigencies of the time."[127] The issue was still controversial in the mid-sixteenth century: in 1537 Paul III's reform commission advised: "The license for bequeathing the goods of the church ought not to be given to clerics except for an urgent reason, lest the goods of the poor be converted into private delights and the amplification of houses."[128]

In the 1470s, for Sixtus IV the pressing issue was the appropriate rejuvenation of the papal city as the physical manifestation of the assertion and reinforcement of papal supremacy. In the first of two bulls designed

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Legacy in the Vatican Palace: A Study in Papal Routes" (PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 2003), 233.

[126] Burroughs, *Signs to Designs*, 11–12. I concur with Burroughs's essentially pragmatic approach to the sources, which starts with what was happening on the ground—the buildings, civic structures, including statutes—and only then looks at "signs" and "theological correlates." Burroughs's study subsumes "the discussion of major architectural monuments in that of the general environment as a matrix of repeated and often quite trivial and everyday signs."

[127] *Bullarum, diplomatum et privilegiorum sanctorum romanorum pontificum*..., ed. Seb. Franco and Henrico Dalmazzo (Turin: Augustae Taurinorum, 1860), vol. 5, 194–5. Translated in McClung Hallman, *Church as Property*, 67.

[128] *Concilium Tridentinum: Diariorum, actorum, epistularum, tractuum nova collectio*, vol. 12, ed. Vincentius Schweitzer (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1930), 143; translated in McClung Hallman, *Church as Property*, 80.

to promote the development of real estate in Rome, *Etsi universis* of 1475, Sixtus suppressed the right of spoil for ecclesiastics—which gave a pope the right to claim the estate of any prelate who died in Rome who had not secured a papal licence to make a will (*licentia testandi*)—for those ecclesiastics who had built in Rome and its immediate environs (within the tenth mile stone), or who would build in the future, allowing them to leave property to their heirs.[129] As Egmont Lee put it, "squatters' rights were thus formally recognised, an important matter in this city of ruins, where property lines were not always evident, and houses were often built where open spaces and the presence of building materials permitted."[130] This right was granted to all in Rome, "regardless of clerical status," but its main focus was members of the curia. The second bull, *Et si de cunctarum civitatum* of 1480, enabled private property to be confiscated and streets cleared in the interest of the public good, comfortable passage, and security. In return it suggested that there might be some compensation in the form of public property or unused or derelict private properties. The evidence suggests that the bull was enacted: in 1482 Andrea Spirito, a protonotary, was compensated with land next to his property when he was forced to demolish part of a house that was an obstruction to a public way, and a canon of Santa Maria Maggiore, Iacopo de Capocinis, was forced to sell some of the uninhabited houses he and his brother owned because a neighbour, Stefano Margani, wanted to expand his house.[131]

Infessura reports in his diary that Sixtus IV introduced these measures on the advice of King Ferrante of Naples, who, during his visit to Rome in January 1475, suggested to the pope that the only way to control the city was to enlarge the streets, removing the various structures—porticoes, temporary buildings, and shacks—which blocked them and gave dark places for robbers to hide.[132] Although in 1425 Martin V had reinstated the office of *maestri delle strade*—an apostolic authority over the city—they were not always keen to instruct the demolition or removal of every obstruction.[133] In the 1440s the chamberlain, Cardinal Trevisan, oversaw the regulation of traffic in major thoroughfares, the improvement of areas such as Campo dei Fiori and the Piazza della Rotonda in front of the Pantheon, and restrictions on traders' activities.[134] These activities of the first half of the century were then formalized under Nicholas V. By the second half of the fifteenth century, one of the problems was that the *maestri* were granting too many licences which allowed Rome's inhabitants to build structures in public highways, negating improvements already achieved. In 1480 Cardinal d'Estouteville, as chamberlain of the Holy Roman Church and therefore responsible for its properties, published a brief which gave the Roman populace eight days' warning before the streets would start to be cleared—without exception. As Piñeiro put it, in the statutes of 1452 the *maestri* were authorized by the papacy to do their work, while in 1478 they were instructed, and in 1480 they were ordered to get on with it and start demolitions—three dates which signal the gradual intersection of civic and papal authority in the city for regulating and controlling the development of the urban fabric.[135] But in this oppressive climate, by 1480 the property market seems to have almost ground to a halt, as the *maestri* could obtain by compulsory sale any building needed for the development of public spaces.[136] No one was building or restoring their properties because of the permanent threat of demolition.

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[129] *Bullarum, diplomatum et privilegiorum*, vol. 5, 211–212; Müntz, *Les Arts à la Cour des Papes*, part 3, 180–1. See also Daniel Williman, "The Right of Spoil of the Popes of Avignon 1316–1415," *Transactions of the American Philosophocal Society* 78 part 6 (1988); Partner, "Sisto IV, Giulio II," 85; Manuel Vaquero Piñeiro, "Una città da cambiare: intorno alla legislazione edilizia di Sisto IV," in *Sisto IV: Le Arti a Roma nel Primo Rinascimento*, ed. Fabio Benzi (Rome: Shakespeare and Company 2, 2000), 430.

[130] Egmont Lee, "Policy and Culture in the Age of Pope Sixtus IV," in *L'età dei Della Rovere*. Atti e Memorie, n.s. vol. 25 (Savona: Società Savonese di Storia Patria, 1989), 28.

[131] Lee, "Policy and Culture," 29.

[132] Infessura, *Diario*, 78–80.

Piñeiro interprets some of these changes in property law in the context of the not altogether predicted and unsuccessful effects of Sixtus's confirmation of the duties of the *maestri delle strade*. While the nominal value of property in Rome rose an incredible 200 per cent between 1418 and 1479, the assertion of the duties of the *maestri delle strade* to demolish some properties and widen the roads seems to have brought it to a halt.[137] This had knocked around 40 per cent off the average price of buying a house—from between 300 florins (or 325 ducats) to 177 florins (190 ducats). In addition to enabling the confiscation and clearing of private property, a tax was introduced proportional to the value of the property, which was to be paid on the sale of every house, smallholding, or building, regulating the valuation of property but also imposing limits to protect the public parts of the city.[138] Although the bull of Sixtus IV of June 1480, *Et si de cunctarum civitatum*, concentrates on the improvement of public thoroughfares and circulation of the citizens of Rome and the curia through the city, it was also designed to encourage new building and sales. This was the point at which the ongoing consolidation of the public highways and the modernization of buildings intersected. It enabled empty properties to be bought by neighbours who wanted to expand their properties.

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[133] *Bullarum, diplomatum et privilegiorum*, vol. 4, 716–18; Alan Ceen, "The Quartiere De' Banchi: Urban Planning in Rome in the first Half of the fifteenth Century" (PhD thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1977), 20.

[134] Burroughs, *Signs to Designs*, 87–8.

[135] Piñeiro, "Una città da cambiare," 429. Orietta Verdi, *Maestri di edifici e di strade a Roma nel secolo XV: fonti e problemi* (Rome: Roma nel Rinascimento, 1997), 68, who argues that Sixtus IV's legislation on building ended the autonomy of the magistrature of the streets from the papacy.

[136] Ceen, "Quartiere De' Banchi," 29–30.

[137] For the period under Martin V, Manuel Vaquero Piñeiro, "Il mercato immobiliare," in *Alle origini dell nuova Roma. Martin V (1417–1431),* ed. Maria Chiabò et al.

Sixtus IV's radical changes to property laws were not uncontroversial. Popes relied on the right of spoil for the occasional boost to their stretched resources. Alexander VI confirmed many of Sixtus's concessions, but there was a sting in the tail. The cardinals could bequeath all their possessions—property and contents

> of whatever quality, sum, value, price, or condition they be and of whatever kinds of property they consist, even if they or part of them derive from the ecclesiastical income of any cathedral church, even metropolitan, or from the titular cardinalate churches, or from monasteries, or from any other ecclesiastical benefice, secular or regular, which in title, *in commendam*, administration, or otherwise… and whatever annual pensions from any ecclesiastical fruits, rents, and produce assigned to you or to be assigned in the future.[139]

(Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 1992), 555–69: the return of the papacy to Rome as its permanent base, the increase in population, reintroduction of trade, and circulation of money also prompted the resurgence of the property market. Prices varied hugely, from 14 to 200 florins in 1420 to between 32 and 350 florins in 1424. A complete residential complex (including various buildings, towers, gardens, and stables) could cost 300 florins but a simple *domus* 44 florins in the parish of Santa Maria in Via Lata. Value did not so much depend on area as on the moment when a property was sold. Houses of nobility and merchants fetched the highest prices—250–300 florins—shoemakers, butchers, religious, etc. 100 florins. Ecclesiastical property was lower—71 florins.

[138] The bull is given in Müntz, *Les Arts à la Cour des Papes*, part 3, 182–7. Fernández, "Bramante's Architectural Legacy," 232–42. See also Partner, "Sisto IV, Giulio II," 86, and Piñeiro, "Una città da cambiare," 426–8, who examines the almost continuous registers which record the names of the buyers and sellers of property in Rome between 1447 and 1480 in the Archivio di Stato di Roma.

[139] ASV, Arm. XLI, 33, ff. 106r–107r; translated in McClung Hallman, *Church as Property*, 82.

Ecclesiastical vestments were not to be bequeathed, although they were commonly left to selected churches in wills, and the cardinal's ring was to be returned to the pope without exception. But these concessions of Alexander VI were made on the condition that a third of the estate of bishops and cardinals allowed to make a will reverted to the pope or were devolved back to the Church as charity or contributions to the crusade against the Turks or the building work at St Peter's. And cardinals' estates were nevertheless confiscated all the same, despite papal promises. Paul II infamously seized the estate of Ludovico Trevisan—and the fine collection of jewels and cameos he had assembled. Although Alexander VI tried to claim the estate of the wealthy Giovanni Battista Zen, nephew of Paul II who died in Venice in May 1501, the agents of the Venetian state got there first.[140] When Ascanio Sforza died intestate in 1505 Julius II claimed his estate, no doubt with some delight as the two had been bitter rivals. The pope did, however, provide the cardinal with a tomb monument in Bramante's new choir in Santa Maria del Popolo, the della Rovere church, but most of his estate was used up helping to pay for Julius II's grand vision for St Peter's.[141]

These changes signalled a major shift in the relationship of the cardinals with the pope and with Rome. Thereafter, cardinals could build their own properties, quite separate from their titular churches and commendatory benefices, with the knowledge that they had a much better chance of keeping them in their families. The period 1420 to 1474 was, therefore, the high point of the development of property connected with Rome's churches, a period in which additive rather than pristine building was the rule.

Peter Partner points out that in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, rather than nodal points focused on churches, whole areas became ghettos of the popes' favourites—the Via de'Coronari where the Cancelleria was built by Raffaele Riario under Sixtus IV, the Via Giulia under Julius II, a kind of golden trangle between Ponte Sant'Angelo, Piazza Navona, and Campo dei Fiori.[142] Old families such as the Orsini or Colonna who were often out of papal favour were at a distinct disadvantage in the new legislative context. This was a world apart from the one in which the popes moved regularly from one residence in Rome to another and Martin V told his cardinals to restore their churches.

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[140] McClung Hallman, *Church as Property*, 80–1; Giovanni Soranzo, "Giovanni Battista Zeno, nipote di Paolo II, cardinale de S. Maria in Portico (1468–1501)," *Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia* 16 no. 2 (1962), 249–74.

[141] Haydn G. Huntly, *Andrea Sansovino: Sculptor and Architect of the Italian Renaissance* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1935), 57–64; Nicole Riegel, "Capella Ascanii-Coemiterium Julium. Zur Auftraggeberschaft des Chors von Santa Maria del Popolo in Rom," *Römisches Jahrbuch der Biblioteca Hertziana* 30 (1995): 201–8, 212–14.

[142] Partner, "Sisto IV, Giulio II," 87.

The parts and the whole

Charles Burroughs suggests two models for the analysis of Rome's urban development and character in the fifteenth century, each based on other Italian cities.[143] The first is Leonardo Bruni's concentric model from his *Laudatio Floretinae urbis* (*c.* 1403), which has the city focused on the town hall at its nucleus and bounded by walls. This in turn was surrounded by a suburban or semi-rural area, then outlying areas of villas, and furthest away castles and smaller satellite towns. The second, the radial model, is characterized by Filarete's ideal city of Sforzinda published in his treatise on architecture (*c.* 1461). The city operates like a wheel, its roads radiating out from the centre to gates in its walls. Both models have relevance for Rome, but in the descriptions of Christian shrines, ancient ruins, and great palaces that characterize the early guides to the city, it is the radial that is most expedient.

Although the ancient roads had changed somewhat by the fifteenth century to reflect the shift in population into the Tiber bend, nevertheless the three roads that met on Ponte Sant'Angelo, the main crossing from Rome to the Vatican, each spread out to the edges of Rome and on into the countryside like the spokes of a wheel.[144] The Via del Papa passed through the centre of the city from the bridge, along the north side of the Campo dei Fiori, to the Capitol and on past the Forum and Colosseum to the Lateran and on to the Sabine hills. The Via Retta passed straight along through the Campo Marzio to the Pantheon, turning left at Santa Maria in Via Lata onto the Via Flaminia. The Via Mercatoria (or Via del Pellegrino) passed the south side of the Campo dei Fiori, through the Ghetto, near the crossing at the Tiber island, and down to the Circus Maximus where it split to San Paolo fuori le mura and Ostia or the Via Appia and the Alban hills. According to Alberti, these ceremonial roads "leading to temples, basilicas, and show buildings, that have greater importance than they would naturally warrant" deserved special attention.[145] In Rome he singled out two routes that were "worthy of the greatest admiration." The first ran from the Porta San Paolo to the basilica of San Paolo fuori le mura (near San Saba); the second was a covered route "from the bridge to the basilica of St Peter."[146] On these routes the important elements were "bridges, crossroads, fora, and show buildings"—in Rome cardinals' residences and churches.[147]

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[143] Burroughs, *Signs to Designs*, 189–94.

[144] Burroughs, *Signs to Designs*, 87–8, 194.

Something of the splendour of the ceremonial routes is expressed by this passage from the first book of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*:

> There is a high way, easily seen when the sky is clear. 'Tis called the Milky Way, famed for its shining whiteness. By this way the gods fare to the halls and royal dwelling of the mighty Thunderer. On either side the palaces of the gods of higher rank are thronged with guests through folding doors flung wide. The lesser gods dwell apart from these. Fronting on this way, the illustrious and strong heavenly gods have placed their homes. This is the place which, if I may make bold to say it, I would not fear to call the Palatia of high Heaven.[148]

Likewise, the cardinals' residences punctuated the city thoroughfares, as Giovanni Rucellai, Francesco Albertini, and other writers and diarists noted.[149] Rucellai, for example, visiting the city as a pilgrim for the 1450 jubilee, did not see Rome as an urban unity but, as Charles Stinger puts it, "as a congeries of nodal points, denoted by talismans of the sacred." It was this "pilgrim perception of Rome [that shaped] cultural and intellectual proclivities in the city."[150]

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[145] Alberti, *On the Art of Building*, 261.

[146] Alberti, *On the Art of Building*, 261 n. 82: it is suggested that this covered route may have run from Trastevere, across the Ponte Elio and on to St Peter's, as a portico had been built to protect pilgims in the fourth century. However, the covered route may also refer to the Via Retta, which took its name from the Via Tecta. See above, n. 8.

[147] Alberti, *On the Art of Building*, 262, 268; Alberti suggests that "pontiffs" and "other moral teachers" condemned "show buildings" as they were only that and without purpose. He points out that they could also have a role—for leisure, the military, or business purposes. In Rome cardinals' palaces could occupy this space between public and private. The Palazzo Capranica was originally built to house a college, while Rodrigo Borgia's palace seems to have been intended all along to accommodate the papal chancery.

[148] Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, ed. William S. Anderson (Leipzig: Teubner, 1977), book 1, lines 168–76: "Est via sublimis caelo manifesta sereno:/lactea nomen habet candore notabilis ipso;/hac iter est superis ad magni tecta Tonantis/regalemque domum: dextra laevaque deorum/atria nobilium valvis celebrantur apertis,/plebs habitat diversa locis: hac parte potentes/caelicolae clarique suos posuere penates;/hic locus est, quem, si verbis audacia detur,/haud timeam magni dixisse Palatia caeli." Translation from ed. Frank Justus Miller, Loeb Classical Library 42 (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1977).

[149] In 1517 Fra Mariano da Firenze (*Itinerarium Urbis Romae*, 67–8), for example, following first the Via Triumphalis, then the Via del Papa from Ponte Sant'Angelo, lists cardinals' residences along the way, many of them remembered for their rebuilding in the fifteenth century. The palace of Francesco Piccolomini is followed by that of

In similar vein Saxer points out that Rome's antique pagan buildings were not gradually converted one by one, but that the use of the whole city for the pontifical liturgies between late antiquity and the Middle Ages resulted in the Christianization of the entire city.[151] According to Magnuson, "any occasion for arranging a festive procession was precious to the Romans, and had been from far back in their history. It was not difficult for the Church to transform such traditional festivities and to develop them as part of the Christian liturgy."[152] Regular processions, formal and informal, with or without the pope, crossed the city. The stational system—the practice, established by the Middle Ages, of a stop (*statio*) on a processional route, a gathering point in a prearranged church proceeding the procession to another where the Eucharist would be celebrated—united the city into a single liturgical space. In Sible de Blaauw's words, "it reflected the ideal unity of the urban Christian community under the leadership of the bishop—in Rome, the pope."[153] While the practice of the old stational liturgies had declined during the fourteenth century, these were supplemented in the fifteenth by new festivals. We have already seen how the loggia at San Marco was linked to the processions held to mark the feast of Corpus Domini.[154] Juan de Torquemada promoted the celebration of the feast of the Annunciation in Santa Maria sopra Minerva and, in

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Giuliano Cesarini, an inscription above the door mentioning the collection of antiquities inside, and then that of San Marco; see also Albertini, *Opusculum*, 28–9.

[150] Charles L. Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), 36, 43; Rucellai, *Zibaldone*, 67–78; however Westfall (*Perfect Paradise*, 174–9) sees it differently, detecting Nicholas V's programme in Rucellai's "editing".

[151] Victor Saxer, "L'utilisation par la liturgie de l'espace urbaine er suburbain: l'exemple de Rome dans l'Antiquité et le haut Moyen Age," in *Actes du XI^{e} Congrès International d'Archéologie Chrétienne, Lyon, Vienne, Grenoble, Genève et Aoste (21–28 septembre 1986)*, Studi di Antichità Cristiana 41 (Vatican City and Rome: Collection de l'Ecole française de Rome 123, 1989), vol. 2, 983.

[152] Magnuson, *Urban Transformation*, 73; also Sible de Blaauw, *Cultus et decor: liturgia e architettura nella Roma tardoantica e medievale*, Studi e testi 355–6 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1994), 53–71.

[153] Blaauw, *Cultus et decor*, 71; Sible de Blaauw, "Contrasts in Processional Liturgy: A Typology of Outdoor Processions in Twelfth-Century Rome," in *Art Cérémonial et Liturgia au Moyen Âge*, ed. Nicolas Bock, Peter Kurman, Serena Romano, and Jean-Michel Spieser (Rome: Viella, 2002), 357, 362.

[154] Above, n. 108.

the 1480s, Oliviero Carafa the feast of Thomas Aquinas in the same church where the cardinals gathered for the annual celebration.[155] Palaces and churches were also connected: when a cardinal died and his body was carried in procession to the place of burial, more often than not it was to the cardinal's titular church.[156]

In addition to these new festivals and other liturgical conventions, processions that celebrated the power of the papacy in Rome also grew in frequency and in effect. As pope, Paul II (Pietro Barbo) was able to go much further to integrate into the city the palace he had started to develop as a cardinal. It was regularly used as his official residence, and he concentrated a great deal of effort on its embellishment. Inside the palace two of the rooms were given names with special resonance—the Sala Regia and the Sala del Concistorio, thus transplanting the everyday papal activities of receiving guests and meeting with the cardinals from the Vatican to San Marco. Outside the palace he moved the seasonal horse races from the Piazza Navona to the Via Lata, which, as a result, was renamed the Corso (or "race").[157] As Alan Ceen points out, when Frederick III came to Rome for his imperial coronation in 1452, he entered through a gate near Castel Sant'Angelo and afterwards processed to St Peter's and the Lateran along the Via del Papa. When he came back to the city in 1468 under Paul II, he entered through the Porta del Popolo to the north, and processed to San Marco at the bottom of the Via Lata (Corso) before moving on through the narrow streets of the densely populated Tiber bend to St Peter's.[158]

As was discussed in part 1, canon lawyers were careful to point out that even though the cardinals were individuals, each of whom had his own titular church, they were first and foremost a college or corporate body with the pope as their head.[159] The college combined in the kind of festive processions so vividly described by Pius II in his *Commentaries*, for example the 1462 Corpus Domini procession at Viterbo.[160] In Rome their residences provided many of the cardinals with a physical presence even when they were absent from the city. There is an evocative description of the cumulative effect these residences could have in the account of the procession which took the relic of the head of St Andrew from the Milvian Bridge, through the densely populated part of the city, to St Peter's on Palm Sunday 1462:

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[155] Diana Norman, "In Imitation of Saint Thomas Aquinas: Art, Patronage and Liturgy within a Renaissance Chapel," *Renaissance Studies* 7 (1993): 7–8, 14. The confraternity of the Annunciation was founded by Juan de Torquemada. On the altarpiece by Antoniazzo Romano, *c.* 1500, which commemorates its activities, giving dowries to poor girls, see Gisela Noehles, "Antoniazzo Romano: Studien zur Quattrocentomalerei in Rom" (DPhil. thesis, University of Münster, 1974), 80–3, 212–13.

[156] Marc Dykmans, *L'Oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini ou le Cérémonial Papal de la Première Renaissance*, Studi e testi 293–4 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1980), 224. See also chapter 10 below.

[157] Magnuson, *Studies*, 248, 283–4.

[158] Ceen, "Quartiere De' Banchi," 24, 28.

[159] Norman Zacour, "The Cardinals' View of the Papacy, 1150–1300," in *The Religious Roles of the Papacy: Ideals and Realities 1150–1300*, ed. Christopher Ryan, Papers in Medieval Studies 8 (Toronto, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1989), 419.

> The route followed the Tiber till they reached the closely built districts on the right. Then the procession turned left and through narrow streets between high buildings came to the Pantheon, which the heathen consecrated to all the gods, that is demons, and our ancestors to the glorious Virgin, Mother of our Lord, and to all the saints. There after crossing the great square before the church it turned to the right till it passed the chapel of San Eustachio, where it turned left again till it reached the house of Berardo [Eruli], Cardinal of Santa Sabina, a most virtuous man and an authority on law. Here, bearing a third time to the right, it followed the street called the Pope's to the newly erected church of Maximo, where it again turned left to the Campo dei Fiori. Crossing this on the right it reached the square of San Lorenzo in Damaso, where it took a street to the left which brought it to the Tiber bank, and finally a road to the right which brought it to Hadrian's tomb. Here it crossed the bridge and proceeded to St. Peter's by the Via Sacra, which was everywhere strewn with flowers and fragrant herbs.[161]

The cardinals marked their properties with hangings and other decorations, a public role they seem to have been expected to perform, as the pope's disapproving mention of one cardinal who had done nothing suggests:

> All the cardinals who lived along the route had decorated their houses magnificently. (There was one exception whom I forbear to mention out of respect, for fear he might be thought irreligious.)[162] The Cardinal of Spoleto [Berardo Eruli], though not present himself (for he had gone to his own church to minister to his people and his sheep during Holy Week), had left stewards at his house who had covered the adjacent square with carpets and decorated the house walls most beautifully. He was outdone however by Alain, Cardinal of Santa Prassede, generally called Cardinal of Avignon. He lived in the Campo dei Fiori where they say the genius

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[160] Pius II, "Commentaries of Pius II," 551–6; Pius II, *Commentarii*, 499–504.

[161] Pius II, "Commentaries of Pius II," 534.

[162] The identity of this cardinal whom Pius is so keen to protect could be any of a number: Bessarion or Prospero Colonna at Santissimi XII Apostoli, Filippo Calandrini at San Lorenzo in Lucina or, most likely, Angelo Capranica at the Palazzo Capranica.

> of Pompey the Great once stood on the site of the present palace of the Orsini… Alain had built in the square an altar covered with a canopy of cloth of gold with many perfumes burning on it; the lofty walls of the palace he adorned with precious tapestries which he had brought to Italy from the French city of Arras. But all were far outstripped in expense and effort and ingenuity by Rodrigo, the vice-chancellor. His huge towering house which he built on the site of the ancient mint was covered with rich and wonderful tapestries, and besides this he had raised a lofty canopy from which were suspended many and various marvels. He had decorated not only his own house but those nearby, so that the square all about them seemed a kind of park full of sweet songs and sounds, or a great palace gleaming with gold such as they say Nero's palace was. Furthermore on the walls were hung many poems recently composed by great geniuses which set forth in large letters praises of the Divine Apostle and eulogies of Pope Pius.[163]

The procession continued on to St Peter's where, using the relics as actors, Andrew was reconciled with his brother Peter.[164]

It is noteworthy that Pius II in his *Commentaries* singles out the house of Berardo Eruli twice in the same account, first of all mentioning where it was on the route of the procession, and then that the cardinal had left it decorated even though he was not present in the city. Berardo Eruli had been a powerful figure in Rome since at least the 1450s, when he was head of the chancery and vicar *in spiritualibus* in Rome.[165] A close associate of the pope, he was created cardinal by Pius II in 1460. His house was constructed in the remains of the baths of Agrippa on the Via del'Arco della Ciambella, between the Pantheon and Santa Maria sopra Minerva (Figure 70) and would have been visible from the road between Sant'Eustachio and the Via del Papa.[166] Like Coetivy and Borgia, Eruli had extended the decoration of his house out into the streets around. These were the "nodal points" that spilled out over the areas around them, joining the fragmented and often fragmentary city into a coherent whole.

Returning to the question posed at the start of this chapter, why would a cardinal invest in a property that was entailed to a particular church or in the gift of the pope? As we have seen, cardinals had various reasons and were afforded unique opportunities by their position for acquiring and developing property in Rome—from the practical need

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[163] Pius II, "Commentaries of Pius II," 535–6.

[164] See above, chapter 1, at note 60, on the significance of this event.

[165] Burroughs, *Signs to Designs*, 110–1, 263 n. 25.

[166] Sperindei, "Repertorio," 148.

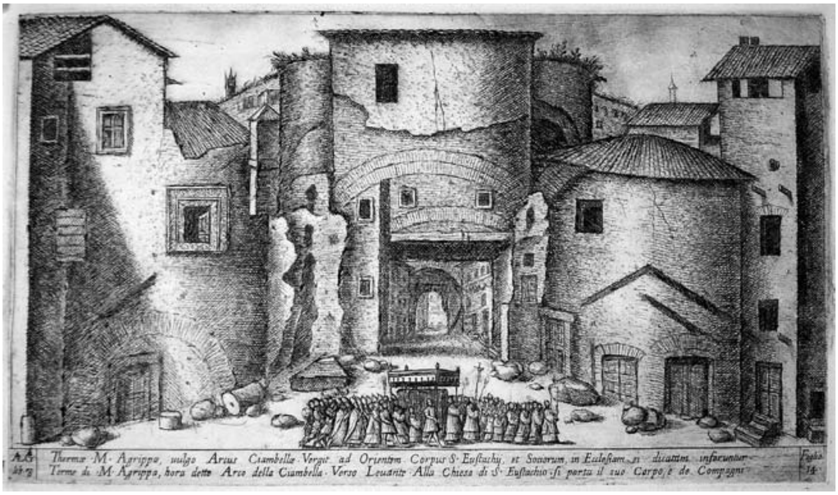
Thermæ M· Agrippæ, vulgo Arcus Ciambellæ Vergit ad Orientem Corpus S· Eustachij, et Sociorum, in Ecclesiam si dicatum infaruntur
Terme di M· Agrippa, hora dette Arco della Ciambella· Verso Levante Alla Chiesa di S· Eustachio si porta il suo Corpo, e de Compagni
Foglio 14

Figure 70 Via del'Arco della Ciambella, in Aldò Giovannoli, *Roma antica* (1619). British School at Rome/author.

for somewhere to live, the altruistic wish to contribute to the public good and thereby enhance one's reputation, to the ambitious expression of their unique status, made in the hope of furthering expectation and even securing the papal throne. In a significant minority of cases, property was developed to give to the cardinal's family in the hope that their fortune would continue once the cardinal had died. The redevelopment of Rome in the fifteenth century and the gradual consolidation of civic legislation and papal inclination made this last option an increasingly attractive and likely one.

PART THREE

CARDINALS AND ETERNITY

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE ST PETER'S PROBLEM

The story of St Peter's basilica in the fifteenth century has long been told as an aspect of the pontificate of Nicholas V. This history is predominantly architectural, part of the "slow (though logical) process of growth from west to east, from the choir of Nicholas V and Bramante's crossing, to Maderno's nave and Bernini's colonnade."[1] But what happens to the story if it is told from the point of view of the monuments for which the basilica was renowned—which were indeed the reason why it existed in the first place?

This third and last part of the book focuses, appropriately enough, on death. More specifically, it considers the dominance of St Peter's over the art and architectural history of fifteenth-century Rome despite the fact that the original basilica is no longer extant and evidence for it is patchy to say the least. Those fragments that do survive are brought together with textual descriptions in an attempt to reconstruct the way the old basilica was used, and therefore how it and the monuments within it were understood, and the reasons why they were so significant and represent such an immeasurable loss. The result is a story not of a single pope's intentions but of continuity of action going back to the fourteenth century that involved the cardinals just as much as the popes. It puts in context Nicholas V's apparently ambitious plans, as described by his biographer Giannozzo Manetti, to rebuild parts of St Peter's.[2]

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[1] Christof Thoenes, "Renaissance St. Peter's," in *St Peter's in the Vatican*, ed. William Tronzo (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 89. See the review of this book in *Art Bulletin*—89 no. 1 (2007): 162–4—by Lex Bosman for useful comment on the tension between traditional and emerging interpretations of the history of the basilica.

[2] Giannozzo Manetti, *De vita ac gestis Nicolai Quinti summi pontificis*, ed. Anna Modigliani (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 2005), book 2, paragraphs 34, 45–59; 75–7, 88–100, 185, 190–6. The relevant passages are discussed in more detail in chapter 9, 385–8, below.

Burial in Rome: a new phenomenon?

> To die for Rome and in Rome, to meet death for the patrimony of St Peter is a glorious thing; to flee from it is shameful.[3]

In the fifteenth century, burial in Rome was an option for popes and cardinals for the first time since the thirteenth century. It was also a duty, according to Pius II, who was speaking of the enemies of the Church inside and outside Rome.

Only a few cardinals were buried in Rome and in their title churches in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries although Innocent III ruled that that should be the custom if they had not elected a place of burial.[4] That pattern changed in the fifteenth century: around half of the cardinals were buried in Rome with the proportion steadily increasing throughout the century. About half of those were buried either in St Peter's or in their titular churches, with the rest in the Dominican church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva, the Franciscan Observant church of Santa Maria in Aracoeli, a few in St John Lateran and Santa Maria Maggiore, and others in churches close to where they lived. In total this meant around fifty wall tombs and grave slabs for cardinals.[5] These complement the dozen papal monuments in St Peter's alone that represent the popes from Urban VI to Pius III: all but one of the popes from Martin V (until the pontificate of Julius II (1503–13) and Bramante's destruction of the choir and transept) and most of his immediate predecessors were buried in St Peter's.[6] There is no better indication of the new relationship of the papacy with Rome than these ubiquitous and impressive memorials.

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[3] Pius II, *Commentaries*, vol. 2, 359.

[4] Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, *I testamenti dei cardinali del Duecento*, Miscellanea della Società Romana di Storia Patria 25 (Rome: Società alla Biblioteca Vallicelliana, 1980), xvi; Julian Gardner, *The Tomb and the Tiara: Curial Tomb Sculpture in Rome and Avignon in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 5. In 1432 Eugenius IV ruled that the clergy of Rome should be buried in their parish churches so that in death, as much as in life, they could be called rectors of their church. See *Bullarum, diplomatum et privilegiorum sanctorum romanorum pontificum*…, ed. Seb. Franco and Henrico Dalmazzo (Turin: Augustae Taurinorum, 1860), vol. 5, 9.

[5] Between the papacies of Martin V and Alexander VI, sixty-nine cardinals died in Rome and seventy-eight were buried there, twenty-five before 1460 and fifty-three thereafter.

[6] Hannes Roser, *St. Peter in Rom im 15. Jahrhundert. Studien zu Architektur und sculpturaler Ausstattung*, Römische Studien der Bibliotheca Hertziana, vol. 19 (München: Hirmer, 2005), 143.

The popes and cardinals, like any other patron in the period, were concerned with the fate of their souls after they died, and their reputation which would be counted for or against them in the afterlife. In death they would depend on the living to keep their memory alive through prayer, while priests would say masses in the hope of curtailing the plight of their souls in purgatory.[7] The monuments of popes and cardinals were also among the most visible, and longest lasting, representations of their part in the apostolic succession. As a result, their memorials rarely stress individual achievements but instead their dignity and status as foremost members of the Church of Rome. And almost all of the papal tombs were commissioned by cardinals. This is why they can and should be considered together as a group.

From the thirteenth century the development of different kinds of tombs in the Italian peninsula represented the establishment of a hierarchy of types which reflected the social hierarchy.[8] In this regard, Andrew Butterfield argues that "a monument not only serves to depict the features of a deceased individual; it also preserves a record of the social relations that surrounded its creation."[9] The most common form of memorial employed for the commemoration of popes and cardinals in the fifteenth century—the arched recess tomb incorporating an effigy and epitaph—was reserved for princes and high-status ecclesiastics, so in most Italian city states it was relatively rare. Only in Rome, where the curial tomb was so common, was the evolution of the type into the tight architectonic formula established by the last decades of the fifteenth century fully worked out as a result. This was because only in Rome were there so many popes and cardinals whose dignity afforded them the very highest honour in commemoration.[10] Deliberately consistent, reflecting continuity rather than change, it is only in small details or overall quality of carving, or through particular locations, that individuals exerted their identity.

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[7] For a vivid analysis of belief surrounding death and the afterlife in the early modern period, see Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c. 1400–c.1580* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992), 300–76.

[8] Henricus Augustinus Tummers, *Early Secular Effigies in England: The Thirteenth Century* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1980), 7–15.

[9] Andrew Butterfield, "Social Structure and the Typology of Funerary Monuments in Early Renaissance Florence," *Res* 26 (1994): 67.

[10] Antoine Bernard, *La Sépulture en droit canonique, du Décret de Gratien au concile de Trente* (Paris: Editions Domat-Montchrestien, 1933), 17–18, 25.

Cardinals, popes, and St Peter's

In a book about cardinals, focus on St Peter's might seem something of a digression as the Vatican basilica was so closely associated with the popes. But many of the major patrons of monuments and altars inside the basilica were cardinals. In fact, it was cardinals who commissioned all but one of the papal tombs in the basilica in the fifteenth century, while the popes took on the larger tasks of restoring the roof and remodelling parts of the building.

Ensuring that a pope was appropriately commemorated did not fall to his successor on the throne of St Peter, but was almost without exception left to the cardinal-nephews, in large part because they had most to gain from keeping the memory of their papal relative—the very reason for their position—alive. Even Martin V, the only pope not to be buried in St Peter's in the period, seems to have had his memorial organized by his cardinal-nephew, Prospero Colonna.[11] This raises questions of the boundaries of papal patronage.

The subsequent demolition of the fifteenth-century basilica leaves an enormous hole at the centre of the study of cardinals' patronage, however. Nevertheless, what can be pieced back together is revealing of the rich associations that were brought out through patronage of altars and tombs there. The changes exposed as a result of this reconstruction point to the particular significance of certain rituals that reinforced the identification of individual popes and cardinals as heirs of the Apostles. The reassertion of the apostolic succession through St Peter was about a great deal more than living at the Vatican palace. It represented the very reason why the Bishop of Rome claimed supremacy over all other bishops and local churches.

Approximately half of all the popes were buried in St Peter's before its reconstruction in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Following the explicit link that Gregory the Great (590–604) made between his tomb and the basilica, his remains and the relics of St Peter, all but three of the popes were buried there up until the end of the ninth century.[12] From the tenth until the thirteenth centuries St Peter's lost some of its early significance. For the twelfth-century popes, for example, the Lateran basilica was more often their choice, because through it they stressed the link of the Bishop of Rome with his cathedral and the temporal power invested in him by Constantine.[13] In the thirteenth century popes and cardinals were buried in various sites throughout the Papal States, reflecting the itinerant nature of the court. The fourteenth century was dominated by the exile in Avignon, which also ensured that French influences dictated the design of the curial tomb—because more of the popes, cardinals, and their courtiers were French.[14]

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[11] Arnold Esch, "La lastra tombale di Martino V ed i registri doganali di Roma: la sua provenienza fiorentina ed il probablile ruolo del Cardinale Prospero Colonna," in *Alle origini dell nuova Roma. Martin V (1417–1431)*, ed. Maria Chiabò et al. (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 1992), 638 and passim.

[12] Gardner, *Tomb and the Tiara*, 58.

In Rome focus on St Peter's was, therefore, more than just a fifteenth-century phenomenon. Until the thirteenth century the election of the pope took place in the Lateran basilica or another designated church, but thereafter St Peter's became the centre of the papal election. The newly elected pope was first consecrated in St Peter's near the tomb of the Apostle, praying that he should be considered his successor, then crowned on the steps in front of the basilica, before taking possession of the Lateran and its palaces, symbols of his temporal power.[15] While the Lateran basilica was the liturgical locus of the celebration of the Christian community of Rome, St Peter's was fundamentally the mausoleum of Peter, the reason and justification for the presence and power of the popes in Rome and in western Christendom.[16] The high altar was constructed over the tomb of the Apostle, which since the first century AD had attracted others to be buried nearby. The basilica, therefore, was primarily the shrine of Peter, functioned secondly as a covered cemetery where burials took place *ad sanctos*, and only thirdly operated as a site of the liturgical expression of the papacy.[17] In fact, St Peter's was the first and—together with San Paolo fuori le mura—the only cemetery church to have its high altar erected over the remains of a saint rather than having relics specially brought in. More commonly the churches outside the city walls at the catacombs, such as San Sebastiano fuori le mura, were part of a larger complex that included graves. Therefore, St Peter's presented a unique and sought-after opportunity for commemoration after death. This particular aspect of its status became all the more relevant in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. The monument of Urban VI in St Peter's, who died in 1389 after a turbulent papacy, makes the rationale for these monuments clear: the pope is shown kneeling before St Peter, taking the keys from him, a direct reference to the apostolic succession and his sole right to govern and personify the universal Church, all the more necessary because there was a rival pope in Avignon (see Figure 2).[18] (Ironically this important monument was carved into the reverse of an antique tomb of a married couple.)[19]

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[13] Sible de Blaauw, *Cultus et decor: liturgia e architettura nella Roma tardoantica e medievale*, Studi e testi 355–6 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1994), 198; Ingo Herklotz, *"Sepulcra" e "monumenta" del Medioevo. Studi sull'arte sepolcrale in Italia* (Naples: Liguori, 2001; first published 1985), 127–36 on papal tombs in St Peter's; 136–42 on Lateran tombs before the fourteenth century; Gardner, *Tomb and the Tiara*, 58.

[14] Gardner, *Tomb and the Tiara*, 164.

[15] Blaauw, *Cultus et decor*, 321; on the coronation of Pius II see Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, "Die Krönung des Papstes im Mittelater dargestellt am Beispiel der Krönung Pius' II (3.9.1458)," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 54 (1974): 239–46.

[16] Blaauw, *Cultus et decor*, 513–14.

[17] See Yvette Duval, *Auprès des saints, corps et âme: l'inhumation "ad sanctos" dans la chrétienté d'Orient et d'Occident du III^e au VII^e siècle* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1988); Herklotz, *"Sepulcra" e "monumenta"*, 48–56.

The subsequent history of St Peter's has meant that the transformations inside the basilica in the fifteenth century are hardly understood. (This is even more true of the other churches of Rome, about which much less is generally known and certainly much less has been written.) Of the 122 popes from Leo I (also known as Leo the Great, 440–61) to Innocent IX (1591) originally buried in St Peter's before it was rebuilt in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the remains of only ten of them were moved back into the new basilica and only Sixtus IV and Innocent VIII along with their monuments.[20] Both of these were cast in bronze by the Pollaiuolo brothers, making them fortunate in that they seemed to accord with the new decorative scheme. Unlike the more common stone monuments, they were not built into the wall in the same way and so could be moved relatively easily. Another thirteen popes' remains were moved to other churches in Rome during the rebuilding of the basilica: among them Eugenius IV and parts of his monument to San Salvatore in Lauro, the bodies of the two Borgia popes, Calixtus III and Alexander VI—but not the monuments—to Santa Maria in Monserrato (the Spanish national church), and the monuments of Pius II and Pius III to Sant'Andrea della Valle (built on the site of the

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[18] Gardner, *Tomb and the Tiara*, 125.

[19] Tiberio Alfarano, *Tiberii Alpharano de Basilicae Vaticanae antiquissima et nova structura…*, Studi e testi 26 (Rome: Tipografia Poliglotta Vaticana, 1914), 76; Renzo Uberto Montini, *Le Tombe dei papi* (Rome: A. Belardetti, 1957), 260.

[20] Montini, *Tombe dei papi*, 8.

Piccolomini palace).[21] Although his monument was moved, Pius III's remains are still in the Vatican Grottoes, while significant fragments of the monuments of Nicholas V, Calixtus III, and Paul II survive in various sites attached to the basilica. As Montini pointed out, altogether this means that more than three-quarters of the papal tombs established in St Peter's before 1591 were lost. Even those that do survive in some form are highly problematic. Recent work on reconstructing some of these monuments, most notably the tomb of Eugenius IV, has revealed that even what was believed to have been their original form is in fact the result of later reconstruction, as will be considered shortly.

The many monuments to cardinals that also stood in St Peter's have fared much worse, as these have never had the same attention as the papal tombs. The loss of all of these monuments has removed from consideration a series of commissions dated between the 1430s and 1470s that stood in close proximity to one another, for reasons that will be discussed below, and encapsulated the development of the tomb monument in Rome. What follows is based on the premise that the papal and cardinalatial tombs should be considered together because popes' tombs were ordinarily commissioned or completed by cardinals. There was no separate formula for papal tombs as opposed to cardinals'. Only location and scale set a few of them apart.

Cardinals' tombs in St Peter's

The records that do survive to record the appearance of old St Peter's are largely due to the loyalty and enthusiasm of its canons—in the fifteenth century Maffeo Vegio, in the sixteenth Tiberio Alfarano, and in the seventeenth Giacomo Grimaldi. Provoked by Bramante's cavalier disregard for the monuments in the old transepts and crossing, the demolition of which he oversaw during the papacy of Julius II, the remains of the Constantinian basilica took on new symbolic significance, especially in the climate of devotional nostalgia that accompanied the Council of Trent (1545–63).[22] In particular, the end of the sixteenth century saw a revival of interest in the 'spiritual unity' of Rome as a stage for urban liturgies. An important aspect of this was renewed interest in the early Christian basilicas.[23] Alfarano was inspired to record what was left and piece together what was still known or remembered of the old basilica in a plan (Figure 71). Then, following a bad storm in September 1605, when parts of the masonry of the old nave began to crumble and fall, the decision was finally taken to rebuild what was left of the nave as well. This provoked a long letter from the canons of the basilica, who wrote to the pope and cardinals stressing that any new building had to be secondary to the continuity that St Peter's represented and their responsibility as the basilica's clergy for respecting the memory of those who had left endowments, altars, and monuments there.[24] Many of the venerable altars, tombs, and images in the old basilica had already been destroyed under Julius II, the canons complained, and others had disappeared without trace. At the very least places should be found in the new church for the preservation of what survived. Although demolition began in February 1606, the canons, led by Grimaldi, helped to ensure that careful historical documentation became an integral part of the process.

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[21] On the Borgia tombs see Daniela Gallavotti Cavallero, "Sculture quattrocentesche provenienti dal vecchio San Pietro: il monumento funebre di Callisto III Borgia," in *Le due Rome del Quattrocento: Melozzo, Antoniazzo e la cultura artistica del'400 romano*, ed. Sergio Rossi (Rome: Lithos, 1997), 236–44. By the time the remains of the two Borgia popes were removed from St Peter's, they had already been transferred from Santa Maria della Febbre to a temporary site in the north aisle because of demolition of part of the rotunda as part of the works to move the Vatican obelisk in 1586. Alexander VI does not seem to have had his own monument, but was buried among his compatriots in the oratory of St Andrew before the tomb altar of Calixtus III.

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[22] Louise Rice, "La coesistenza delle due basiliche," in *L'Architettura della basilica di San Pietro. Storia e costruzione*, ed. Gianfrancio Spagnesi (Rome: Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura/Bonsignori Editore, 1997), 256; Frederick J. McGinness, *Right Thinking and Sacred Oratory in Counter-Reformation Rome* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995) 167–8, 170–5 and passim.

[23] See Sible de Blaauw, "Immagini di liturgia: Sisto V, la traduzione liturgica dei papi e le antiche basiliche di Roma," *Römisches Jahrbuch der Biblioteca Hertziana* 33 (1999/2000): 259–302; Pius V (1585–90) laid the foundations for the major urban interventions of Sixtus V: Sible de Blaauw, "Pio V, la liturgia e le chiese antiche di Roma", in *Il tempo di Pio V. Pio V nel tempo (Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Bosco Marengo—Alessandria, 11–13 marzo 2004)*, ed. Fulvio Cervini and Carla Enrica Spantigati (Alessandria: Dell'Orso, 2006), 79, 90–1. Discussions about the completion of the dome were brought to a head under Pius V, while the preservation of the early Christian site remained a major concern. Pius V had the medieval campanile and Pius II's benediction loggia restored when they were damaged by lightning in January 1571. See BAV, Avvisi, Urb. Lat. 1041, f. 357.

[24] The canons' letter is at BAV, Reg. lat. 2100, ff. 104v–105r. See Reto Niggl, *Giacomo Grimaldi (1568–1623). Leben und Werk des römischen Archäologen und Historikers* (Munich: R. Rodenbusch, 1971), 34–6; also the discussion in Bram Kempers, "Diverging Perspectives—New Saint Peter's: Artistic Ambitions, Liturgical Requirements, Financial Limitations and Historical Interpretations," *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome* 55 (1996), 238–9 and 251 n. 99; and Lex Bosman, *The Power of Tradition: Spolia in the Architecture of St. Peter's in the Vatican* (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2004), 14–15.

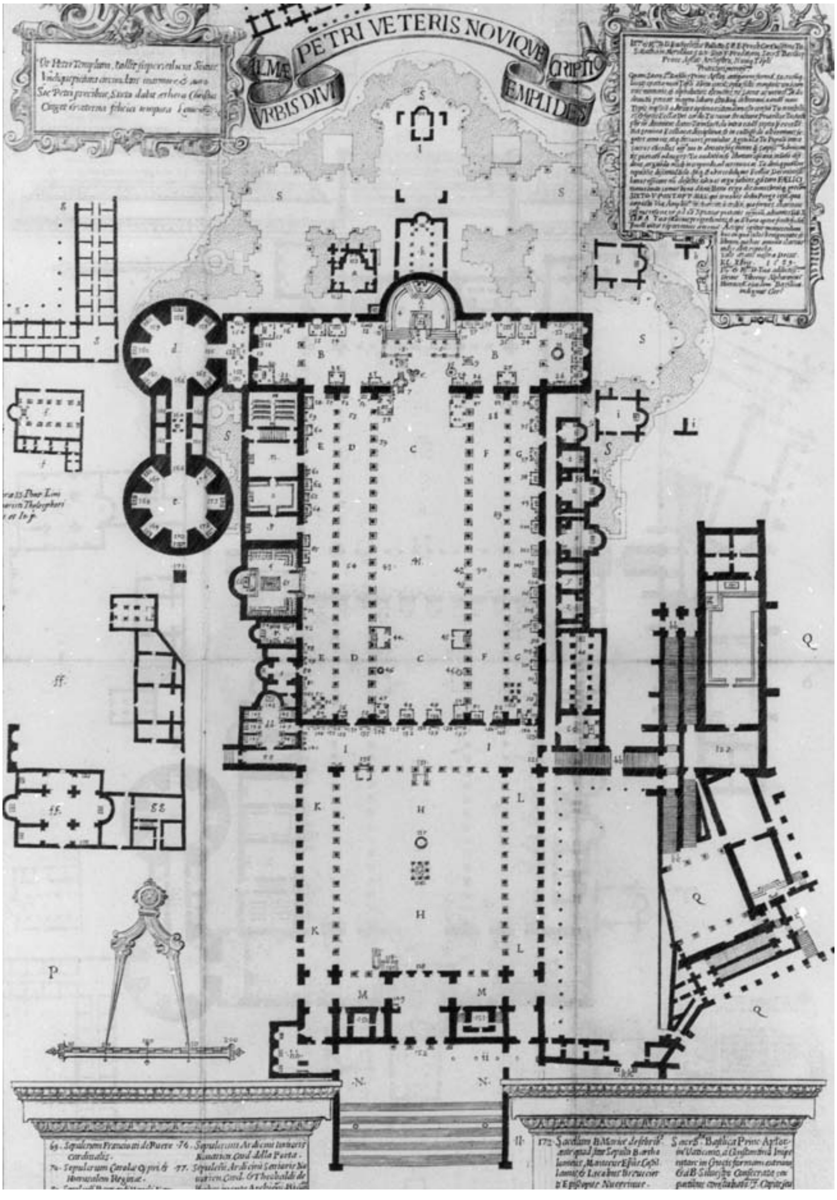
ALMAE VRBIS DIVI PETRI VETERIS NOVIQVE TEMPLI DESCRIPTIO

Figure 71 Natale Bonifazio in P.L. Dionigi, *Sacrum Vaticanae basilicae cryptarum monumenta*… (Rome, 1773, 2nd edn 1828), plate at page 1 (detail), after Tiberio Alfarano, plan of Old St Peter's superimposed over new St Peter's, *c.* 1590. Biblioteca Hertziana—Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte, Rom. Neg nr U.Pl.D 23419.

Grimaldi's report includes details of two cardinals' tomb monuments that belonged to members of the della Porta family from Novara near Milan: both cardinals were confusingly called Ardicino. Ardicino della Porta Senior died in Rome in August 1434. He was a canon lawyer who participated in the Council of Constance and was made cardinal-deacon of Santi Cosma e Damiano by Martin V in 1426.[25] His effigy is therefore dressed in the narrow-sleeved dalmatic of a deacon and his hands are left bare without gloves (Figures 72–4). Chacon says he was buried in the Vatican crypt, which is where his remains and effigy were moved in the seventeenth century. Davies suggests that his tomb was commissioned by his nephew, Ardicino della Porta Junior, in the last decade of the fifteenth century, though this seems unlikely.[26] If it were the case and if the sketch included in Grimaldi's report is accurate, then this would have been a deliberately archaizing monument with its ornate Gothic canopy, (Figure 75).

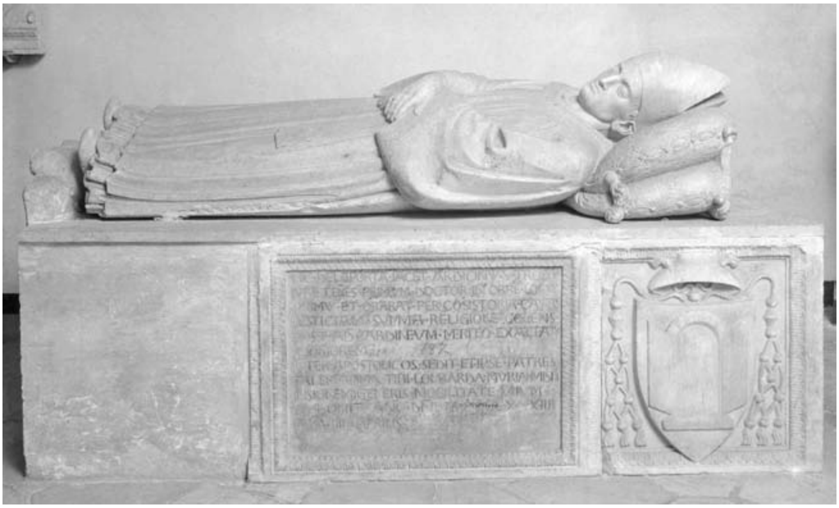

Figure 72 Effigy of Ardicino della Porta Senior (d. 1434), Vatican Grottoes. Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art, no. A74/958.

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[25] Chacon, *Vitae, et res gestae*, vol. 2, col. 848; Roser, *St. Peter in Rom im 15. Jahrhundert*, 222–3.

[26] Gerald S. Davies, *Renascence: The Sculptured Tombs of the Fifteenth Century in Rome* (London: Murray, 1910), 332.

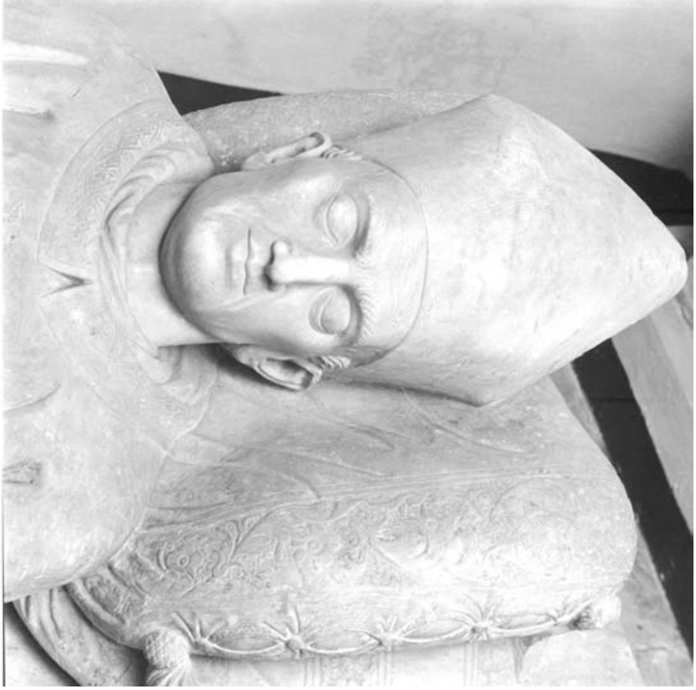

Figure 73 Effigy of Ardicino della Porta Senior, detail of head, Vatican Grottoes. Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art, no. A74/957.

Ardicino della Porta Junior (d. 1493), his father a member of the Novara family and his mother a Visconti, was made Cardinal of Santi Giovanni e Paolo by Innocent VIII in 1484.[27] He was the son of Ardicino Senior's brother and a doctor of both pontifical and civil law. Under Sixtus IV Ardicino Junior lived in the Borgo Sant'Angelo, and Grimaldi suggests that he inspired others to follow his example.[28] His funeral in St Peter's, for which the temporary paraphrenalia took up a large portion of the lower northern corner of the basilica, is mentioned by Johann Burchard, the papal master of ceremonies.[29] As a cardinal-priest, his effigy

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[27] Chacon, *Vitae, et res gestae*, vol. 3, col. 126.

[28] Giacomo Grimaldi, *Descrizione della basilica antica di S. Pietro in Vaticano. Codice Barberini Latino 2733*, ed. Reto Niggl (Vatican City: Codices e Vaticanis selecti 32, 1972), 366.

[29] Johann Burchard, *Johannis Burckardi Liber notarum: ab anno MCCCCLXXXIII usque ad annum MDVI*, ed. Enrico Celani RIS 32 (Città di Castello: Lapi, 1910–1942), part 1, 4 March, 1493, 403–4: "Feria secunda, IIII martii, in basilica sancti Petri, habite sunt exequie bone memorie cardinalis Aleriensis, paratis prius castro doloris et aliis. Omnia observata more solito. R. d. cardinalis Neapolitanus, primus executor testamenti

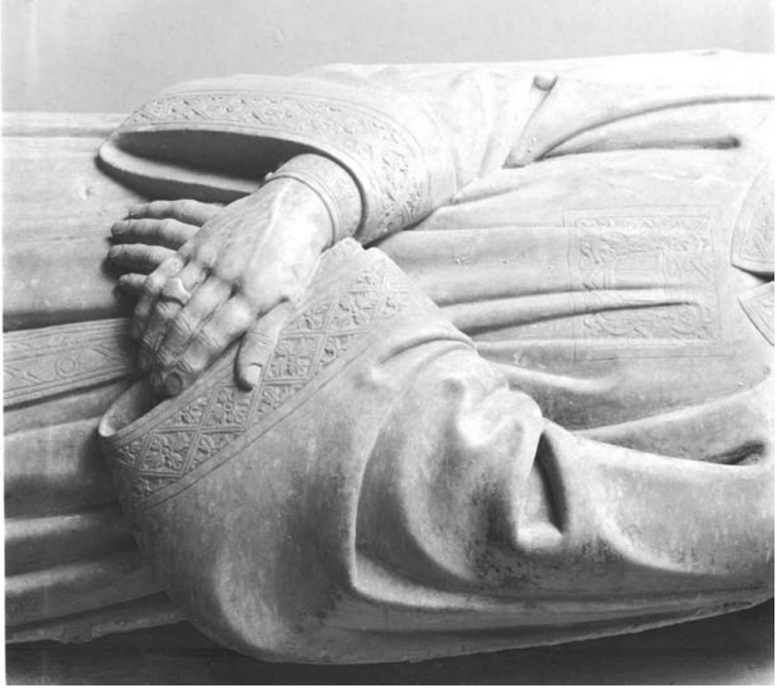

Figure 74 Effigy of Ardicino della Porta Senior, detail of hands, Vatican Grottoes. Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art, no. A74/956.

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eiusdem cardinalis defuncti celebravit missam publicam in capella sanctorum Andree et Gregorii.... Castrum doloris fuit computatum columnis suis longum palmis XXVIII, largum XX, et tectum bene altum et optime formatum pro angustia loci et positum per unam cannam infra capellam sancti Thome videlicet Baptisterii. Inter capellam sanctorum Andree et Gregorii et castrum predictum posita fuerunt scamna triplicia ad dextram intrantis eamdem capellam et totidem ad sinistram... et ab eodem secunda columna infra scamno predicto pro prelatis ad tertiam columnam usque ad XI inclusive inter singulas columnas posite fuerunt supra plano capsette pro duobus intorticiis, et in oppositum parum supra ostium capelle sancti Thome versus capellam sanctorum Andree et Gregorii usque ad capellam Sixtinam IX capsette et infra capellam Sixtinam quinque alie capsette pro intorticiis..." Roser (*St. Peter in Rom im 15. Jahrhundert*, 100, 217) uses the reference to the funeral focussed on the chapel of Saints Andrew and Gregory to propose that the della Porta cardinals were buried first there and moved later into the oratory of St Thomas. However, Burchard does not refer to a monument, only to the presence of the body in the chapel. The *castrum doloris* and banks of seating for those attending the funeral services took up the area of the aisle from the chapel of Saints Andrew and Gregory right up to Sixtus IV's Capella del Coro and therefore incorporated the oratory of St Thomas. In view of its position in the basilica and the fact that it was the only enclosed area in the north aisle, it is to be expected that the chapel would be used as part of obsequies. For example, the *castrum doloris* for

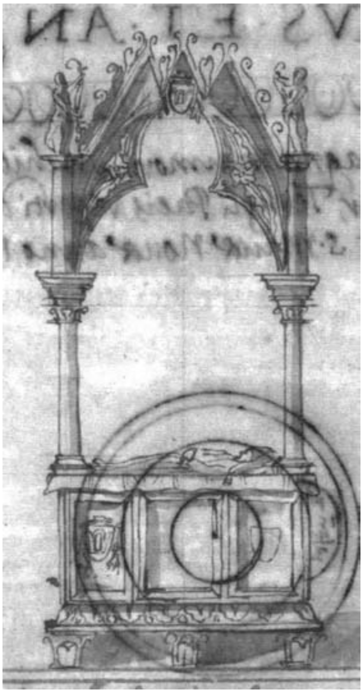

Figure 75 Monument of Ardicino della Porta Senior, from Giacomo Grimaldi, *San Pietro* (1606), Barb. lat. 2733, f. 290v. © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

shows him dressed in a flowing chasuble, his hands gloved (Figures 76 and 77). The monument seems to have been a fine example of late fifteenth-century classicizing monuments: the cardinal's effigy raised on an ornate sarcophagus was watched over by the Virgin, Child, and two angels framed by a classicizing arch (Figure 78).

The oratory of St Thomas the Apostle (Cappella Maffei), which dated back to the time of Pope Symmachus (d. 514), was one of a row of ancient mausolea that stood along the southern flank (the north aisle) of the basilica just below what would become Sixtus IV's Capella del

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Charles, King of Jerusalem, Cyprus and Armenia, was set up in St Peter's just outside the chapel of St Gregory in July 1487: Grimaldi, *S. Pietro in Vaticano*, 270. The chapel area was also under the patronage of the Piccolomini and it was their close friends and associates who were buried there. That said, Ardicino della Porta and Francesco Piccolomini were friends; see Alfred A. Strnad, "Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini, Politik und Mäzenatentum in Quattrocento." *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* (1964–6): 364.

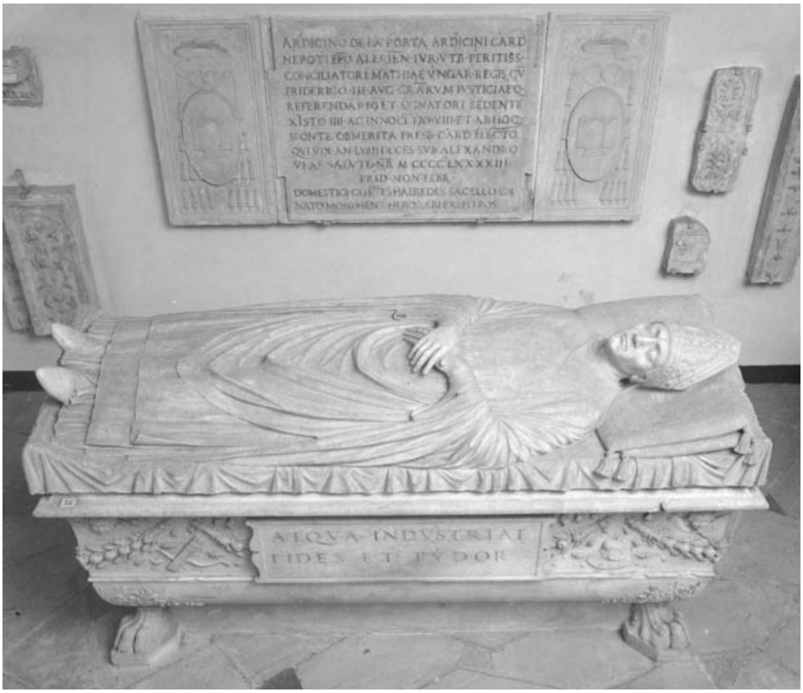

Figure 76 Effigy of Ardicino della Porta Junior (d. 1493), Vatican Grottoes. Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art, no. A74/258.

Coro in the 1470s (see Figure 71, the smaller chapel below 'Z').[30] The della Porta family had endowed the oratory and could therefore claim *iuspatronatus* in it.[31] According to the Alfarano plan, the two cardinals' monuments stood next to one another, on the left-hand side of the oratory, that of della Porta Senior closest to the entrance and della Porta Junior nearest the altar. Despite this, no effort was made to harmonize

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[30] The orientation of the basilica is back to front with its facade, the liturgical west end, in the east. This was in part due to the difficult geography of the area and the Vatican hill, which had to be cut away to provide a platform to accommodate the basilica over the graveyard built into the side of the hill and the tomb of St Peter. The fact that the main Tiber crossing at Hadrian's mausoleum (later Castel Sant'Angelo) was to the west also dictated this reverse orientation. Early descriptions of the basilica refer more often to the left and right sides of the church (from the entrance), avoiding the confusion.

[31] Jörg Garms, Andrea Sommerlechner, and Werner Telesko, *Die Mittelalterlichen Grabmäler in Rom und Latium vom 13. bis zum 15. Jahrhundert*, vol. 2: *Die Monumentalgräber* (Rome and Vienna: Der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1994), 163–4; Francesco Maria Torrigio, *Le sacre grotte Vaticane* (Rome: Vitale Mascardi, 1639), 426.

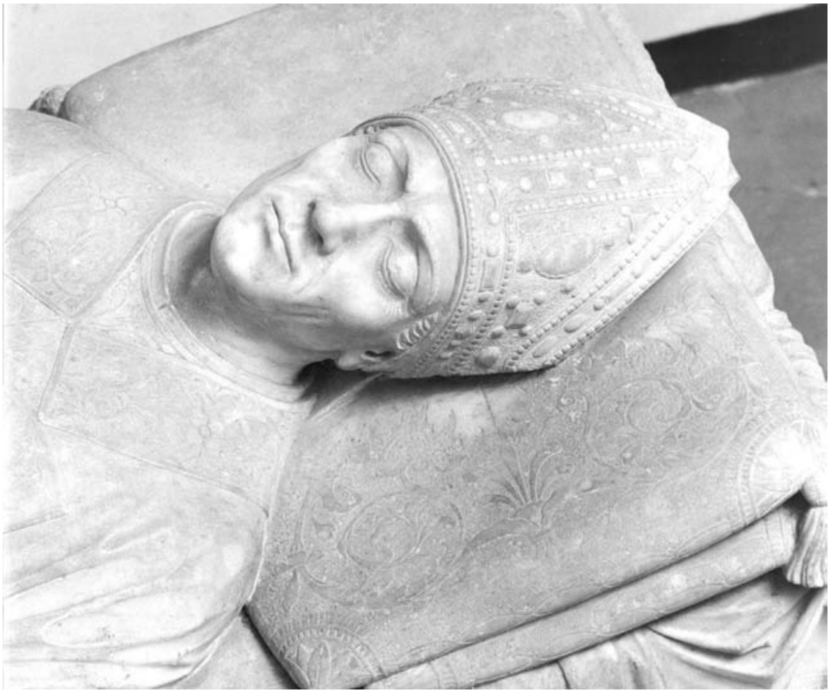

Figure 77 Effigy of Ardicino della Porta Junior (d. 1493), detail of head, Vatican Grottoes. Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art, no. A74/262.

the two monuments. Most likely made sixty years apart, these monuments raise a number of issues, not least the sea change in the style of monuments between the first half of the fifteenth century and the second. The completely different styles in which they were executed emphasizes the period of time between them yet, at the same time bears witness to the ageless continuity of the apostolic succession.

Can these very different monuments be related on the same trajectory of tomb monument design? Julian Gardner has distinguished between two main types of monuments in Rome in the thirteenth century that influenced the fifteenth-century tomb: the Gothic baldachin or canopy tomb, "elevated, canopied and with a greater emphasis on the eschatological drama" than the *enfeu* tomb type, which was usually set into a wall and with a lower, more enclosed niche.[32] The two types were

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[32] Julian Gardner, "Arnolfo di Cambio and Roman Tomb Design," *Burlington Magazine* 115 (1973): 431. Both by Arnolfo di Cambio, the canopied monument can be represented by the tomb of Cardinal Guillaume de Braye in Orvieto Cathedral, and

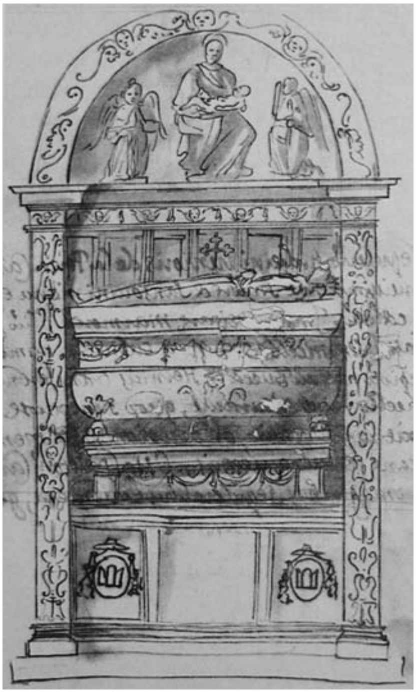

Figure 78 Monument of Ardicino della Porta Junior, from Giacomo Grimaldi, *San Pietro* (1606), Barb. lat. 2733, f. 291r. © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

related, however, because the canopied monument was a central Italian adaptation of the French *enfeu*. Both were attached to, or in part sunk into, a wall and both included an effigy of the deceased framed by an architectural border or canopy. In Rome, another important precedent for the niched recess tomb was the *arcosolium*—tomb chests without effigies set in arched niches—though, as Gardner points out, French fashion was as likely a source for most curial tombs following the Avignon exile.[33] Nevertheless, the influence of *arcosolia* should not be discounted. In the fifteenth century, for example, this type was used explicitly in Florence in seven tombs dated between 1417 and the 1480s as distinctive monuments for the city's "superelite," a reassertion of their "social distinctiveness," as discussed by Andrew

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the *enfeu* by the monument of Cardinal Riccardo Annibaldi now in the cloister of St John Lateran in Rome. See also Gardner, *Tomb and the Tiara*, 31, 36–7.

[33] Gardner, *Tomb and the Tiara*, 36.

Butterfield.[34] The addition of an effigy, a relatively recent innovation from the thirteenth century, raised the status represented by the curial tombs even further.

The twelfth-century monument of Alfanus, made chamberlain (*camerarius*) by Calixtus II in 1123, is an important indication of the sources for later tomb monuments in Rome (Figure 79). Set into the facade of Santa Maria in Cosmedin, it is a rare survival of what was probably a relatively common type of atrium tomb. A number were recorded by Alfarano in his plan of St Peter's, for example, which may well have taken this form.[35] Tombs of this type—which before the end of the thirteenth century were always set into a wall niche or built up against a wall rather than free-standing—comprise three main elements: a sarcophagus or tomb chest, a canopy or pediment supported by piers or columns, framing on the wall a scene of the presentation of the deceased to Christ or the Virgin and Child executed in paint or mosaic. John Osborne observes that any such wall tombs represent "a link… in the continuous chain that unites the monuments of the later middle ages with their counterparts from late antiquity."[36] Monuments like that of Alfanus at Santa Maria in Cosmedin were "little more than the translation above ground of the late-classical *arcosolium* tomb, known from dozens of examples which survive in the catacombs of Rome and Naples, with the difference being that the burial space and the arch which surmounts it are now constructed instead of carved from tufa."[37]

The ancient precedents of *arcosolia* and *columbarii* (niches for funerary urns) were certainly as well known in the fifteenth century as in the twelfth, because the catacombs, unlike many other ancient sites, had not been lost. The seventh-century *Salzburg Itinerary*, for example, described them in detail. In 1432 the Franciscans were leading tours

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[34] Butterfield, "Social Structure," 62, 65.

[35] Gardner, *Tomb and the Tiara*, 25–6, Herklotz, *"Sepulcra" e "monumenta"*, 219–27. The sarcophagi inserted into the external arches flanking the sides of the Tempio Malatestiano in Rimini (*c.* 1450–61) are reminiscent of this arrangement, as are the tombs in the facade of Santa Maria Novella in Florence (1458 onwards): Robert Tavernor, *On Alberti and the Art of Building* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998), 64, 103.

[36] John Osborne, "The Tomb of Alfanus in S. Maria in Cosmedin, Rome, and its Place in the Tradition of Roman Funerary Monuments," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 51 (1983): 240.

[37] Osborne, "The Tomb of Alfanus," 244.

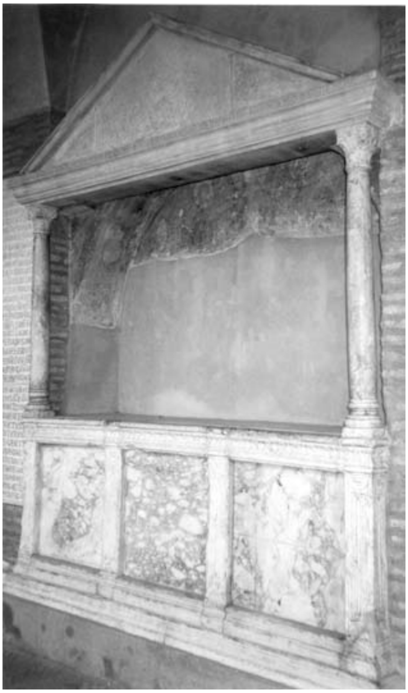

Figure 79 Monument of Alfanus, Santa Maria in Cosmedin, portico, twelfth century. Author.

of the catacombs of San Callisto on the Via Appia.[38] In 1462 a group led by Ranuccio Farnese and Abbot Ermete of Pisa managed to break through into further parts of the catacombs of San Callisto. Later in the 1460s Giulio Pomponio Leto's 'Roman Academy' had taken to meeting in the catacombs, something that did not impress Paul II, who imprisoned the academicians for paganism and republicanism.[39] At the end of the eighth century Hadrian I (772–95) had relics transferred from outside the city walls to a 'hall crypt' he included under the reconstructed Santa Maria in Cosmedin, its walls punctuated with niches which were still known in the fifteenth century. Annular crypts and subterranean martyrs' tombs (*confessiones*) were fairly common features of Roman churches such as Santa Prassede (remodelled 1730), San Martino ai Monti, and Santissimi XII Apostoli (reconstructed 1871–9). Based on the *confessio* at St Peter's, they protected the relics of the martyrs from risk of theft or destruction.[40]

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[38] Étienne Delaruelle et al., *L'Église au temps du Grand Schisme et de la crise conciliare (1378–1449)*, Histoire de L'Église 14 (Paris: Bloud and Gay, 1964), 1146; Charles L. Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), 78.

[39] Richard J. Palermino, "The Roman Academy, the Catacombs and the Conspiracy of 1468," *Archivum historiae pontificiae* 18 (1980): 117–19.

Although the details and styling of the high-status monument changed, the overall design endured, with the important addition of the effigy.[41] Around 1215 Boncompagno da Signa, a master of rhetoric at Bologna, described burial conventions appropriate for different social categories in his *Rhetorica Antiqua*.[42] Only those at the very top of the social hierarchy were entitled to effigies.[43] Senior ecclesiastics from popes to bishops should be buried in their pontifical vestments, he stated. This had certainly become standard practice for the cardinals at Avignon.[44] From the evidence of early sculpted effigies such as that of Honorius IV (1285–7) and the contents of tombs—usually known from the close scrutiny of Grimaldi and his assistants, who recorded grave openings at St Peter's in the early seventeenth century—there was a close correlation between the funeral garb worn by the cadaver inside and the effigy outside. The development of the cardinals' tomb type in the fifteenth century takes its place in this long and continuous tradition, as the drawings of the two della Porta tombs suggest. But although the constituent parts were established by the late thirteenth century, their organization and decoration changed dramatically in the middle of the fifteenth century from Gothic pile to tight classically-inspired synthesis.

The monument of Ardicino della Porta Senior has much in common with cardinals' monuments from the end of the fourteenth century, of which substantial fragments survive. Despite Gardner's dismissal of its "suffocating mediocrity," significant parts of the bold monument of the Neapolitan cardinal and relative of Boniface IX, Marino Bulcani (d. 1394), remain in his titular church of Santa Maria Nova (Figure 80). The effigy, of a cardinal dressed in the dalmatic of a cardinal-deacon, is laid out on a cloth-covered bier and raised aloft on a sarcophagus

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[40] Richard Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City, 312–1308* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), 136; Herbert L. Kessler and Johanna Zacharias, *Rome 1300: On the Path of the Pilgrim* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), 109.

[41] Gardner, *Tomb and the Tiara*, 34–5.

[42] On Boncompagno see Gardner, *Tomb and the Tiara*, 7, 13; Herklotz, *"Sepulcra" e "monumenta"*, 272–4.

[43] Gardner, *Tomb and the Tiara*, 36.

[44] Guillaume Mollat, "Contribution à l'histoire du Sacré-Collège de Clement V à Eugène IV," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 46 (1951): 588.

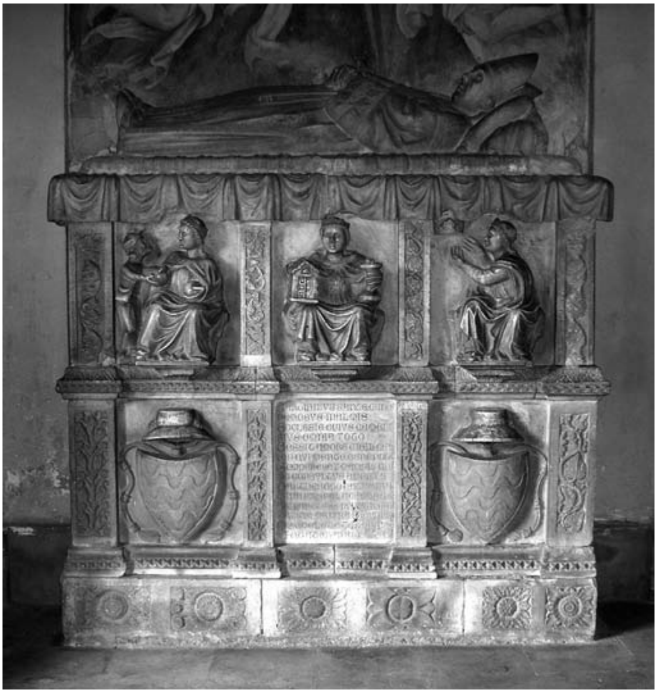

Figure 80 Monument of Marino Bulcani (d. 1394), Santa Maria Nova. Author.

bearing personifications of the theological virtues, Faith, Hope, and Charity. This, in turn, is raised on a tripartite base bearing the cardinal's arms and an inscription. All it lacks is its original canopy and whatever decorated the wall behind it. An indication of the whole ensemble is suggested by the monument of Cardinal Philippe d'Alençon (d. 1397) in his titular church of Santa Maria in Trastevere, although the effigy and a relief of the Dormition of the Virgin were separated from its Gothic canopy in the sixteenth century (Figure 81).[45]

Grimaldi's record of the della Porta Gothic tomb (see Figure 75) includes similar elements to both the Bulcani and d'Alençon monuments of an ornate canopy raised on columns, effigy, and tripartite base, but at ground level the della Porta monument seems to have been supported on column capitals and what appears to be an upside-down cornice decorated with acanthus leaves. This reuse of fragments from antique

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[45] Gardner, *Tomb and the Tiara*, 126–7 and below.

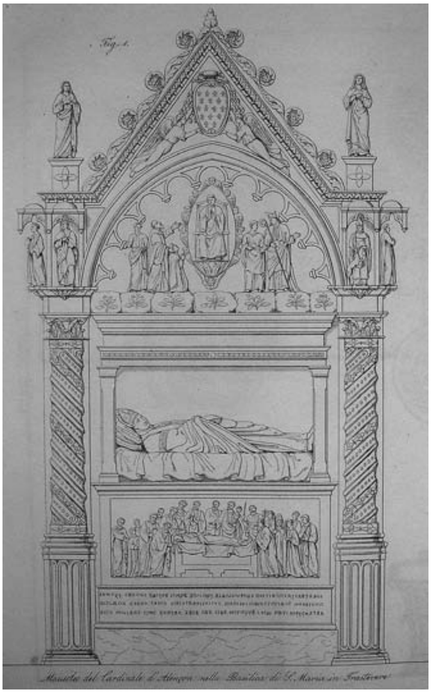

Figure 81 Reconstruction of the Monument of Philippe d'Alençon (d. 1397), Santa Maria in Trastevere, in Giacomo Fontana, *Raccolta delle migliori chiese di Roma* (1855). British School at Rome/author.

buildings was common in Roman tomb monuments until the beginning of the fifteenth century. It was especially appropriate at St Peter's where many parts of the old building, including the forest of multi-coloured columns in the aisles, were a rich mix of *spolia*.[46] The many ancient mausolea in the area of the Vatican provided an abundant and continuous source of building materials. Architectural fragments including columns, capitals, and parts of entablatures are often present in these tombs, used happily alongside Gothic detailing. However, the wholesale reuse of classical sarcophagi, as in the mid-thirteenth-century monuments of Guglielmo Fieschi (d. 1256) in San Lorenzo fuori le mura or Lucca Savelli (d. 1266) in Santa Maria in Aracoeli, had died out by the end of the thirteenth century, as it seems to have been incompatible with the introduction of the effigy.[47] Whereas in the thirteenth century marble was regularly 'quarried' from ancient buildings, by the fifteenth it was increasingly sought afresh from Carrara to make pristine monuments.[48] Direct recycling in fifteenth-century monuments was uncommon as coherence within individual monuments took over as a major objective—although coherence between monuments and within sites seems to have been less of an issue.[49] Or perhaps it would be more accurate to say that it was less of an option in the circumstances when repair was more important. The tomb of Giovanni Arberino (d. *c.* 1470) in Santa Maria sopra Minerva, which includes a sarcophagus bearing a relief of Hercules and the Nemean lion (Figure 82), and the tomb of Cardinal Antonio Venerio (d. 1479) in San Clemente, which incorporates two finely worked columns from the early sixth-century ciborium, are rare exceptions.[50]

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[46] Bosman, *Power of Tradition*, focuses on the reuse of architectural fragments in both the old and new basilica; see also Dale Kinney, "Spolia," in *St Peter's in the Vatican*, ed. William Tronzo (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 16–47.

In the fifteenth century classical fragments were not usually reused, but instead inspired the tight classicizing tombs common in Rome from the 1460s onwards perfected by Lombard masons, notably Andrea Bregno.[51] The influx of foreign craftsmen to feed the large number of high-status patrons in Rome resulted in a tomb type that combines and

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[47] Gardner, *Tomb and the Tiara*, 44, 67.

[48] Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, *Les maîtres du marbre carrare 1300–1600* (Paris: SEVPEN, Centre de Recherches Historiques, 1969), 57; Gardner, *Tomb and the Tiara*, 43. See also above, chapter 4.

[49] On this issue of the "jeweled style" of late antique buildings, or *varietas*, as a "default virtue" that was necessitated by the decline in the productivity of the imperial quarries and imports—which as Kinney points out has biblical as well as rhetorical sources—see Kinney, "Spolia," 29, who cites Psalm 44.15, Revelation 21:18–20; see also Beat Brenk, "Spolien und ihre Wirkung auf die Ästhetik der varietas: zum Problem alternierender Kapitelltypen," in *Antike Spolien in der Architektur des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, ed. Joachim Poeschke (Munich: Hirmer, 1996), 49–80; Michael Roberts, *The Jeweled Style: Poetry and Poetics in Late Antiquity* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989).

[50] Max Wegner, "Grabmal Arberini," in *Festschrift Werner Hager*, ed. Günther Fiensch (Recklinghausen: Bongers, 1966), 71–80; Michael Kühlenthal, "The Alberini Sarcophagus: Renaissance Copy or Antique?" *The Art Bulletin* 56 no. 3 (1974): 414–21. Kühlenthal refutes the proposal by Wegner that the sarcophagus incorporated into the monument is a sixteenth-century copy, pointing to photographs taken when it was moved in the second decade of the twentieth century. Instead he proposes that the sarcophagus was inserted into the Arberino family monument in the second half of the sixteenth century (420).

[51] For such an important figure in fifteenth-century Rome, the bibliography on Andrea Bregno is surprisingly thin. See, most recently, Claudio Strinati, ed., *Andrea Bregno: il senso della forma nella cultura artistica del Rinascimento* (Rome: Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, 2007); Michael Kühlenthal, "Andrea Bregno in Rom," *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana* 32 (2002): 179–272.

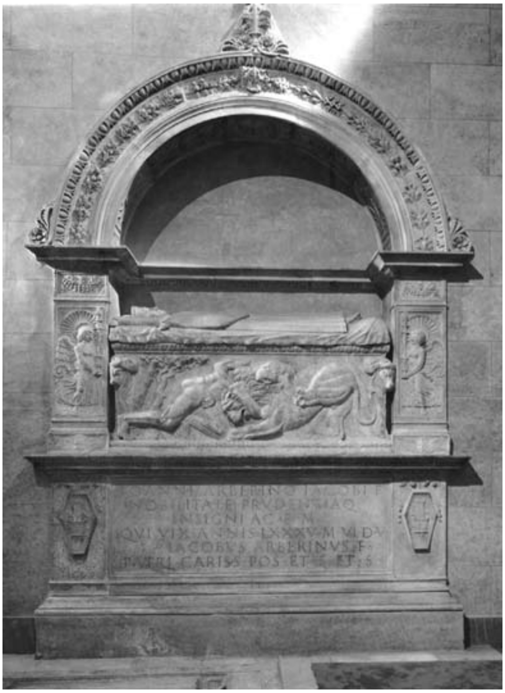

Figure 82 Monument of Giovanni Arberino (d. *c.* 1470), Santa Maria sopra Minerva. Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art, no. A76/1027.

refines influences from all over the Italian peninsula and further afield. Grimaldi, for example, attributes the tomb of Ardicino della Porta Junior to Andrea Sansovino, which would explain the Florentine treatment of the arch which is more decorative than the more architectural Roman or Lombard forms.[52] Unfortunately, very little is known about the career of Sansovino before 1500. Born around 1460, he served his apprenticeship in Florence, possibly with the Pollaiuoli, between 1475 and 1480.[53] Between 1486 and 1491 he may have worked with Giuliano da Sangallo on the Sassetti tombs in Santa Trinità, Florence.[54] Little is known about his activities in the 1490s, though it is not impossible that he worked in Rome to make the tomb of Cardinal della Porta, or that it was made after 1505 when he was called to Rome to make the monument of Cardinal Ascanio Sforza that was integrated into Bramante's choir for Santa Maria del Popolo for Julius II.[55]

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[52] Grimaldi, *S. Pietro in Vaticano*, 336: "Hoc sepulcrum Ardicini iunioris de la Porta cardinalis elegantissimum erat Andreae Sansovini manu egregii sculptoris caelatum."

[53] Ulrich Middeldorf, "Unknown Drawings of the Two Sansovinos," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 60 no. 350 (May 1932): 241–2: Alison Wright, *The Pollaiuolo Brothers: The Arts of Florence and Rome* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004), 410.

[54] Ulrich Middeldorf, "Giuliano da Sangallo and Andrea Sansovino" *The Art Bulletin*, 16 no. 2 (1934): 107–15.

The oratory of St Thomas was in the lower part of St Peter's that escaped the changes of the early sixteenth century and monuments continued to be added there, so a date into the sixteenth century is not impossible. The epitaph from the della Porta Junior tomb states that it was commissioned after his death by the cardinal's heirs, associates, and staff.[56] Certainly, the bland classicism of the surviving della Porta effigy and the elegant proportions, tight synthesis of parts, and abundance of detail of the monument as it is recorded by Grimadi would not exclude the possibility that this is a missing work by the elusive Florentine sculptor (Figures 76–78).

There were very few monuments to cardinals in St Peter's added in the fourteenth century. Those that were took place in the first half of the century and tended to be members of Roman families. Cardinal Giacomo Caetani Stefaneschi (d. 1341) had a tomb chapel dedicated to Saints Laurence and George next to his mother's tomb, where Cardinal Annibaldo da Ceccano, his nephew, was also buried; Cardinal Napoleone Orsini (d. 1342) had a tomb chapel dedicated to St Martial.[57] Both chapels were located at the top of the aisles on the wall adjoining the transept, and so were lost in the early sixteenth century.

A small but nevertheless significant number of cardinals were buried in St Peter's in the fifteenth century, however. Space was limited and what there was seems to have been increasingly in the gift of the popes as the interior was reorganized to stress the papal significance of the basilica (discussed below, chapter 9).[58] In the first half of the fifteenth century, two other tombs were added in or near the oratory of St Thomas. Just outside the entrance, on the left-hand side towards the altar of St Gregory, was the monument of Cardinal Cristoforo Moroni (d. 1404). Archpriest of the basilica, all that remain of his monument are a rather battered effigy and the cardinal's coat of arms (Figure 83).[59] Just inside the entrance to the oratory, on the right-hand side opposite that of Ardicino della Porta Senior, was the tall monument of Cardinal Pedro Fonseca (d. 1422). It took the form of an *enfeu*, the cardinal's effigy revealed by angels pulling back stone curtains, the sarcophagus raised on columns supported by lions (Figures 84 and 85).[60] Fonseca was made Cardinal of Sant'Angelo in Pescheria by Benedict XIII in 1408. In 1418 he transferred allegiance to Martin V and his status as a cardinal was confirmed. He served Martin V as a legate to Greece and the Orient in 1419 and to Naples in 1421, just before he died.

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[55] Haydn G. Huntly, *Andrea Sansovino: Sculptor and Architect of the Italian Renaissance* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1935), 57–64; Philipp Zitzlsperger, "Die Ursachen der Sansovinograbmäler in S. Maria del Popolo (Rom)," in *Tod und Verklärung: Grabmalskultur in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Arne Karsten (Köln: Böhlau, 2004), 91–113.

[56] Grimaldi, *S. Pietro in Vaticano*, 335–6.

[57] Gardner, *Tomb and the Tiara*, 111, 118; Alfarano, *Basilicae Vaticanae*, 67, 88. On Stefaneschi's instructions for his chapel see Paravicini-Bagliani, *I testamenti dei cardinali*, 449. See also Bram Kempers and Sible de Blaauw, "Jacopo Stefaneschi, Patron and Liturgist: A New Hypothesis regarding the Date, Iconography, Authorship and Function of his Altarpiece for Old Saint Peter's," *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome* 47, new series 12 (1987): 83–113.

[58] Chacon (*Vitae, et res gestae*, vol. 2, col. 1062) wrote that when Cardinal Jacopo Ammannati died in 1474 Sixtus IV refused his wish to be buried in St Peter's. There

Again just outside the oratory of St Thomas was the monument of Berardo Eruli (d. 1479), close to Pius II's altar of Saints Andrew and Gregory. Alfarano states that the Eruli tomb was moved at the time of Sixtus IV to the left-hand side of the entrance into the same pope's Capella del Coro from its original position at the oratory of the Holy Cross attached to the east wall of the south transept.[61] The fact that the Eruli monument was moved and remodelled at least twice is not unusual for monuments in Rome's churches.[62] In fact, the oratory of the Holy Cross had been dismantled under Nicholas V in the 1450s, part of his works in the choir and transept, although in 1462 Pius II allowed the chaplaincy attached to it to continue.[63] The altar may have been restored sometime between the early 1460s and Eruli's death in 1479, however, perhaps even in the area of the north aisle later opened

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is reason to doubt this story, as will be discussed in chapter 10, 455–6, though the suggestion that the pope was restricting burials in the basilica reflects his own patronage of Santa Maria del Popolo, possibly as an alternative burial site for the della Rovere clan and their associates.

[59] Alfarano, *Basilicae Vaticanae*, 167; Garms, *Mittelalterlichen Grabmäler in Rom*, 153–4; Roser, *St. Peter in Rom im 15. Jahrhundert*, 223–31.

[60] Grimaldi, *S. Pietro in Vaticano*, 252–4; Alfarano, *Basilicae Vaticanae*, 83; Davies, *Sculptured Tombs*, 330–1; Garms, *Mittelalterlichen Grabmäler in Rom*, 160–2; Roser, *St. Peter in Rom im 15. Jahrhundert*, 217–22.

[61] Alfarano, *Basilicae Vaticanae*, 51–2 and n. 1 (no. 35 on the plan); Roser, *St. Peter in Rom im 15. Jahrhundert*, 231–5. Close to the baptistery, the oratory was probably reserved for confirmations in the early Church: Blaauw, *Cultus et decor*, 508.

[62] Michael Kühlenthal, "Le origini dell'arte sepolcrale del Rinascimento a Roma," *Colloqui del sodalizio* 5 (1975–6): 109.

[63] Blaauw, *Cultus et decor*, 568, 671–2; Grimaldi, *S. Pietro in Vaticano*, 470–1.

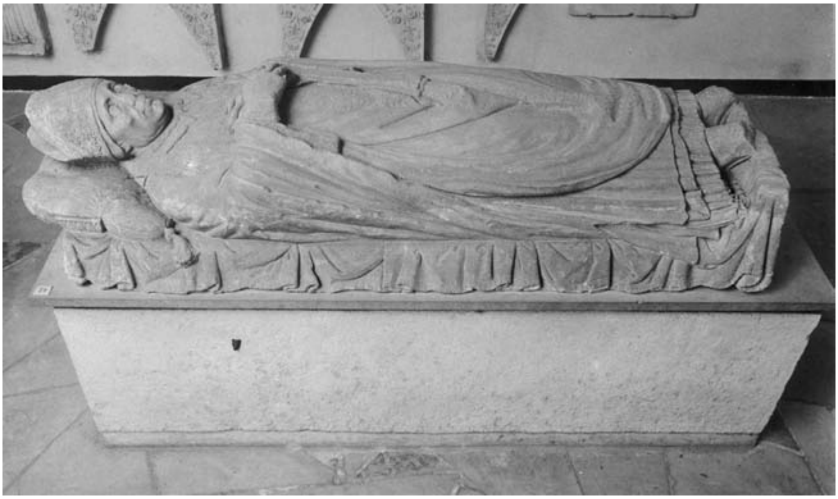

Figure 83 Effigy of Cristoforo Moroni (d. 1404), Vatican Grottoes. Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art, no. A74/270.

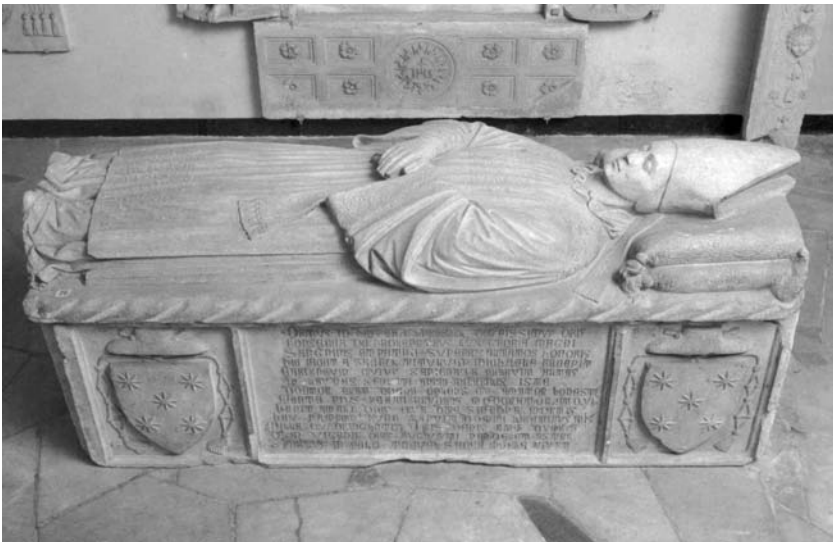

Figure 84 Effigy of Pedro Fonseca (d. 1422), Vatican Grottoes. Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art, no. A73/3222.

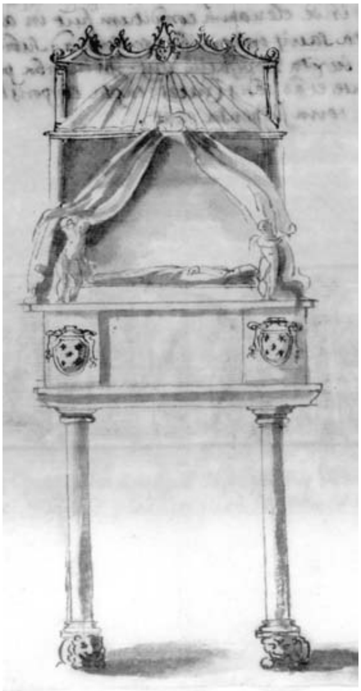

Figure 85 Monument of Pietro Fonseca, from Giacomo Grimaldi, *San Pietro* (1606), Barb. lat. 2733, f. 217r. © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

for Sixtus IV's chapel. It is only one of many examples of the confusion over the precise location and arrangement of monuments, let alone their appearance, in St Peter's and elsewhere in Rome. All that remain of the tomb monument, the work of Giovanni Dalmata, are the effigy and the dramatic figure of Christ Resurrected, which clearly originated from the Eruli tomb as Grimaldi's drawing shows (Figures 86–88).[64] The elongated figure of Christ is designed to be seen from below, where it must have appeared to hover over the cardinal's effigy, blessing both him and those who stopped to look at his monument.

Although a few cardinals were buried elsewhere in St Peter's—for example, Cardinal Isidore in the atrium and Richard Olivier de Longueil, made archpriest of the basilica by Paul II, in the oratory of Saints Processus and Martinian in the eastern corner of the north transept—the north aisle continued to be the focus of cardinals' and

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[64] Röll, *Giovanni Dalmata*, 102–8.

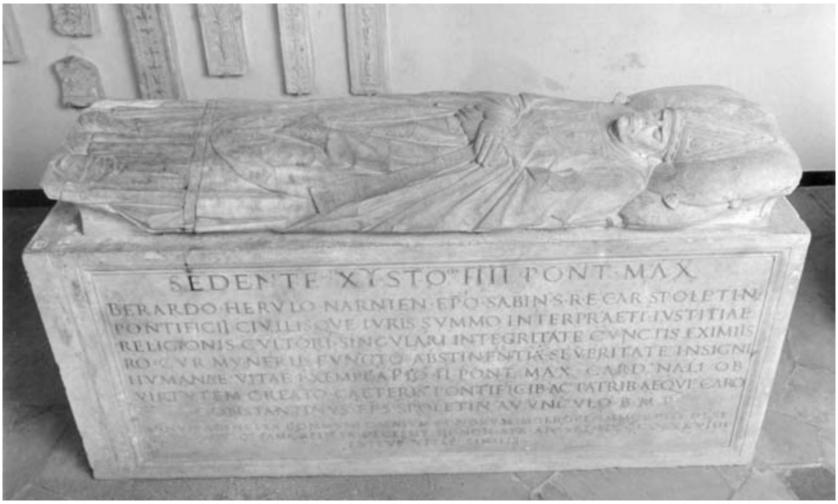

Figure 86 Giovanni Dalmata, effigy of Berardo Eruli (d. 1479), Vatican Grottoes. Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art, no. A74/266.

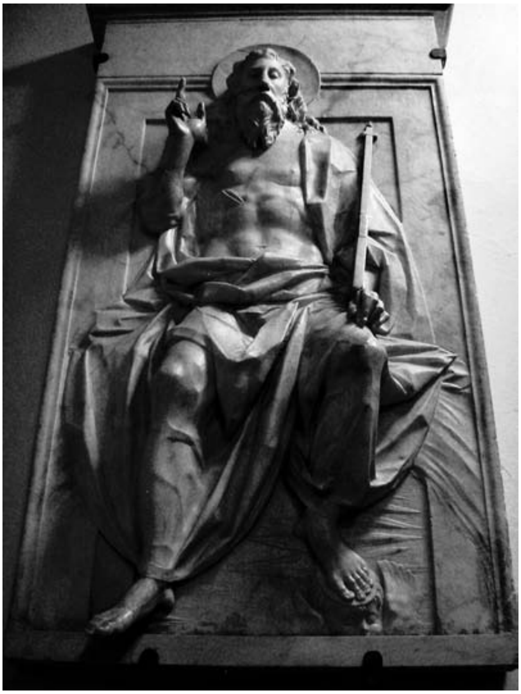

Figure 87 Giovanni Dalmata, monument of Berardo Eruli, *Christ Resurrected*, Vatican Grottoes. Author.

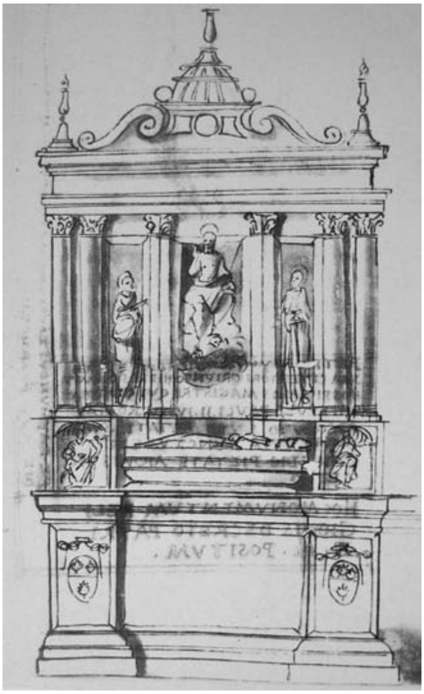

Figure 88 Monument of Berardo Eruli, from Giacomo Grimaldi, *San Pietro* (1606), Barb. lat. 2733, f. 292v. © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

popes' tombs throughout the fifteenth century.[65] This is an important fact that will be investigated in chapter 9.

The monument of Eugenius IV and the problem of survival

Despite the number of tomb monuments in St Peter's and in Rome, Ingo Herklotz, using the evidence of Maffeo Vegio (1407–58), suggests that mid-fifteenth-century popes, Eugenius IV and Nicholas V in particular, were relatively indifferent to the sepulchral arts.[66] This is a bold statement, especially when so few monuments survive intact or in their original locations.

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[65] Giovanni Morello, ed., *Vatican Treasures: 2000 Years of Art and Culture in the Vatican and Italy* (Milan: Electa, 1993), 56, 152. Richard Olivier de Longueil (cardinal 1456–70) was made archpriest of St Peter's by Paul II in 1465. During his tenure he embellished the oratory of Saints Processus and Martinian, where he was eventually buried, moving the bronze statue of St Peter into the main basilica and mounting it on a new pedestal bearing his coat of arms.

Best known for his supplement to Virgil's *Aeneid* (*Aeneidos Liber XIII*), Maffeo became a canon of St Peter's in 1443. In that capacity, after 1455 he wrote a description of St Peter's in four books, the *De rebus antiquis memorabilibus Basilicae S. Petri Romae*. In his book he recalled that Eugenius IV did not commission a grandiose tomb nor did he want one. Maffeo writes of the monument of Eugenius IV:

> His mausoleum still stands distinguished and adorned by a highly talented builder, not because he either ordered it or desired it. For I remember that while he was at Florence and a chance mention was made of the elaborateness of tombs, I heard he was unwilling if he happened to die in Rome to be buried anywhere other than next to Eugenius III, nor should anyone else other than him be rewarded with the honour of a tomb and a title. For he was the prince of great restraint and moderation, and one who despised the empty and passing things of this world always with a brave and lofty mind.[67]

Eugenius IV only wanted to be buried near Eugenius III (1145–53), a disciple of Bernard of Clairvaux, which he said would lend his monument enough distinction. Eugenius III was originally buried somewhere in front of the high altar of St Peter's, possibly at the top of the nave, on the left-hand side near the altar of the Virgin and Child, and Saints Peter and Paul embellished on his behalf (see Figure 71, '38' on the Alfarano plan), though by the end of the sixteenth century his remains seem to have been removed to the right of the door into the sacristy. When this was done is unknown, though it is tempting to associate the move with the project to provide Eugenius IV with a monument in the same area.[68] It would perhaps be a mistake to make too much of Maffeo's memories of Eugenius IV, however. Humility in the face of death and reticence when it came to commemoration was a standard convention of wills and testaments, as will be discussed in chapter 10. The living could perhaps afford to take this stance as it was standard practice for family members and executors to arrange for the tomb monuments of the deceased. Indeed, it was a duty that the living owed to the dead.[69] Nevertheless, as Michael Kühlenthal points out, the tomb and the monument appear to have been quite separate, as Eugenius IV was indeed buried in the floor of the basilica, so both the pope and his family got what they wanted.[70]

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[66] Herklotz, *"Sepulcra" e "monumenta"*, 336–7. See also Ingo Herklotz, review of *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* by Paul Binski—*Speculum* 73 (1998): 809–11; Herklotz, *"Sepulcra" e "monumenta"*, 41–8, 56–65. Herklotz points out that in antiquity the monumental sepulchre came to an end in the fifth century and was not revived until the eleventh. Even then, the mendicant orders, in particular, promoted humility in death and therefore avoided monuments, preferring instead to be buried in the ground. Funerary monuments, he adds, were features of a desire for worldly display in the Middle Ages, not because Christianity was a religion of the body.

[67] Maffeo Vegio, "De rebus antiquis memorabilibus Basilicae S. Petri Romae" (after 1455), in *Codice topografico della città di Roma*, ed. Roberto Valentini and Giuseppe Zucchetti, Fonti per la storia d'Italia 91 (Rome: Tipografia del Senato, 1953), vol. 4, 394: "...extatque erectum illi insigne et magno artificis ingenio elaboratum mausoleum, non quod ille id aut mandaverit, aut concupierit. Nam sum memor, dum Florentiae ageret, incideretque forte mentio huiusmodi sumptuositatis sepulcrorum, ab eo audivisse, nolle, si Romae mori contingeret, alibi quam iuxta Eugenium tertium tumulari, neque alio, quam illum, tumuli honore ac titulo, decorati. Erat enim Princeps magnae continentiae et moderationis, et qui huiuscemodi res mundi vanas et fluxas forti semperque alto animo contemneret." Also in Herklotz, *"Sepulcra" e "monumenta"*, 336–7 n. 130. See also Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, "De morte Eugenii IV et creatione Nicolai V," in Étienne Baluze, *Stephani Baluzii tutelensis miscellanea nono ordine digesta... opera ac studio Joannis Dominici Mansi Lucensis* (Lucca: Vincentium Junctinium, 1761), vol. 1, col. 338 for a similar report: "Absint pompae et inanis gloria sepulturae."

The monument of Eugenius IV was commissioned by one of his cardinal-nephews, Francesco Condulmer (d. 1453), and erected in St Peter's during the pontificate of Nicholas V at the top of the north aisle by 1455. Throughout this period, from 1445 until 1464, Pietro Barbo, Eugenius IV's other cardinal-nephew, was archpriest of the Vatican basilica so presumably had some sway over what went on inside. The monument to his uncle was long thought by scholars to be the first tomb of a pope to reflect emerging trends in monumental tomb design, with details taking classical rather than Gothic form and a more coherent synthesis of parts. In the same period the area around the monument of Eugenius IV was developed as something of a Venetian corner in the basilica. In 1451 Pietro Barbo, who, according to Platina, was a rival of Condulmer, embellished the altar of the Virgin and Child, and Saints Peter and Paul that Eugenius IV himself had restored at the very top of the aisle (Figure 89).[71] Eugenius IV's tomb was erected

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[68] Alfarano, *Basilicae Vaticanae*, 176.

[69] Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 348–54; Nigel Llewellyn, *The Art of Death* (London: V&A/Reaktion, 1991), 27; Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (London: The British Museum Press, 1996), 24.

[70] Michael Kühlenthal, "Zwei Grabmäler des früheren Quattrocento in Rom. Kardinal Martinez de Chiavez und Papst Eugen IV," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 16 (1976): 23ff.

[71] Alfarano, *Basilicae Vaticanae*, 72–3. Grimaldi, *S. Pietro in Vaticano* (131–2), gives the two dedicatory inscriptions that went with the altar, dating it to 1451. On the altar

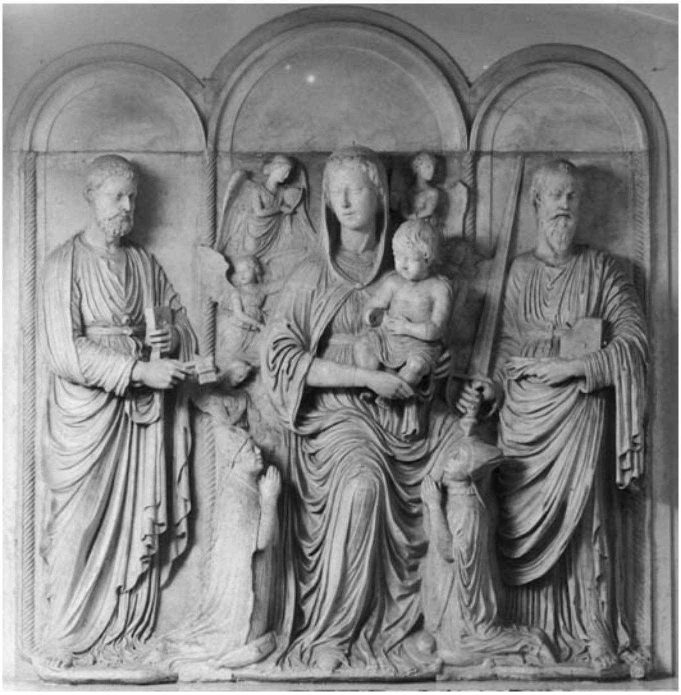

Figure 89 Isaia da Pisa, Altar of the Virgin and Child, and Saints Peter and Paul (1450s), Vatican Grottoes. Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art, neg. no. A73/3223.

next to it on the left-hand side. Next to the monument of Eugenius IV was an altar of St Mark, probably commissioned by Pietro Barbo or Marco Barco, and next to that eventually the grandiose monument of Paul II.[72] Then there was the door into the new sacristy started by Eugenius IV, and eventually, on the other side, Nicholas V's tomb and altar. At the very top of the north aisle, Eugenius's tomb was in place only for sixty years when it was damaged, like the other tombs and altars in the area, by the building work to construct Bramante's piers for the new crossing.

In 1545 what was left of the tomb of Eugenius IV was moved across the remains of the nave of St Peter's and re-erected next to that of

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see Francesco Caglioti, "Precisazioni sulla 'Madonna' di Isaia da Pisa nelle Grotte Vaticane," *Prospettiva: Rivista di storia dell'arte antica e moderna* 47 (1986): 58–64.

[72] Burchard, *Liber notarum*, part 1, 27 July 1486, 157: an anniversary mass for Paul II was held at the altar of the Virgin "next to" the pope's tomb.

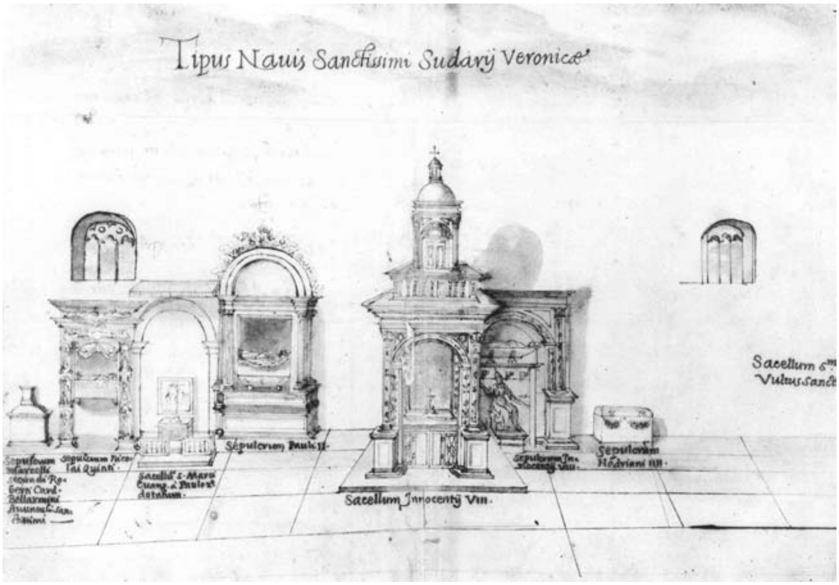
Tipus Nauis Sanctissimi Sudarij Veronicæ
Sacellum s.mi Vultus Sancti
Sepulcrum Pauli II
Sacellum Innocentij VIII
Sepulcrum Innocentij VIII
Sepulcrum Hadriani IIII

Figure 90 Old St Peter's, south aisle, from Giacomo Grimaldi, *San Pietro* (1606), Barb. lat. 2733, f. 124v–125. © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

Paul II, which had been moved the year before. When in 1605 it was finally decided that the nave of the new basilica should be elongated, with the result that the bottom half of the old nave up to the facade would finally be demolished, it was one of many monuments that were available for a new home. In 1591 the church of San Salvatore in Lauro was badly damaged by fire.[73] As part of the reconstruction the canons of San Giorgio in Alga, a Venetian order of which Gabriele Condulmer (Eugenius IV) was a founder member, based at the church, offered the tomb a new home in their cloister.[74] It had been moved by the time Grimaldi recorded the contents of the lower part of the south aisle (Figure 90). Then, in the mid-nineteenth century, the monument was removed to the oratory of the Pio Sodalizio dei Piceni, where it remains today (Figure 91).

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[73] Kühlenthal, "Zwei Grabmäler," 25–9.

[74] On the canons and San Salvatore in Lauro in the fifteenth century see Sandro Corradini, "Note sul Cardinale Latino Orsini fondatore di S. Salvatore in Lauro ed il suo elogio funebre," in *Sisto IV: le arti a Roma nel primo Rinascimento*, ed. Fabio Benzi (Rome: Shakespeare and Company 2, 2000), 123–6.

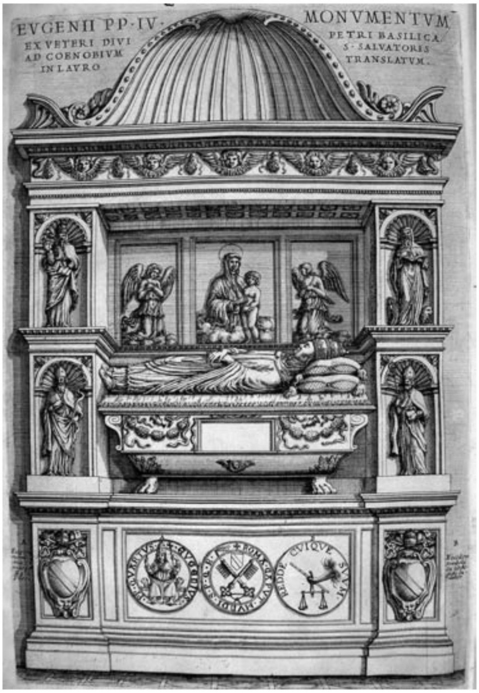

Figure 91 Monument of Eugenius IV (d. 1447), Pio Sodalizio dei Piceni, San Salvatore in Lauro, from Alonso Chacon, *Vitae, et res gestae* (1677). British School at Rome/author.

For a long time the tomb monument of Eugenius IV was hailed as the first of a new type of Quattrocento monument, the prototype of the Renaissance curial tomb later perfected by Andrea Bregno. However, in a 1906 article Lisetta Motta Ciaccio pointed out that the monument was, in fact, a reconstruction and almost certainly included fragments from different monuments.[75] Sometime during its moves, the effigy of Eugenius IV came to be incorporated with the framing elements of another, probably smaller, monument from much later in the fifteenth century. Instead, the prize for the first Renaissance tomb has gone to that of the Portuguese cardinal, Antonio Martinez de Chavez (d. 1447), in St John Lateran.[76]

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[75] Lisetta Motta Ciaccio, "Scoltura romana del Rinascimento: primo periodo (sino al pontificato di Pio II)," *L'Arte* 9 (1906): 433–41; Alfredo Pisano, "Monumenti sepolcrali della seconda metà del Quattrocento in Roma," *Roma* 10 (1932): 530.

[76] Ciaccio, "Scoltura romana," 433–41.

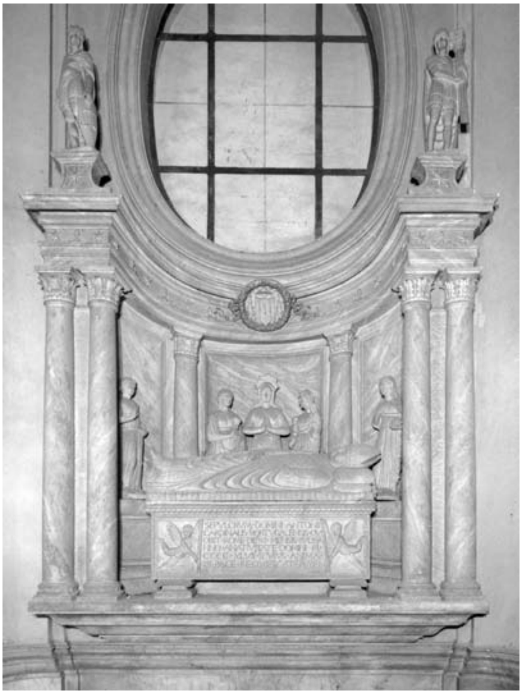

Figure 92 Monument of Antonio Martinez de Chaves (d. 1447), St John Lateran. Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art, neg. no. B74/475.

Originally in the transept of the Lateran basilica under the tribune of the organ donated to the cathedral by the cardinal, the Chavez tomb was itself moved in 1596 to the south pilaster near the entrance, and then was in turn dismantled as a result of Borromini's remodelling of the basilica (1644–8) and some fragments reassembled in the south aisle (Figure 92).[77] Fortunately, before it was moved for a second time, when it was dismantled and reassembled against a niche lined with green marble, the monument was recorded in a drawing by Borromini's workshop, now preserved in the Albertina in Vienna (Figure 93). Nevertheless, the Chavez tomb is a somewhat problematic source for subsequent

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[77] Hermann Egger, "Kardinal Antonio Martinez de Chavez und sein Grabmal in San Giovanni in Laterano," *Miscellanea Francesco Ehrle: scritti di storia e paleografia; pubblicati in occasione dell'ottantesimo natalizio dell'e.mo cardinale Francesco Ehrle*, Studi e testi 38 (Rome: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1924), vol. 2: Per la storia di Roma, 415–31; Kühlenthal, "Le origini," 108; Carlo La Bella, "Scultori nella Roma di Pio II (1458–1464): considerazioni su Isaia da Pisa, Mino da Fiesole e Paolo Romano," *Studi romani* 63 (1995): 27–8.

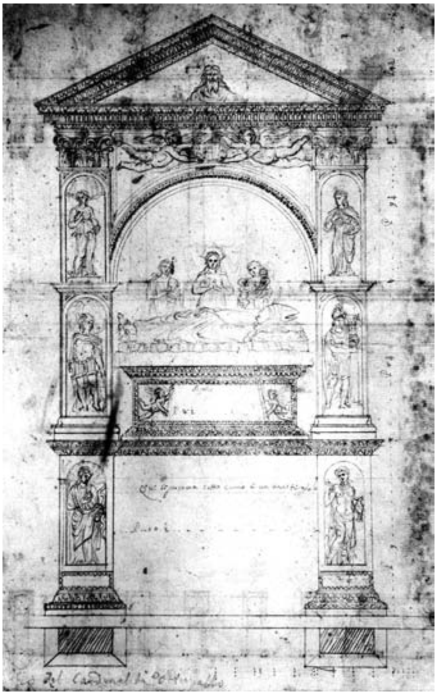

Figure 93 Workshop of Borromini, *Monument of Antonio Martinez de Chavez*, 1640s, charcoal on paper, 43.4 × 28.1 cm, Albertina, Vienna. AZ Rom 396a.

monuments. It raises a number of issues that haunt scholars considering Roman Quattrocento tomb design—of authorship, original location, and purpose.

For some time it was believed that the Chavez tomb in St John Lateran was the work of the Florentine artist and architect Filarete (*c.* 1400–69), as he is documented in connection with the cardinal's monument, perhaps with the assistance of Isaia da Pisa (fl. 1447–64), on the basis of stylistic comparison.[78] In 1889 Eugene Müntz published a Florentine document dated 7 February 1449 in which Filarete is linked with the monument, although it also makes it clear that the artist had left Rome before much, if anything, was done.[79] It seems that Chavez changed his will: whereas he first wanted to be buried in Santa Maria sopra Minerva out of his loyalty to the Dominicans, he changed the location to the Lateran basilica, endowing a tomb chapel with a *vigna* worth 1,000 ducats.[80]

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[78] See Kühlenthal, "Zwei Grabmäler," 32, n. 36; John Pope-Hennessy, *Italian Renaissance Sculpture* (London: Phaidon, 1958), 332; Charles Seymour Jr, *Sculpture in Italy 1400–1500* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1966), 134; Vincenzo Golzio and Giuseppe Zander, *L'arte in Roma nel secolo XV* (Bologna: Cappelli, 1968), 320.

[79] Eugène Müntz, "Les arts à la cour des papes, nouvelles recherches sur les pontificats de Martin V, d'Eugène IV, de Nicolas V, de Calixte III, de Pie II et de Paul

The monument possibly designed by Filarete and referred to in the document published by Müntz is all the more important as it is the only wall tomb associated with the artist, though Filarete may have only been associated with that for Santa Maria sopra Minerva before the cardinal changed his mind. Nevertheless, Kühlenthal credits many of the innovations the Chavez tomb incorporates to the influence of sculptors who had worked in Florence.[81] The architectonic arrangement with flying putti in the spandrel of the arch, for example, can be related to Brunelleschi's portal for the Pazzi Chapel at Santa Maria Novella in Florence. Filarete's participation in the project would certainly be a convenient way to explain the arrival of the classically styled monument in Rome, though the stocky figures and their more formulaic, abstract treatment suggest that it was Isaia da Pisa who made the monument.

Since antiquity, Rome has been, as Nicholas Purcell put it, "a city of alien tombs."[82] The same can be said of the artists who made them. Rome in the fifteenth century did not have its own native sculptural workshop comparable with those of Pisa, Florence, or Milan, so the profile of its artists reflected its patrons' networks. Calixtus III's monument in Santa Maria della Febbre adjoining St Peter's, for example, or at least parts of the altar into which the effigy was inserted, was the work of Paolino di Antonio Binasco, a Spanish sculptor, between 1457 and 1463, the year of the sculptor's death.[83] Most tomb monuments are

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II," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 9 (1889): 136. See Kühlenthal, "Le origini," 110–11, and Kühlenthal, "Zwei Grabmäler," 35.

[80] Nicola Widloecher, *La congregazione dei canonici regolari Lateranensi: periodo di formazione (1402–1483)* (Gubbio: Scuola Tipografica Oderisi, 1929), 119; Kühlenthal, "Zwei Grabmäler," 36–7, nn.53 and 54, for the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century documents that record the bequest.

[81] Kühlenthal, "Le origini," 119–21. It is generally agreed that the design of Roman tomb monuments was moved on by Florentine influences. See Shelly E. Zuraw, "The Sculpture of Mino da Fiesole (1429–1484)" (PhD thesis, New York University, 1993), 399.

[82] Nicholas Purcell, "The populace of Rome in late antiquity," in *The Transformations of Vrbs Romana in Late Antiquity*, ed. W.V. Harris, *Journal of Roman Archaeology* supplementary series 33 (1999): 141.

[83] Cavallero, "Il monumento funebre di Callisto III Borgia," 237, who points out that the only specific link between the Spanish sculptor and the monument for the pope refers to the catafalque and for other works which may be linked with the addition of the effigy to an existing altar; Johannes Röll, "Das Grabmonument Papst Pius III,"

the result of collaboration between a number of sculptural workshops which came together to complete the large number of commissions always available in fifteenth-century Rome. Paolo Romano (Taccone) and Isaia da Pisa, for example, worked together on the triumphal arch for Alfonso V of Aragon and Naples until his death in 1458 when the project was abandoned. The two worked together again on papal projects in the 1460s, then on the ciborium of St Andrew in St Peter's from 1463.[84] In figures such as Paolo Romano's St Paul originally commissioned by Pius II for the steps of St Peter's, now on Ponte Sant'Angelo, and the tabernacle of St Andrew near the Milvian Bridge, sculptors were confronting the scale and *gravitas* of antique sculpture (Figure 94). Paolo Romano dominated sculptural production in Rome during the papacy of Pius II and was commissioned by Pius II's nephew, Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini, to make the pope's tomb.[85] Isaia da Pisa had already established a reputation elsewhere so it seems natural that he would have been attracted to work in Rome, bringing with him the sense of solid form for which Pisan sculptors were renowned.[86] Works such as the altarpiece for the altar of the Virgin and Child, and Saints Peter and Paul for St Peter's, which was probably Isaia's last work in Rome, are important evidence of the incorporation of classical and early Christian forms, especially the treatment of the strigilated drapery folds and the facial types of the main protagonists which lend the work dignity and monumentality (see Figure 89).[87] In the design of tomb monuments, however, it is the balance of architecture and decorative detail that proved the main challenge. Andrea Bregno, who arrived in Rome from Lombardy in the 1460s, made the type his own and dominated the market until the end of the century. Giovanni

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in *Praemium Virtutis: Grabmonumente und Begräbniszeremoniell im Zeichen des Humanismus*, ed. Joachim Poseschke, Britta Kusch, and Thomas Weigd (Münster: Rhema, 2002), 241 n. 22. The relevant documents are in A. Bertolotti, *Artisti lombardi a Roma nei secoli XV, XVI e XVII: studi e ricerche negli archivi romani* (Milan, 1881; anastatic reprint Sala Bolognese: Forni, 1985), vol. 1, 19–23.

[84] La Bella, "Scultori nella Roma di Pio II," 36–7; Ruth Olitsky Rubinstein, "Pius II's Piazza S. Pietro and St. Andrew's Head," in *Enea Silvio Piccolomini Papa Pio II*, ed. Domenico Maffei (Siena: Accademia Senese degli Intronati, 1968), 240.

[85] Francesco Caglioti, "Paolo Romano, Mino da Fiesole e il tabernacolo di San Lorenzo in Dàmaso," in *Scritti in ricordo di Giovanni Previtali*, Prospettiva 53–56 (Florence: Centro Di, 1989–90), 250–2; Zuraw, "The Sculpture of Mino da Fiesole," 367–8 n. 82.

[86] La Bella, "Scultori nella Roma di Pio II," 39–40.

[87] La Bella, "Scultori nella Roma di Pio II," 41; Anna Maria Corbo, "L'attività di Paolo di Mariano a Roma," *Commentari* n.s. 17 (1966): 215.

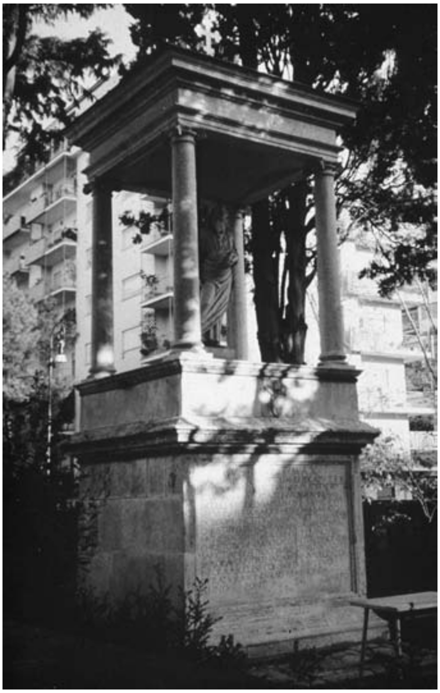

Figure 94 Tabernacle of St Andrew near the Milvian Bridge. Author.

Dalmata and Mino da Fiesole worked both together and separately on tomb monuments in the 1470s and 1480s, lending greater refinement and decorative coherence to the type.

Shelly Zuraw suggests that the fact that tomb types were relatively consistent and repetitive in Rome was due to the process of commissioning, "if one presumes that the patron pointed to a pre-existing work as the model he wished followed in the new tomb."[88] Copying in painting was established practice so it can be supposed that it was also common in sculptural commissions. In addition, continuity and coherence was all, as individuals were commemorated more for their participation in the apostolic succession and the dignity of their office than for their personal achievements.[89]

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[88] Zuraw, "The Sculpture of Mino da Fiesole," 368–70 n. 83; see also Cristina Ruggero, "Magnificenza cardinalizia nella ritrattistica funebre," in *La Porpora Romana: Ritrattistica cardinalizia a Roma dal Rinascimento al Novecento*, ed. Maria Elisa Tittoni and Francesco Petrucci (Rome: Gangemi, 2006), 41, who defines choices made in commissioning tomb monuments as "la scelta se uniformarsi, competere or predominare nei confronti degli altri: imitatio, emulatio o superatio?"

Although in the end very little is known for certain about the original form of Eugenius IV's monument, the evidence of the few original parts that survive suggests it was one of a series of monuments of which the Chavez monument is an early example.[90] If these are anything to go by, the Roman tomb type seems to have been developed in the workshop of Isaia da Pisa, where its conventional parts of canopy, effigy, sepulchre, and epigraph were adapted into a tighter, more coherent whole. These essentials were established early—and indeed can be traced back to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as Julian Gardner has shown—for the monuments that started appearing in the 1460s when Andrea Bregno and the Lombard sculptors arrived, with their love of *grotteschi* and linear decoration that later came to characterize the Roman curial tomb.[91] Despite the preponderance of such tombs in Rome, the case of the monument of Eugenius IV is salutary. Very few tomb monuments in Rome remain unchanged and in their original locations: only two of those considered here have not been moved—the monuments of cardinals Bartolomeo Roverella and Alain Coetivy—the implications of which are considered below. There are fewer documents. Most monuments are attributed to one sculptor or two based on style alone.[92] This approach misses out the purpose, use, symbolism, and location of these monuments.

Tombs, monuments or altars?

What exactly was a tomb monument in the fifteenth century? The answer to this question seems straightforward because with so many destroyed and others reorganized to suit later tastes, what survives appears to belong to a single type. Julian Gardner, in his book *The Tomb and the Tiara*, uses typology rather than chronology or attribution to particular artists as his main means of approaching the curial tomb.[93] For tombs within churches he distinguishes between two types: "those which penetrate or abut the surface of a wall, and those which stand freely above or set into the floor of the church." What can be reconstructed of their location, evolution, and even their use for the containment of human remains, however, suggests that the terms 'tomb' or 'monument' are too vague to capture the variations between them in the fifteenth century.

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[89] John W. O'Malley, *Praise and Blame in Renaissance Rome: Rhetoric, Doctrine, and Reform in the Sacred Orators of the Papal Court, c. 1450–1521* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1979), 169–76.

[90] Kühlenthal, "Zwei Grabmäler," 50.

[91] Maria Grazia Balzarini and Tiziana Monaco, *Lombardia rinascimentale* (Milano: Jaca Book, 2007).

[92] Hannes Roser, for example, sees the arrival of different artists in Rome as the main driver for artistic innovation: *St. Peter in Rom im 15. Jahrhundert*, 14.

According to Maffeo Vegio, Nicholas V, like Eugenius IV, did not want a tomb monument, "an outstandingly talented man… he understood these empty rights and tombs and by understanding them disdained them."[94] Despite his reticence, Nicholas V was commemorated with a monument, but it was incorporated into the altar of St Nicholas he had established on the left-hand side of the door into the sacristy. Nicholas V could not associate himself with his named predecessor as Eugenius IV had done because Nicholas IV was buried in Santa Maria Maggiore, his grave marked by a relatively modest floor slab appropriate for the first Franciscan pope.[95]

According to the reconstruction of the project as told by Thomas Pöpper, Nicholas V would have left nothing to chance. He was an old man, there had been an attempt on his life by Stefano Porcari, and the interior of St Peter's had been a major project of his papacy. Therefore, he commissioned an altar dedicated to Nicholas of Bari and asked to be buried before it.[96] When he died, he was buried under a floor slab before his altar in the north aisle.[97] Pöpper suggests that by choosing a position next to the sacristy (see Figure 71, 'V'), the monument was guaranteed to be particularly visible to as many people as possible. The altar and floor slab of Nicholas V were then embellished by Cardinal Filippo Calandrini, the pope's half-brother, possibly by 1460.[98] Alfarano certainly distinguished between the two functions on his plan of the basilica (see Figure 71, no. 61). For the monument of Nicholas V the symbol for an altar (+) is found inside the symbol for a tomb ([).[99] Nicholas V was exonerated because his tomb remained the relatively modest floor slab, while the monument to the pope was erected by Cardinal Calandrini above the altar. This was entirely in keeping with papal burials in the basilica up to the end of the tenth century, whereby burials were often under the ground with an inscription on a wall or column nearby to mark the spot and maintain the memorial. Gregory III (731–41), for example, was buried in this way under the pavement of the basilica, but above ground his memorial was a larger *arcosolium*—a funerary chest set into an arched recess—in the wall.[100]

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[93] Gardner, *Tomb and the Tiara*, 32–3: "this taxonomic approach renders the surviving tombs less refractory within their historical context, and it illuminates relationships customarily obscured by the purely attributional." See also the review by Debra Pincus: *Speculum* 69 no. 3 (1994): 773–5.

[94] Vegio, "De rebus antiquis," 394: "Penes hunc ex diverso latere conditus est successor eius Nicolaus V et altera numquam ex animo delendus mihi, optimus herus meus, qui cum esset omnibus bonis litteris et studiis longe edoctus, longeque exelso ingenio praestans, ita hasce funerum sepulcrorumque vanitates non aliter ac is, cui successisset, callebat, callensque despiciebat."

[95] Gardner, "Arnolfo di Cambio," 436; Herklotz *"Sepulcra" e "monumenta"*, 336.

[96] Alfarano, *Basilicae Vaticanae*, 74ff, 189; Thomas Pöpper, "Das Grabdenkmal Papst Nikolaus'V. in St. Peter," in *Rom und das Reich vor der Reformation*, ed. Nikolaus Staubach (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2004), 35–6.

[97] Alfarano, *Basilicae Vaticanae*, 74, no. 61: the tomb chapel of Nicholas V is described as "sepulchrum marmoreum simul cum altari ad honorem sancti Nicolai Episcopi et Confessoris dicatum atque dotatum a Nicholas Quinto Pont Max., ante quod sub tabula marmorea eximia corpus eiusdem Ponficiis positum fuerat." When Grimaldi (*S. Pietro in Vaticano*, 216) oversaw the exhumation of the remains on 11 September 1606,

Nicholas V's monument consisted of the effigy of the pope framed by two pilasters, each consisting of three shell niches filled with saints, supporting an entablature decorated with two sets of flying angels bearing the arms of the pope (Figures 95–97). The base was decorated with the arms of his cardinal-nephew, Filippo Calandrini.[101] The cardinal's name saint, Philip, is included along with Saints James the greater and lesser, Matthew, John the Evangelist, and another as yet unidentified, so it is as much a monument to his patronage as to the pope. The fact that St Nicholas was not one of the saints in the niches suggests that the space above the effigy was originally filled with a votive image in which the pope was presented to St Peter or the Virgin and Child by Nicholas.

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he gave this description, including the brief inscription on the floor slab covering the grave: "Coram reverendo domino Paride Pallotto, canonico, aperta fuit arca marmorea humi posita ac inscriptione notata: OSSA NICOLAI PP. V. Corpus ipsius pontificis satis consumptum erat et in pulverem ac ossa redactum, iacebat in lignea capsa parvae staturae et caput parvum. Parieti coaptatum erat marmoreum eius sepulcrum, statua quiescente, sanctorum simulacris, ornatibus ac epitaphio insignitum. Corpus delatum fuit sub fornice novi pavimenti."

[98] Pöpper, "Das Grabdenkmal Papst Nikolaus'V.," 48; on the Parentucelli and Calandrini see Giuseppe L. Coluccia, *Niccolò V umanista: papa e riformatore; renovatio politica e morale* (Venice: Marsilio, 1998), 15–25.

[99] Alfarano, *Basilicae Vaticanae*, 74, 155.

[100] Herklotz, *"Sepulcra" e "monumenta"*, 144; Blaauw, *Cultus et decor*, 580.

[101] Giuseppe Zander, "Restituzione del monumento sepolcrale di Niccolò V," in *Roma 1300–1875: La città degli anni santi*, ed. Marcello Fagiolo and Maria Luisa Madonna (Milan: Arnoldo Mondadori Editore, 1985), 350.

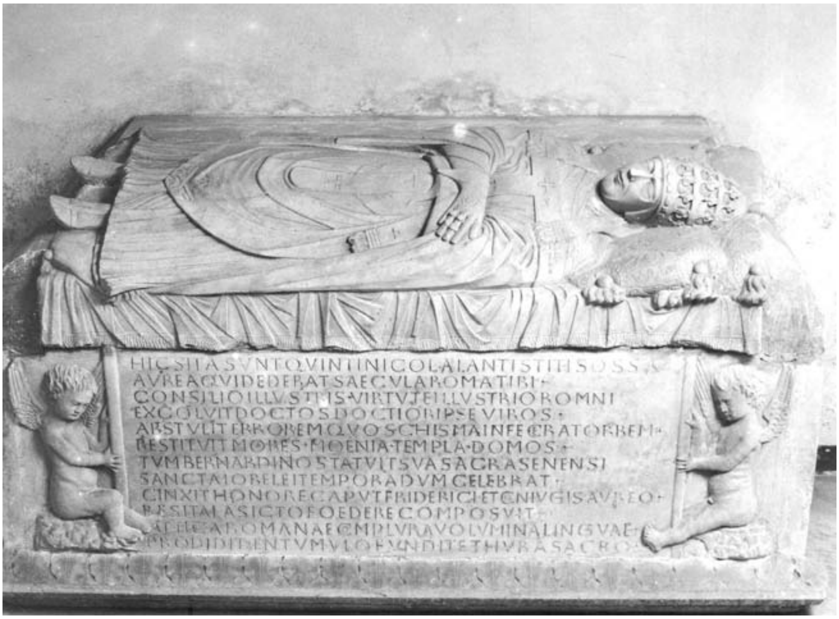

Figure 95 Monument of Nicholas V (d. 1455), effigy, Vatican Grottoes. Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art, neg. no. A73/3201.

The same scenario seems to have played out for Nicholas V's successor, Calixtus III. When the Spanish pope died in 1458, he was buried in the chapel of Sant'Andrea in the rotonda of Santa Maria della Febbre, adjoining the north flank of the basilica.[102] This small oratory, which Calixtus III seems to have endowed, was the designated site of burials for Spaniards, of which there were many in Rome as a result of the Borgia papacy.[103] Calixtus III was speedily buried underground because he died in the hottest month, August, when fear of plague was rife. Existing sculptural decoration of the altar in the chapel seems to have been incorporated into a monument for the pope when the effigy was added, presumably by Rodrigo Borgia, whose arms were also included, which accounts for the different styles of the remaining fragments—the effigy (Figure 98), a relief of the dead Christ preserved in the Vatican Grottoes (Figure 99), and four Doctors of the Church that survive in Sant'Onofrio on the Janiculum. As Cavallero points out, in this way

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[102] Cavallero, "Il monumento funebre di Callisto III Borgia," 236–44.
[103] Cavallero, "Il monumento funebre di Callisto III Borgia," 238.

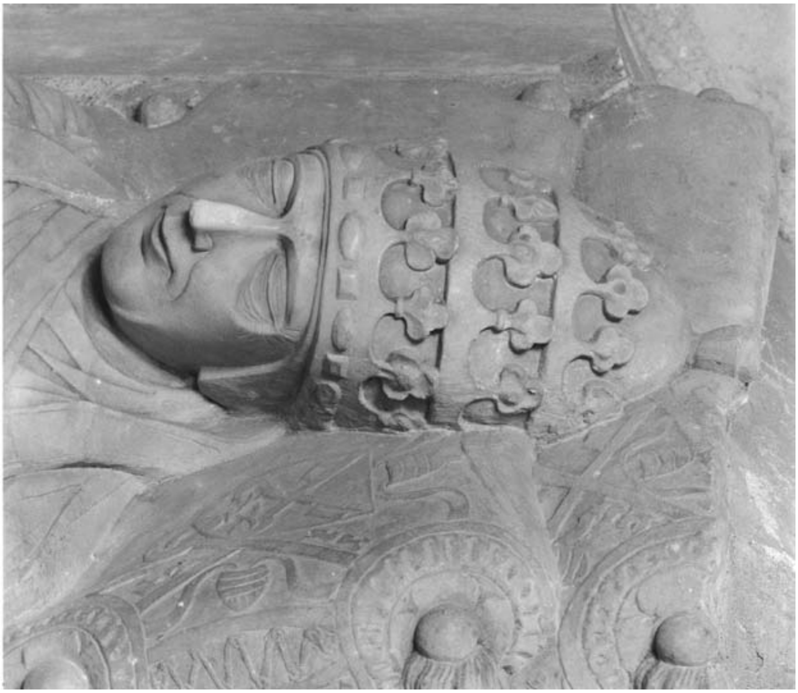

Figure 96 Monument of Nicholas V (d. 1455), detail of head, Vatican Grottoes. Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art, neg. no. A73/3203.

the decoration of the tomb and altar were confused.[104] At the same time, one was not necessarily converted into the other: altar and tomb monument functions were often combined in St Peter's. Even when tomb monuments and altars were kept separate, for example in the case of Paul II's monument, they could still be linked: in 1486, twenty-two years after his death, Paul II's anniversary was marked with mass celebrated at the altar of the Virgin, presumably that which he had embellished himself as a cardinal in the 1450s (see Figure 89).[105]

Johannes Röll has argued that some tomb-altar arrangements in the fifteenth century were the result of the number of Germans (among them Prussians, Netherlanders, and Swiss) who worked in Rome.[106]

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[104] Cavallero, "Il monumento funebre di Callisto III Borgia," 241.

[105] See above, 348 n. 72.

[106] Johannes Röll, "Nordeuropäisch-spätgotische Motive in der römischen Sepulkralskulptur des 15. Jahrhunderts: Das Epitaph des Nikolaus von Kues in S.Pietro in Vincoli," in *Italienische Frührenaissance und nordeuropäisches Spätmittelalter: Kunst der frühen Neuzeit im europäischen Zusammenhang*, ed. Joachim Poeschke (Munich: Hirmer, 1993), 109–11.

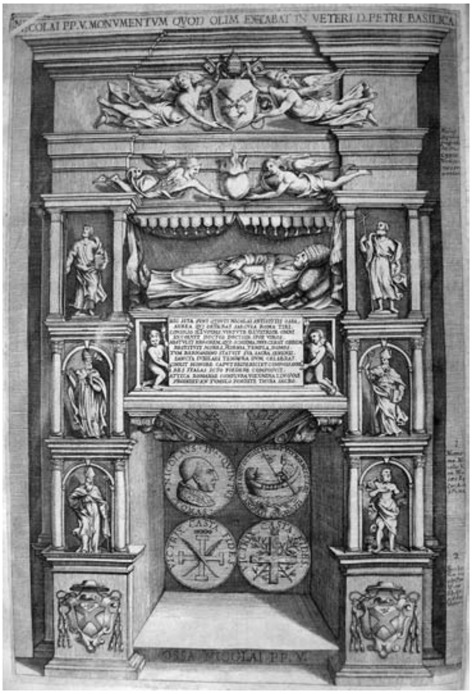

Figure 97 Monument of Nicholas V, Alonso Chacon, *Vitae, et res gestae* (1677). British School at Rome/author.

The memorial of Nicholas of Cusa at his titular church of San Pietro in Vincoli is a case in point. Originally the cardinal was buried under a simple floor slab (see Figure 23) before the altar he had embellished for the relic of the chains of St Peter. The relief panel that survives today, which represents the cardinal presented to St Peter by an angel holding the relic, had more in common with the northern epitaph than Italian tomb monuments, Röll proposes (see Figure 22). This votive relief with floor tomb was a fundamentally different combination to the monument and altar represented by Nicholas V's assemblage in St Peter's, however.

In St Peter's the tomb chapel of Pope Boniface VIII (1294–1303), recorded in a drawing in Grimaldi and attributed to Arnolfo di Cambio, is usually taken as the first to use this arrangement of the effigy over the altar, rather than the effigy in the ground before the altar.[107] Boniface

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[107] Grimaldi, *S. Pietro in Vaticano*, 37–9, 44, 45. On the tomb chapel of Boniface VIII see Gardner, "Arnolfo di Cambio," 428–31, 437–9.

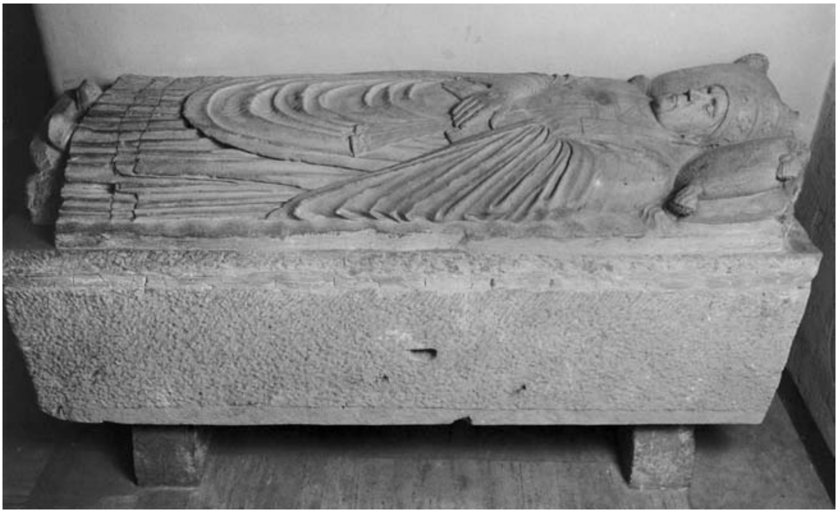

Figure 98 Effigy of Calixtus III (d. 1458), Vatican Grottoes. Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art, neg. no. A73/3192.

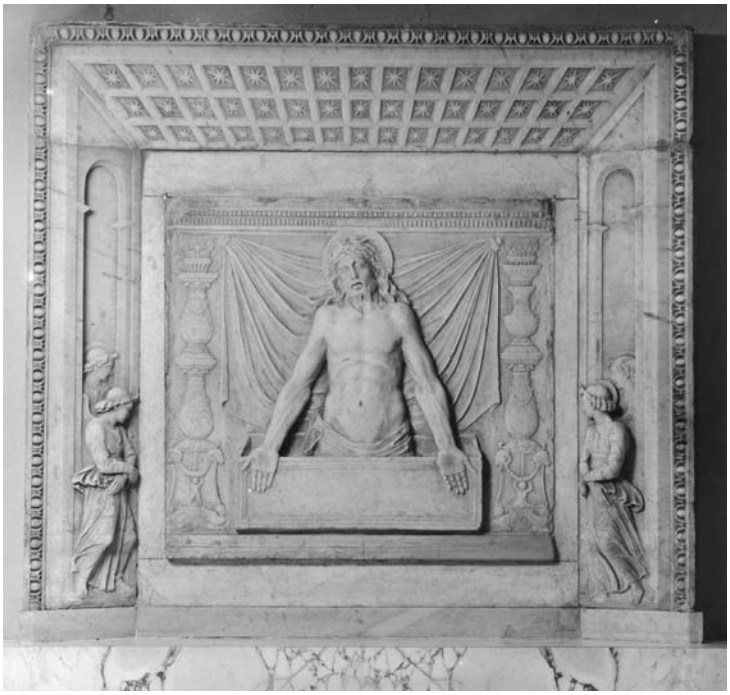

Figure 99 Fragments from the monument and chapel (?) of Calixtus III (d. 1458): dead Christ, and four angels, Vatican Grottoes. Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art, neg. no. A73/3123.

had restored the altar of his namesake, Pope Saint Boniface IV (608–15), erecting a ciborium "surmounted by a thicket of pinnacles and niches" over it by 1301, and later his own tomb was incorporated into it.[108] In Grimaldi's record, the effigy of the pope lay just above the altar, at the eye level of a celebrant, in a niche surmounted by a mosaic panel of Saints Peter (presenting the pope to the Virgin and Child) and Paul, all set within a fully articulated ornate Gothic canopy. This combination of monument and altar was not uncommon. In Santa Maria in Trastevere, the monument of Cardinal Philippe d'Alençon, the second son of Charles II Valois, who died in 1397, was the 'chapel' of Saints Philip and James. It consisted of an altar surmounted by the cardinal's effigy, reliefs of the Dormition of the Virgin, and of the Virgin assumed into heaven with saints and the kneeling cardinal set in a mandorla, all framed with an elaborate canopy (see Figure 81).[109] The cardinal requested the monument in his will, describing it as an altar table on which his effigy was to be exhibited.[110] It was moved in 1584 to make way for the chapel of Cardinal Marco Sittico Altemps (d. 1595) and to open up the space in the choir of Santa Maria in Trastevere.[111] As a result the altar and tomb functions of the monument were separated: the altar canopy was set up in the centre of the north wall of the transept with a new painted altarpiece; the Alençon effigy and votive relief were put on one side and the monument of Cardinal Pietro Stefaneschi (d. 1417) on the other (Figure 100).[112] It was also moved and remodelled in 1584. Now on either side of what remains of the altar tomb, the two monuments have been made to look remarkably consistent and fit with later notions of tomb design: effigy and epitaph framed by a simple architrave. Stefaneschi had been made cardinal by

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[108] Gardner, "Arnolfo di Cambio," 431; Julian Gardner, "Boniface VIII as a Patron of Sculpture," in *Roma anno 1300. Atti della IV settimana di studi di storia dell'arte medievale dell'Università di Roma "La Sapienza"*, ed. Angiola Maria Romanini (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1983), 520; Blaauw, *Cultus et decor*, 672–3.

[109] Godefridus J. Hoogewerff, "Le tombeau-autel du cardinal Philippe d'Alençon à Sainte Marie du Trastevere', *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire. École française de Rome* 42 (1926): 43–60; Kühlenthal, "Zwei Grabmäler," 40–1, 45; Kühlenthal, "Le origini," 112–13; Gardner, *Tomb and the Tiara*, 126–8; Garms, *Mittelalterlichen Grabmäler in Rom*, 119–26.

[110] Pietro Moretti, *Notitia Cardinalium titularium insignis Basilicae S Mariae Trans Tyberim* (Rome, 1752), 14: "sepultus fuit nobili sarcophago pone sacellum a se dudum aedificatum… ornatumque tabula aedificatoris effigiem exhibente."

[111] See Kühlenthal, "Zwei Grabmäler," 40 nn. 59–61, for the documents related to the move of the tomb chapel.

[112] Garms, *Mittelalterlichen Grabmäler in Rom*, 126–9.

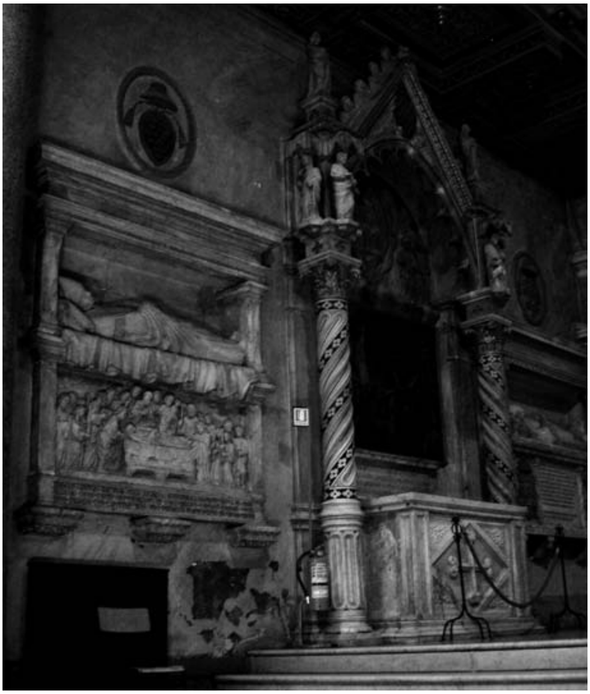

Figure 100 Monuments of Philippe d'Alençon and Pietro Stefaneschi on either side of the chapel tomb canopy of d'Alençon, north transept, Santa Maria in Trastevere. Author.

Innocent VII in 1405 with the title of Sant'Angelo in Pescheria. He was part of the Council of Pisa which elected Alexander V; in 1409 in the new ordering of the College of Cardinals he was assigned the title of Santi Cosma e Damiano. In 1413 he was with John XXIII when he fled from Rome. As a member of an important Trastevere family, he was buried in Santa Maria in Trastevere near an altar of St Peter which was associated with the family.

Michael Kühlenthal singles out the successful combination of canopy-tomb and altar-with-canopy as the main feature of the *capella cum sepulchro* of Cardinal Antonio Martinez de Chavez in St John Lateran.[113] The drawing made by the Borromini workshop before the monument was dismantled leaves a space at the bottom between the two pilasters that could well have accommodated an altar table (see

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[113] Kühlenthal, "Le origini," 111–12; Kühlenthal, "Zwei Grabmäler," 46.

Figure 93). Such an arrangement, of effigies over altars, presented the dead as an offering and as the focus of the votive masses said there in as visible and direct a way as possible. Similar themes can be found in the monuments of the second half of the century. Although neither monument incorporated an altar and it is not clear if the cardinals' remains were ever encased within them, those of Louis d'Albret (d. 1465) in Santa Maria in Aracoeli and Ludovico Trevisan (d. 1465) in San Lorenzo in Damaso, for example, include details such as candles at each end of the effigy and an 'altarpiece' or simple cross, which can only be accounted for if the effigy is understood as lying before or behind an altar (Figures 101 and 102). However, there are problems with the exclusive interpretation of such arrangements as literally setting in stone the moment of the funeral.

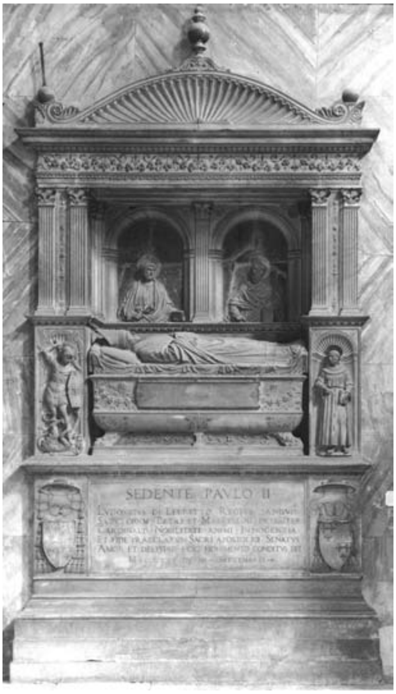

Figure 101 Monument of Louis d'Albret (d. 1465), Santa Maria in Aracoeli. Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art, neg. no. B74/320.

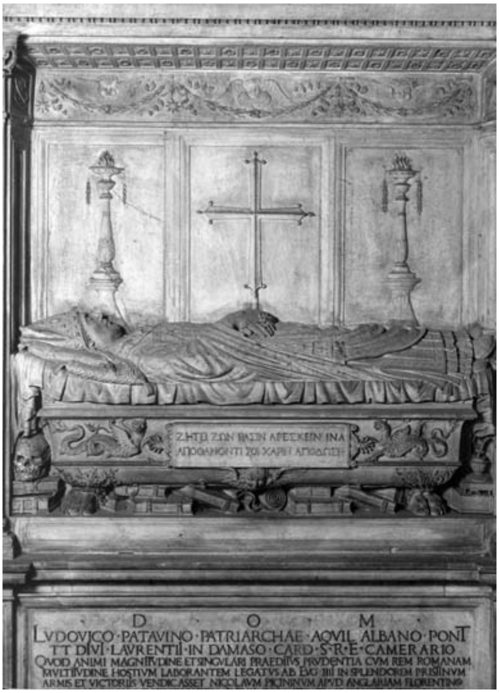

Figure 102 Monument of Ludovico Trevisan, San Lorenzo in Damaso, *c*. 1500?. Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione, Rome. neg. no. E 40385.

Gardner points out that all the early examples of the incorporation of tombs—or effigies at least—above and behind altars were "in some sense dependent on the papal exemplar," and specifically the tomb chapel of Boniface VIII in St Peter's.[114] These combinations seem to have added an additional level at the top of the hierarchy of monuments appropriate for cardinals and popes. The body itself was quickly and unceremoniously disposed of: in the papal liturgies Patrizi Piccolomini does not include any rite relevant to the burial itself. The corpse lay in state in St Peter's, surrounded by candles, for two or three days following death, during which time the faithful were allowed to kiss the cadaver's hand.[115]

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[114] Gardner, *Tomb and the Tiara*, 39.

[115] Marc Dykmans, *L'Oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini ou le Cérémonial Papal de la Première Renaissance*, Studi e testi 293–4 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1980), 235: "Finito officio, remanet ibi corpus per biduum aut triduum, ut populus possit illud visitare et osculari manum. In nocte reponitur in capella maiori, et tandem noctu

This direct contact with the remains of the pope echoed the attitude to relics, physical remains that were sanctified by the soul of the saint.[116] Only then were the obsequies themselves carried out, focused on the catafalque surrounding a bier—but without the body of the pope who had already been buried. The physical remains of the individual who had been pope were not as important as what he had represented: the continuity of the apostolic succession.[117] Cardinals' obsequies derived from these papal rites, as will be discussed in chapter 10. In biblical terms, in death "this perishable nature must put on the imperishable, and this mortal nature must put on immortality."[118] Therefore, it was not the individual who was represented over an altar but the position he had occupied as Christ's representative and agent. For popes and cardinals their place in the apostolic hierarchy was justification enough, and the very highest commemoration of their office and dignity was entirely appropriate.

However, to return to the case of Nicholas V, it does not seem to have been appropriate for the pope to have himself commemorated over the altar he had endowed, and it was left for his heirs to organize. While most of the popes between Eugenius IV and Paul II, and even Sixtus IV and Innocent VIII, commissioned chapels and altars in St Peter's, none of them seem to have provided for their memorials, suggesting that it was more appropriate to leave this to their heirs, and the cardinal-nephews in particular.[119] Eugenius IV's monument, for example, was erected next to his altar of the Virgin and Saints Peter and Paul, commissioned by Francesco Condulmer after the pope's death. Pius II developed the area around the altar of St Gregory the Great, to which

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sepelitur." On the death and burial of Sixtus IV see Burchard, *Liber notarum*, part 1, 12 August 1484, 15–16.

[116] Stephen Lamia, "Souvenir, Synaesthesia, and the *sepulchrum Dominii*: Sensory Stimuli as Memory Stratagems," in *Memory and the Medieval Tomb*, ed. Elizabeth Valdez del Alamo and Carol Stamatis Pendergast (Ashgate: Aldershot, 2000), 24.

[117] Nigel Llewellyn (*The Art of Death*, 47, 54, 60) distinguishes between the "natural body" and the "social": "one of the most important aims of the funeral and of the subsequent construction of a permanent commemorative image was… the preservation of social cohesion and the denial that any one individual death presented an irreparable threat to continuity." It was not the individual "in the sense of personality or character" who mattered but "the person who had filled a certain rank." See also Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957); Meredith J. Gill, "Death and the Cardinal: The Two Bodies of Guillaume d'Estouteville," *Renaissance Quarterly* 54 (2001): 355–6.

[118] 1 Corinthians 15:53.

[119] On the monuments of Sixtus IV and Innocent VIII see Wright, *Pollaiuolo Brothers*, 359–408.

Francesco Piccolomini had his tomb monument added.[120] The effigy of Calixtus III was added to an altar in the chapel of Sant'Andrea in the rotunda of Santa Maria della Febbre by his cardinal-nephew, Rodrigo Borgia. Sixtus IV may have prepared space in his Capella del Coro, but it was his cardinal-nephew, Giuliano della Rovere, who was responsible for the tomb. Innocent VIII may have been unusual in leaving a considerable sum for his monument, but its organization was left to Lorenzo Cibò de'Mari, the illegitimate son of one of the pope's relatives, whom he had promoted to cardinal in 1489.[121]

Later in the sixteenth century the often considerable proportions of tomb monuments, their competition with altars, and the fact that many of them actually contained remains which were therefore not buried in the ground gave particular cause for concern. In 1566 Pius V promulgated the bull, *Cum primum Apostolatus*, instructing that "all repositories, and deposits or sepulchres of corpses existing in tombs above ground" in churches should be emptied and the bodies buried below the ground.[122] In Milan Carlo Borromeo followed suit and ordered a similar reburial of those whose "stinking corpses" were preserved above ground "as though they were relics of holy bodies, placed in a high and ornate place in churches."[123] The many wall tombs of the fifteenth century were therefore doomed, even though relatively few actually contained remains.[124] At the same time, altars incorporating monuments were too ambiguous for the reforming zeal of Trent, which stressed the universal over the individual.

There is, moreover, evidence that the proliferation of altars and tombs was controversial in the fifteenth century. Although Alberti's treatise on architecture was dedicated to the pope and presented to him in 1452, since Manfredo Tafuri opened up the question of the relationship between Alberti and Nicholas V, it seems possible that it contains thinly veiled criticism of Nicholas V's patronage and what the architect was witnessing around him in Rome.[125] The pope was renowned for his love of liturgical display. Platina, in his life of Nicholas V—in which James Lawson also detects a critical tone—suggests that when it came to divine worship nothing was held back: "The vessels of gold and silver, crosses set with jewels, priestly robes adorned with gold and pearls, the arras hangings interwoven with gold and silver and a papal crown, are yet to be seen as monuments of his munificence."[126]

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[120] The chapel of Saints Andrew and Gregory is discussed in detail in the next chapter.

[121] Wright, *Pollaiuolo Brothers*, 392.

[122] *Bullarum Diplomatum et Privilegiorum Sanctorum Romanorum Pontificum*, vol. 7 (1862), 436: "Et ut in Ecclesiis nihil indecens reliquatur, iidem provideant, ut capsae omnes, et deposita, seu alta cadaverum conditoria super terram existentia omnino amoveantur, prout alias statutum fuit, defunctorum corpora in tumbis profundis infra terram collocentur." Translated in Kathrin B. Hiesinger, "The Fregoso Monument: A Study in Sixteenth Century Tomb Monuments and Catholic Reform," *Burlington Magazine* 118 no. 878 (1976): 284; Herklotz, *"Sepulcra" e "monumenta"*, 337.

[123] Carlo Borromeo, "De Sepulturis," *Acta Ecclesiae Mediolanensis* (Lyon, 1683), vol. 1, 42, in Hiesinger, "Tomb Monuments and Catholic Reform," 284–7.

[124] Exceptions include Pedro Fonseca in St Peter's whose remains were suspended above ground in a marble chest supported by two columns: Grimaldi, *S. Pietro in Vaticano*, 252.

Although Alberti advocated contributing to churches as a civic duty—"I need not mention that a well-maintained and well-adorned temple is obviously the greatest and most important ornament of a city"—he held that any ornamentation should not distract from the focus of the high altar and the celebration of the mass.[127] Alberti proposed a return to the days of the early Church:

> in the primitive days of our religion… there would be a single altar, where they would meet to celebrate no more than one sacrifice each day. There then followed the practice of our own times, which I only wish some man of gravity would think fit to reform. I say this with all due respect to our bishops, who, to preserve their dignity, allow the people to see them scarcely once in the year of festivals, yet so stuff everything with altars, and even… I shall say no more.[128]

It is tempting to suppose that Alberti stopped short of writing "monuments" or "even effigies of the dead are represented over the same altars."

Overall there was a balance to be struck between excessive display and piety. Despite Nicholas V's agenda as presented by Manetti, while it might inspire or enflame the illiterate faithful, according to Alberti ornament could not bridge the gap between God and man so its object was, in fact, pointless.[129] No amount of material decoration (*ornamentum*) in a church could outdo the emotional and spiritual beauty (*pulchritudo*) of the religious experience.[130] One was no more than a means to the other, so a church should not "contain anything to divert the mind away from religious meditation towards sensual attraction and pleasure."[131]

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[125] Manfredo Tafuri, "*Cives, esse non licere*: The Rome of Nicholas V and Leon Battista Alberti: Elements Towards a Historical Revision," *Harvard Architecture Review* 6 (1987), 61–75. Also published in Manfredo Tafuri, *Interpreting the Renaissance: Princes, Cities, Architects*, trans. Daniel Sherer (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), 23–58. See the discussion at the end of chapter 9, below.

[126] Platina, *Platynae Historici. Liber de vita Christi ac omnium pontificum (AA. 1–1474)*, ed. Giacinto Gaida, RIS 3 part 1 (Città di Castello: S. Lapi, 1913–32), 339, translated in Platina (Bartolomeo Sacchi), *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*, 2 parts, trans. William Benham (London: Griffith, 1888), 250; James Lawson, "Alberti's Prologue to Practice as a Church Architect," *Albertiana* 4 (2001): 49.

[127] *Leon Battista Alberti: On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, ed. Joseph Ryckwert, Neil Leach, and Robert Tavernor (Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 1988), 194.

[128] Alberti, *On the Art of Building*, 18; Lawson, "Alberti's Prologue," 52–3, 65.

The advantage of the wall tomb

In one of his pithy comments that so well sum up the problem and seem to hint at wider ramifications, Alberti noted:

> It was Plato's opinion that no man, whether alive or dead, should be of any nuisance to the rest of mankind.[132]

It is also perhaps no accident that the first and last popes for whom the marble monuments were made were members of the Venetian nobility, as were the cardinal-nephews who commissioned them.[133] As a result the tombs of the fifteenth-century popes present a remarkably consistent and coherent sense of continuity, of the papacy passed from one pope to the next. Their experience of a long tradition of tombs for the Doges of Venice—"carriers of Venetian political ideas"—coincided with the establishment of workshops of sculptors based in Rome.[134] Returning from his pilgrimage to the Holy Land and delayed in Venice awaiting transport home in 1484, the German Dominican friar Felix Fabri noted that he "had never seen more luxurious tombs and burials" than those in Santi Giovanni e Paolo in Venice: "the tombs of the popes in Rome cannot equal the tombs of the doges in Venice," he wrote.[135] Fabri had been in Rome around 1476 where he must have seen the papal tombs in St Peter's—but not that of Paul II, which was not in place until 1477. The result was the classicizing curial tomb that became unique to Rome in the second half of the fifteenth century. Shelly Zuraw puts it thus: "sweeping changes in style and type of sculptural activity produced a revival of ancient art with an ideological focus as powerful as had occurred in early Quattrocento Florence"—or Venice.[136]

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[129] Manetti, *De vita ac gestis Nicolai Quinti*, book 3 paragraph 11; 122, 212.

[130] Lawson, "Alberti's Prologue," 60.

[131] Alberti, *On the Art of Building*, 220; Lawson, "Alberti's Prologue," 62.

[132] Alberti, *On the Art of Building*, 248.

[133] Denys Hay, *The Church in Italy in the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 99: "the Venetians turned earlier and more effectively to the church, producing whole dynasties of monks who became bishops (Ludovico Barbo), bishops who became cardinals (Francesco Condulmer, Marco Barbo), cardinals who became popes (Gregory XII, Eugenius IV, Paul II): all these men were related to each other." Eugenius IV (Gabriele Condulmer) was the son of Angelo Condulmer and Bariola, who was the daughter of Niccolò Correr and sister of Pope Gregory XII (1406–15): Denys Hay, "Eugenio IV," *DBI*, vol. 43, 496. The Condulmer were originally merchants, raised to the status of nobles for their role in the battle of Chioggia (1381). Like the Barbo, they were civil servants, ambassadors, and career ecclesiastics.

[134] Debra Pincus, *The Tombs of the Doges of Venice* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 1.

In 1907 Douglas Sladen described the remaining parts of the tomb of Paul II as taking up a large proportion of the Vatican Grottoes under St Peter's (Figures 103 and 104).[137] Vasari described it as "the richest in ornamentation and figures ever erected to any pope."[138] Fortunately, enough of it has survived (thirty-seven separate parts or some 87 per cent of the original sculpture) to enable a reconstruction of the monument, which must have been some 10 metres high (Figure 105).[139]

The unprecedented number of relief panels that made up the monument of Paul II add up to an encyclopaedic representation of the human journey towards salvation from the earth, represented by swags of foliage and fruit, to heaven, represented by God the Father surrounded by angels at the top.[140] Reliefs of the creation of Eve and the Temptation are framed by the theological virtues, Faith, Charity, and Hope, symbolic of man's saving graces that help make up for his Fall. Earth and heaven are bridged by the pope's sarcophagus, with an epitaph describing his many virtues and achievements, and effigy. Above the effigy was the Resurrection, Christ rising from the

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[135] Creighton E. Gilbert, *Italian Art, 1400–1500: Sources and Documents* (Englewood Cliffs and London, Prentice-Hall, 1980), 155.

[136] Zuraw, "The Sculpture of Mino da Fiesole," 112.

[137] Douglas Sladen, *Old St Peter's and St Peter's Crypt at Rome* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1907), 5, 8, 23. On the monument of Paul II see Alfarano, *Basilicae Vaticanae*, 74; Grimaldi, *S. Pietro in Vaticano*, 224–6 (ff. 185v–187r); Giacomo De Nicola, "Il Sepolcro di Paulo II," *Bolletino d'Arte* 2 (1908), 338–51; Giuseppe Zander, "La possibile ricomposizione del monumento sepolcrale di Paolo II," *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archaeologia* 55–56 (1982–4), 175–242; Johannes Röll, *Giovanni Dalmata*, Romische Studien der Bibliotheca Herziana 10 (Worms: Werner, 1994), 60–84; Zuraw, "The Sculpture of Mino da Fiesole," 876–904.

[138] Giorgio Vasari, "Mino da Fiesole," *The Lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, trans. A.B. Hinds (London: J.M. Dent—Everyman's Library, 1963), 37.

[139] Zander, "La possibile ricomposizione," 202, 214.

[140] Zuraw, "The Sculpture of Mino da Fiesole," 901–2.

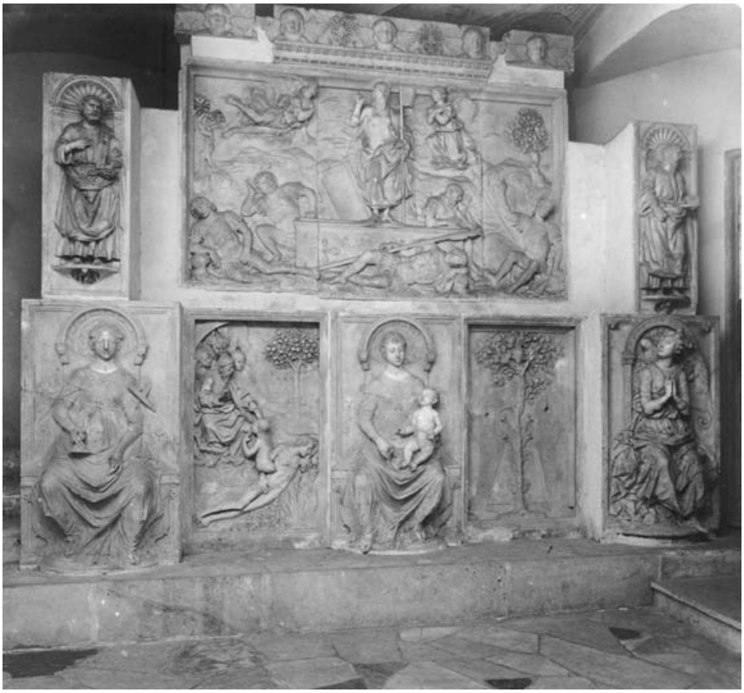

Figure 103 Monument of Paul II (d. 1471), reliefs in Vatican Grottoes, *c.* 1920. Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art, neg. no. A73/2973.

tomb as the pope would soon hope to do.[141] At the top in a lunette was a representation of the Last Judgement with the pope picked out with an inscription on the left-hand side. The central niche occupied by the effigy and Resurrection was framed by two half-columns, or rather two halves of the same column carved with foliage, split down the middle, their bases bearing the reliefs of Faith and Hope.[142] This seems to have been a particularly prized piece of early Christian *spolia* not unlike that from a choir enclosure incorporated into the tomb of Cardinal Venerio at San Clemente, who died in 1479, two years after the monument of Paul II was installed in St Peter's. On either side of the half-columns were represented the four Evangelists set in shell

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[141] The significance of this iconography for Easter liturgies is discussed in the next chapter, 389–91.

[142] Zander, "La possibile ricomposizione," 195–6, 226–8; Zuraw, "The Sculpture of Mino da Fiesole," 882–3.

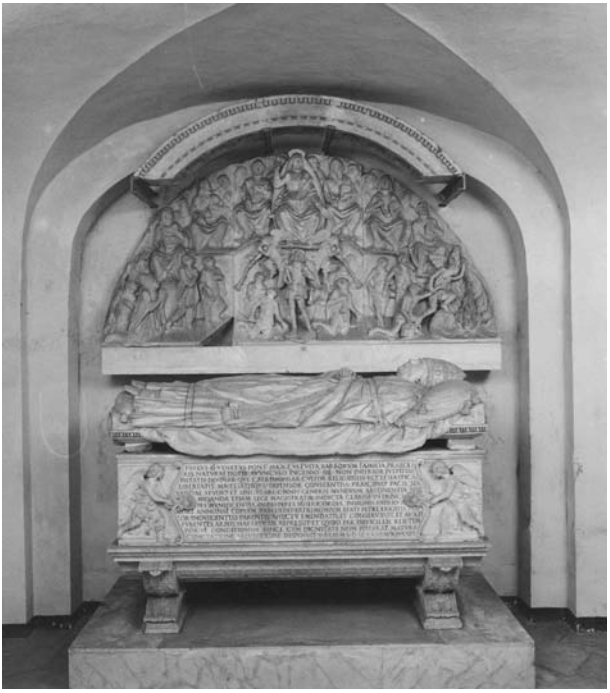

Figure 104 Monument of Paul II, effigy and *Last Judgement*. Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art, neg. no. A73/2956.

niches, whose words described the new law of Christ that offered the possibility of salvation.

Zuraw notes that whereas Paul II had a particular devotion to the Virgin, and she is a standard inclusion in burial monuments, she is notably absent from the tomb.[143] Instead, "the intercessor here is the Church, identified as the pope. The emphasis in this tomb is on the salvation of the soul made possible by Christ and Christ's vicar on earth." In a similar way, Pöpper finds the absence of Peter and Paul and even Christ on the neighbouring monument to Nicholas V as signifying the pope's role as Christ's representative on earth.[144] At the same time, it should be borne in mind that there was an altar of the Virgin and Saints Peter and Paul nearby at the top of the north aisle, which may also explain these missing saints. These tomb monuments

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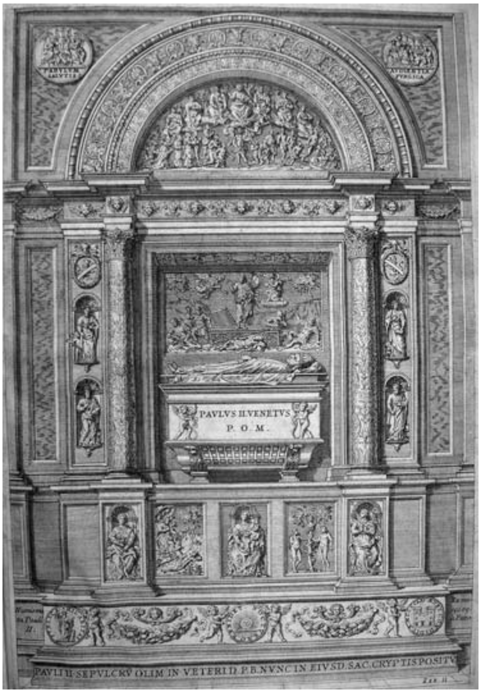
[143] Zuraw, "The Sculpture of Mino da Fiesole," 902–3.
[144] Pöpper, "Das Grabdenkmal Papst Nikolaus'V.," 43, 49–50.



PAVLVS II VENETVS
P. O. M.
PAVLI II SEPVLCRV OLIM IN VETERI D. P. B. NVNC IN EIVSD. SAC. CRYPTIS POSITV

Figure 105 Monument of Paul II, Alonso Chacon, *Vitae, et res gestae* (1677). British School at Rome/author.

should be viewed not in isolation but in the context of the altars that they incorporated or were surrounded by.

Like the monuments of his predecessors and successors, Paul II's was left to his cardinal-nephew, Marco Barbo, to organize. The pope died suddenly and unexpectedly on 26 July 1471, possibly after a heated argument over whether or not the Vatican obelisk could be moved.[145] Paul II had already proclaimed a holy year for 1475, thereby reducing the recurrence of the jubilees from fifty to twenty-five years, and the monument may have been commissioned as part of the impetus to enhance the city for the celebrations.[146] It has been suggested that Paul II intended the porphyry sarcophagus of Santa Costanza, which he had moved from her mausoleum at Sant'Agnese on Via Nomentana, to be used as his tomb in St Peter's.[147] This is based on later sources, however, and it is as likely that the sarcophagus was destined for the pope's collections at his palace at San Marco. Whatever the case, Sixtus IV had it returned to its original location in October 1471.[148]

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[145] John F. D'Amico, "Papal History and Curial Reform in the Renaissance: Raffaele Maffei's 'Brevis Historia' of Julius II and Leo X," *Archivium Historiae Pontificiae* 18 (1980): 166–7; Zuraw, "The Sculpture of Mino da Fiesole," 887.

[146] Zuraw, "The Sculpture of Mino da Fiesole," 889–91.

Paul II's monument was not commissioned until 1474 when Marco Barbo returned from legation to Germany, Hungary, Bohemia, and Poland. The pope had been buried in the floor of St Peter's in 1471, near the altar of St Mark, to the right-hand side of where the monument would be erected: like the monuments of Eugenius IV and Nicholas V, Paul II was never entombed in his monument but beneath a floor slab in front of it.[149] Two sculptors, Mino da Fiesole and Giovanni Dalmata, were given the commission, presumably so that it might be completed as quickly as possible. Mino da Fiesole was already in Rome where he was working on the monument for Cardinal Niccolò Forteguerri, a close associate of Paul II, and the pope had already commissioned works from him.[150] Giovanni Dalmata may have come into contact with Marco Barbo through the cardinal's connections since 1468 with his benefice of the Benedictine abbey of St John the Baptist in Traù on the Black Sea, Dalmata's home town.[151] In fact, Marco Barbo seems to have been actively engaged in running Paul II's household and some of his commissions even before 1464. It was perhaps as a consequence of his preservation of Paul II's name, as well as his passion for books, that he eventually died in penury in 1491.[152]

Marco Barbo's investment in his uncle's monument can be compared with that of other cardinal-nephews. In the 1460s Francesco Piccolomini had paid more than 3,000 ducats for the complex, layered tomb of

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[147] Giovanni Marangoni, *Delle cose gentilesche e profane, trasportate ad uso, e adornamento delle chiese* (Rome: Pagliarini, 1744), 299.

[148] Montini, *Tombe dei papi*, 292; Eugène Müntz, *Les Arts à la Cour des Papes pendant le XV^e et le XVI^e siècle: Recueil de documents inédits tirés des archives et des bibliothèques Romaines*, part 2 Paul II, 1464–1471, Bibliothèque des Ècoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 9, 83–5; part 3 Sixte IV–Léon X, 1471–1521, Bibliothèque des Ècoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 28, 534 (Paris: E. Thorin, 1878–82).

[149] Montini, *Tombe dei papi*, 290–3.

[150] On the monument of Niccolò Forteguerri see Shelly E. Zuraw, "Mino da Fiesole's Forteguerri Tomb: A 'Florentine' Monument in Rome," in *Artistic Exchange and Cultural Translation in the Italian Renaissance City*, ed. Stephen J.Campbell and Stephen J. Milner (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 75–95.

[151] Zuraw, "The Sculpture of Mino da Fiesole," 888, 890.

[152] Giuseppe Zippel, "La morte di Marco Barbo, Cardinal di San Marco," *In memoria di Giovanni Monticolo* (Venice: Fabbris, 1915), 195–203; G. Gualdo, "Marco Barbo," DBI, vol. 4, 249–52.

Pius II "for marble above ground and beneath" (Figure 106).[153] This amount represented three-quarters of the 4,000 florins deemed an acceptable minimum annual income for a cardinal. It was also the same amount that he had spent on restoring, rebuilding, and embellishing the church and monastery of San Saba between 1462 and 1499.[154] In addition to paying for the tomb sculptures, Cardinal Piccolomini also bequeathed property to sustain his uncle's chapel and memorial in St Peter's along with half the proceeds from the transfer of his palace to his brothers.[155] These monuments and altars were considerable obligations. Piccolomini's own monument was to be a relatively modest floor slab before his uncle's monument, while Marco Barbo's is a slab inlaid with cosmatesque tesserae in the floor of San Marco.

There was no larger, more impressive, and ornate monument in St Peter's than that of Paul II. This, combined with its position on the right-hand side of the door into the sacristy, made it as visible as possible, yet at the same time it took up very little floor space. St Peter's was renowned for its overcrowding with tombs, monuments, and altars, as well as pilgrims, something that provoked a number of important changes in the basilica in the fifteenth century. An anonymous English visitor to St Peter's in 1344 gave this famous description:

> And then lie open the doors to the church which is the largest of all churches in the world: with five roofs and four rows of columns, 100 feet wide and as long as a crossbow will shoot, as I figure, and with many chapels on the side. If one loses his companion in that church, he may seek for a whole day, because of its size and because of the multitudes who run from place to place, venerating shrines with kisses and prayers, since there is no altar at which indulgence is not granted.[156]

As noted above, wall monuments incorporating effigies were only permitted for the highest members of society, and they kept the memory

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[153] Raffaele Ciprelli, "Le costruzioni dei Piccolomini in un manoscritto inedito," *Regnum Dei: Collectanea Theatina* 40 no. 110 (1984): 241–4.

[154] Carol M. Richardson, "The Housing Opportunities of a Renaissance Cardinal," *Renaissance Studies* 17 (2003): 614, 627. In 1500 Francesco Piccolomini's total income was recorded as being 9,000 ducats; see David S. Chambers, "The Economic Predicament of Renaissance Cardinals," in *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, vol. 3, ed. William M. Bowsky (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), 303–4.

[155] Ciprelli, "Le costruzioni," 251; Carol M. Richardson, "The Lost Will and Testament of Cardinal Francesco Todeschini-Piccolomini (1439–1503)," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 66 (1998): 207, 210.

[156] George B. Parks, *The English Traveller to Italy*, Vol. 1: The Middle Ages (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1954), 576–7.

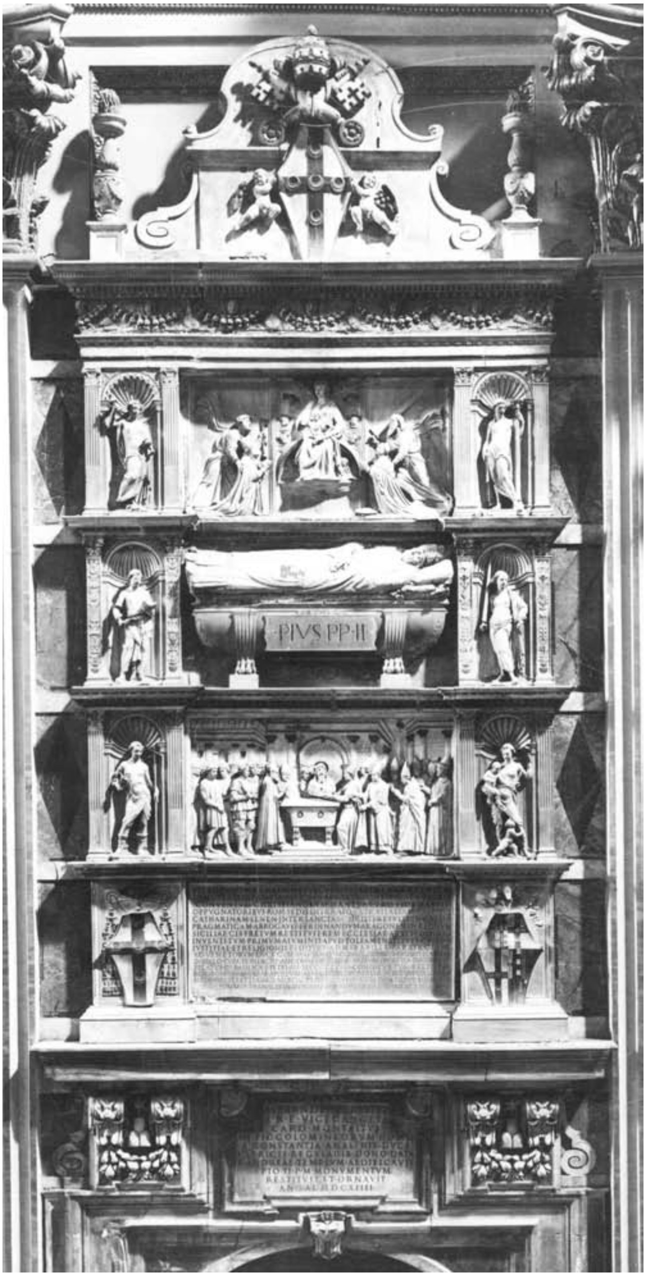

Figure 106 Monument of Pius II (d. 1464), Sant'Andrea della Valle, Rome (formerly Old St Peter's, chapel of Saints Andrew and Gregory). Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione, Rome, no. 8420/E118320.

of important individuals as visible as possible. At the same time, it could be argued that they were an ingenious solution to the problem of overcrowding in churches, especially where space was required for the free movement of pilgrims or for the large crowds attracted to mendicant churches.[157] Monuments such as that of Paul II were highly conspicuous and impressive, yet they took up very little floor space compared to the free-standing gabled and finialled monuments of John XXII (1316–34) in Notre-Dame-des-Doms, Avignon, or of Innocent VI (1352–62) in the Chartreuse, Villeneuve-lès-Avignon. Platina records that Pius II, for example, "removed the sepulchres of some popes and cardinals, that took up too much room," in part at least so that he could remodel the area round the altar of St Gregory (discussed in the next chapter).[158] Alberti advised that free movement should be possible in the nave and transept of basilicas, and that tombs and altars should be constructed in such a way that they would not be easy to remove or reuse.[159] To ensure that they are "long lasting" they "should be constructed of stone that is neither weak nor yet so elegant that it will be promptly desired or may be easily removed."[160]

A disadvantage of free-standing tombs, or those with separate elements against a wall rather than embedded into it, as is the case with Niccolò Forteguerri's (d. 1473) tomb in Santa Cecilia in Trastevere by Mino da Fiesole, is that they were relatively easy to dismantle—as the Forteguerri monument was in 1599, though most of the parts survived and were put back together again in the nineteenth century (Figure 108).[161] Those monuments built into a wall, on the other hand, were not so easily dismantled and were more likely to stay there unless the wall itself was replaced. Unfortunately, walls were replaced all too frequently in the subsequent history of Rome's churches.

Rome's early Christian basilicas, including St Peter's, were constructed of relatively thin brick walls only about 1.5 metres thick.[162] To insert a monument into them may have required rebuilding of sections of wall, as will be discussed in the next chapter. Alternative ways were found to

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[157] Gardner, *Tomb and the Tiara*, 55.

[158] Platina, *Lives of the Popes*, 275.

[159] Alberti, *On the Art of Building*, 195, 229, 249.

[160] Alberti, *On the Art of Building*, 249.

[161] Zuraw, "The Sculpture of Mino da Fiesole," 862–3.

[162] Krautheimer, *Corpus*, vol. 5, 192; J.H. Jongkees, *Studies on Old St. Peter's*, Archaeologica traiectina 8 (Groningen: Wolters, 1966), 24; Gardner, *Tomb and the Tiara*, 35, 57.

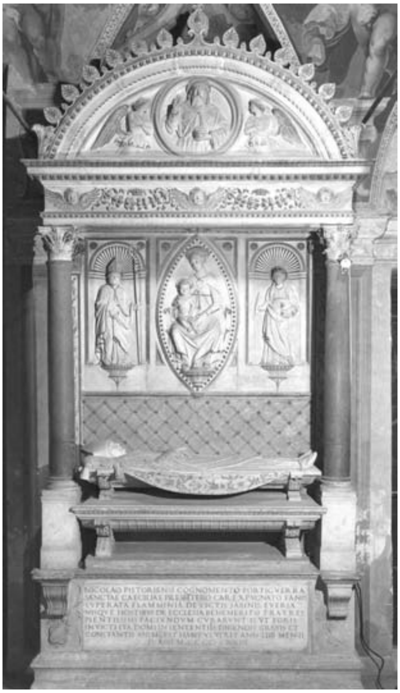

Figure 107 Niccolò Forteguerri (d. 1473), Santa Cecilia in Trastevere. Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione, Rome, no. E105019.

make monuments appear deeper than they actually were and to make them as visible as possible. Bartolomeo Roverella's imposing monument in San Clemente, the result of a collaboration between Giovanni Dalmata and Andrea Bregno, is a good example of the strategies used to exploit the full potential of these monuments because it has not been altered or moved (see Figure 37). The effigy is raised and tilted slightly towards the viewer, making the cardinal more visible and the monument seem deeper than it actually is. Giovanni Dalmata's deeply cut draperies add to the impact of the monument, which is nevertheless almost flush with the wall.

Effigies also seem to have been positioned to make them as visible as possible. While convention dictated that orientation of the effigy up to at least the first half of the fourteenth century was with the head to the west and feet to the east, facing the high altar of a church, the effigy incorporated into the monument of Bartolomeo Roverella in San Clemente faces the opposite way, away from the high altar.[163] Although it is tucked away within the *schola cantorum* at the top of the south aisle, the cardinal's effigy, and in particular its head, are clearly visible from the nave (Figure 108). Similarly, although the monument of Cardinal Alain Coetivy (d. 1474), attributed to Andrea Bregno, is set in its own vaulted space adjoining the shrine of the relic of the column of the Flagellation in the south aisle of Santa Prassede, the head of the effigy can be clearly seen, framed by the arched entrance, from the

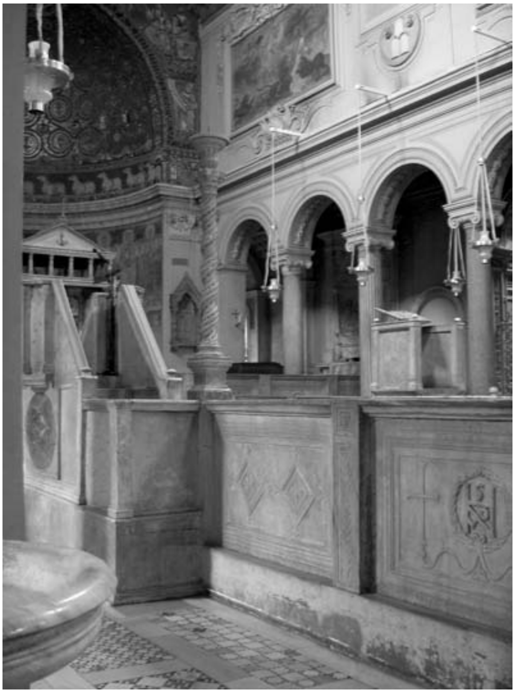

Figure 108 San Clemente, view from north aisle across nave to Roverella monument. Author.

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[163] Julian Gardner, "A Princess among Prelates: A Fourteenth Century Neapolitan Tomb and Some Northern Relations," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 23–4 (1988): 39; Guillaume Durand (Gulielmus Durandus), *Rationale divinorum officiorum* (Venice, 1568), book 7, 35: "debet autem quis sic sepeliri, ut capite ad occidentem posito, pedes dirigit ad orientem."

main body of the church (Figures 109 and 110).[164] All of the effigies of the popes and cardinals whose monuments were in the north aisle of St Peter's faced the entrance to the basilica to attract the attention of those approaching them up the aisle.[165] There was very good reason for this as will be discussed in the next chapter.

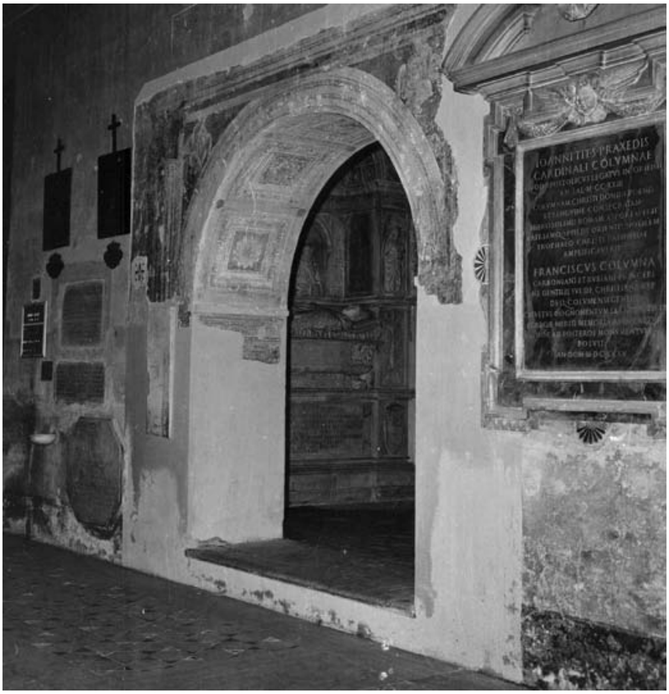

Figure 109 Santa Prassede, view of Coetivy Chapel and monument from south aisle. Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione, Rome, neg. serie Stocchi N no. 5010.

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[164] On the tomb and chapel see Illaria Toesca, "Il sacello del cardinale de Coëtivy in Santa Prassede a Roma." *Paragone* 217 (1968), 61–5; Maurizio Caperna, *La basilica di Santa Prassede. Il significato della vicenda architettonica* (Rome: Marconi/Monaci Benedettini Vallombrosani, 1999), 17–18. The chapel was restored, and the frescoes discovered, in the mid-1960s. See A. Cecconi, *Attività della Soprintendenza alle Gallerie del Lazio, X Settimana dei Musei* (Rome, 1967), 24.

[165] On the conventional orientation of effigies, see for example Gardner, *Tomb and the Tiara*, 75.

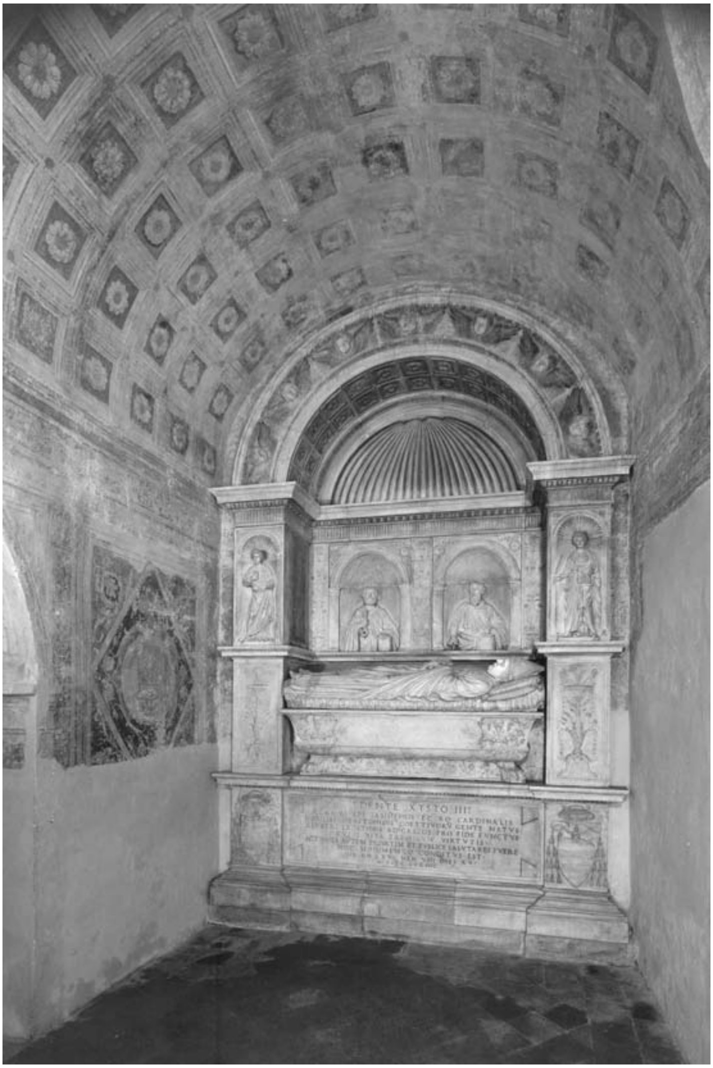

Figure 110 Andrea Bregno, Alain Coetivy, tomb monument and chapel. Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione, Rome, no. E62704.

CHAPTER NINE

ST PETER'S IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY*

Visiting Rome in 1517, Fra Mariano da Firenze praised the quality of four of the papal tombs in St Peter's but regretted their ruined state:

> Turning back to the doors of the church [St Peter's], on the right as you return, on the wall of the basilica were marble tombs of some outstanding popes with statues, among which four in particular were endowed with marvellous sculptural work, namely the tombs of Eugenius IV, Nicholas V, Calixtus III, and Paul II: these are now ruined, untended, and derelict, to the distress of the onlooker.[1]

Fra Mariano clearly lamented the damage done in the first decade of the sixteenth century to the old basilica under Julius II and his architect Bramante. The tombs and altars of Nicholas V, Paul II, and Eugenius IV were in precisely the area that had to be cleared to allow for Bramante's south-west pier that would support the massive new dome proposed to surmount the new crossing. The area and the state it was still in a few years later are visible in a drawing dated 1535 by Maarten van Heemskerck (Figure 111). The fact that Fra Mariano mentions the tomb of Calixtus III as being in the same area is interesting, suggesting that he expected these monuments to be together: in fact, it was elsewhere, in the chapel of St Andrew in the rotunda of Santa Maria della Febbre adjoining the north aisle. Pius II's chapel of Saints Gregory and Andrew was at the bottom of the same aisle, just inside the facade and just below the oratory of St Thomas where a number of cardinals' monuments were erected, as was discussed in the last chapter (see Figure 71, 'r').

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* Work for this chapter began with the essay, "'Ruined, Untended and Derelict': Fifteenth Century Papal Tombs in St Peter's," in *Art and Identity in Early Modern Rome*, ed. Jill Burke and Michael Bury (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 191–207. I am most grateful to the editors of that volume for the conversations that first led to work on this subject.

[1] Fra Mariano da Firenze, *Itinerarium Urbis Romae*, ed. P. Enrico Bulletti (Rome: Pontificio Istituto di Archaeologia Cristiana, 1931), 83: "Revertens ad portas ecclesiae, in dextera redeuntis, in pariete basilicae aliquorum summorum pontificum marmorea sepulcra cum statuis erant, inter quae quatuor praecipue ornatissimae opere admirando sculpturae, videlicet: Eugenii IV, Nicolai V, Callisti III et Pauli II; quae nunc dirutae et incultae derelictae, non sine dolore intuentis."

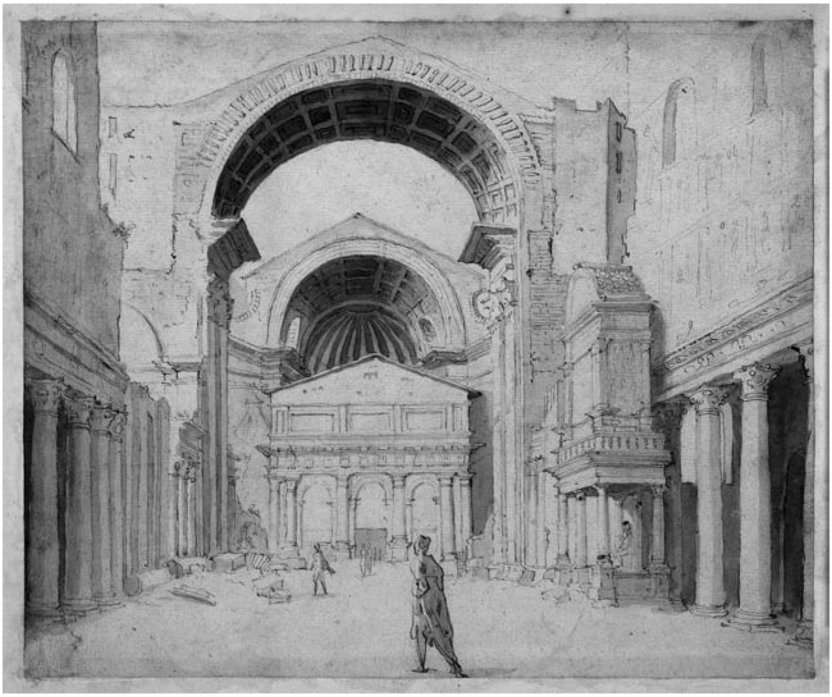

Figure 111 Maarten van Heemskerck, *Interior of the Nave of Old St Peter's, with View of the New Building*, 1535, pen and brown ink, wash, 22.2 × 27.3 cm, 72 D 2 a, f. 52 recto. Kupferstichkabinett/Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.

Fra Mariano's focus on the monuments is all the more interesting because scholarly attention has been concentrated on the fabric of the building rather than on the monuments within.[2] When the friar visited St Peter's, it was already at the end of almost a century of restoration and rebuilding. The exile of the popes in Avignon for much of the fourteenth century meant that the basilica had not been routinely maintained for a considerable period.[3] Some work was probably carried out under Boniface IX for the jubilee of 1400. Then Martin V focused on the restoration of the roof and the atrium.[4] Likewise, his successors concentrated on the approach to the basilica: Eugenius IV (1431–47) added bronze doors commissioned from Filarete.[5] Pius II (1458–64) continued their work with the addition of a marble staircase and the commencement of the benediction loggia.[6] But it is Nicholas V (1447–55) and Paul II (1464–71) who seem to have taken the most drastic steps to renovate the building as their contributions were more structural in nature.[7] Under Nicholas V the atrium was further restored and embellished, and new windows were added in the nave. His most radical intervention was the work that was begun to extend the transept and add a choir behind the apse.

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[2] For example, Torgil Magnuson, *Studies in Roman Quattrocento Architecture* (Stockholm: Almquist and Wiksell, 1958) only discusses the architectural implications of Nicholas V's vision for the basilica. See the important discussion in Louise Rice, *The Altars and Altarpieces of New St Peter's: Outfitting the Basilica, 1621–1666* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press in association with the American Academy in Rome, 1997), 17–38, on the significance of the painting and sculptural elements in the old and new basilicas and their effect on its reconstruction; also Louise Rice, "La coesistenza delle due basiliche," in *L'Architettura della basilica di San Pietro. Storia e costruzione*, ed. Gianfrancio Spagnesi (Rome: Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura/Bonsignori Editore, 1997), 255–68.

Major changes were necessary in the fifteenth century to make the Constantinian basilica a more appropriate space for modern liturgies and enable its use by a greater number of clergy. The basilica was not originally constructed to focus on the high altar, for example. Originally the transept was designed as the site of St Peter's shrine, where a privileged few—mainly popes and monarchs—were also buried. It was the area for pilgrims and personal devotions, while more public ceremonies would have taken place in the relatively fluid space of the nave with its proliferation of altars and chapels.[8] According to the vision of Nicholas V, as recorded by Manetti, the transept and choir (tribune) of

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[3] Pierluigi Silvan, "San Pietro senza papa: testimonianze del periodo avignonese", *Roma, Napoli, Avignone. Arte di curia, arte di corte. 1300–1377*, ed. Alessandro Tomei (Turin, 1996), 226–57.

[4] Work on restoring the roof of the basilica was a regular feature of papal intervention at St Peter's: Ennio Francia, *1506–1606 Storia della Costruzione del Nuovo San Pietro* (Rome: De Luca Editore, 1977), 43 n. 17; Magnuson, *Studies*, 166.

[5] Platina, *Platynae Historici. Liber de vita Christi ac omnium pontificum (AA. 1–1474)*, ed. Giacinto Gaida, RIS 3 part 1 (Città di Castello: Lapi, 1913–32), 312, 327, 361; Eugène Müntz, *Les Arts à la Cour des Papes pendant le XV^e^ et le XVI^e^ siècle: Recueil de documents inédits tirés des archives et des bibliothèques Romaines*, vol. 1 Martin V–Pie II, 1417–1464, Bibliothèque des Ècoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 4 (Paris: E. Thorin, 1878), 9ff, 41ff, 277; Fra Mariano, *Itinerarium*, 79.

[6] Ruth Olitsky Rubinstein, "Pius II's Piazza S. Pietro and St. Andrew's Head," in *Enea Silvio Piccolomini Papa Pio II*, ed. Domenico Maffei (Siena: Accademia Senese degli Intronati, 1968), 226–35.

[7] Magnuson (*Studies*, 163–214) remains the fullest and most reliable account of the interventions described by Manetti. However, see the discussion of Manfredo Tafuri's reconsideration of the centrality of Nicholas V, and Alberti's relationship with him, at the end of this chapter.

[8] Jocelyn Toynbee and John Ward Perkins, *The Shrine of St Peter and the Vatican Excavations* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1956), 208; Magnuson, *Studies*, 165.

St Peter's would be reserved for the high altar made as large and finely decorated as possible, standing over the apostle's tomb. His emphasis was on the visual spectacle.[9] The pontifical throne would rise behind the altar to make the pope as visible as possible.[10] The crossing would be surmounted by a dome, symbolic of the glory of God. The floor would be paved—in deep red porphyry and emerald-green marble, probably serpentine. The central focus of the basilica was not to be distracted by the many tombs and monuments of the popes. Instead, these were to be constructed at the left-hand side—the southern (liturgical north) aisle—and a cemetery made available just outside to relieve the overcrowding. Inherent in the plans set out in Manetti's biography are the dual functions of mausoleum and liturgical space where the jurisdiction, power, and lineage of the popes were made clear. To put it another way, Nicholas V's ideas for the transformation for St Peter's articulated the process, not completed until the seventeenth century, of the conversion of the basilica from cemetery and papal mausoleum to papal monument and chapel.[11]

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[9] Christ of Thoenes, "Renaissance St. Peter's," in *St Peter's in the Vatican*, ed. William Tronzo (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 68.

[10] Giannozzo Manetti, *De vita ac gestis Nicolai Quinti summi pontificis*, ed. Anna Modigliani (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 2005), book 2, paragraphs 52–3; 93–5, 193: "Hanc magnam cappellam vulgo *tribunam* vocant. Utraque huius tribune latera ob maiorem personarum capacitatem sedilium gratia hinc inde extendebantur, ac utrinque pluribus fenestris in magnorum oculorum formas redactis egregie admodum ornabantur. Atque in eius meditullio ingens ac pucherrimum et omnibus ornamentorum generibus referctum altare ab extremitate predicte magne crucis astabat. In summitate vero tribune solium pontificale altiuscule eminebat, ut et ipse ab omnibus circumstantibus videretur ac pariter omnes astantes sedentesque videret. [53] Utraque huius templi latera, ab ingentibus fenestris sese mutuo respicientibus ornata, singula queque ampli et longi spatii loca cruce illa magna inferiora suis splendoribus illustrabant. At vero universum ambitum superiorem rotunde quedam fenestre in magnorum oculorum formas egregie—ut diximus—redactae, velut formosa quedam fenestrarum corona spetiosissime ambiebant, per quas quidem solares radii ita ingrediebantur, ut non modo singula testudinis loca luce sua collustrarent, sed divine quoque glorie specimen quoddam cunctis devotis conspectoribus demonstrarent. In vertice vero testudinis rotunda quedam et ingens fenestra ceteris altius prominens in laterne formam—ceu supra commemoravimus—redacta cuncta mirum in modum condecorabat. Ceterum universum totius spatii pavimentum eisdem variis partim marmoreis partim porphireis, partim smaragdinis coloribus ornabatur, quibus scalarum gradus condecoratos superius fuisse diximus. Et ne tantum, tam pulchrum, tam devotum, tam admirabile ac denique tam divinum potius quam humanum templum aliquibus defunctorum prelatorum vel pontificum humationibus ullatenus pollueretur, huiusmodi sepulchra a sinistro latere extra templum e regione ad solium pontificale construi condique volebat."

[11] Magnuson, *Studies*, 206; Thoenes, "Renaissance St. Peter's," 69, 70, who reflects on the way in which the architectural history of the basilica gradually took over from the many monuments and even the tomb of St Peter: "All these entities formed an immense repertoire of the histories of the church and faith which later on was con-

Whether or not these ideas were unique to Nicholas V is unclear, and I want to argue in this chapter that they were part of a much longer process of the realignment of the basilica as the symbolic nucleus of the papacy and the first church of Christendom.[12] Work certainly continued after Nicholas V's pontificate. At the end of 1451 and start of 1452, two (or four) huge columns were taken to St Peter's from the site of the baths of Agrippa at Santa Maria sopra Minerva. These columns were probably used as the main elements in a new triumphal arch, completed by Paul II, that marked the transition from the old nave, with its forest of eighty-eight columns, to the new and enlarged transept and choir begun under Nicholas V.[13] Work was then halted for a decade, the result of the fall of Constantinople in 1453 and the shift of resources under Calixtus III (1455–8) and Pius II to a crusade against the Ottoman Turks. Under Paul II work on the new choir behind the apse began again but stopped under Sixtus IV (1471–84), whose priorities lay with his own projects including the Capella del Coro and the Sistine Chapel at the Vatican. The whole project then took a dramatic turn when, in 1505, Julius II and his architect Bramante decided to pull down the old apse and transept, which had been left standing while new foundations were made for the scheme initiated by Nicholas V, and start again.[14]

Nicholas V's plans for St Peter's, as outlined by Manetti and reconstructed through surviving accounts, were undeniably splendid. But

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jured nostalgically by historians of the basilica, but which actually must have had a confining and distressing effect… Rational organization triumphed over the variety of accreted structures… At the same time the connection to the historical content of the building loosens. The tomb of St Peter no longer appears as the only focus of the church. Manetti does not mention the tomb at all." It could, however, be argued that the emphasis of Nicholas V's vision on the crossing and papal visibility took the presence of St Peter's tomb for granted.

[12] Charles W. Westfall, *In this Most Perfect Paradise: Alberti, Nicholas V and the Invention of Conscious Urban Planning in Rome 1447–1455* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1974), 16, and chapter 2: Westfall argues that the bull, *Laetantur Coeli* (1439), promulgated by Eugenius IV at the Council of Florence gave Nicholas V the springboard for his vision of the papacy as universal authority derived from St Peter. Charles Burroughs—*From Signs to Designs: Environmental Process and Reform in Early Renaissance Rome* (Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 1990), 26–7—however, prefers to maintain emphasis on the twin poles of the Lateran and Vatican basilicas. This accords with his emphasis on Nicholas V's restoration of the *rione* Monti.

[13] Georg Satzinger, "Nikolaus V, Nikolaus Muffel und Bramante: monumentale Triumphbogensäulen in Alt-St.-Peter," *Römisches Jahrbuch der Biblioteca Hertziana* 31 (1996): 91–105; Lex Bosman, *The Power of Tradition: Spolia in the Architecture of St. Peter's in the Vatican* (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2004), 59–60.

[14] Christoph Luitpold Frommel, "Die Peterskirche unter Papst Julius II. Im licht neuer dokumente," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 16 (1976): 57–136.

focus on the outside of the basilica at the expense of the inside has skewed the conventional narrative of its redevelopment. Despite the full accounts given by Manetti, it is not known for certain what work was actually carried out in the nave in the middle of the fifteenth century. The evidence was quickly lost: the top part of the nave was irretrievably damaged when the transept was demolished, and by 1511 a significant part of it was taken up by Bramante's new piers. Finally, in 1605, Paul V took the decision to demolish the remains of the nave, thus removing any surviving evidence of the interventions apparently instigated by Nicholas V. Nevertheless, a great deal can be surmised if these building works are studied alongside the changes inside the basilica. A huge receptacle of shrines and monuments, major changes to the structure of St Peter's—or at least proposals for change—have to be considered alongside major changes in the interior in order to reconstruct the motivation behind Nicholas V's campaign. Together these changes reinforced the ritual and symbolic significance of St Peter's as papal basilica. They also suggest that Nicholas V's ideas for the rationalization of the interior were not unprecedented.

The significance of the north aisle

As already noted, Manetti recorded that Nicholas V wanted to have the left-hand side of the basilica—the north aisle—reserved for the tombs of prelates and popes. Although Torgil Magnuson suggests that the relevant passage refers to moving the tombs together in a special mausoleum, there is no explicit suggestion of movement of monuments from one part of the church to another in the text.[15] An equally valid interpretation could be that the area was to be formally reserved for burials. This is certainly in keeping with developments inside the basilica in the mid-fifteenth century and its traditional use. Rather than a wholesale movement of monuments, they were simply to be contained in the same area. The addition of Nicholas V's own grave to the north aisle suggests that "extra templum" was not outside the church as a whole but more specifically outside the transept and chancel. This area would include the north aisle, the oratories that opened onto it, and the adjoining mausolea of Santa Petronilla and Santa Maria della Febbre (see Figure 71, 'L' and 'M').

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[15] See above, 386 note 11.

Sible de Blaauw points out that until the middle of the eleventh century papal tombs were almost exclusively in the south-western corner of the atrium, the southern transept, or the oratories attached to the basilica. After the end of the eleventh century, burials in the transept had stopped, and all of the subsequent monuments were to be found in the nave and aisles.[16] We can be more specific than that in the fifteenth century when all of the monuments were in the vicinity of the north aisle. Even that of Innocent VIII was originally incorporated into the chapel of the relic of the lance of Longinus (which had been used to pierce Christ's side), which originally stood in the area taken up by the south-eastern pier, namely at the top of the north aisle, probably against the nave-facing side of the pier holding up the triumphal arch. It was moved from its original location in 1507 hardly a decade after it was completed, to the bottom of the liturgical south aisle along with the free-standing chapel of the relic of the lance. Grimaldi shows the monument tucked in on the right-hand side of the chapel, framed probably with the ornamentation originally on the rear of the shrine (see Figure 71, no. 109, and Figure 90).[17]

The liturgical north aisle was a space of some significance in churches. It was, for example, where the Easter sepulchre was usually located, the focus of the solemn ceremonies of Easter, "designed to inculcate and give dramatic expression to orthodox teaching."[18] On Good Friday at the Deposition which followed the Adoration of the Cross, Christ, represented by the host carried in a pyx, and a cross (usually that kissed by the faithful during the liturgy), was symbolically buried in the tomb. The tomb was usually represented by an ephemeral structure, such as a coffin laid out in the north aisle covered in a cloth, often richly embroidered with scenes from the Passion and surrounded by candles.[19] A vigil was then maintained at the 'tomb' until Easter when, before the mass, the clergy gathered and took the pyx back to the high altar to symbolize the Resurrection of Christ from the grave. The cross was processed round the church, accompanied by bells ringing and choir singing to represent victory over death, before being replaced on an altar in the north aisle. Then throughout Easter week, the empty tomb was lit with candles and formed a focus for services. Where the Easter sepulchre was a temporary piece of church furnishing rather than a permanent stone feature, it was then usually dismantled ready to be reassembled the next year. In St Peter's the Easter sepulchre may have been either such an ephemeral structure or an altar, although this is unclear.[20] Whatever the case, as the pope is Christ's agent on earth, so it was appropriate that their tombs should be located near his.

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[16] Sible Blaauw, *Cultus et decor: liturgia e architettura nella Roma tardoantica e medievale*, Studi e testi 355–6 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1994), 579, 673–4; Hannes Roser, *St. Peter in Rom im 15. Jahrhundert. Studien zu Architektur und sculpturaler Ausstattung*, Römische Studien der Bibliotheca Hertziana, vol. 19 (München: Hirmer, 2005), 143–4.

[17] On Innocent VIII's patronage in St Peter's see Simona Olivetti, "Il ciborio della Sacra Lancia di Innocenzo VIII: un'impresa quattrocentesca dimenticata," *Storia dell'arte* 71 (1991): 7–24; Britta Kusch, "Zum Grabmal Innocenz' VIII. in alt-St. Peter zu Rom," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 41 (1997): 361–76; Hannes Roser, "'In Innocentia/Mea Ingressus Sum…': Das Grabmal Innozez' VIII in St. Peter, Enstehungsgeschichte und Rekonstruktion," *Tod und Verklärung: Grabmalskultur in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Arne Karsten and Philipp Zitzlsperger (Köln, Wiemar, Vienna: Böhlau, 2004), 219–38; Alison Wright, *The Pollaiuolo Brothers: The Arts of Florence and Rome* (New Haven and London: Yale Universty Press, 2005), 388–408.

[18] Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c. 1400–c. 1580* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992), 31, and on the Easter sepulchre see 29–37; also Pamela Sheingorn, "The *Sepulchrum Domini*, a Study in Art and Liturgy," *Studies in Iconography* 4 (1978), 37–61; Colin Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West: From the Beginning to 1600* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); C. Clifford Flanigan, "Medieval Liturgy and the Arts: *Visitatio Sepulchri* as Paradigm," in *Liturgy and the Arts in the Middle Ages*, ed. Eva Louise Lillie (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 1996), 17, 29.

The main Holy Week and Easter liturgies in which the pope participated took place at the Lateran basilica, where the fourth century baptistery was an important locus for the ceremonials.[21] Until the beginning of the fourteenth century, Holy Week and Easter masses were observed at St Peter's by the canons and a cardinal-bishop who stood in for the pope.[22] Papal liturgies from the fifteenth century for Holy Week and Easter services suggest that by then the location was more flexible as relevant chapels for both the Lateran and Vatican basilicas are given. In St Peter's the old baptistery was in the south transept with the nearby chapel of the most Holy Cross used for preparations (see Figure 71, nos 31 and 35). In the morning of Easter Sunday the cardinal-bishop celebrated at the high altar. In the afternoon the canons entered the basilica in procession where they began with vespers in their choir in the nave. They then moved on to the high altar where Kyries were sung. Then, after vespers, they gathered at the baptistery itself.[23] Aspects of this liturgy had fallen out of use, like those at the Lateran, in the thirteenth century. However, with the changes to the interior of St Peter's in the fifteenth century, it is not improbable that Sixtus IV's new chapel of the canons' choir, the Capella del Coro, and the oratory of St Thomas, where the font was located, were used for Easter liturgies celebrated in St Peter's.[24] Thus, Sixtus IV's burial in the Capella del Coro, which could have been used as the reserve altar for the sacrament, was particularly shrewd.

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[19] Pamela Sheingorn, *The Easter Sepulchre in England*, Early Drama, Art and Music Reference Series vol. 5 (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1987), 26–7.

[20] Marc Dykmans, *Le Cérémonial Papal: De la fin du Moyen Âge à la Renaissance*, vol. 3: *Les textes Avignonnais jusqu'à la fin du grand schisme d'occident* (Brussels and Rome: Bibliothèque de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome, 1983), 214: although only a passing reference, the Easter sepulchre in St Peter's ("ubi est responsitum corpus Christi") is mentioned near the chapel used as a sacristy, namely that of St Gregory (or San Pancrazio in the Lateran basilica), where they vested for the liturgy of Holy Thursday. As Justin E.A. Kroesen notes, the *Sepulchrum Domini* in Mediterranean countries was usually an ephemeral object or an existing altar used for the purpose. Moreover, temporary structures or permanent entombment groups did not accord with the directives of the Council of Trent so what might have existed would have been removed in the late sixteenth century, although in the seventeenth century, and particularly by the Jesuits, dramatic representations of the Holy Sepulchre were revived: *The Sepulchrum Domini Through the Ages: Its Form and Function* (Leuven: Peeters, 2001), 108, 125–7.

[21] In the early church, the baptism of neophites took place at the Easter vigil during the night before Easter Sunday. By the Middle Ages, baptism took place throughout the year, usually within hours of an infant's birth, but aspects of the ancient practice, such as the blessing of the chrism and other oils remained an important part of the Holy Week and Easter liturgies. See Giacomo Grimaldi, *Descrizione della basilica antica di S. Pietro in Vaticano. Codice Barberini Latino 2733*, ed. Reto Niggl (Vatican City: Codices e Vaticanis selecti 32, 1972), 77.

Interment near the Easter sepulchre was keenly sought after by those permitted burial inside churches: "the association of one's own burial with that of the Host at Easter was a compelling, eloquent, and above all a permanent gesture."[25] In some cases, but more commonly in the north of Europe, tombs were commissioned to serve as both personal monuments and as the Easter sepulchre, representations of the Resurrection being pertinent for both personal hopes and liturgical necessity.[26] Representations of death itself were kept to an absolute minimum. This is precisely the theme of reliefs decorating the monument to Paul II.[27] His monument stood at the entrance to the canons' sacristy in St Peter's (see Figure 71, 'V').

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[22] Blaauw, *Cultus et decor*, 697–8. In the fifteenth century papal permission was required each time a cardinal celebrated at the high altar.

[23] Blaauw, *Cultus et decor*, 717.

[24] On Sixtus IV's chapel (including the exclusion of women from it) see *Bullarum, diplomatum et privilegiorum sanctorum romanorum pontificum*…, ed. Seb. Franco and Henrico Dalmazzo (Turin: Augustae Taurinorum, 1860), 269–70.

[25] Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 33.

[26] Kroesen, *Sepulchrum Domini*, 77–81.

[27] See above chapter 8, 372.

Jean-Charles Picard points to the preference for burial in the oratories at St Peter's between 700 and 850.[28] Petrus Mallius, a canon of St Peter's in the twelfth century, noted that the north aisle and transept had long been the area associated with the burial of the popes.[29] The door into this aisle from the atrium, he states, was not used for day-to-day entry into the basilica. It was called the 'Porta Iudicii', the door of judgement, and was reserved for the entrance of the bodies of those whose funerals were to take place inside the basilica (see Figure 71, no. 138).[30] Next to the monument of Eugenius IV at the top of this aisle, Alfarano records the presence of a door in the wall into a *fovea magna*, or large pit. This had been opened during the rebuilding of the basilica in the sixteenth century so that bodies and sepulchres which had to be moved during the works could be reburied.[31] It was entirely in keeping with the traditional funerary associations of the aisle where many tombs were already located. This communal grave occupied the space between the two ancient rotundas of Santa Maria della Febbre and Santa Petronilla and the library and sacristy, and was eventually covered over by the exterior wall of the new basilica. Grimaldi pointed to the more didactic purpose behind this gathering of monuments: the aisle, he records, was known as the 'Porticus Pontificum', or gallery of popes, because it was the area in which the popes were buried.[32]

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[28] Jean-Charles Picard, "Étude sur l'emplacement des tombes des papes du III^{e} au X^{e} siècle," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 81 no. 2 (1969): 757–73; Blaauw, *Cultus et decor*, 579.

[29] Petrus Mallius, "Historia Basilicae Antiquae S.P. Apostoli in Vaticano," in *Codice topografico della città di Roma*, ed. R. Valentini and G. Zucchetti (Rome: Tipografia del Senato, 1946), vol. 3, 395.

[30] Tiberio Alfarano, *Tiberii Alpharano de Basilicae Vaticanae antiquissima et nova structura (1582), pubblicato per la prima volta con introduzione e note dal Dott. D. Michele Cerrati scrittore della Biblioteca Vaticana*, Studi e testi 26 (Rome: Tipografia Poliglotta Vaticana, 1914), 117; Blaauw, *Cultus et decor*, 678–9. Manetti (*De vita ac gestis Nicolai Quinti*, book 2, paragraph 49; 91, 192) described the five doors of the basilica as "pulcherrimis portis peregregie fabrefactis mirisque sculpturis adornatis illustrabatur." The west, the direction of the setting sun, was equated with evil, while the east with redemption. Thus, churches were entered in the west and the faithful led to the east to follow the path of redemption: Kroesen, *Sepulchrum Domini*, 149. In the new basilica the door on the furthest left-hand side, in the same position as the Porta Iudici, is the Porta della Morte by Don Giuseppe de Luca, dated 1963.

[31] Alfarano, *Basilicae Vaticanae*, xiii, 37, 73, 157.

[32] Grimaldi, *S. Pietro in Vaticano*, 160: "Haec navis dicebatur Porticus Pontificum, quia ibi erant sepulturae pontificum, ut notat Petrus Mallius; et in coronatione summi pontificis papa discedens in pompa processionis a secretario, quod erat sacellum sancti Gregorii, per dictam incedebat ad altare Maius navem pontificum, ut videndo sepulcra illorum consideraret gloriam mundi esse stipulam ardentem et illico evanescentem;

"Sic transit gloria mundi"

Gregory VII in the eleventh century stressed the fact that his place in the apostolic succession derived not from the simple fact of his election but from his coronation "at the body of St Peter"—in St Peter's basilica and near his relics that were "the continuing pledge of his powers."[33] Gregory I (590–604) restricted consecration at the tomb of Peter to that of the pope alone, but the link between the pope's accession and the Vatican basilica probably began in the fifth century when Boniface I proceeded to the basilica following his ordination in 418.[34]

On the occasion of the consecration and coronation of the pope, just before the consecration, the new pope, cardinals, prelates, and their entourage went in procession from the chapel of St Gregory (to which Pius II added the relic of St Andrew), which served as the sacristy where they vested, up through the "nave of the popes," turning right at the top of the aisle, and on to the high altar. Grimaldi refers to the "ceremony of the burning flax" (*caeremonia combustionis stipulae*) which took place in front of the pontiff just outside the sacristy.[35] En route to the high altar, the new pope stopped to peruse the tombs of his predecessors. The master of ceremonies turned to the pope, lit the flax, and kneeling, said in a deep voice, "Holy Father, thus passes the

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ibique fiebat caeremonia combustionis stipulae ante pontificem illis verbis: "Pater sancte sic transit gloria mundi."

[33] Walter Ullmann, "*Romanus pontifex indubitanter efficitur sanctus: Dictatus papae* 23 in Retrospect and Prospect," *Studi Gregoriani* 6 (1959–61): 230–45; Herbert Edward John Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII 1073–1085* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 527.

[34] Susan Twyman, *Papal Ceremonial at Rome in the Twelfth Century* (London: Boydell Press, 2002), 64–7.

[35] See note 32, above, and Agostino Paravicini-Bagliani, *The Pope's Body*, trans. David S. Peterson (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2000; first published as *Il corpo del Papa*, Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 1994), 32–9. The ritual at feast-day masses went back to at least the middle of the thirteenth century and was continued during the exile in Avignon. It originated in Christmas and Easter liturgies. It is first mentioned in connection with the coronation of a pope in 1406 for Gregory XII but it may go back further. See Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, "Papal Coronations in Avignon," in *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual*, ed. János M. Bak (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 187–8. It is included in Pinturicchio's fresco of *The Coronation of Pius II* in the Piccolomini Library, Siena Cathedral. Flax was burnt three times during the coronation of Pius II in St Peter's, once in the nave, once in the north aisle, and once near the apse: see Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, *Die Zeremonienbücher der römischen Kurie im Mittelalter*, Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom 40 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1973), 258 n. 8; Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, "Die Krönung des Papstes im Mittelater dargestellt am Beispiel der Krönung Pius' II (3.9.1458)," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 54 (1974): 207–8. The last time it was used was for the consecration of Paul VI in 1963.

glory of the world."[36] I cannot stress the significance of this moment enough. At this point the pope stopped in the middle of all the clamour, excess, and triumphalism of his coronation and was reminded of both his mortality and his place in the apostolic succession: "the pope did not have two bodies or substances like a king, but only a natural body that is born and dies. What remained was Christ, it was the Roman church, the Apostolic See, but not the pope."[37] At this point he joined the long line of popes amongst whom he would soon be buried. And the funeral liturgies for the pope point back to this single moment, reminding the pope that he should have been well prepared for his death as a result of it.[38]

Nicholas V's idea to have all the tombs in one area—moving some where necessary—was, therefore, not entirely original. He was instead reaffirming an organization that reflected the continuity of papal ceremonial which in turn exploited the traditional associations of the north aisle. Indeed, it was not unusual for ancient tombs and monuments in the basilica to be removed from their original locations and replaced with new monuments as popes and other individuals sought to bring out their veneration of one of their predecessors.[39] The consistency with which the north aisle was used for burials and monuments collected in the area does seem to have been unique to the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, however.

The post-Avignon pattern begins with the monument of Urban VI, whose election re-established the papacy in Rome in 1378 but also instigated the schism. Alfarano records that his tomb (see Figures 2 and 71, no. 63) was just down from the altar of St Nicholas, where Nicholas V himself was eventually buried (see Figure 71, no. 61), on the other side of the altar of St Blaise, around which were a number of floor slabs commemorating other popes.[40] Urban VI's tomb remained there until 1570, when it was moved to make a door into the chapel where the chapter of canons of the basilica met, the chapel of Antonio Cerdano, which until then had been entered either through the sacristy at the top nearest the transept or through the chapel of Giovanni Battista Zen which stood between it and Sixtus IV's Capella del Coro (see Figure 71, 'X', 'Y', and 'Z').[41] In 1589 Alfarano records that Urban VI's monument and the pope's remains were then moved from the ruins of the upper part of the nave.[42]

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[36] Marc Dykmans, *L'Oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini ou le Cérémonial Papal de la Première Renaissance*, Studi e testi 293–4 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1980), 70: "Et cum pontifex capellam sancti Gregorii exierit, cerimoniarius ad eum conversus ignem stupe immittit, et genuflexus alta voce dicit: *Pater sancte, sic transit gloria mundi*, quod tertio facit, distincto equali spatio, antequam perveniat ad portam capelle. Procedunt omnes per navim ipsius capelle sancti Gregorii, ubi sepulchra sunt Romanorum pontificum, et cum illam exierint, flectunt ad dextram et per portam, que est ante altare, ingrediuntur capellam et ascendunt etiam ad dextram."

[37] Reinhard Elze, "'Sic transit gloria mundi': la morte del papa nel medioevo," *Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento* 3 (1977): 26; translated in Paravicini-Bagliani, *The Pope's Body*, 130.

[38] Dykmans, *L'Oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini*, 231: "Cogitet summus pontifex, et si omnium sit maximus, se tamen esse mortalem, et eulogium illud quod inter solemnia sue coronationis decantari solet, sedulo memoria repetat: *Pater sancte, sic transit gloria mundi: 'Omnis caro fenum et omnis gloria eius tanquam flos agri.'*" The quote is from Isaiah 40:6.

[39] Blaauw, *Cultus et decor*, 579; Ingo Herklotz, *"Sepulcra" e "monumenta" del Medioevo. Studi sull'arte sepolcrale in Italia* (Naples: Liguori, 2001; first published 1985), 86–9.

Like the monuments of the fifteenth-century popes, Urban VI's seems to have been left to his relatives—Cardinal Marino Bulcani, who survived the pope by five years, and Francesco Renzio, by four. Similarly, when Urban VI's successor in the Roman obedience, Boniface IX, died in 1404, he was first of all buried provisionally in the oratory of St Thomas. Then his brothers, Andrea and Giovanello Tomacelli, had the altar of Sant'Egidio at the top of the north aisle remodelled to incorporate the pope's tomb. Consecrated in 1409, the chapel was destroyed in 1507.[43] Alfarano includes two unattributed altars at numbers 52 and 57 on his plan, at the top of the left-hand arcade of columns, on the wall between the aisle and the transept, one of which was presumably the altar tomb (see Figure 71).

Nicholas V was himself responsible for the provision of a monument for Innocent VII (1404–6) in the oratory of St Thomas, on the right-hand side of the altar and next to the baptismal font, sometime during his pontificate. The floor slab of pink marble has been compared to the monument of Antonio Amati in Santa Trinità in Florence, linked with the Donatello workshop and dated around 1450 (Figure 112).[44] The tomb bears an inscription stating that because Innocent VII had neglected to provide his own memorial, Nicholas V provided one for him.[45] Nicholas V also had Innocent VII's remains moved from the right-hand transept where he was originally buried, near the old baptistery.[46] Innocent VII's successor, Gregory XII, could not be buried in St Peter's as by the time he died in 1417 he had abdicated, and was instead buried in Recanati where he died. Then Martin V was buried in the Lateran basilica where his family had a chapel. As a Colonna, he could hardly be buried in St Peter's, which was an Orsini stronghold.[47]

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[40] Alfarano, *Basilicae Vaticanae*, 76; Jörg Garms, Andrea Sommerlechner, and Werner Telesko, *Die Mittelalterlichen Grabmäler in Rom und Latium vom 13. bis zum 15. Jahrhundert*, vol. 2: *Die Monumentalgräber* (Rome and Vienna: Der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1994), 146–50.

[41] Alfarano, *Basilicae Vaticanae*, 76 n. 1.

[42] Alfarano, *Basilicae Vaticanae*, 91.

[43] Antonio di Pietro dello Schiavo, *Il Diario romano di Antonio di Pietro dello Schiavo: dal 19 ottobre 1404 al 25 settembre 1417*, ed. Francesco Isoldi, RIS 24 part 5 (Città di Castello: Lapi, 1917), 41 (5 August 1409): "fuit translatum corpus domini Bonifatii pape VIIII de cappella sanctorum apostolorum Petri e Pauli, hac etiam sancti Thome apostoli, hora misse maioris Sancti Petri, et positum in cappella Sancti Hegidii abbatis"; the altar was consecrated on 14 September, see 42; Renzo Uberto Montini, *Le Tombe dei papi* (Rome: A. Belardetti, 1957), 264; Garms, *Mittelalterlichen Grabmäler in Rom*, 150–3.

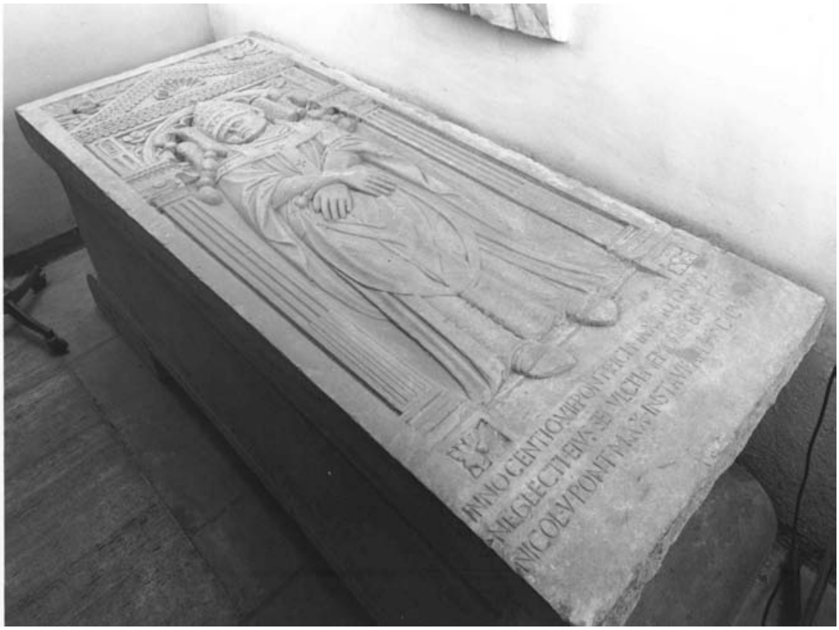

Figure 112 Grave slab of Innocent VII (d. 1406), Vatican Grottoes, *c.* 1450. Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art, neg. no. B74/471.

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[44] Montini, *Tombe dei papi*, 266; Grimaldi, S. Pietro in Vaticano, 219; Jörg Garms, Roswitha Juffinger, and Bryan Ward-Perkins, *Die Mittelalterlichen Grabmäler in Rom und Latium vom 13. bis zum 15. Jahrhundert*, vol. 1: *Die Grabplatten und Tafeln* (Rome, Vienna: Der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1981), 257–8.

[45] The inscription on the floor slab, now in the Vatican Grottoes, reads: "Innocentio VII Pontifici Maximo quum neglecti eius sepulchri memoria pene interisset Nicol. V Pont Max instaurari hoc curavit."

[46] Montini, *Tombe dei papi*, 266; Alfarano, *Basilicae Vaticanae*, 83.

[47] Burroughs, *From Signs to Designs*, 26.

It was during the papacy of Nicholas V that the monument of Eugenius IV, commissioned by Francesco Condulmer, Eugenius's cardinal-nephew, was erected at the top of the same aisle, a sign at least that there was some consistency of approach. Thereafter, all of the popes until Julius II "(by which time half of the old nave was missing) were buried in St Peter's and all of them in, or in chapels adjoining, the north aisle.

The rationalization of space and ceremonial credited specifically to Nicholas V continued under Pius II. In addition to Nicholas V's stated aim of moving papal tombs together and out of the transept, in 1462 workmen were paid to sort out the clutter of tombs and monuments in the nave and aisles, rearranging them along the interior walls of the basilica.[48] This work has been interpreted as part of the preparations for the ceremonies surrounding the arrival of the relic of the head of St Andrew in Rome in April 1462.[49] However, the new chapel of Saints Andrew and Gregory that resulted from the arrival of the relic should also be interpreted as a contribution to the ritual significance of the north aisle. The chapel incorporated the monument of Pius II inside the facade of the basilica, and survived Bramante's interventions as a result.[50] When Francesco Piccolomini commissioned a tomb for his uncle from Paolo Romano, it was designed to include a relief representing the pope and his nephew presented by Peter and Paul to the Virgin and, below the effigy, a relief depicting the arrival of the relic of St Andrew to Rome, tying the monument to the altar (see Figure 106).[51]

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[48] Ruth Olitsky Rubinstein, "Pius II as Patron of Art with Special Reference to the History of the Vatican" (PhD thesis, Courtauld Institute, University of London, 1957), 224 n. 18: Archivio di Stato di Roma, Libro delle Fabbriche (1460–4), f. 60: n.d. 1462: "M. Galaxo di contra de avere duc. 63 d.c. sono per suo laboro… e molte alter opera sue a levare le sepulture dele pontifici in San Pietro e riporle neli luoghi deputati e simile a levare dicti edifitii e marmi nel coro vecchio in San Pietro e farle riporre in soma—Duc. I xiii." Also Herklotz, *"Sepulcra" e "monumenta"*, 86–9; Pietro Egidi, *Necrologi e libri affini della provincia Romana* (Rome: Nella Sede dell'Istituto Storico Italiano, 1908–14), vol. 1, 14–18, 240–1.

[49] Müntz, *Les Arts à la Cour des Papes*, part 1, 286–9, 292: the works included, from February 1463 to August 1464, the tabernacle to hold the relic, the structure to hold it up, iron enclosures and gates, glass of different colours for the windows, various decorations, paving, and vaulting. The ceremonies are described in Pius II, *Commentarii*, 469–90, Pius II, "Commentaries of Pius II," 525–541. See also Rubinstein, "Pius II's Piazza S. Pietro and St. Andrew's Head," 235–43.

[50] Fra Mariano, *Itinerarium*, 84: "In angulo ecclesiae seu in introitu istius lateris capella est sanctorum Andreae apostoli et Gregorii doctoris quam Pius II exstruxit marmoribusque et porphireticis lapidibus exornavit, in cuius altare in pulcra arca corpus iam dicti doctoris Gregorius IV a secretario ad hunc locum transtulit et in tabernaculo quatuor porphireis columnis super aram suffulto calvarium sancti Andreae Pius II venerabiliter collocavit. Sunt in ea quoque duo sepulcra duorum [pontificum] Pii II et III marmorea statuis et picturis exornata."

Overall the chapel was a bold reclamation of an already significant area in St Peter's. Under Gregory IV (827–44), the relics of Gregory the Great, one of the most significant popes buried in St Peter's, were moved from the narthex in front of the basilica to a new monument just inside, at the bottom of the north aisle.[52] An altar against the wall covered in silver was erected over the tomb and the area, taking in five intercolumniations along the outer aisle, enclosed by a marble barrier about 2 metres high. Grimaldi believed that the enclosure that was removed in 1574 dated to the time of Gregory IV, but in fact the original seems to have been replaced during Pius II's reconstruction of the area for the arrival of the relic of the head of St Andrew.[53] Also added in the 1460s was a cross-vault that further distinguished the area from its surroundings.[54] The drawing of the north aisle (*Sacellum S. Andreae Apostoli et S. Gregorii*) included by Grimaldi includes the lunettes of this vault over the area, as far as the monument of Pius III (Figures 113 and 114). The old altar was destroyed to make room for the monument of Pius II and replaced with a free-standing ciborium in the middle of the enclosure, surmounted by a reliquary in which the head of St Andrew was preserved. In this way Pius II and Francesco Piccolomini, the cardinal-nephew who had the work completed, were able to celebrate both Pius's personal devotion to Gregory the Great and his achievement of acquiring the relic of St Andrew for Rome.[55] Behind the enclosure, the area was converted into a Piccolomini enclave.[56] The cardinal endowed the chapel with property to pay for a chaplain.[57] As Pius III, Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini was then buried under the floor below the monument of Pius II, his uncle. His monument was on the right-hand side of the altar of St Andrew and Gregory which he had completed for his uncle (Figure 113). It was decorated with a relief of his coronation—admittedly about the only thing he had time to achieve in his very brief reign of twenty-six days, but also particularly appropriate for the site (see Figure 71 no. 81 and figure 115).

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[51] On the tomb of Pius II see Rubinstein, "Pius II as Patron of Art," 246–50; Wilhelm Reinhold Valentiner, "The Florentine Master of the Tomb of Pope Pius II," *The Art Quarterly* 21 (1958): 117–49; Francesco Caglioti, "Paolo Romano, Mino da Fiesole e il tabernacolo di San Lorenzo in Dàmaso," in *Scritti in ricordo di Giovanni Previtali*, *Prospettiva* 53/56 (Florence: Centro Di, 1989–90), 250–5; Shelly E. Zuraw, "The Sculpture of Mino da Fiesole (1429–1484)" (PhD thesis, New York University, 1993), 367–8.

[52] Blaauw, *Cultus et decor*, 574–5.

[53] Grimaldi, *S. Pietro in Vaticano*, 78–9; Müntz, *Les Arts à la Cour des Papes*, part 1, 289; On the chapel of St Gregory before Pius II see Michel Andrieu, "La chapelle de Saint-Grégoire dans l'ancienne Basilique Vaticane," *Rivista di archeologia cristiana* 13 (1936): 61–99.

[54] Müntz, *Les Arts à la Cour des Papes*, part 1, 289.

[55] On Pius II and Gregory the Great 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*, ed. Mary Hollingsworth and Carol M. Richardson (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, forthcoming). The relic was returned to the Orthodox diocese of Patras in 1964; Peter Hebblethwaite, *Paul VI: The First Modern Pope* (London: Fount, 1993), 385.

[56] Roser, *St. Peter in Rom im 15. Jahrhundert*, 100; For example Agostino Piccolomini, the young nephew of Cardinal Francesco Piccolomini, was buried in the chapel of

From at least the thirteenth century the chapel of St Gregory was used during the consecration and coronation of a pope as a sacristy.[58] It was there that the new pope received the cardinals and bishops during the

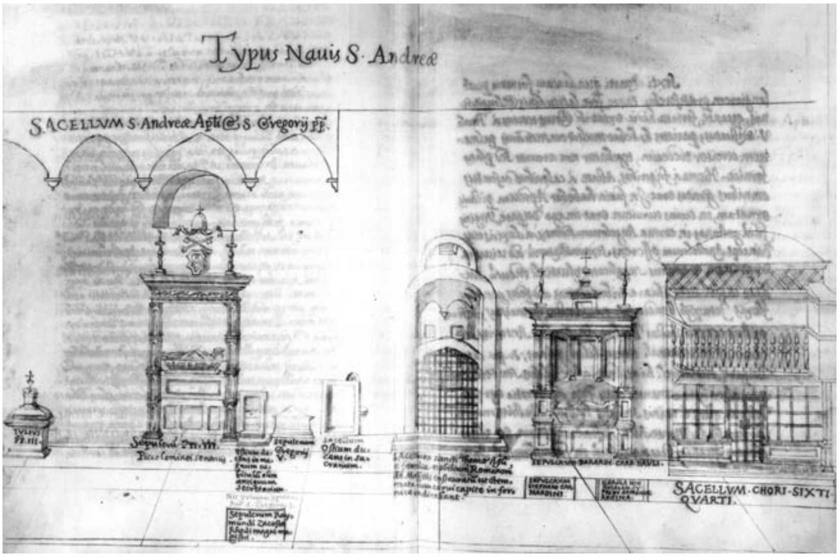
Typus Nauis S. Andreæ
SACELLVM S. Andreæ Apli & S. Gregorij PP.
SACELLVM·CHORI·SIXTI·QVARTI·

Figure 113 Old St Peter's, north aisle, from Giacomo Grimaldi, *San Pietro* (1606), Barb. lat. 2733, ff. 128v–129. © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

Saints Andrew and Gregory on 4 July, 1496; Johann Burchard, *Johanni Burckardi Liber Notarum ab anno MCCCCLXXXIII usque ad annum MDVI*, ed. Enrico Celani, RIS 32 (Città di Castello: Lapi, 1910–13), part 1, 3–4 July 1496, 614–5; Dykmans, *L'Oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini*, 13*.

[57] Carol M. Richardson, "The Lost Will and Testament of Cardinal Francesco Todeschini-Piccolomini (1439–1503)," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 66 (1998): 207.

[58] Marc Dykmans, *Le Cérémonial Papal: De la fin du Moyen Âge à la Renaissance*, vol. 1: *Le Cérémonial papal du XIII^{e} siècle* (Brussels and Rome: Bibliothèque de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome, 1977), 176; and vol. 2: *De Rome en Avignon ou le Cérémonial de Jacques Stefaneschi* (Brussels and Rome: Bibliothèque de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome, 1981), 269–70, 275.

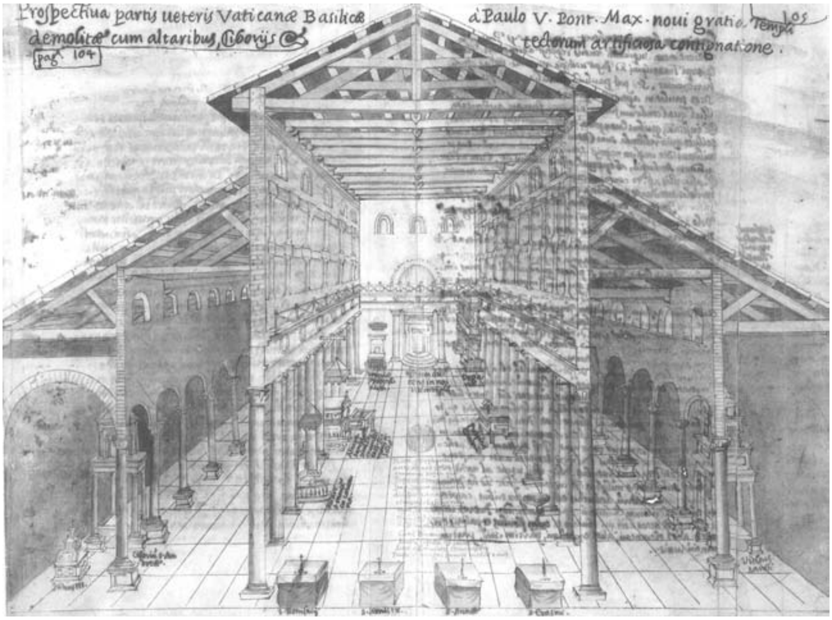
Prospectiua partis ueteris Vaticanae Basilicae demolitae cum altaribus, Ciborijs &c
pag. 104
a Paulo V. Pont. Max. noui gratia Templi
tectorum artificiosa contignatione.
105

Figure 114 Old St Peter's, remains of nave to division wall, from Giacomo Grimaldi, *San Pietro* (1606), Barb. lat. 2733, ff. 104v–105. © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

ceremonies, and it may have included access to a small room, behind the old papal sacristy, for his exclusive use.[59] Moreover, the feast of St Andrew, the last of the liturgical year on 31 November, was important for the basilica as it was used to emphasize the relationship between the brothers, Andrew and Peter.[60] The focus in the basilica was on the altars of St Peter and St Andrew at the end of the left-hand transept (see Figure 71, 'K').[61] With the addition of the relic of St Andrew's head to the altar of St Gregory, the focus for the feast was moved from the chapel of St Andrew in the transept to Pius II's chapel at the bottom of the southern aisle, perhaps made necessary by alterations to the transept under Nicholas V. In an interesting twist, in the new basilica the patronage of the altar of St Andrew went with the relic of the head

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[59] Dykmans, *L'Oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini*, 66.

[60] See above, chapter 1, 58.

[61] Blaauw, *Cultus et decor*, 577, 671, 723; Paul Fabre and Louis Duchesne, *Le Liber Censuum de l'Église romaine*, vol. 2 *Ordo Romanus de Benedictus Canonicus* (Paris: Bibliotheque des écoles francaises d'Athenes et de Rome, 1910), 76; Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, *Die Zeremonienbücher der römischen Kurie im Mittelalter*, Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom 40 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1973), 376.

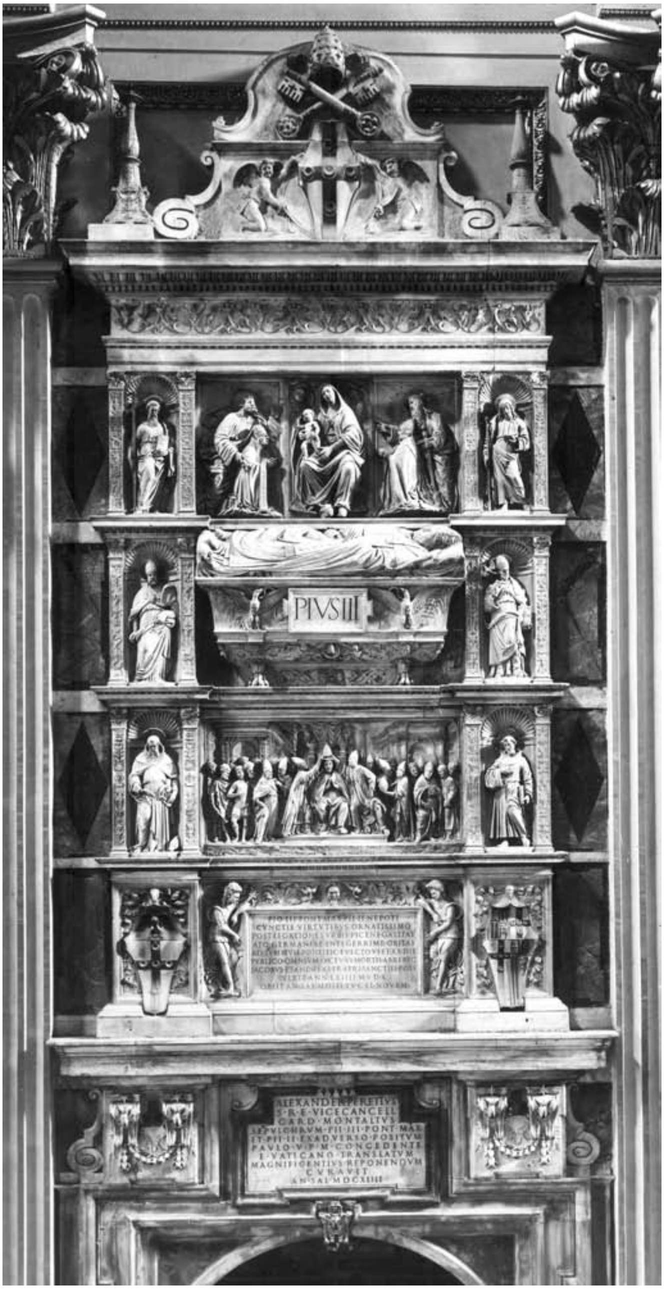

Figure 115 Monument of Pius III (d. 1503), Sant'Andrea della Valle. Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Istituto centrale per il Catologo e la Documentazione, neg. Serie Stocchi C, no. 8726.

of St Andrew to the pier in which it was preserved and displayed.[62] The Piccolomini maintained their patronal rights to the altar under the pier until the nineteenth century and the establishment of the Italian state, when familial rights were cleared out of the basilica.[63]

The incorporation of the tombs into the processions from the chapel of Saints Andrew and Gregory up to the transept are also suggested by another feature of all of the fifteenth-century monuments in the north aisle. Although the feet of effigies were generally pointed to an altar—and in St Peter's it would make sense for them to face the shrine of St Peter itself—instead all of the monuments point down the aisle.[64] Therefore, the effigies faced the pope as he moved up to the high altar towards his coronation.

Death and rebirth

The oratory of St Thomas, adjoining the north aisle, appears frequently as a burial place in the fifteenth century. Several cardinals were buried inside, including the two della Porta cardinals and Cardinal Fonseca, and Nicholas V moved the remains of Innocent VII into the oratory next to the font.[65] There is a great deal more to be said about this important site in St Peter's which further augments the liturgical significance of the north aisle and therefore its meaning.

Until the beginning of the fifteenth century the baptismal font at St Peter's was a large circular basin that stood in the north end of the transept, fed by a Roman aqueduct that brought water from Lake Bracciano (see Figure 71, no. 31). The font was known to be still functioning in the twelfth century.[66] Originally constructed during the papacy of

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[62] The location of the monumental statues as intended in Gian Lorenzo Bernini's organization of the new crossing is not as planned. Under Urban VIII (1623–44) the organization of the sculptures was changed so the decoration of the chapels in the grotto does not match the statues above on the piers. Thus, the chapel of St Longinus refers to St Helen, the decoration relevant to St Andrew is under the St Helen statue, and the scenes relevant to Longinus are under the chapel of St Andrew. Only the pier of Veronica has the correct chapel underneath it: Pietro Zander, "Le grotte," in *La Basilica di San Pietro in Vaticano*, ed. Antonio Pinelli (Modena: Panini, 2000), 384–5.

[63] Archivio di Stato di Siena, Consorteria Piccolomini, 60.4, 67.9, 67.11.

[64] On the conventional orientation of effigies, see for example Julian Gardner, *The Tomb and the Tiara: Curial Tomb Sculpture in Rome and Avignon in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 75. But the dead were laid out for their funerals with head to the altar and feet to the door of the basilica: Dykmans, *L'Oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini*, 227: "Caput lecti fingitur pars proximior altari, et pedes pars proximior porte ecclesie."

[65] See chapter 8, 329–30, 341.

[66] Blaauw, *Cultus et decor*, 755.

Leo III (795–816), it deliberately echoed the design and arrangement of the Lateran baptistery so that it could serve a parallel role as papal ceremonies were increasingly transferred to St Peter's. The by then dilapidated remains of the old font—the ancient water channels and the basin itself—were described in 1452 by the German pilgrim Muffel, who noted its similarity with the baptistery at the Lateran.[67] Its major role was played during the Easter vigil when the rite of baptism was a central part of the liturgy.[68] A smaller font stood just behind the large basin for the administration of baptism during the year. By 1407, however, the baptistery function had been moved into the oratory of St Thomas attached to the north aisle, next to the ninth-century sacristy reserved for the use of the popes and their entourage (as opposed to the canons' sacristy which was further up the same aisle).[69]

The role of this new baptistery seems to have been strengthened during the pontificate of Nicholas V, when works in the tribune and transept affected monuments and chapels in that area. One casualty was the mausoleum of the Anicii which originally adjoined the apse of the basilica, projecting from it, and was accessed through a door next to the oratory of the most Holy Cross.[70] Surviving records mention gold vestments found in the grave of the Roman prefect, Sextus Petronius Probus (d. 394 AD), inside the mausoleum, which were reused to make sacred vessels for the basilica.[71] The sarcophagus of Probus and his wife, Proba Faltonia, was removed from the mausoleum to the oratory of St Thomas, and converted into a font during Nicholas V's pontificate (see Figures 71, 'R', and 116).[72] The arms of Cardinal Orsini, presumably

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[67] Nikolaus Muffel, *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom*, ed. W. Vogt, Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart 128 (Tübingen: Laupp, 1876), 24; Blaauw, *Cultus et decor*, 580–1.

[68] The chrism was blessed on Holy Thursday in preparation for the Easter masses as Holy Saturday was traditionally the time for baptism of catechumens: Dykmans, *L'Oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini*, 377.

[69] Blaauw, *Cultus et decor*, 715.

[70] Grimaldi, *S. Pietro in Vaticano*, 453: [On the death of Nicholas V his plans for the transept and apse were left incomplete.] "Probi templo quod retro apsidam situm erat, et sanctae Crucis oratorio a Symmaco papa olim exstructo solo aequatis, tota veteri basilica intacta permanente usque ad Iulium II et Paulum V, qui eam sunt demoliti. Probi memoria, ut inquit Baronius, integra licet neglecta usque ad ipsum Nicolaum V perseveravit, quando idem pontifex amplioribus spatiis exaedificare novam basilicam principis apostolorum primus aggrediens templum illud Probi, quod illius apsidi iugebatur, demolitus est."

[71] Müntz, *Les Arts à la Cour des Papes*, part 1, 124; Magnuson, *Studies*, 170.

[72] Grimaldi, *S. Pietro in Vaticano*, 381, 470, 490; Alfarano, *Basilicae Vaticanae*, 49, 52; Cesare Baronio, *Annales ecclesiastici* (Rome: Typographia Congregationis Oratorij, 1600), vol. 4, 719ff; Antonio Bosio, *Roma sotterranea* (Rome: Facciotti, 1632; new facsimilie edition Rome: Edizioni Quasar, Pontificia Commissione di Archeologia Sacra, 1998), 381; P. De Waal, "Das Baptisterium des Papstes Damasus bei St Peter," *Römishe Quartallshrift*

Latino Orsini, who was made cardinal by Nicholas V in 1448, marked the new cover and basin that survived until the early sixteenth century.[73] The sarcophagus itself was appropriate for this purpose because it is decorated with figures of the Apostles, with Peter and Paul on either side of the resurrected Christ holding the cross. The sarcophagus

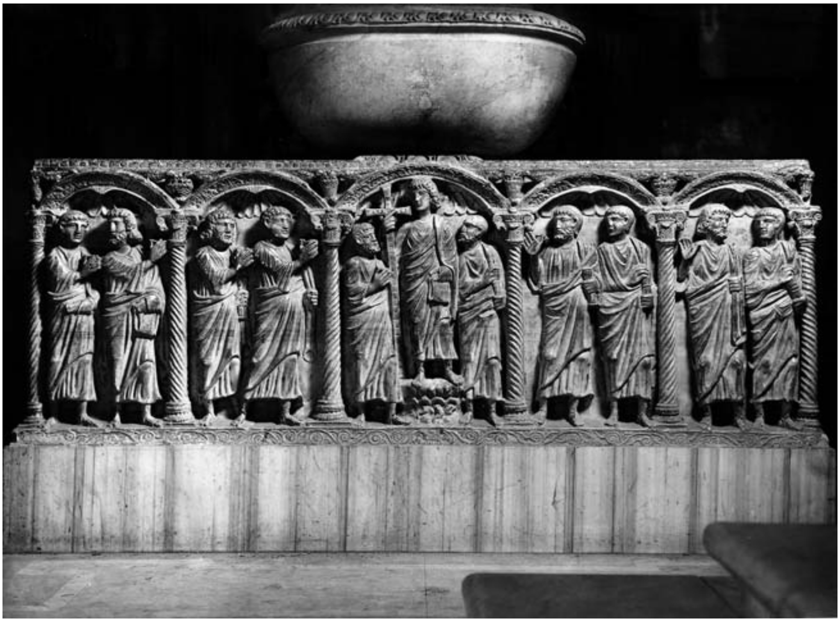

Figure 116 Sarcophagus of Sextus Petronius Probus, end of the fourth century, Cappella della Pietà (now Vatican Grottoes). Anderson, *c.* 1890. Archivi Alinari-Anderson, Florence, no. ADA-F-020578-0000.

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fur Christliche Alterthumskunde und Kirchengeschichte 16 (1902): 58–61. See also Andrea Busiri-Vici, *La colonna Santa del Tempio di Gerusalemme ed il sarcofago di Probo Anicio, Prefetto di Roma. Notizie storiche con documenti e disegni* (Rome: Cibelli, 1888): the sarcophagus continued to serve as the baptismal font in the new basilica until 1694, when it was moved during Innocent XII's ornamentation of the baptistery chapel across the nave into the vestibule of the little chapel of Santissimo Crocifisso on the left-hand side of the Cappella della Pietà, along with the holy column and other sculptural fragments of various periods. It was still used occasionally for baptisms. Then, in 1888, the sarcophagus and column were moved out into the Cappella della Pietà, on either side of the altar adorned by Michelangelo's *Pietà* (1501). More recently, in the twentieth century, the sarcophagus was moved into the Vatican Grottoes. For a summary of the career of S. Petronius Probus see Alan Cameron, "Polyonomy in the Late Roman Aristocracy: The Case of Petronius Probus," *The Journal of Roman Studies* 75 (1985): 164–82.

[73] Busiri-Vici, *La colonna Santa*, 22.

remained in the oratory of St Thomas until the latter was demolished in the rebuilding of the nave under Paul V (1605–21), when it was moved into the new basilica to serve as its font.

Whether the baptismal font was moved to the oratory of St Thomas off the north aisle as part of the general flow of monuments there is not clear, though the association of baptism and death would account for the translocation and suggests it was a deliberate choice. Evidence in the catacombs demonstrates that death and baptism were long associated in the embellishment of burial sites: in her analysis of decoration in the Via Latina catacombs, Dorothy Verkerk shows that through the liturgy of burial, death was represented "in terms of the baptismal rites with its overtones of death and rebirth."[74] The same psalms used during baptismal ceremonies, for example, were also used for funerals.[75] Reinforced through the persistence of purgatory in the Middle Ages whereby the dead depended on the prayers of the living, in this way the living and the dead were inextricably linked.

St Paul juxtaposed baptism and the death of the body in his letter to the Romans:

> Do you not know that all of us who have been baptized into Christ Jesus were baptized into his death? We were buried therefore with him by baptism into death, so that as Christ was raised from the dead by the glory of the Father, we too might walk in newness of life.[76]

The act of being covered with water during the baptismal rite and emerging from it represents death to sin, burial, and rising to new life, just as Christ was, and as a result the Christian "lives in union with the risen Christ."[77] Borrowing Paul's metaphor, Ambrose, the fourth-century Bishop of Milan and St Augustine's inspiration, described the font as "a kind of grave" because baptism was conceived as spiritual death and rebirth while the death of the body represented rebirth in Christ.[78]

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[74] Dorothy Hoogland Verkerk, "The Font is a Kind of Grave: Remembrance in the Via Latina Catacombs," in *Memory and the Medieval Tomb*, ed. Elizabeth Valdez del Alamo and Carol Stamatis Pendergast (Ashgate: Aldershot, 2000), 157.

[75] For example Psalms 22, 23, 100; Geoffrey Rowell, *The Liturgy of Christian Burial* (London: Alcuin Club/SPCK, 1977), 59.

[76] Romans 6:3–4; Kroesen, *Sepulchrum Domini*, 35.

[77] Raymond E. Brown, Joseph A. Fitzmyer, and Roland E. Murphy, *The New Jerome Biblical Commentary* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 2000; first published 1968), 847.

[78] Ambrose, *De sacramentis* 3.1.19, discussed in Verkerk, "The Font is a Kind of Grave," 160. See also John Gordon Davies, *The Architectural Setting of Baptism* (London: Barrie & Rockliff, 1962), 1–42. Kroesen, *Sepulchrum Domini*, 40—Ambrose made the connection of baptism and burial more explicit during the baptism liturgies, *De sacramentis*, 2.7.20, in Jacques-Paul Migne, *Patrologia Latina* (Paris: Migne, 1880), col. 448:

Fonts and baptisteries borrowed their centralized or circular form from Constantine's church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem.[79] Later, in the sixteenth century, inspired by the Ambrosian rite which he kept alive, Carlo Borromeo's instructions for the building of ecclesiastical buildings (1577) specified that a "baptistery should be in the centre of the chapel… deep enough so that the descent to it from the floor of the chapel consists of at least three steps. By the descent and moderate depth it should bear some resemblance to a sepulchre."[80] Nicholas V, in his death-bed testament, related each of the sacraments (excluding marriage and ordination, which, he explains, are a matter of choice or vocation) back to baptism: the sacrament of baptism, the first rite of passage on the Christian journey, ensured that the individual was preserved in the Holy Sprit until confirmation, which confirmed and fortified the work of baptism; voluntary sin was cancelled with penitence; the Eucharist renewed the benefits of confirmation and sustained the acquisition of divine grace; extreme unction combined all the benefits of the other sacraments—baptism for the new journey through death.[81]

In Rome, baptism brought together not only families but also the dead with the living. This most ancient rite of passage and its relationship to the other sacraments was much more than a liturgical response to

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"Interrogatus es: Credis in Deum Patrem omnipotentem? Dixisti: Credo, et mersisti hoc est, sepultus es: Credis in Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum et in crucem eius? Dixisti: Credo, et mersisti; ideo et Christo es consepultus; qui enim Christo consepelitur, cum Christo resurgit."

[79] See for example Sheingorn, *The Easter Sepulchre in England*, 11.

[80] Carlo Borromeo, *Instructiones fabricae et supellectilis ecclesiasticae* (1577), quoted in Franca Trinchieri Camiz, "Death and Rebirth in Caravaggio's *Martyrdom of St Matthew*," *Artibus et Historiae* 22 (1990): 97.

[81] Manetti, *De vita ac gestis Nicolai Quinti*, book 3, paragraph 10; 121, 211–2: "Hec enim quinque nove et evangelice legis sacramenta, que ad consequendam humani generis salutem necessaria extitisse diximus, a Christo redemptore et ab apostolis successoribus suis in oportunam et accomodatam omnium delictorum medicinam, non frustra et incassum, sed ad certam veterum errorum abolitionem et ad acquirendam quoque vite eterne gloriam instituta fuisse novimus. Nam si per baptismum ad remissionem peccatorum secundum celebratas omnium theologorum sententias donatur Spiritus Sanctus; si idem Spiritus per confirmationem ad robur perficiendum conservatur; si per penitentiam voluntaria peccata abluuntur; si per eucharistiam in bono confirmationis date ac divine gratie acquisitione renovamur; si per extremam denique unctionem, sic per baptismum mundati; sic per confirmationem roborati, sic per penitentiam abluti, sic per eucharistiam ad certam quandam divine gratie consecutionem accomodati, sic per hunc modum penitus ab omni cunctorum delictorum macula abstersi; quid est cur nos de infinita omnipotentis Dei misericordia desperare aut de hac necessariorum sacramentorum institutione diffidere valeamus?"

social phenomena.[82] For members of the papal court in Rome, among whom infants were unusual to say the least, the font signified a return to origins and reconciliation with the larger Christian community, living and dead.[83]

The link of death with rebirth through the symbolism of baptism inspired several other chapels endowed by cardinals in fifteenth-century Rome. In San Lorenzo in Lucina, next to what is now the sacristy, which is towards the top of the south aisle, was a chapel dedicated to St John the Baptist. By the seventeenth century it was the Cappella della Compagnia del Sacramento, but in the eighteenth century it was still known as the chapel of baptisms.[84] Its construction is generally attributed to Cardinal Jean le Jeune de Contay (d. 1451), and it served as his burial chapel.[85] John the Baptist was also his name saint. The chapel appears to have converted an earlier one built over what seems to have been a hexagonal baptismal pool at the level of the early Christian church. The original level was still maintained in the fifteenth century and was not changed until the end of the sixteenth century, when the floor level of the church was raised 1.6 metres to match the level of the street.[86] Indeed, the presence of the older baptistery, which was probably visible in the fifteenth century, explains the site of Jean le Jeune's new chapel. Recent excavations revealed that the cardinal's grave in the floor covered over the early Christian baptismal pool, making it likely that a new font was part of the scheme.

The chapel endowed by Bartolomeo Roverella in San Clemente was almost certainly dedicated to John the Baptist. The cardinal's tomb stands outside the chapel, its form united to the chapel through the repetition of the same arch and entablature arrangement (see Figure 36). As discussed in chapter 5 above, the chapel may well have performed a particular role in the Ambrosian liturgies used by the friars "ad Nemus" who were the incumbents of San Clemente from the early fifteenth century. A unique feature of the Ambrosian exequial rites tied the beginning and end of the Christian life together: litanies of saints were sung at baptism, seeking their intercession for the initiate. These litanies were again used at the funeral, as the same saints were asked to protect the deceased in their new life.[87] In turn, the chapel of Cardinal Bessarion in Santissimi XII Apostoli included both the cardinal's tomb and frescoes depicting scenes from the life of St John the Baptist, although Vitaliano Tiberia interprets the inclusion of the Baptist more narrowly as a reference to contemporary events, since the saint was traditionally associated with the defence of Christians against the Ottoman Turks.[88] The reference could also be accounted for by the cardinal's name, John, but the links between death, burial, and baptism were particularly powerful for burial chapels. The angelic choir in the apse of the Bessarion Chapel and the scenes of apparitions of St Michael also add to the sense in which it was conceived as a space between heaven and earth, life and death.[89]

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[82] Jacqueline Marie Musacchio, *The Art and Ritual of Childbirth in Fifteenth Century Italy* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999).

[83] But see 414 below, on the baptism of Lucrezia Borgia's son in 1499.

[84] Ottavio Panciroli, *I tesori nascosti nell'alma città di Roma* (Rome: Zannetti, 1625), 247.

[85] Maria Elena Bertoldi, *San Lorenzo in Lucina*, CDRI n.s. 28, (Rome: Istituto Nazionale di Studi Romani, 1994), 35–8; Camiz, "Death and Rebirth," 103 n. 38.

[86] Richard Krautheimer, Wolfgang Frankl, Spencer Corbett, Alfred K. Frazer, *Corpus basilicarum Christianarum Romae* (Vatican City: *Monumenti di antichità cristiana*: 2, 1962), vol. 2, 164, 173, 183; Camiz, "Death and Rebirth," 97–8. Also 258 above.

The oratory of St Thomas was eventually, by the 1480s, adjoined by Sixtus IV's Capella del Coro where the pope was buried under the huge bronze monument commissioned by Giuliano della Rovere, his cardinal-nephew.[90] The Capella del Coro was not unique but continued a line of buildings that opened onto the aisle. By the end of the fifteenth century these extended from the transept to Sixtus IV's chapel, ending with the oratory of St Thomas, which was not rebuilt. Perhaps this was because of its significance in the fifteenth-century basilica. These new chapels are the subject of the next section of this chapter.

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[87] G. Mellera and Marco Navoni, *Il Duomo di Milano e la liturgia ambrosiana = The Duomo of Milan and Ambrosian Liturgy* (Milan: NED, 1992), 118.

[88] Vitaliano Tiberia, *Antoniazzo Romano per il Cardinale Bessarione a Roma* (Todi: Ediart, 1992), 24–5.

[89] In turn Meredith Gill discusses Bessarion's chapel in relation to Guillaume d'Estouteville's chapel of Santi Michele Arcangelo e Pietro in Vincoli in Santa Maria Maggiore and proposes the latter as a site for the French cardinal's burial, a privilege to which he would have been entitled as archpriest of the basilica: Meredith J. Gill, "Where the Danger was Greatest: A Gallic Legacy in Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 59 no. 4 (1996): 506–8.

[90] Bram Kempers links together the tomb chapels of Sixtus IV and Julius II (Giuliano della Rovere): "Capella Iulia and Capella Sixtina: Two Tombs, One Patron and Two Churches," in *Sisto IV: Le Arti a Roma nel Primo Rinascimento*, ed. Fabio Benzi (Rome: Shakespeare and Company 2, 2000), 33–59.

Supporting the Church

In his biography of Nicholas V, Manetti describes the restorations and building undertaken at St Peter's as part of the pope's campaign to defend the Roman people physically and the Church symbolically. Nicholas V declared the basilica to be more divine than human, so therefore it should not be contaminated with the tombs of prelates and dead popes. These were to be confined to the left side, perhaps outside its walls but certainly away from the tribune and crossing.[91] Likewise, Leon Battista Alberti, a member of the papal court since Eugenius IV, advised in his *De re aedificatoria*, which he presented to Nicholas V in 1452, that burials should be kept outside churches so they did not pollute the atmosphere. The ancient Romans, he noted, did not allow burial inside the city walls, let alone inside a sacred building:

> I would not presume to criticize our own custom of having sacred burial grounds within the city, provided the corpses are not brought into the temple, where the elders and magistrates meet to pray in front of the altar, as occasionally this may cause pestilential vapours of decay to defile the purity of the sacrifice. But how much more convenient is the practice of cremating bodies![92]

As Rome shrank and as the bones of the martyrs became ever more significant additions to altars and churches, those who deserved or could afford it paid for their monuments and their graves to be incorporated within religious institutions. The same institutions also provided a ready supply of clergy to celebrate the regular commemorative masses that were always part of the contract. But St Peter's was outside the city proper, and in ancient times the Vatican hill had been a place of burial and limited agriculture—it was renowned for the poor quality of the wine its slopes produced. The basilica was essentially a very large mausoleum for Peter that marked the site of his tomb. Over the centuries many hundreds of bodies were buried under its floor, in its walls, and in the crypts accessible from it.[93] The series of mausolea added or extended along the southern flank of St Peter's during the fifteenth century enabled burials to continue close to but outside the basilica. Moreover, according to Alberti, they also served the more fundamental role of buttressing the nave.

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[91] See above, 386 note 10: Manetti, *De vita ac gestis Nicolai Quinti*, book 2, paragraph 53; 95, 193.

[92] *Leon Battista Alberti: On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, ed. Joseph Ryckwert, Neil Leach, and Robert Tavernor (Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 1988), 245–6.

[93] There are entrances into several such crypts marked on the Alfarano plan (see Figure 71), e.g. at 'EE' and no. 11.

Despite major changes proposed for the crossing at the time of Nicholas V, the old nave was to be preserved intact, though it required major restoration if it was to stay standing for very much longer. Nicholas V, for example, finished the work of restoring its roof that Martin V had begun. In the fifteenth century the height of the walls of the nave gave particular cause for concern, as they were taller than the other major basilicas in Rome and were supported only on columns (see Figure 114). Alberti described how, as a result, they were leaning some 1.75 metres out of kilter: the south wall of the nave pushed out while the north wall had been dragged in by the weight of the roof.[94] The situation was not helped by the basilica's location on a huge ledge cut into the Vatican hill in the fourth century by Constantine's engineers, as a result of which the Roman tombs on the hill were buried.[95] In the middle of the fifteenth century, restoration of the nave seems to have been the main objective, not its replacement. In fact, there is now considerable scholarly debate over how far even Julius II and Bramante intended to go to replace the nave of the old basilica. Was Bramante's new crossing an extension of the enlarged tribune proposed by Nicholas V? There is now a groundswell of opinion among scholars that the nave's replacement was not seriously countenanced until the beginning of the seventeenth century, a view with which I concur.[96] In this case, however, restoration of the roof alone seems not quite enough to address such a grave problem.

The chapels and tomb monuments in the north aisle should, I would argue, be considered part of the ongoing search for a solution to the precarious state of the nave. Alberti described the situation, action taken already to address the problem, and went on to offer his own advice for its remedy.

> I have noticed in the Basilica of St Peter's in Rome a crass feature: an extremely long and high wall has been constructed over a continuous series of openings, with no curves to give it strength, and no buttresses

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[94] Magnuson, *Studies*, 164.

[95] Charles Burroughs, "Alberti e Roma," in *Leon Battista Alberti*, ed. Joseph Rykwert and Anne Engel, exhibition catalogue (Milan: Electa, 1994), 149–50, 157 n. 63.

[96] Magnuson, *Studies*, 197 n. 77; Rice, "La coesistenza," 258; the arguments are summed up in Bram Kempers, "Diverging Perspectives—New Saint Peter's: Artistic Ambitions, Liturgical Requirements, Financial Limitations and Historical Interpretations," *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome* 55 (1996): 213–51.

> to lend it support. It is worth noting that the whole stretch of wall has been pierced by too many openings and built too high, and positioned where it will bear the violence of Aquilo [the north wind]. As a result, the continual force of the wind has already displaced the wall more than six feet from the vertical: I have no doubt that some gentle pressure or slight movement will make it collapse. Indeed it is quite likely that, had it not already been restrained by the roof trusses, it would have collapsed of its own accord already, once it had begun to lean. But perhaps the architect may be excused a little, since, being hemmed in by location and site, he may have considered the hill overlooking the temple sufficient protection from the winds. I would prefer, however, those whole sections of wall to be strengthened on both sides.[97]

Although Alberti's intervention at the basilica is open for debate, the details he gives in his treatise nevertheless offer significant insights into some of the changes already made. In particular, he drew attention to the chapels on either side.

> I very much approve of the numerous chapels that have been added on both sides of the Vatican Basilica; for those built against the wall of the basilica, where dug out of the hillside, are of considerable help and convenience: they support the constant pressure of the slope and intercept any moisture seeping down through the hill, stopping it from entering the building. So that the main wall of the basilica remains dry and therefore stronger. The chapels on the other side [the liturgical north aisle], at the base of the slope, are quite capable of sustaining the weight of the ground… because of their arched construction and because they buttress any earth movement.[98]

Then at the very end of the treatise Alberti describes his own solution to the problem, though he does not go as far as to indicate whether or not the work was actually carried out.

> This is the method that I devised for the great basilica of St Peter's in Rome, when sections of colonnading were leaning away from the vertical and threatening to bring the roof down. Each leaning section of wall supported by a column I decided to cut out and remove; and to restore the sections that had been removed with vertical ordinary bond, having left stone teeth and strong clasps on both sides of the structure to tie the new sections to the old.[99]

While there is now no way of knowing if Alberti's proposals were ever undertaken, subsequent additions to the basilica and to the southern

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[97] Alberti, *On the Art of Building*, 26.
[98] Alberti, *On the Art of Building*, 22.
[99] Alberti, *On the Art of Building*, 362.

(liturgical north) wall—the wall at the bottom of the slope—between the mid-1450s and 1480s suggest that they were. In fact, Manetti records that Nicholas V planned for chapels to be added to both the north and south flanks of the basilica, or at least to maintain and, where necessary, add to those that were already there.[100]

It is unclear what was replaced by the line of fifteenth-century buildings between the transept and Sixtus IV's Capella del Coro or indeed if these simply reused existing spaces (see Figure 71, 'T', 'V', 'X', 'Y', and 'Z'). Due to the consistent size of these chapels, it seems more likely that whatever was originally there was replaced. In his biography of Sixtus IV, Platina shows how the pope contributed to both the ambience and structural support of the basilica.[101] He had marble and glass windows installed that were "suitable for a temple," making the spaces that had been cleared by his predecessors brighter. He also had the aisles paved and added a new ciborium over the altar.[102] More fundamentally, Sixtus IV's chapel, the Capella del Coro, was built "of marvellous depth and height on the left of the same temple, not far from the obelisk, to prevent the wall from separating from the rest of the body of the church and giving way under its weight." At the other end of the range of the possibly new chapels, the basilica's library—tucked into the angle between the north aisle and the transept—was rebuilt 1482–3 and many of its books taken to the library in the Vatican palace, which he also refurbished (see Figure 71, 'T').[103] Work on the library probably went with the existing changes to the sacristy, the next space down the southern flank.

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[100] Magnuson, *Studies*, 187–8, 358; Manetti, *De vita ac gestis Nicolai Quinti*, book 2, paragraph 50; 92, 192: "A dextris in extremitate predicte curtis plurime ac spetiose capelle, a sinistris vero totidem, per totam longitudinem illis dexterioribus pariter correspondentes, designabantur."

[101] Platina, *Platynae Historici*, 418: "Divorum quoque templo exornare aggressus: Divi Petri in Vaticano basilicam repurgatam prius, marmoreis et vitreis fenestris templo accomodatis dilucidiorem reddidit. Appendicem quoque mirae profunditatis et altitudinis ad sinistram eiusdem templi non longe ab obelisco ducit, ne paries ille, a reliquo corpore parumper seiunctus ponderi aliquando cederet. Sternit et latera Constantinianae basilicae, repurgata prius, et in meliorem formam redacta. Aedificatur praeterea sua impensa apud Apostolos, fornixque maior, quem Tribunam vocant, mira fastigiatus ad templi caput ducitur, tanta cum arte, ut nulla basilica Romae pro magnitudine futura sit augustior, si quod Iulianus nepos mente concepit, etiam incohavit, tandem perficiet. Verum est certe, quod dici solet, populus studia principum imitari; adeo enim ubique per Urbem aedificatur, ut brevi novam formam omnino sit habitura, si Sixto vivere contigerit." Meredith J. Gill, "The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," in *Artistic Centers of the Renaissance: Rome*, ed. Marcia B. Hall (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 90; Magnuson, *Studies*, 188.

[102] On the ciborium of Sixtus IV see Johannes Röll, "The Ciborium of Sixtus IV," in *Sisto IV: le arti a Roma nel primo Rinascimento*, ed. Fabio Benzi (Rome: Shakespeare and Company 2, 2000), 385–97.

The sacristy replaced a smaller one, the *sacristia minor*, which in the first part of the fifteenth century was used for the meetings of the chapter of canons and contained the equipment and materials reserved for the exclusive use of the beneficed clergy and clerics attached to the basilica (see Figure 71, 'V').[104] It was certainly in the process of being rebuilt in 1444. Flavio Biondo credits Eugenius IV with the idea for the works, although its furnishings were not completed until 1462–4, another reason why Pius II may have been concerned with the reorganization of the monuments in the north aisle, off which the sacristy opened.[105] This new sacristy seems to have been a sizeable construction, its main floor opening directly onto the southern aisle and above it an upper floor where there were apartments for clerics and sacristans (the stairs are clearly visible on Alfarano's plan—see Figure 71 between 'T' and 'V'). The canons' sacristy worked alongside the larger sacristy (the *sacristia major*) located in the south-west corner of the atrium, which was used to store vestments and equipment for the pontifical liturgical functions at the high altar and other major altars (see Figure 71, 'DD'). Therefore, the rebuilding of the smaller sacristy and the consolidation of the two into a single one must have accompanied the streamlining of the religious life at the basilica, something Eugenius tried to achieve at St John Lateran as well. Sible de Blaauw suggests that the consolidation of the two sacristies meant that the ceremonies of the chapter remained remarkably consistent, while papal processions seem to have changed to fit in with them.[106] The papal and other functions of St Peter's were more closely aligned, possibly as a result of the increasingly formalized part played by the papal apartments as ceremonial space in the Vatican.

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[103] Alfarano, Basilicae Vaticanae, 73–4; Eugène Müntz, *Les Arts à la Cour des Papes pendant le XV^e et le XVI^e siècle: Recueil de documents inédits tirés des archives et des bibliothèques Romaines*, part 3 Sixte IV–Léon X, 1471–1521, Bibliothèque des Ècoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 28 (Paris: E. Thorin, 1882), 140–6.

[104] Blaauw, *Cultus et decor*, 707, who gives the sources Antonio di Pietro, *Diario*, 35 (8 September 1408) and Egidi, *Necrologi*, vol. 1, 26–5 and 214–15 for 1428.

[105] On the sacristy see Blaauw, *Cultus et decor*, 646 and n. 179; Flavio Biondo, "Roma Instaurata" (1444–6), in *Codice topografico della città di Roma* (*Fonti per la storia d'Italia*… 91), ed. Roberto Valentini and Giuseppe Zucchetti (Rome: Tipografia del Senato, 1953), vol. 4, 274. Blaauw also notes that the sacristy at the Lateran was similarly rebuilt under Eugenius IV and its original location changed. This work was probably connected with the pope's reform of the clergy at the basilicas.

[106] Blaauw, *Cultus et decor*, 755–6.

The oratory adjoining the new sacristy was rebuilt by Antonio Cerdano, a cardinal created by Nicholas V in 1448.[107] When the cardinal died in 1459, he was buried in the middle of the chapel under a marble floor slab.[108] It later served for a time as a winter choir and meeting place for the chapter, presumably until Sixtus IV's Capella del Coro was added nearby.[109] The Cerdano Chapel could only be reached through the sacristy or the chapel on its eastern side. This was the chapel endowed by the wealthy Cardinal Giovanni Battista Zen, nephew of Paul II, and created cardinal by him in 1468. There, before the altar under a marble slab, his mother Elisabetta, who died in 1480, was buried, descendant of Eugenius IV and sister of Paul II.[110] It is possible that the Zen Chapel was constructed as part of the same campaign as Sixtus IV's chapel next to it, as both seem to have been complete by 1484.[111] Little is known about its interior: in December 1499 the cardinals assembled in the chapel, which Burchard, the master of ceremonies, described as being hung with two large tapestries—though the cloth on the altar was dirty and torn—before proceeding to the chapel of Sixtus IV for the baptism of Rodrigo Borgia (1499–1512), grandson of Alexander VI.[112] A temporary font, a large bowl of silver and gold, was set up in the chapel for the occasion, presumably because it was attended by so many people who could not fit in the much smaller oratory of St Thomas. The oratory was next to the chapel of Sixtus IV where Nicholas V had the floor slab of Innocent VII moved and the baptismal font restored. It opened onto the north aisle just above the chapel enclosure of Saints Andrew and Gregory. Therefore, despite Alberti's comments and Nicholas V being credited with most of the innovations at St Peter's in the fifteenth century, the rebuilding of the structures along its southern flank lasted at least from the 1440s until the 1480s. The embellishment of the oratory of St Thomas, including the addition of the font, takes that process much earlier to at least to the first decade of the century, and suggests that Nicholas V's plans were part of a much longer development.

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[107] Alfarano, *Basilicae Vaticanae*, 181.

[108] Grimaldi, *S. Pietro in Vaticano*, 449, gives the epitaph as "MCCCCLVIIII, die XII septembris, Antonius Cerdan Maioricensis cardinalis Ileridensis quievit in Domino."

[109] Chacon, *Vitae, et res gestae*, vol. 2, col. 969; Blaauw, *Cultus et decor*, 709.

[110] Alfarano, *Basilicae Vaticanae*, 77–8; Chacon, *Vitae, et res gestae*, vol. 2, col. 1096.

[111] Bertrand Jestaz, "Il caso di un cardinale veneziano: le committenze di Battista Zen a Roma e nel Veneto," in *Arte, Committenza ed Economia a Roma e nelle Corti del Rinascimento (1420–1530)*, ed. Arnold Esch and Christoph Luitpold Frommel (Turin: Einaudi, 1995), 335.

[112] Burchard, *Liber Notarum*, part 2, 11 November 1499, 175; translated in Johann Burchard, *At the Court of the Borgia, being an Account of the Reign of Pope Alexander VI Written by his Master of Ceremonies*, ed. and trans. Geoffrey Parker (London: The Folio Society, 1963), 164.

All in all, the tombs inside the north (southern) aisle and the chapels outside represented a veritable treasury of monuments from the second half of the fifteenth century. In contrast, the chapels against the aisle on the northern side (liturgical south), which lacked the associations of being incorporated into papal ceremonial, did not abut it in the same way. They were reached through doors in the aisle and across a broad channel which served as a drain to take away water from the Vatican hill. By the time Alfarano made his plan in 1571, the altars and tombs in the south aisle were a mix of much older monuments and others relocated from the top of the north aisle (see Figure 91).

It was the chapels and oratories in the liturgical north aisle that were used for burials in the fifteenth century, and had the desired effect of drawing some tombs at least from the tribune and crossing of the basilica, as Nicholas V and Alberti desired. However, the popes were buried inside the basilica proper along its walls. The monuments of Eugenius IV, Nicholas V, and Paul II were lined up along the aisle wall, interspersed with altars. This brings us back to the role given by Platina to Sixtus IV's chapel of buttressing the wall of the basilica. Alberti's alternative solution to strengthen the wall was to cut away weaker parts and replace them; if it had been carried out, this would have resulted in newly rebuilt spaces ready to be filled with new or relocated monuments.[113] The monuments themselves could also have been designed to reinforce the buttressing action of the aisles against the higher central nave. The piers, entablatures, and arches of which these monuments consisted formed stable architectural structures, incorporating the arches Alberti noted were missing in the walls themselves and capable of providing extra support if built into or against a wall. The monuments included fully articulated effigies that would have needed large and deep architectural structures to contain them. Certainly, a monument of the size of the arched tomb of Paul II, some 10 metres high, was large enough to provide some structural support in the wall. That said, if any work was carried out, it halted rather than solved the problem of the leaning walls, for, according to Grimaldi, the southern wall of the nave had slumped in such a way that dust had collected on the mosaics and they were hardly visible.[114]

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[113] Alberto Carlo Carpiceci, *La Fabbrica di San Pietro: Venti secoli di storia e progetti* (Florence: Bonechi Editore/Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1983), 43, suggests that a large part of the original building was replaced as a result of Alberti's scheme at the time of Nicholas V.

The location of tombs at St Peter's where they could represent both symbolic and practical support for a church was not unprecedented. Rocío Sánchez Ameijeiras, in her discussion of a series of thirteenth-century episcopal monuments in León Cathedral, draws attention to the significance of their position in the newly constructed cathedral.[115] There the introduction of the *enfeu* monument not only reflected French influence spreading to Spain but also was selected for its symbolic possibilities. The bishops' monuments "reinforce the authority of the bishop" because they literally reinforce the walls of the cathedral. This was not a thirteenth-century innovation but an application of aedilic metaphors transmitted from the Old Testament through Paul in Ephesians. Paul singles out the apostles and prophets as the foundations on which the spiritual church is constructed:[116]

> you are fellow citizens with the saints and members of the household of God, built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Christ Jesus himself being the cornerstone, in whom the whole structure is joined together and grows into a holy temple in the Lord; in whom you also are built into it for a dwelling place of God in the Spirit.[117]

Using the same metaphor, Cosimo de' Medici was buried in the crypt of San Lorenzo in Florence after his death on 1 August 1464. His tomb, which was completed by October 1467, was constructed round one of the pillars that support the crypt and the church above it. According to Dario Covi, Cosimo's remains are therefore "symbolically associated… with the foundation stone of the chancel"—all the more appropriate as it was he who was largely responsible for the building of San Lorenzo.[118] Paolo Giovio suggested that in this way "the whole church [was conceived] as a grand tomb."[119] Likewise, the tombs of the fifteenth-century popes were built into the southern wall of St Peter's possibly helping to hold it up, powerfully symbolic of their important actions to rebuild, restore, and strengthen the papal city round the tomb of the Apostle.

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[114] Grimaldi, *S. Pietro in Vaticano*, 241, 453; Magnuson, *Studies*, 164.

[115] Rocío Sánchez Ameijeiras, "*Monumenta et memoriae*: The Thirteenth-Century Episcopal Pantheon of Léon Cathedral," in *Memory and the Medieval Tomb*, ed. Elizabeth Valdez del Alamo and Carol Stamatis Pendergast (Ashgate: Aldershot, 2000), 280.

[116] Joseph Sauer, *Symbolik des Kirchengebäudes und seiner Ausstattung in der Auffassung des Mittelalters: mit besonderer Berücksichtigung von Honorius Augustodunensis, Sicardus und Durandus* (Freiburg: Herder, 1902); Gerhart B. Ladner, "The Symbolism of the Biblical Corner Stone in the Medieval West," *Medieval Studies* 4 (1942): 43–60.

[117] Ephesians 2:19–22.

[118] Dario A. Covi, *Andrea del Verrocchio, Life and Work*, Studi e Documenti 27 (Florence: Arte e Archeologia, Leo S. Olschi, 2005), 44.

[119] Meredith J. Gill, "Death and the Cardinal: The Two Bodies of Guillaume d'Estouteville," *Renaissance Quarterly* 54 (2001): 374; Joachim Poeschke, "Freigrabmäler

Nowhere was the aedilic metaphor more relevant than in the basilica that marked Peter's burial site in Rome. This was precisely the kind of imagery most valuable to the papacy following the exile in Avignon and schism in its reassertion of its rights over Christendom. Whereas Gothic canopy tombs could be free-standing or built up against a wall, tombs in Rome in the fifteenth century were increasingly built into the wall, both a practical requirement to free up space and a forceful assimilation of popes and cardinals with Rome. It was no less than a reassertion of the universal authority of the papacy focused on Rome and justified by the city. The text from Ephesians was a point of departure for writers dealing with the councils and the reform of the Church from the end of the fourteenth until the beginning of the sixteenth centuries, including Juan de Torquemada and Nicholas of Cusa. The Church-as-building metaphor combines with the idea of the Church-as-body built of living stones, "built into a spiritual house, to be a holy priesthood."[120] The metaphor of the Church-as-body was also particularly vivid and regularly applied to the relationship of the cardinals to the pope. Their burial in Rome's churches, and St Peter's in particular, literally cemented that relationship between the cardinals and the pope, and between the papacy and Rome.[121] Just as Christ called Simon, Peter, because he was the metaphorical rock upon which the Church would be built, so the descendants of Peter and the Apostles—the popes and cardinals—who represented the continuity of the apostolic succession were built into his shrine that Nicholas V established as the foremost church in Christendom.[122]

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der Frührenaissance und ihre transalpinen Voraussetzungen," in *Italienische Frührenaissance und nordeuropäisches Spätmittelalter: Kunst der frühen Neuzeit im europäischen Zusammenhang*, ed. Joachim Poeschke (München: Hirmer, 1993), 91; Giovio quoted in Domenico Moreni, *Continuazione delle Memorie istoriche dell'Ambrosiana imperial basilica di San Lorenzo di Firenze* (Florence: Daddi, 1816), vol. 1, 113: "avesse tutta una chiesa per larghissimo sepulcro."

[120] *New Jerome Biblical Commentary*, 888; 1 Peter 2:4–5; also Ephesians 4:15–16. Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine*, vol. 4 *Reformation of Church and Dogma (1300–1700)* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 110–26.

[121] See chapter 1 and Pelikan, *Reformation of Church and Dogma*, 110.

[122] See above, 387 note 12.

Manfredo Tafuri, Alberti, and Nicholas V

It is worth pausing here to consider Tafuri's arguments in more detail, as these have opened up the question of Alberti's role in Nicholas V's Rome and the status of the architect's comments in ways that are particularly useful for this study. I have already used quotes from Alberti's *On the Art of Building*, but more as a general commentary on tastes and values than a blueprint for them. What has not quite happened yet is the extension of such studies of Alberti beyond the ghetto of Nicholas V's Rome into the papacies of his predecessors and successors. I prefer to take a longer view.

Ever since Georg Dehio in 1880 tied Alberti and Nicholas V together, the architect and the pope have been presented as a powerful alliance in the rebuilding of Rome.[123] Ludwig von Pastor and other historians then brought into consideration another passage from the diary of the Pisan Mattia Palmieri, dated around 1475, to back up Dehio's thesis that Alberti was a prime mover behind the pope's ideas.[124] Just as he 'codified' Brunelleschi's experiments on mathematical perspective in *On Painting*, Alberti's *On the Art of Building* seemed to say a great deal that was relevant to mid-century Rome.[125] Giannozzo Manetti's biography of the pope has been used as a record of the plans hatched by the pope and architect.[126] The foremost issue became the extent to which these plans were carried out—or not. Nicholas V's "place of honor in the Valhalla of important urbanists," with the inimitable Alberti at his side, seemed secure.[127] Studies of Alberti have blossomed since the quincentenary of his death in 1972. This was the context in which

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[123] Georg Dehio, "Die Bauprojekte Nikolaus V und Leon Battista Alberti," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 3 (1880): 241–57; Manfredo Tafuri, "*Cives, esse non licere*: The Rome of Nicholas V and Leon Battista Alberti: Elements towards a Historical Revision," in *Interpreting the Renaissance: Princes, Cities, Architects*, trans. Daniel Sherer (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), 23.

[124] The Palmieri passage is in Mattia Palmieri, *Matthei Palmerii Liber de temporibus* (1448–), ed. Gino Scaramella, RIS 26 part 1 (Città di Castello: Lapi, 1906–1915). See also the discussion in Westfall, *In this Most Perfect Paradise*, 169, who accepts its traditional value, and the commentary of the debate in Anthony Grafton, *Leon Battista Alberti: Master Builder of the Italian Renaissance* (London: Allen Lane, 2001), 303.

[125] Andrew Leach, *Manfredo Tafuri: Choosing History* (Ghent: A&S books, Ghent University, 2007), 77. Leach provides a very useful summary of the debate prompted by Tafuri and in particular its effect on Anglo-Saxon scholarship.

[126] Tafuri calls Manetti "Alberti's antithesis": Tafuri, "*Cives esse non licere*," 52.

[127] Quote from Burroughs, *Signs to Designs*, 8.

Tafuri began to reconstruct an "infinitely more complicated 'Roman' Alberti."[128]

Tafuri's important contribution has been to put Alberti's own work in its context. For example, Alberti's "smouldering discontent" seems particularly clear in his barbed satire *Momus* (1447), in which the Olympian gods are outwitted by humans.[129] Jupiter, "the restless planner of projects remarkable for their magnificence," has been compared to contemporary princes or popes, and Eugenius IV and Nicholas V in particular.[130] Its cynicism, according to Tafuri, is evidence of Alberti's disillusionment with the papacy and its excessive ambitions, which stood in opposition to the natural liberties of the individual in a free state.[131]

Tafuri developed his ideas in part through a dialogue with Charles Westfall's study of Nicholas V's Rome, *In This Most Perfect Paradise*, which he accuses of not going far enough to question Dehio's thesis.[132] Rather than Westfall's Alberti as "father of modern urbanism, Tafuri paints the portrait of an altogether more disillusioned ideologue forced to witness the transformation of ideal into prostheses of papal megalomania."[133] It is a revision that has stuck firmly with scholars ever since.[134]

While Tafuri's analysis has proved a welcome corrective to the somewhat monochromatic story of papal Rome in the fifteenth century, nevertheless his "all or nothing" approach also has its problems. An indication of this is the way in which Tafuri privileges Paolo Prodi's analysis of the period as one in which the temporal power of the popes, and in particular their control over the Papal States, was a major driver for their activities.[135] Set against the aspiration of some modern Italian historians to show the early modern papacy as an obstacle to the inevitable forward progress of nationalism and the establishment of a modern Italian state, Tafuri's desire to establish Alberti as a critic of the papacy seems too black and white.

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[128] Leach, *Manfredo Tafuri*, 77: for Tafuri, Alberti came more and more to represent the "disenchanted architect figure with whom Tafuri comes increasingly to identify" in his own career.

[129] Grafton, *Alberti*, 305.

[130] Tafuri, "*Cives esse non licere*," 41–4, 49; Grafton, *Alberti*, 306; Stefano Simoncini, "Roma come Gerusalemme nel Giubileo del 1450: la renovatio di Nicolò V e il *Momus* di Leon Battista Alberti," in *Le due Rome del Quattrocento: Melozzo, Antoniazzo e la cultura artistica del'400 romano*, ed. Sergio Rossi (Rome: Lithos, 1997), 322–45.

[131] Grafton, *Alberti*, 308. Grafton also points to the assimilation of this idea in particular by Italian scholars who saw the power of the Roman curia and that of the *populi Romani* as mutually exclusive: for example, Alberto Giorgio Cassani, "*Libertas, frugalitas, aedificandi libido*: paradigmi indiziari per Leon Battista Alberti a Roma," in *Le due Rome del Quattrocento: Melozzo, Antoniazzo e la cultura artistica del'400 romano*, ed. Sergio Rossi (Rome: Lithos, 1997), 296–321.

[132] Tafuri, "Cives esse non licere," 23–4.

[133] Leach, *Manfredo Tafuri*, 78–9. Tafuri, in his preface added to the Italian edition of Westfall's book, (*L'Invenzione della città*, 1984), makes his points of departure particularly clear.

[134] For example, Francesco Paolo Fiore, "Leon Battista Alberti a Roma," in *La Roma di Leon Battista Alberti: umanisti, architetti e artisti alla scoperta dell'antico nella città del Quattrocento*, ed. Francesco Paolo Fiore with Arnold Nesselrath (Milan: Skira, 2005), 26.

Charles Burroughs is impatient with Tafuri's disregard for the "ritual aspect of the city: all is subsumed in the overriding political signified."[136] Instead, he argues, Tafuri, Westfall, and others fall into the trap of reading official texts—papal bulls, biographies, etc.—at face value without taking into consideration their taint of rhetoric over reality. Such "official discourse" obscures the practicalities of running a city with which Burroughs is more concerned.[137] Nevertheless, Burroughs's focus on Nicholas V's Rome owes a great deal to the century-long privileging of a single pope over much of the rest of the century. I would argue that we need a longer view, which helps account for what does seem to have been undertaken in St Peter's under Nicholas V and Alberti's commentary on aspects of it.

To return to the specific problem of the status of Alberti's text in Nicholas V's Rome, as is so often the case, the middle ground preferred by Grafton has most to recommend it. Alberti was most probably both insider (who used the nascent Vatican library to draft parts of his text) and outsider—a disgruntled civil servant who had to watch the bureaucracy he served make the mistakes he had warned against.[138]

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[135] Tafuri, "*Cives esse non licere*," 25: "the Nicoline extension of papal control over all aspects of civil life and urban strategy performed a crucial role in the consolidation of the ecclesiastical state." In this context Cola di Rienzo, the fourteenth-century Roman senator who began as papal representative in Rome and ended his career as its challenger, is an important player. See Ronald G. Musto, *Apocalypse in Rome: Cola di Rienzo and the Politics of the New Age* (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 2003), 8–10, on Cola di Rienzo as a Risorgimento hero of "Italian unity, freedom and civil rights."

[136] Burroughs, *Signs to Designs*, 15. Tafuri admits that he had not been able to study Burroughs's book before his own text was completed, though he does refer to the "precise work" in the essay, "Below the Angel: an Urbanistic Project in the Rome of Pope Nicholas V," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 45 (1982): 94–124, as "at once analytic and very well documented"; Tafuri, "*Cives esse non licere*," 36–7 and n. 54. See also Leach, *Manfredo Tafuri*, 81.

[137] Burroughs, *Signs to Designs*, 16.

[138] Grafton, *Alberti*, 304, 307. Admittedly, Tafuri does "leave open the problem of the relations between Nicholas V and Alberti," but he finds Nicholas V and Alberti incompatible: "the first concentrated in specific strategies and acts of government; the

Moreover, Grafton interprets Nicholas V's curia as one that embraced and in some instances encouraged questioning and debate, albeit within certain limitations: "in this birdcage of the Muses as in others, favourites regularly fell off their perches. But debate was never entirely stamped out." The curia "never degenerated into the dark panopticon described by Tafuri, a system as centralized as a spider's web, overseen by the single power-mad black widow at its center."[139] Instead, in the context of this book, the image of myriad patrons and scholars taking opportunities where they could seems more appropriate—cardinals among them.

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second, exercised on modes of expression that give voice to the 'as if' of the disenchanted subject." Tafuri, "*Cives esse non licere*," 57, 58.

[139] Grafton, *Alberti*, 311–12. In contrast, Tafuri detects in Nicholas V's patronage of humanists "a campaign to annex mental habits that could have proven dangerous if allowed to develop autonomously." Tafuri, "*Cives esse non licere*," 28.

CHAPTER TEN

INSTRUCTIONS FOR A GOOD DEATH

> There are five things which lead posterity to make elaborate tombs—custom, devotion, love, worthiness, and an empty appetite for fame.[1]

For cardinals, the first and the fourth—custom and worthiness—were most significant and they were interrelated: their worthiness or dignity should be commemorated to create a sense of continuity and thus bear witness to the apostolic succession in the Church of Rome. The second and fifth—devotion and an appetite for fame—lay with those who more often than not commissioned tomb monuments: relatives and executors.

We have explored the interdependence of papal funerary monuments with those of cardinals in the last two chapters: practicality and decorum meant that popes generally left their commemoration to their cardinal-nephews. Cardinals, however, were subject to conventions and strict controls that dictated every detail of their deaths from their wills to their monuments. These controls signified the close relationship of the cardinals with the pope. Their funerary monuments marked the end of a long process of preparation for death and the eternal afterlife which began in the individual's lifetime. How, then, should these monuments be understood? Is it possible to go as far as to call them funerals in stone? This chapter considers these questions in detail.

The relationship between the pope and his cardinals was played out in the conventions surrounding the preparation for death and burial. Agostino Paravicini-Bagliani, for example, points specifically to the fact that the unique ceremonials and funerary customs surrounding the death and burial of cardinals were a relatively late development dating to the end of the Avignon papacy.[2] Most significant for this book, through the fifteenth century and recorded in Agostino Patrizi Piccolomini's liturgies at the end of the century, cardinals' funerals increasingly simulated those of the popes.[3] By the early sixteenth century, specific aspects such as the *novena*, or nine days of masses, were reserved only for popes and cardinals, setting them apart from all other levels of society, secular or ecclesiastical. It is conclusive evidence of the conflation of the cardinals with the pope as a single body in the fifteenth century.

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[1] Boncompagno da Signa, *Rhetorica Antiqua* or *Candelabrum Eloquentiae* (*c.* 1215), BAV, Archivio S. Pietro, H.13, ff. 45v–46r; quoted in Ingo Herklotz, *"Sepulcra" e "monumenta" del Medioevo. Studi sull'arte sepolcrale in Italia* (Naples: Liguori, 2001; first published 1985), appendix 1, 339: "Demum est notandum quod v sunt que posteros ad faciendam exornationem sepulcrorum inducunt, consuetudo, devotio, dilectio, merita personarum et inanis glorie appetitus." See also Julian Gardner, *The Tomb and the Tiara: Curial Tomb Sculpture in Rome and Avignon in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 7, 13.

Wills

Preparation was all in death and it began with the will. Wills had the advantage of being legally binding—in most cases at least—as they were witnessed and authenticated by notaries. They were used for two main purposes by the cardinals. First, they set out the limits of their funerals, from providing appropriate dress for the cortege to establishing where they wanted to be buried and, in a few cases, details of their monuments. Second, wills established how the cardinal's estate was to be distributed among his family and other interested parties. An important aspect of both parts was the donation of monies and vestments for charity and to churches. This was not entirely altruistic but a means of ensuring that the deceased be remembered and commemorated, for example through the regular use of a set of vestments which incorporated the coat of arms of a dead cardinal and therefore put his remembrance at the very heart of the mass.[4] In Eamon Duffy's memorable phrase, wealth assimilated in life served as "post-mortem fire insurance" when it was spent on good deeds and public buildings.[5] The organization of the cardinal's estate represented by the will was, therefore, a necessary and urgent part of the obsequies for both spiritual and practical reasons.

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[2] Agostino Paravicini-Bagliani, *The Pope's Body*, trans. David S. Peterson (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2000; first published as *Il corpo del Papa*, Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 1994), 158–9.

[3] Marc Dykmans, *L'Oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini ou le Cérémonial Papal de la Première Renaissance*, Studi e testi 293–4 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1980).

[4] Giordano Orsini (d. 1438) left a cope, dalmatic, *tunicella*, and chasuble to the canons of St Peter's "with which they ought to celebrate on Ash Wednesday, for I had it made for that purpose, and with those garments I celebrated many times on the aforesaid day in the papal chapel," in addition to a number of other items such as inlaid boxes: translated in Christopher S. Celenza, "The Will of Cardinal Giordano Orsini (ob. 1438)," *Traditio* 51 (1996): 271–2.

[5] Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c. 1400–c. 1580* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992), 302.

Instructions provided in the liturgies for a cardinal's funeral begin at the death-bed where the unfortunate cardinal—like any other individual on their death—was encouraged to receive the sacraments of the Church publicly. As death came nearer, the chosen executors of the cardinal's estate would be there to console him in his final moments, ready to enact his will. Cardinals could leave behind a will and testament to prepare in some way for the uncertainty of death as long as they had papal permission to do so, as will be considered in the next section. If they had neglected to do this whilst in good health, the liturgy urged them to write their wills in the face of death.[6]

At the start of his will Francesco Piccolomini explains why it was a cardinal's duty to be ready for death. In this he was not unusual, for being always prepared to face one's end was as much part of popular literature as a cardinal's duty.[7]

> If it is fitting for any man to live his life in constant contemplation of the fate that hangs over him and presents itself at every moment—which is the mark of both philosophers and believers—then it is surely fitting for the Christian man, who is sustained in the secure belief of a second life, and fitting above all for bishops, whose duty is to instruct by word and example the people entrusted to them. For undoubtedly the man who does not perceive the fragility of human nature and fails to consult the interests of his soul, himself and his household while time permits, but is heedless of what will happen tomorrow, thinking of anything rather than his final day—that man seems to misunderstand the coming age and be too indifferent to future events. For amid the many and varied dangers which hourly threaten our life, who can guarantee himself even so much

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[6] Dykmans, *L'Oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini*, 221: "Dum igitur mente et corpore valebunt, domini cardinales et alii prelati atque magni viri ecclesiastici, si sapiunt, rebus suis consulent, et ultimam voluntatem, indulgente pontifice, legitimo firmabunt testamento. Quod si dum sanus erat quispiam neglexit, saltem dum corpore languet et mortem adventare timet, id agere non pretermittat, sed cum recte anime sue, familie et suis heredibus prospexerit, id precipue curet ut ex numero cardinalium executores eos deleget sui testamenti, qui integritate et auctoritate clari habeantur, qui familiam tueri et legata atque relicta testatoris implere velint et possint."

[7] The version of the will of Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini considered here is *c*. 1493, but it was probably the result of multiple drafts dating back to the 1460s. See Carol M. Richardson, "The Lost Will and Testament of Cardinal Francesco Todeschini-Piccolomini (1439–1503)," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 66 (1998): 201–2. The translation is taken from Carol M. Richardson, Kim W. Woods, and Michael W. Franklin, eds, *Renaissance Art Reconsidered: An Anthology of Primary Sources* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), 402–5. See also Carol M. Richardson, "Art and Death," in *Viewing Renaissance Art*, ed. Kim W. Woods (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), 209–45.

> as a day? We know not what the night will bring; it is altogether uncertain whether we are to be called away at cock-crow or morning.
>
> Turning these things over frequently in my mind, I Francesco, unworthy Cardinal Deacon of Siena of the sacred Roman Church of S. Eustace, have been greatly stirred by the words of our Father Jesus Christ, who declared that blessed would be the servant whom the Lord found awake when he knocked on the door. And again, "be ready because you do not know the hour at which the Lord will come,"[8] otherwise I shall be caught by surprise in the company of the thoughtless and foolish virgins and their lamps without oil, while mind and body flourish by the gift of heaven, and as the hour of death approaches I shall be forced to think of something other than the salvation of my soul, namely the earthly talent entrusted to me by God, and I am now to distribute a good part of it, arrange the domestic estate which remains and compose my last will and legal testament.

Alessandro Oliva da Sassoferrato reputedly contemplated his death each day by meditating over an image of his own corpse dressed as a cardinal. The image was kept inside a casket which was hidden in his private chapel. The casket was inscribed: "In all your works remember your last deeds and you will not do wrong in eternity."[9]

The majority of cardinals prepared their wills early on in their careers and revised them as necessary. The extant will of Giordano Orsini, for example, is dated 1434, four years before the cardinal's death in 1438.[10] If, according to the liturgies, no such arrangements had been made for the possessions of the deceased while he was competent to do so—even on the death-bed with his heirs present—then executors of the estate were chosen from among the cardinals. At this stage, whether prepared or not, the will of the cardinal came into force and the executors began their inventory of his more precious possessions.[11] This was an important job because theft of a cardinal's possessions, and even from his cadaver, was not unusual: Guillaume d'Estouteville was robbed of silver items as he lay dying in January 1483, and then his corpse was relieved of its rings and even its mitre as it lay in the sacristy of Sant'Agostino, where he was to be buried.[12] The canons of Santa Maria Maggiore, where he had been archpriest, and the Augustinians of Sant'Agostino fought over his precious burial clothes. They did this not entirely out of greed, but because at the death of an ecclesiastic the status of their property, like their position, "fell into a vacuum" and was therefore vulnerable to those who felt entitled to it or to opportunists.[13]

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[8] Matthew 24:44; Luke 12:40.

[9] Gabriele Raponi, *Il Cardinale Alessandro Oliva da Sassoferrato (1407–1463)* (Rome: s.n., 1964), 193; Meredith J. Gill, "Death and the Cardinal: The Two Bodies of Guillaume d'Estouteville," *Renaissance Quarterly* 54 (2001): 348: "In omnibus operibus tuis memorare novissima tua et non delinques in aeternum." The text is derived from Ecclesiasticus (Sirach) 7:40. Verses 31–40 advise the faithful on living a moral life, respecting priests, serving the poor, sick and needy, and honouring the dead.

[10] Celenza, "The Will of Cardinal Giordano Orsini," 265.

[11] Dykmans, *L'Oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini*, 221.

[12] Gill, "Death and the Cardinal," 351.

Even when a cardinal was apparently not prepared and his will was dated only days before his death, it is unlikely that the executors would have to start from scratch. The will would have been a standard part of household papers, carried by private secretaries and frequently updated and revised, ready to be confirmed at the very last minute, as seems to have been the case for both the Cardinal of Portugal, Don Jaime, and Francesco Gonzaga, whose wills were completed within twenty-four hours of their deaths. However, in some significant cases the personal choices a cardinal made in his will were quickly superseded by the wider context of political and dynastic ambitions.

Eric Apfelstadt published a copy of the will of Don Jaime, known as the Cardinal of Portugal. Although he died in 1459, the will is dated 1466 because it was included in the papers related to the completion of the testamentary instructions.[14] The original will was written in Portuguese, and the cardinal spent his last days helping a Florentine notary translate the document into Latin. It was validated retrospectively by Pius II in October or November 1459.[15] As will be discussed further below, the cardinal left instructions for his place of burial and commemoration, but these were only a starting point and were considerably embellished in the aftermath of his death. A member of the royal house of Portugal, Don Jaime's commemoration became a visual expression of the developing trade and political relations between the members of his extended family and the Florentine government.

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[13] Gill, "Death and the Cardinal," 352; Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), 314–17. See also Gardner, *Tomb and Tiara*, 6, on arguments between mendicant and local clergy in Rome over precedence at papal funerals.

[14] Eric Apfelstadt, "Bishop and Pawn: New Documents for the Chapel of the Cardinal of Portugal at S. Miniato, Florence," in *Cultural Links between Portugal and Italy in the Renaissance*, ed. K.J.P. Lowe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 186–8 and document 2 (Archivio di Stato di Firenze, *Notarile antecosimiano*, 16127, Ser Paolo di Simone Paoli, 1464–9, ff. 185v–190v), 207–13. Some information relating to the will—its date, notary, and Pius II's validation—were known from ASF, *Mediceo avanti il principato*, 135, ff. 27v–28r. See also Frederick Hartt et al., *The Chapel of the Cardinal of Portugal 1434–1459 at San Miniato in Florence* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1964), 41.

[15] This is presumably the "Apostolic form" to which Vespasiano refers: Vespasiano da Bisticci, *The Vespasiano Memoirs: Lives of Illustrious Men of the XVth Century*, trans. William George and Emily Waters, Renaissance Society of America Reprint Texts 7 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 145.

Francesco Gonzaga's will was signed, sealed, and witnessed on 20 October 1483, just one day before his death. The cardinal had already been lying ill in Bologna for more than two months, probably in the throes of the chronic stomach or liver disorder which had plagued him so frequently.[16] However, as David Chambers suggests, it seems unlikely that this will was composed in its entirety from the dictation of the dying cardinal only a few days before his death, particularly if time was to be allowed for application to be made for necessary permissions from the curia—though there is no evidence that such a licence was obtained and the ad hoc arrangements that had to be made suggest the Gonzaga family were rather caught out. In any case, immediately the cardinal had breathed his last, plans were hurried into action to transport the corpse from Bologna to Mantua, Cardinal Gonzaga's chosen place of burial: as a member of the ducal family he does not seem to have considered any other. Secretaries were sent ahead of the cortege to organize the body's reception and burial.[17] Obvious interest was expressed on the arrival of the body in Mantua a week later that the rapidly rotting corpse be speedily buried. The cardinal had left instructions in his will that the conventions of the Roman curia for the funeral of a cardinal should be followed, though there seems to have been some uncertainty in Mantua over what exactly this entailed and it is not clear if this is what happened.[18] As stipulated, the cardinal was buried near the tomb of his father in the family chapel in San Francesco in Mantua, though no trace remains of any monument.[19]

Licentia testandi

While popes usually left only debts behind them for their successors to manage because their reigns were usually quite short and their activity prolific, cardinals often had large estates which had to be disposed of following their deaths. To protect the interests of the Church, cardinals could not write their wills without papal permission.[20] The *licentia testandi*, or licence to become testate, was central to the relationship of the cardinals with the popes because it allowed them to gain papal protection for the disposal of their estates on death. Without a licence their property and their wishes were entirely in the pope's hands, which meant that he could exert the old right of spoil and claim an estate not protected by a will and licence.[21]

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[16] David S. Chambers, *A Renaissance Cardinal and his Worldly Goods: The Will and Inventory of Francesco Gonzaga (1444–1483)* (London: Warburg Institute Surveys and Texts, vol. 20, 1992), 96.

[17] Chambers, *Worldly Goods*, 97–8.

[18] Chambers, *Worldly Goods*, 137: "Que exequie fiant per ipsos executores ut supra ad imitationem consuetudinis curie romanae pro aliis Reverendissimis dominis cardinalibus."

[19] Chambers, *Worldly Goods*, 133.

Juan de Carvajal acquired a licence from Pius II as early as 1460, nine years before his death.[22] Jean Jouffroy, who had property in Rome, including a *vigna* near the baths of Diocletian, left behind a will with a *licentia testandi* attached when he died in 1473, even though he was buried in France.[23] When Latino Orsini died on 21 August 1477, he was buried in San Salvatore in Lauro, a church close to the Orsini enclave at Monte Giordano, which he had rebuilt. Infessura states that he left behind a will made with papal authority, which meant that there was almost certainly a *licentia testandi*.[24]

While there is no evidence that Francesco Gonzaga received such permission, Don Jaime's will was validated by Pius II in retrospect. What both cardinals had in common, which may explain this apparent omission, was that they did not wish to be buried in Rome as their interests lay elsewhere—with the royal house of Portugal and the ducal family of Mantua—nor did they assemble large estates based on Church lands and properties. In contrast, Francesco Piccolomini's

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[20] Martino Garati da Lodi, *De cardinalibus* (1453) in Gigliola Soldi Rondinini, *Per la storia del Cardinalato nel secolo XV*, Accademia di Scienze e Lettere 33 no. 1 (Milan: Memorie dell'Istituto Lombardo, 1973), question 58; 75: "An dominus cardinalis possit testari sine licentia domini nostri pape. Respondeo non de consuetudine… et hoc verum est eciam de iure si monachus vel canonicus regularis sit creatus cardinalis…, alias non video quid obstet cur non possit de iure testari… Sed si de curie Romane consuetudine appareat, illa observanda est."

[21] See Daniel Williman, "The Right of Spoil of the Popes of Avignon 1316–1415," *Transactions of the American Philosophocal Society* 78 part 6 (1988).

[22] ASV, Div. Cam. 29, f. 130r.

[23] ASV, Arm 35 vol. 33, f. 113v; Reg. Vat. 490 f. 116r; David S. Chambers, "The Housing Problems of Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 39 (1976): 41 n. 140.

[24] Stefano Infessura, *Diario della Città di Roma di Stefano scribasenato*, ed. Oreste Tommasini, Fonti per la storia d'Italia 5 (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano, 1890), 82–3: "A di 21 d'agosto morse lo cardinale Orsino missore Latino, et fece lo testamento con auctorità dello papa Sixto, el quale alli 4 di del detto mese lo era andato ad visitare con quattro cardinali, et fo sepellito in Santo Salvatore dello Lauro, lo quale lui lo haveva fatto edificare de soa propria pecunia, et come per lasciati fatti in testamento dello signore Ursino."

1493 will was the result of a long process of planning that spanned his entire career of forty years in the papal court. In fact, the will seems to have gone through at least three drafts, and he had not one but at least three papal licences—from Pius II, Sixtus IV, and Alexander VI.[25] The first of these licences dates to 1459 when he was still no more than an apostolic protonotary.[26] Piccolomini may also have had a licence from Paul II, which does not survive, to make sure each of the popes in turn would recognize his right to dispose of his property and possessions in Rome and in or near Siena. This was all the more pressing because he had in part used his career as a cardinal to establish his family in Rome, with a chapel in Sant'Eustachio and a palace nearby, and he hoped for burial in St Peter's near his uncle, Pius II.[27]

Wills were often drawn up or revised as cardinals acquired new responsibilities or benefices or endowed institutions, and a bout of sickness often prompted its revision. Nicholas of Cusa (d. 1464) drew up his final will when he was struck by illness at Rome in the summer of 1461.[28] It was witnessed by John Stam, his chaplain, and Peter Erkelenz, his secretary. This replaced another will that he had prepared in 1450 related to the foundation of the hospital in his home-town of Kues, an institution set up to house thirty-three poor men who were more than 50 years old. To pay for the hospital, which was constructed between 1453 and 1457, Cusa endowed it with 20,000 Rhenish gold florins to provide an income of 800 florins a year.[29] For this he had obtained papal permission to use income derived from his ecclesiastical benefices. He reasserted the 1461 will on 6 August 1464 as he lay dying.[30] The only difference between the two wills is in the amount of money in Cusa's estate, which had reduced both because he had spent some of his money since 1461 and because of a change in the valuation of his silver. Of the 6,700 Rhenish gold florins of the cardinal's estate deposited in the Medici bank in Rome, 5,000 was to go to the hospital the cardinal had endowed at Kues. In addition to the work he had already carried out on his title church of San Pietro in Vincoli, Cusa left a substantial sum to pay for future repairs to the basilica which the della Rovere cardinals, Francesco and Giuliano, duly spent but on work bearing their own arms.

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[25] Richardson, "Lost Will," 196; on the custom of writing several wills and requesting a number of licences for an earlier period, see Agostino Paravicini-Bagliani, *I testamenti dei cardinali del Duecento*, Miscellanea della Società Romana di Storia Patria 25 (Rome: Società alla Biblioteca Vallicelliana, 1980), xlix.

[26] ASV, Div. Cam. 29, f. 88v.

[27] Carol M. Richardson, "The Housing Opportunities of a Renaissance Cardinal," *Renaissance Studies* 17 (2003): 607–27; 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*, ed. Mary Hollingsworth and Carol M. Richardson (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, forthcoming).

[28] For the will see Johann Übinger, "Kleinere Beiträge: Zur Lebensgeschichte des Nikolaus Cusanus," *Kunsthistorisches Jahrbuch* 14 no. 3 (1893): 549–61. The will is at 553–9.

[29] Henry Bett, *Nicholas of Cusa* (London: Methuen, 1932), 80; on the hospital see Meike Hensel-Grobe, "Funktion und Funktionalisierung: das St.-Nikolaus-Hospital zu Kues und die Erzbischöfe von Trier im 15. Jahrhundert," in *Funktions- und Strukturwandel spätmittelalterlicher Hospitäler im europäischen Vergleich*, ed. Michael Matheus (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2005), 195–212.

But just as the popes could grant permission to cardinals to become testate, they could also revoke it. Paul II allowed the chamberlain, Ludovico Trevisan, to make a will so that he could leave most of his sizeable estate to his two brothers. A cardinal since Eugenius IV, Trevisan was widely travelled as commander of the papal forces, a position that enabled him to build a considerable collection of exotic objects from across the Mediterranean.[31] When he died in March 1465 he was reputed to be among the wealthiest men in Italy, excepting princes such as Cosimo de' Medici.[32] However, the pope intervened and set aside the will on the pretence of taking the money to help pay for the crusade against the Turks. Trevisan's detractors suggested that the cardinal had probably been aware of what would happen, for he had sent gold, silver, and other objects to Florence for safekeeping. However, the cardinal maintained a residence in Florence as part of his duties, and many of the objects in his collection simply accumulated there. Most of the collection was brought to Rome, including tapestries, jewels and jewellery, precious vestments, and plate.[33] But rather than simply confiscate everything, Paul II seems to have been more interested in reducing the size of the estate to an acceptable or legal level. Paul II purchased some of the cardinal's collection from Trevisan's heirs while Sixtus IV used it as guarantee to secure loans from Florentine banks.[34] In this way, much of the Trevisan collection went back to Florence, where it eventually formed the core of the collection of Lorenzo de' Medici.[35] Members of Trevisan's household and family were not deprived of their inheritance by the popes: Luigi Scarampo, one of the cardinal's brothers, renounced his claim to the cardinal's estate in June 1465 because the heirs had already received more than 2,000 gold florins, and in return was given, among other things, the cardinal's house in Florence in the district of Santa Maria Novella. There were limits to the total amounts that cardinals could bequeath to their heirs, and Cardinal Trevisan's estate of somewhere between 200,000 and 400,000 gold florins apparently exceeded that. Because his estate had been derived from income from ecclesiastical assignments and benefices, and his collection had been built while he was acting as a cardinal, the popes had a close interest in its legitimacy, redistribution, and therefore potential alienation from the Church.

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[30] Bett, *Nicholas of Cusa*, 77.

[31] Rolf Bagemihl, "The Trevisan Collection," *The Burlington Magazine* 135 (1993): 560–1.

[32] Pio Paschini, *Lodovico Cardinal Camerlengo († 1465)* (Rome: Tiberino/Facultas Theologica Pontificii Athenaei Lateranensis, 1939), 208; see also Pastor, *History of the Popes*, vol. 4, 126; Eugène Müntz, *Les Arts à la Cour des Papes pendant le XV^e et le XVI^e siècle: Recueil de documents inédits tirés des archives et des bibliothèques Romaines*, part 2, Paul II, 1464–1471, Bibliothèque des Ècoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome part 9 (Paris: E. Thorin, 1879), 177–8.

[33] Gaspare da Verona in *Le vite di Paolo II di Gaspare da Verona e Michele Canense*, ed. Giuseppe Zippel, RIS 3 part 16 (Città di Castello: Lapi, 1904–11), 25.

Confusion over the status of Trevisan's collection and wealth was fostered by a negative campaign waged against him by contemporary writers. Platina, for example, records with particular venom that Trevisan's remains were despoiled after his death: "Nor was divine providence thus satisfied, but was pleased that his body also, which was already buried, should be made a prey; for the grave was opened in the night-time by those to whom he had given the revenues of St Laurence in Damaso, and he was stripped of a ring and all his clothes."[36] This was no revenge, however, but a bungled petty theft by one of the canons of San Lorenzo in Damaso, Antonio di Tocco, who had been a member of the cardinal's household.[37] Tocco blamed the other canons, but they were found to be innocent and Paul II deprived only Tocco of his benefices, a punishment that suggests Platina exaggerated the crime.

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[34] Bagemihl, "The Trevisan Collection," 559–63; Laurie Fusco, *Lorenzo De' Medici: Collector and Antiquarian* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 83, 94: Paul II obtained two precious stones and the *Tazza Farnese* from the collection as well as possibly 1,094 gold, silver, and bronze coins. Fusco (186) suggests that Paul II "helped organise Ludovico Trevisan's estate."

[35] Fusco, *Lorenzo De' Medici*, 128, on, for example, the journey of the *Tazza Farnese* into the Trevisan collection and Lorenzo de' Medici's acquisition of it in 1471 via Paul II.

[36] Platina (Bartolomeo Sacchi), *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: Griffith, 1888), 281.

[37] Paschini, *Lodovico Cardinal Camerlengo*, 211; the episode is reported in *Le vite di Paolo II*, 25–6 (Gaspare da Verona), 160 (Canense); Chambers, *Worldly Goods*, 75.

At the same time, the papacy had responsibilities to those whose estates it claimed in entirety or in part. Because the pope had intervened in the distribution of Trevisan's estate, the provision of a monument was left to the Camera Apostolica. In November 1467 Paolo Romano was paid 50 gold florins for a monument in San Lorenzo in Damaso, and another 50 for an altar in Sant'Agnese dei Goti.[38] This was not a huge sum, similar to the 60 scudi paid in 1485 for the modest monument in San Clemente to Bishop Brusati, nephew of Cardinal Bartolommeo Roverella, that nevertheless includes an effigy.[39] It is not clear what was made for this first Trevisan monument, as the original in San Lorenzo in Damaso was replaced because of Raffaele Riario's new palace and church by the beginning of the sixteenth century. The monument in the north aisle of the church today was installed under Enrico Bruni, Archbishop of Taranto and papal secretary, on 21 March 1505, the fortieth anniversary of Trevisan's death (see Figure 102). It was for similar reasons that Julius II provided a monument for Ascanio Sforza in Bramante's choir of Santa Maria del Popolo: the pope had confiscated Sforza's estate when the cardinal died intestate, and used it to help fund the rebuilding of St Peter's.[40] A cardinal's estate might have been lucrative, but those who benefitted inherited obligations to the memory of the deceased.

Control over the size of cardinals' estates also seems to have been behind Alexander VI's attempts to reclaim the wealth of Giovanni Battista Zen, which the cardinal had probably tried to protect by taking it to Venice.[41] Once the legacies of the will were settled, the Venetian

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[38] Müntz, *Les Arts à la Cour des Papes*, part 2, 82: 5 November 1467. On the monument see Paschini, *Lodovico Cardinal Camerlengo*, 211–12. Francesco Caglioti, "Sui Primi Tempi Romani d'Andrea Bregno: un Progetto per il Cardinale Camerlengo Alvise Trevisan e un San Michele Arcangelo per il Cardinal Juan de Carvajal," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 41 no. 3 (1997): 213–53.

[39] A. Bertolotti, *Artisti lombardi a Roma nei secoli XV, XVI e XVII: studi e ricerche negli archivi romani* (Milan, 1881—anastatic reprint Sala Bolognese: Forni, 1985), vol. 2, 285. Two artists, Giacomo di Domenico della Pietra from Carrara and Luigi di Pietro Capponi from Milan, were commissioned to erect the Brusati monument to be completed in four months in 1485, for which they were paid 60 scudi di Camera.

[40] Haydn G. Huntly, *Andrea Sansovino: Sculptor and Architect of the Italian Renaissance* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1935), 57–64; Philipp Zitzlsperger, "Die Ursachen der Sansovinograbmäler in S. Maria del Popolo (Rom)," in *Tod und Verklärung: Grabmalskultur in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Arne Karsten (Köln: Böhlau, 2004), 91–113.

[41] The episode is outlined in Barbara McClung Hallman, *Italian Cardinals, Reform, and the Church as Property, 1492–1563* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 80–1, based on Marin Sanuto's diaries: *I diarii*, ed. F.Stefani (Venice: Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Venezie, 1879–1902), vol. 4 79–80. See also Soranzo, Giovanni. "Giovanni

Signoria, which had managed to access the cardinal's possessions in Venice before the pope's agents, were left with the still sizeable sum of 26,123 gold ducats. In the sixteenth century under Pius IV, maximum sums were raised from 10,000 to 40,000 ducats, so there were almost certainly similar limits in the fifteenth century to restrict the amount of revenue from benefices that could be alienated from the Church.[42] The ability of cardinals to make a will at all was condemned by Paul III's reform commission of 1537, "lest the goods of the poor be converted into private delights and the amplification of houses," though little could be done in practice about such a key area of the relationship between popes and cardinals.[43]

Controlling costs

At least in their wills, cardinals tended to be modest with their wealth and status. Francesco Piccolomini suggests that it is not the individual but his dignity which can be safely commemorated in funeral ceremonies and in monuments. It was his duty to have his place as a cardinal preserved for the sake of the cumulative memory of the Church. Nevertheless, by leaving the "nature of this moderation" to his executors, he was allowing them free reign to express their duty to the dead:

> My body, which is accountable for many acts of wickedness as is the way of sinners, should be honoured—not because it deserves any honour, but by reason of the dignity which the Roman Church has permitted for burial—with those trappings and ceremonies which the custom of our order has laid down in such a way that everything affirms not so much a celebration of life as a humility appropriate to death. I leave the nature of this moderation to the good sense and discretion of the executors to be named at the end of the will.[44]

When a cardinal died and was buried, he had to be afforded appropriate ceremonials which celebrated his rank, but these also had to reflect the ultimate humility of death. As Alberti put it, "even when the dignity of the individual is considered, a sense of measure must

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Battista Zeno, nipote di Paolo II, cardinale de S. Maria in Portico (1468–1501)," *Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia*, vol. 16 no. 2 (1962): 249–274.

[42] Hallman, *Church as Property*, 93.

[43] Hallman, *Church as Property*, 80, who quotes *Concilium Tridentinum: Diariorum, actorum, epistularum, tractuum nova collectio* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1901 onwards), vol. 12, 143.

[44] Richardson, "Lost Will," 202.

be maintained, and that even kings may be criticized for over expenditure."[45] Cardinals' wills sometimes included precise instructions for the amount to be spent on the obsequies following the acceptable amounts set down by the liturgy itself, which were admittedly generous. These controls were important because the elaborate and lengthy nature of the ceremonies meant that costs could quickly spiral out of control. A cardinal's funeral was in three main parts: the preparation of the body and setting up of the funeral bier in his home; the funeral procession and the reception of the body into the church where the bier was placed on or within the catafalque (*castrum doloris*); and, established by the 1480s, the nine days of funeral services (*novena*) during which or just after the burial took place.

Regulations regarding death and funerals were late in arriving in Rome compared to other Italian centres.[46] Whereas in Bologna, for example, regulations had been established in the city's statutes in 1288, there is only brief mention in Roman statutes of 1363, and these were not expanded until 1418. These stated that the death of a Roman citizen should be announced by one or more *banditori* (town criers). At this friends and relatives went to the house of the deceased, though excessive expressions of grief were forbidden and the number of mourners limited. Candles were also limited: the maximum allowed for an ordinary citizen (*popularis*) was twenty-five pounds of wax, fifty for a knight (*caballeroctus*), and eighty for a soldier (*miles*) or doctor. Martin V approved these statutes in the eighth year of his reign, while in 1442 the vice-chamberlain of Eugenius IV had them published in Italian in the hope that more people would understand and therefore observe them.

Cardinals and popes were not subject to any restrictions other than those imposed by their own prudence, however. Accounts for the funeral of Eugenius IV, dated 20 March 1447, stipulate some 2,420 pounds of unworked wax at a cost of 2,905 florins, plus 51 florins to make the wax into tapers suitable for a funeral.[47] Even this was a lot less than the 6,000–8,000 pounds of wax stipulated by Patrizi Piccolomini in the

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[45] *Leon Battista Alberti: On The Art of Building in Ten Books*, ed. Joseph Ryckwert, Neil Leach, and Robert Tavernor (Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 1988), 250.

[46] Isa Lori Sanfilippo, "Morire a Roma," in *Alle origini dell nuova Roma. Martin V (1417–1431),* ed. Maria Chiabò et al. (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 1992), 620–3.

[47] Eugène Müntz, "Les Arts à la Cour des papes. Nouvelles recherches sur les pontificats de Martin V, d'Eugène IV, de Nicolas V, de Calixte III, de Pie II et de Paul II," *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire* 9 (1884): 47–8.

1480s for a cardinal's funeral, a sign of the escalation of the ceremonies as the century wore on.

A particular feature of Cardinal Piccolomini's concern with the expenses for his funeral, like the city regulations, was control over the distribution of wax candles. In the liturgies tapers were handed out to those taking part in the vigil at the cardinal's home, which was held the night after his death, before his body was carried to the place of burial. Then, between forty and sixty wax tapers accompanied the procession to the church.[48] The church where the bier and catafalque were displayed was to be adequately lit, according to Patrizi Piccolomini, by candles suspended all around it about two metres apart, with around a dozen or so along each side of the catafalque. Wax tapers would also be handed out to those attending the services, a system that was carefully monitored through delegated custodians and distributors of the wax.[49] This added up to between 6,000 and 8,000 pounds of wax in total. Other officials made sure that the masses were said properly and the officiating priests duly paid. This was an important role because each day of the obsequies was marked by a large number of masses, all of them lit by yet more tapers. Francesco Piccolomini stipulated a relatively modest sixty masses on the first and last days of the *novena*, with forty—only one of them sung—on the seven days in between, whereas Patrizi Piccolomini stipulated 150 masses on the first and last days, and 100 on the other seven.[50] The distribution of candles was, therefore, not surprisingly a particular concern for the cardinal, as without control the whole event could descend into chaos, not least because many people attended funeral services in order to acquire such a valuable commodity. Burchard reports that at the funeral of Cardinal Juan de Aragonia at Santa Sabina in September 1485 no candles or money were distributed, as was customary, because no one had been appointed to be in charge, and the event disintegrated into chaos.[51] In his will Piccolomini recognized that his executors would be under pressure to be generous with the distribution of wax and so urged them to be frugal, giving it only to those who were involved in the actual ceremonies.[52]

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[48] Dykmans, *L'Oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini*, 223–4. See also Marc Dykmans, *Le Cérémonial Papal: De la fin du Moyen Âge à la Renaissance*, vol. 4 *Le retour à Rome ou le Cérémonial du patriarche Pierre Ameil* (Brussels and Rome: Bibliothèque de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome, 1985), 247–50.

[49] Dykmans, *L'Oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini*, 224: "Fiat cera ad sufficientiam—consuevit esse inter sex et octo milia librarum cere—suspendantur intorticia circumcirca in ecclesia unius canne spatio inter se distantia, a lateribus lecti hinc inde super scamnis ponantur duodecim aut sedecim intorticia in quolibet latere. Preficiantur aliqui qui teneant computum cere et qui illam subministrent distributoribus; alii qui curent ut misse vere et suo ordine legantur, et dent elemosinam celebrantibus."

[50] Richardson, "Lost Will," 202: "Exequiarum prima et ultima die pro salute animae meae per devotos Christi sacerdotes sexaginta Missae celebrentur. Aliis autem diebus quadraginta tantum et cum his una cantetur." Dykmans, *L'Oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini*, 229: "In prima et nona die, que est ultima, in quibus fiunt eedem cerimonie, nisi quod in ultima non fit sermo, consueverunt legi in ecclesia ubi fiunt exequie, centum quinquaginta misse, et datur pro elemosina cuique celebranti unus grossus papalis et due parve candele. Aliis septem diebus intra novenam dicuntur centum misse quolibet die, et hora competenti cantatur missa pro defunctis per aliquem episcopum, et familia defuncti adest sedens in loco suo."

In fact, wax was valuable enough to have been worth falsifying, and curial officials were strict in their monitoring of its quality. In October 1422 two men were cleared of supplying corrupted wax for the funeral of Pedro Fonseca, cardinal-deacon of Sant'Angelo in Pescheria, who had died on 22 August 1422 and was buried in the oratory of St Thomas in the Vatican basilica.[53] The men had allegedly falsified the wax by mixing it with *trementina* (pine resin or pitch) and other banned substances.

Provision also had to be made to enable a cardinal's household (*familiares*) to attend the ceremonies but only if they were suitably dressed: they could have, according to Patrizi Piccolomini, a single black biretta at the expense of their dead master.[54] Their participation was important because they were the main attendants at the vigil that took place at the dead cardinal's residence in the years before the pontificate of Sixtus IV, whereafter the cardinals were also expected to attend.[55] Before this, cardinals only attended the first vigil when the body was been laid out if they were executors. Otherwise, they sent representatives from their households. (Patrizi Piccolomini pointedly refrains from judging whether this was appropriate or not.)[56] The *familiares* were also vital in maintaining a constant presence with the body before it was buried.[57] They were, therefore, provided with clothing or lengths of black cloth to enable them to attend all parts of the funeral: Francesco Gonzaga's will allowed for the provision of black clothing, while Francesco Piccolomini's detailed varying amounts of cloth for his household according to their status, observing the stipulations of the liturgies.[58] His chaplains were entitled to 4 *cannas* (about 8 metres), while other officials could receive 3 (6 metres). In addition to providing his household with funeral clothes, they were also permitted to stay on in his house for forty days following his death.[59] The executors elected one of their number to govern the household and provide as necessary in the interim.[60] But altogether the costs of the funeral and exequies for Francesco Piccolomini were not to exceed 2,200 gold ducats—including the costs of fabric for the household—a not inconsiderable sum, but nonetheless lower than the cost of the candles alone for the funeral of Eugenius IV and a lot less than the lavish ceremonies described in the liturgies would have cost.[61]

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[51] Johann Burchard, *Johannis Burckardi Liber notarum: ab anno MCCCCLXXXIII usque ad annum MDVI*, ed. Enrico Celani, RIS 32 (Città di Castello: Lapi, 1910–42), part 1, 17 October 1485, 121: "Cera sive candele et pecunie non fuerunt fratribus distribute, prout fieri solet, quia nullus fuerat superattendens super hoc ordinatus, et omnia satis confuso ordine acta sunt."

[52] Richardson, "Lost Will," 202: "Cereorum autem quotidianam ac promiscuam distributionem primi praesertim et ultimi diei, quoniam scandali et tumultus plena est nihilque affert ad salutem, omnino interdico. Volo autem his solum cereos distribui qui ad orationem in ecclesia consident et qui divina procurant. Hanc legem executoribus libenter imposco ne sui honoris causa largius effundere cogantur." See also Paravicini-Bagliani, *Pope's Body*, 320 n. 96—cardinals were often precise about the amount of wax to be used.

[53] Augustin Theiner, *Codex Diplomaticus Dominii Temporalis S. Sedis. Recueil de documents pour servir a l'histoire du gouvernment temporel des états du Saint-Siège*, vol. 3, 1389–1793 (Rome, 1862; republished Frankfurt am Main: Minerva, 1964), 280. Chacon, *Vitae, et res gestae*, vol. 2, col. 746.

[54] Dykmans, *L'Oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini*, 223: "Familiares in istis vigiliis et in deducendo funere non intersunt, quia non sunt adhuc induti veste lugubri, habebunt tamen singuli nigrum birretum expensis defuncti."

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[55] Dykmans, *L'Oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini*, 222: "Sed nota quod ante Sixti IV tempora cardinales non consueverunt ire ad domum cardinalis defuncti, nisi executores tantum; mittebant tamen familias suas. Post ea tempora omnes fere intersunt quando vigilie dicuntur, non tamen sequuntur funus. Quid magis deceat alii viderint." At the funeral of Cardinal John of Aragon in October 1485, Burchard notes the household's but not the cardinals' presence at the vigil before the cardinal's body was taken to his chosen place of burial, Santa Sabina, his titular church. The cardinals were present at the following service. There is no mention of the *novena*—Burchard, *Liber notarum*, part 1, 16 October, 1485, 120–1; Paravicini-Bagliani, *The Pope's Body*, 322 n. 100.

[56] Pierre Ameil gives the distinct impression that cardinals were expected to take part at the start of the century: Dykmans, *Le Cérémonial*, vol. 4, 247–50.

[57] Geoffrey Rowell, *The Liturgy of Christian Burial* (London: Alcuin Club/SPCK, 1977), 72.

[58] Dykmans, *L'Oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini*, 224: "Post hec executores statuunt diem in quo exequie incipiantur, et interim distribuunt pannum nigrum familie: prelatis quinque cannas, capellanis quatuor, scutiferis tres, stabulariis duas cum dimidia"; Chambers, *Worldly Goods*, 133: "Item volo, iubeo et mando quod omnes et singuli familiares mei quos interesse contigerit celebrationi solemnium exequiarum mearum vestiantur condecenter vestibus nigris secundum consuetudinem et iuxta arbitrium infrascriptorum executorum meorum vel maioris partis eorum"; Richardson, "Lost Will," 203: "Et quoniam multi non vere familiares instare solent, ut lugubres vestes accipiant neminem omnino vestiri volo nisi eos qui in tinello meo comedunt ordinarie et in domo mea dormiunt. Quibus tamen et non aliis vestes dentur nigri coloris, Cappelanis quatuor cannas, santiferis inter quos parafrenarios et omnes domus meae officiales nomino primae sortis tres nigri panni, reliquis dimidiam cannam minus, sed sortis secundae, iubeo dari. Ita tamen ut singulis diebus funeris omnes ad orationem conveniant et pro me assiduas effundant preces hanc distributionem ut integre servent exequutoribus, per pietatem quae mortuis dabetur oro atque obtestor et haec ad orationem funeris."

[59] Dykmans, *L'Oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini*, 230; Richardson, "Lost Will," 203: "Item volumus quod omnibus familiaribus nostris quibus tunc non erit satisfactum integre satisfiat de salariis ad eum diem debitis, et quod familiares ipsi nostri remaneant in domo nostra nostris expensis per quadraginta dies post obitum nostrum, ut consuetudo est, et bene tractentur."

The novena

In the first half of the fifteenth century, unless specifically requested, cardinals' funerals seem to have been relatively efficient affairs. The single mass at the funeral of Ardicino della Porta Senior (d. 1434) in St Peter's for example, was celebrated by four other cardinals, Angelotto Fusco, Giordano Orsini, Antonio Casini, and Francesco Condulmer.[62] By the middle of the century, the *novena* (*novem diali*)—the nine days of ceremonies that comprised a long series of votive masses and orations—had become a more common part of the obsequies for both popes and cardinals; by the mid-1480s it was firmly established as the proper way to bury a cardinal, although individuals such as Ardicino della Porta chose to be buried with more modest ceremonies, eschewing the conventional *novena* and requesting a funeral of only a day, as for a poor person.[63] The duration and complexity of the *novena* perhaps explains why cardinals seem to have sent representatives rather than attend themselves as it became more common, and before convention demanded that they be present. The adoption of the *novena* for cardinals was one of the means by which they made a claim to the papal *imperium*, as by the beginning of the sixteenth century this honour was reserved to popes and cardinals alone.[64]

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[60] Dykmans, *L'Oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini,* 221.

[61] Richardson, "Lost Will," 202: "Funeris et exequiarum impendia ne supra debitam vagentur summam duorum millium et ducentorum aureorum nolo excedere. In qua etiam familiae lugubres vestes includantur." Similarly the obsequies of Domenico Capranica in 1458 were celebrated "summa omnium moestitia": Battista Poggio, "Vita Dominicis Capranicae Cardinalis," in Étienne Baluze, *Stephani Baluzii tutelensis miscellanea nono ordine digesta… opera ac studio Joannis Dominici Mansi Lucensis* (Lucca: Vincentium Junctinium, 1761), vol. 1, 351. When he eventually died as Pius III, his funeral was lit by more than 1,500 pounds of wax: Burchard, *Liber notarum*, part 2, 21–2 October 1503, 395.

[62] Dykmans, *Le Cérémonial*, vol. 4, 250.

[63] Paravicini-Bagliani, *The Pope's Body*, 321–2 n. 100: the first record of the *novena* being followed for cardinals is for Cardinal Gabriele Rangone, who died in 1486 (Burchard, *Liber notarum*, part 1, 27 September–7 October 1486, 161–5). However, this observance seems to have been made since at least the pontificate of Nicholas V—Marc Dykmans, "Le cérémonial de Nicolas V," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 68 (1968): 796. For the funeral ceremonies of Ardicino della Porta Junior, in March 1493 see Burchard, *Liber notarum*, part 1, 4 March, 1493, 403–4 and above, chapter 8, 327–8 note 29: "Alia omnia observata sunt more solito, excepto quod exequie huiusmodi non peracte IX dies, prout fieri solet pro cardinalibus, sed hodie tantum, propter defuncti paupertatem."

The *novena* was centred on the catafalque or *castrum doloris* (castle of grief), which was set up in the centre of the church.[65] The *castrum doloris* served as a kind of frame or, in some cases, a canopy over the bier or funerary bed. The place of death, usually the cardinal's home, was stripped of all decoration and the bier set up in the main area before being used to carry his body to the church of burial.[66] Thus the cardinal's residence became the starting point of the liturgy, which then ended, more often than not, in his titular church. The cadaver was washed and dressed in the vestments worn by the cardinal at mass, appropriate to his position as a cardinal-deacon, priest, or bishop, then placed on the bier with candles burning at head and feet and a pectoral cross placed between the hands. The instructions for the composition of the bier are exacting in their detail: on a bed of wool or feathers, of exact dimensions, with a long bolster, the whole couch and litter was covered by a large drape, and circumvented by a frame with small holes to contain twenty candles. At the feet of the bier was placed a table covered with a cloth, which bore a stole and cope, black in colour, and two candelabras. Also included were instruments of benediction and aspersion, a thurible with its incense boat, and a small liturgical book. These represented the various sacramental roles of the cardinal. The bier was then carried in procession to the church of burial where it became the centrepiece of the *castrum doloris*, albeit briefly. It was placed within the *castrum doloris*, the head of the cadaver towards the altar, its feet towards the door.[67]

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[64] Ingo Herklotz, "Paris de Grassis *Tractatus de funeribus et exequiis* un die Bestattungsfeiern von Päpsten und Kardinälen in Spättmittelalter und Renaissance," in *Skulptur und Grabmal des Spätmittelalters in Rom und Italien*, ed. Jörg Garms and Angiola Maria Romanini (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1990), 244; Gardner, *Tomb and Tiara*, 12; Guillaume Mollat, "Contribution à l'histoire du Sacré-Collège de Clement V à Eugène IV," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 46 (1951): 586–7.

[65] Dykmans, *L'Oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini,* 224, "Ordinant ut fiat pallium aureum pro lecto sub capanna sive castro doloris; quod fiat ipsum castrum doloris cum lectica, scamnis pro intorticiis, et banchis in quibus sedeat familia. Item pingantur arma, suspendanturque circa ecclesiam, altare et castrum."

[66] Dykmans, *L'Oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini*, 155*, 222–3: "Interea tota domus nudetur ornamentis omnibus, et in maiori aula domus, quasi in medio, paretur lectica ex tabulis, que a terra distet circa sex palmos, latitudine decem, longitudine duodecim palmorum, aut circa, et super ea ponatur lectus ex lana sive pluma, cum cervicali longo, et panno aliquo magno cooperiatur lectus et lectica. Circa lectum a lateribus hinc inde parentur scamna cum foraminibus, ut ibi ponantur sedecim aut viginti intorticia. Ad pedes lecti erit mensula cum mappa munda, et super eam duo candelabra cum luminaribus, super pellicium unum, una stola et pluviale nigri coloris. Item vas cum aqua benedicta et aspersorio, et thuribulum cum navicella incensi, et libellus pro dicendis orationibus. Circumcirca per totam aulam ponantur sedilia pro cardinalibus, prelatis et aliis curialibus qui veniunt ad honorandum defunctum."

Burchard describes in detail the *castrum doloris* that was erected in St Peter's for Sixtus IV.[68] Set up in the middle of the nave of the basilica, it was 5 *canna* (10 metres) long, 4 *canna* (8 metres) wide, and 18 *palmi* high (4 metres). The bed (*lectus*) at the centre—presumably the bier or platform on which the pope's body lay—was 6 *palmi* (1.3 metres) high, 15 (3.3 metres) long, and 12 (2.6 metres) wide. The papal coat of arms painted on paper hung around the basilica's columns and walls. For the *novena* itself, on the first and eighth days there were 166 torches in the nave of St Peter's and fifty at the *castrum doloris*. On the other six days there were no candles in the nave and eleven at the *castrum doloris*. On the last day the *castrum doloris* was not lit.[69]

The ephemeral structures for popes were, according to the liturgies, the same as those for cardinals, only larger.[70] The adoption of the *castrum doloris* for cardinals' funerals was another development of the fifteenth century which saw them replicate those of popes and burgeon as public rather than private affairs.[71] At the funeral in 1485 at Santa Maria in Aracoeli for Cardinal Gabriele Rangone, an Observant Franciscan friar, the *castrum doloris* was 28 *palmi* (6 metres) long, 21 (4.5 metres) wide, and 14 (3 metres) high, smaller than that of Sixtus IV but by no means a diminutive structure. It was lit by more than 800 torches.[72] Francesco Piccolomini wanted a return to ancient custom when the ceremonies were less extravagant: he instructed in his will that his bier and *castrum doloris* be of modest proportions, draped with simple cloths rather than cloth of gold or silver.[73] Other cardinals left the arrangements to convention. Just a few details are given in Francesco Gonzaga's will, apart from reference to a gold brocaded red cloth and one of black silk decorated with his arms which were to be left to the church of San Francesco in Mantua following the funeral as payment.[74]

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[67] Dykmans, *L'Oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini*, 227: "Caput lecti fingitur pars proximior altari, et pedes pars proximior porte ecclesie." The bier for Ardicino della Porta Junior (and therefore the cadaver) had its head towards the altar of Saints Andrew and Gregory and feet towards the high altar of the basilica—Burchard, *Liber notarum*, part 1, 4 March, 1493, 404. The effigy of the cardinal's monument in the oratory of St Thomas faced away from the altar of the oratory and therefore towards the high altar of the basilica. This may help explain the anomaly of the direction in which effigies were placed as they could be related to both side altars where the funeral took place and high altars in churches.

[68] Burchard, *Liber notarum*, part 1, 12–13 August 1484, 16: "Castrum doloris circa medium basilice predicte supra secundum lapidem rotundum ibidem positum, longitudinis v cannarum et latitudinis iv, altitudinis xviii palmorum usque ad planum suum: tectum habuit satis ripidum et congruam proportionem ex eo recipiens. Lectus erat altitudinis vi palmorum absque mataratio, longitudinis xv et latitudinis xii. Per ecclesiam columnis et muris affixa fuerunt arma defuncti in carta depicta; per deambulatorium supra columnas per quadrum aptate sunt capsule pro intorticiis clxvi, si bene memini; circa castrum doloris hinc et inde pro intorticiis L."

[69] Burchard, *Liber notarum*, part 1, 24–5 August 1484, 19.

[70] Dykmans, *L'Oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini*, 235.

[71] Paravicini-Bagliani, *The Pope's Body*, 159.

The *novena* proceeded with the *castrum doloris* as its focus. In practice, however, that did not necessarily mean the corpse had to be displayed throughout the ceremonies, although in theory the body was supposed to be on display for at least part of it: Patrizi Piccolomini stipulated that the corpse should be carefully prepared—shaved and washed in hot water so that the body would not smell, and generally tidied up—so it would last until the "prescribed time," presumably the burial.[75] This relatively simple preparation contrasts with the elaborate embalmment and preparation of the corpse in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries when its display "was a means of glorifying the deceased."[76] Then it had been prepared in such a way that it could be displayed intact for as much as a week, a process that often involved embalmment. Although the practice of dividing these important corpses for burial in several places had effectively disappeared with the fourteenth century, it was still acceptable for the entrails to be set apart from the body.[77] In this context and to express his devotion to his home-town of Kues, Nicholas of Cusa had his heart buried in the choir of the church of the hospice he had endowed there, marked by a marble stone.[78] In the same way, Guillaume d'Estouteville asked that his heart be returned to his cathedral of Rouen for burial while the rest of his body was buried in Rome.[79]

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[72] Burchard, *Liber notarum*, part 1, 7 October 1485, 164.

[73] Richardson, "Lost Will," 202: "Castrum doloris cubito angustius sit quod nostri temporis esse solent et lectus ipse proportione brevior. Stratum lecti quod pallium vocant ex simplici damasceno violaceo sit ad antiquum morem sine ullo omnino auro aut argento…"

[74] Chambers, *Worldly Goods*, 133: "Item volo, iubeo et mando quidam cooperta mea brochati auri cremesini ricii portetur in exequuis meis et postmodum dimitatur ac relinquatur ecclesie predicte Sancti Francisci mantuani pro mortuario cum cendali nigro circumcirca et cum armis ac insignibus meis depictis."

[75] Dykmans, *L'Oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini*, 222, "Cum autem languens spiritum Creatori reddiderit, ministri, deposito ex lecto post morulam cadavere, illud aqua calida lavent, barbam radant, mundent et ita curent opportunis remediis ut corpus sine fetore usque ad prestitutum tempus preservari possit."

[76] Paravicini-Bagliani, *Pope's Body*, 133–6.

[77] Pope Boniface VIII in his bull "Detestandae Feritatis" forbade the division of the corpse. Although always more usual among the French and English, the body could

By the fifteenth century the traditional length of the lying-in-state was three days, because that was the time it was believed it took the soul to leave the body. As noted above in chapter 8 in the case of popes, the burial itself was a minor part of the *novena*.[80] However, in practice the public display of the corpse of a pope or a cardinal was strictly controlled because more often than not it disintegrated into chaos—it was not unknown for the body on its bier to be stripped of its garments.[81] It was perhaps for this reason that Eugenius IV's body was on display for just a single day rather than the traditional three, although this may also be evidence of the minimum of ceremonial for his burial and modest commemoration he had requested.[82] Similarly, in his will Cardinal Pierre Blau (d. 1409) asked to be buried on the night of his death or within two or three days of it.[83] By the end of the fifteenth century, this practice had become standard for the cardinals and popes alike—their corpses were displayed for only the briefest time and they were usually buried the day they died.[84] Sixtus IV died during the night of 12 August 1484. His body was carried from the Vatican palace to St Peter's, where it was on display for less than a day. In the evening of 13 August it was then processed to the Capella del Coro and buried, whereafter the *novena* continued.[85] On the other

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be carved into as many as seven parts. See Elizabeth A.R. Brown, "Death and the Human Body in the Middle Ages: The Legislation of Boniface VIII on the Division of the Corpse," *Viator* 12 (1981): 221–70, and Charles Angell Bradford, *Heart Burial* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1933); Gardner, *Tomb and Tiara*, 10–11.

[78] Chacon, *Vitae, et res gestae*, vol. 2, col. 975.

[79] Gill, "Death and the Cardinal," 362.

[80] See above, chapter 8, 366.

[81] Paravicini-Bagliani, *Pope's Body*, 132; Gardner, *Tomb and Tiara*, 11; Reinhard Elze, "'Sic transit gloria mundi': la morte del papa nel medioevo," *Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento* 3 (1977), 23–41.

[82] See above, chapter 8, 346.

[83] Paravicini-Bagliani, *Pope's Body*, 159, 321 n. 99.

[84] Dykmans, *L'Oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini*, 230; Paravicini-Bagliani, *Pope's Body*, 159, 321 n. 99.

[85] Jacopo Gherardi da Volterra, *Diarium Romanum (1479–1484)*, ed. Enrico Carusi, RIS 23, part 3 (Città di Castello: Lapi, 1904), 137; Alison Wright, *The Pollaiuolo Brothers: The Arts of Florence and Rome* (New Haven and London: Yale Universty Press, 2005), 374.

hand, Pius III in 1503 lay in state for the full three days before being buried, as he requested, in the floor of St Peter's before the monument of his uncle, Pius II.[86]

By all accounts beginning with the funeral of Eugenius IV, the *castrum doloris* stood in for the bier as a reminder of the presence of the deceased rather than a frame for his corpse: all of the elements were there—including servants moving fans over the ensemble to drive away flies attracted to the corpse—but with the exception of the corpse itself.[87] Paravicini-Bagliani defines the *castrum doloris* as "the catafalque without the corpse of the deceased."[88] It stood in for the tomb which in previous centuries had been the focus of the funeral. The emphasis of the *castrum doloris* seems to have been on its lighting by candles to surround the bier of the dead pope or cardinal with light. Together with banners bearing the coats of arms of the deceased and hundreds if not thousands of tapers and torches, all centred round the framework of the *castrum doloris*, the church designated by a cardinal for his burial and obsequies was temporarily converted into a personal shrine. However, it is not certain just how temporary a structure the *castrum doloris* was. It seems unlikely that such a sizeable ensemble could have been brought together in the small window of time between the death of a cardinal or pope and his funeral. Therefore, it seems more likely that these structures were kept in store for adaptation by churches when necessary. In some cases, the framework of the *castrum doloris* may have been used in the longer term to mark the place of burial: although he died in 1483, that constructed for the funeral of Guillaume d'Estouteville still seems to have been in use in 1486.[89] Meredith Gill suggests that it may have marked the site of a burial or surrounded a temporary effigy; however, I have not come across any reference to ephemeral effigies in Rome in the fifteenth century, even though considerable detail is provided, for example by Burchard's *Liber notarum*.

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[86] Paravicini-Bagliani, *Pope's Body*, 156–7. Burchard refers to the three days' exposition of the corpse having fallen out of practice: Dykmans, *L'Oeuvre du Patrizi Piccolomini*, 249: "Maneatque ibidem defunctus usque ad noctem… Solebat tamen antiquitus ibidem tribus diebus permanere." On the death of Eugenius IV see Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, "De morte Eugenii IV et creatione Nicolai V," in Étienne Baluze, *Stephani Baluzii tutelensis miscellanea non ordine digesta… opera ac studio Joannis Dominici Mansi Lucensis* (Lucca: Vincentium Junctinium, 1761), vol. 1, 339: "Corpus eius balsamo conditum per integrum diem populo patuit, atque inde sepultus est apud sanctum Petrum in Vaticano juxta Eugenium III." Pius III's corpse was displayed for three days, from the evening of Tuesday 17 October to the early hours of Friday 19 October 1503—Burchard, *Liber notarum*, part 2, 15–17 October, 393–4: "deinde portatus intra cancellum et positi pedes usque ad cancellum et illud clausum, ubi mansit usque ad diem jovis hora terciarum, et tunc portatus per parafrenarios, precedentibus pluribus intorticiis, videlicet VI, ad capellam sancti Gregorii et ibidem, post missam per quemdam sacerdotem pro defunctis lectam, sepultus in sepultura per eum ordinata dum viveret."

[87] Dykmans, *L'Oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini*, 226: "Hinc inde astabunt duo parafrenarii mortui cardinalis, qui cum duobus flabellis, factis cum armis cardinalis ex serico nigro, videntur abigere muscas etiam si tempus hiemale, qui sedulo flabella placide movent."

[88] Paravicini-Bagliani, *Pope's Body*, 159.

Another key element of the *novena* was the funeral oration or orations. Its position in the liturgy was moveable, though it was not usually thought appropriate to include it during any of the masses. The panegyric at Francesco Gonzaga's funeral was delivered more than two weeks after the beginning of the ceremonies, although, as Chambers points out, it may have been given at a separate requiem mass.[90] While before the fifteenth century, and even at Avignon, the oration had been delivered by a nominated cardinal, by the middle of the fifteenth century it was the duty of a curial official, often a member of the cardinal's household.[91] In 1463 the oration at Alessandro Oliva's funeral in Sant'Agostino was delivered by Giannantonio Campano (1429–77), who had entered the cardinal's household from that of Filippo Calandrini soon after his promotion to the cardinalate in 1460.[92] Campano then became secretary to Pius II and went on to give the oration at the funeral of the pope in 1464.[93] Likewise, it was not a cardinal but Niccolò Palmeri (d. 1467), another curial official, who gave the panegyrics at the funerals of Domenico Capranica in 1458, for Prospero Colonna in 1463 repeating part of Capranica's oration, and Leonello Chiericati (1443–1506) at the funeral of Filippo Calandrini in 1476.[94] These were occasions in which the humanists in the papal court could show off their abilities.

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[89] Gill, "Death and the Cardinal," 356.

[90] Chambers, *Worldly Goods*, 98 n. 22.

[91] Gardner, *Tomb and Tiara*, 12; John W. O'Malley, *Praise and Blame in Renaissance Rome: Rhetoric, Doctrine, and Reform in the Sacred Orators of the Papal Court, c. 1450–1521* (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 1979), 17.

[92] Chacon, *Vitae, et res gestae*, vol. 2, col. 1043; Egmont Lee, *Sixtus IV and Men of Letters*, Temi e testi 26 (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1978), 93; John M. McManamon, *Funeral Oratory and the Cultural Ideals of Italian Humanism* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 52–3, 70, 75, 260–1.

[93] Campano, "Inexequiis divi Pii II oratio," in Pius II, *Opera quae extant omnia*... (Basel: Henricpetrina, 1571), f. 102ff.

[94] McManamon, *Funeral Oratory*, 28, 284: Niccolò Palmeri, "Oratio funebris cardinalis Firmani [Domenico Capranica]," BAV cod.Vat.lat 5815, ff. 24r–25r, and "Oratio in funere cardinalis Prosperi Columnis," ff. 121r–v. The funeral oration of Cardinal Filippo Calandrini ("In funere Philippi Cardinalis Bononiensis," ZZ1837, ff. 384r–392v) has

In funeral orations for cardinals, as John McManamon has shown, their relationship with the pope and their role as part of the papal body were emphasized. For Latino Orsini's eulogy in 1477, Giovanni Gatti used a variety of biblical texts in what McManamon refers to as an unconvincing attempt to prove the divine institution of the College of Cardinals and its role as the pope's co-judges: "You are those who have continued with me in my trials; as my Father appointed a kingdom for me, so do I appoint for you that you may eat and drink at my table, and sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel" (Luke 22:28–30); "He has raised up the poor from the dust; he lifts the needy from the ash heap, to make them sit with princes and inherit a seat of honour" (1 Samuel 2:8); "If any case arises requiring decision between one kind of homicide and another, one kind of legal right and another, or one kind of assault and another, any case within your towns which is too difficult for you, then you shall arise and go up to the place which the Lord your God will choose, and coming to the Levitical priests, and to the judge who is in office in those days, you shall consult them, and they shall declare to you their decision" (Deuteronomy 17:8–9).[95] In some cases eulogists relished the fact that cardinals had followed their consciences and challenged papal policy, among them Niccolò Capranica's oration for Bessarion in 1472 and Antonio da Montecatini's for Niccolò Forteguerri in 1473, stressing the fact that in such a public position the true character of a cardinal was bound to show through.[96]

During the fifteenth century, protocol demanded that the pope stay away from his cardinals' funerals.[97] This was largely upheld, though there were notable exceptions to this rule. When Alessandro Oliva da Sassoferrato died in 1463 at the age of 55, Pius II insisted on performing the rites at his burial as a mark of respect for so holy a man (Figure 117).[98] Likewise, Sixtus IV presided over the funeral of Bessarion on 3 December 1473 in Santissimi XII Apostoli in recognition of the debt he owed to his past patron.[99] In other cases they did not ignore the cardinals' deaths. Protocol demanded that a requiem be said for the dead cardinal in the

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survived in the Bayerishes Staatsbibliothek in Munich, not Monaco as recorded in the DBI, vol. 16, 452. See McManamon, *Funeral Oratory*, 266.

[95] McManamon, *Funeral Oratory*, 74, 204 n. 48.

[96] McManamon, *Funeral Oratory*, 74, 204 nn. 49 and 53.

[97] O'Malley, *Praise and Blame in Renaissance Rome*, 13.

[98] Pius II, "Commentaries of Pius II," 804; Pius II, *Commentarii*, 750. See also Chacon, *Vitae, et res gestae*, vol. 2, col. 1043.

[99] On the relationship between the two see Lee, *Sixtus IV and Men of Letters*, 18–30.

papal chapel, although the pope himself was not present and Burchard seems to have disapproved of the low attendance by other cardinals: on 16 March 1484, mass was celebrated in the papal chapel for the departed soul of Jean Rolin, Cardinal of San Stefano Rotondo, ten months after his death; seven days later Francesco Gonzaga received the same honour even though he had been dead for six months; on 30 March Theodore de Montferrat, Cardinal of San Teodoro, who had died three months earlier, was likewise commemorated.[100]

The *novena* was only a start in the remembrance of the cardinals, which continued long after they had died. Francesco Gonzaga endowed the chapter of the cathedral of Mantua with 1,000 gold ducats in return for their celebrating requiem masses for his soul. To mark the vigil of

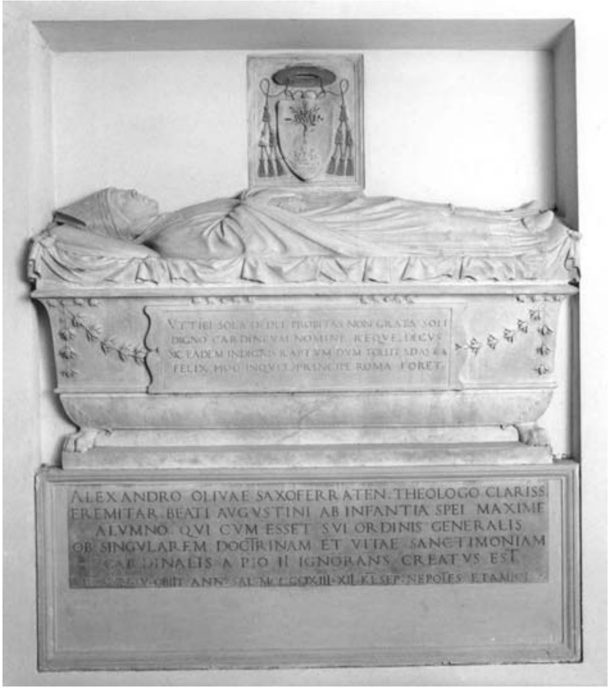
FELIX HOC INQVIT PRINCIPE ROMA FORET
ALEXANDRO OLIVAE SAXOFERRATEN. THEOLOGO CLARISS.
EREMITAR. BEATI AVGVSTINI AB INFANTIA SPEI MAXIME
ALVMNO QVI CVM ESSET SVI ORDINIS GENERALIS
OB SINGVLAREM DOCTRINAM ET VITAE SANCTIMONIAM
CARDINALIS A PIO II IGNORANS CREATVS EST

Figure 117 Monument of Alessandro Oliva da Sassoferrato (d. 1464), Sant'Agostino, passageway to sacristy. Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art, neg. no. A73/2793.

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[100] Burchard, *Liber notarum*, part 1, 16, 23 and 30 March 1484, 7, 9.

the anniversary of his death, Gonzaga asked that the canons process to San Francesco to say vespers, then the following day matins, before celebrating mass at his tomb.[101] He also gave the ruby of a ring he habitually wore to the cathedral to be inserted into the crown of the Virgin in a devotional image he also left to them. Gonzaga was apparently not interested in being remembered in Rome, for he sold his property there to pay off debts and left nothing in his will for the churches to which he had been attached. This contrasts markedly with Francesco Piccolomini, who covered all his options in both Rome and Siena. He established a canonry attached to his titular church of Sant'Eustachio to celebrate mass every Sunday and on every one of the Church's feasts, as well as chaplains in his cathedral at Siena, and left vestments bearing the Piccolomini insignia to various monastic establishments, all to ensure that his existence and therefore the plight of his soul were kept in mind (a tradition happily continued by art historians!).[102]

Tombs

It is striking that in their wills cardinals more often specify details for funeral ephemera, for example the *castrum doloris*, than for their tomb monuments. This was perhaps because convention removed the need to be specific as the organization of a monument was the duty of the heirs. Therefore, monuments rarely represent personal choice apart from in their location. Instead, they signify both the interests of those left behind and a distillation of the dignity of cardinal and its continuity as witness to the apostolic succession. Francesco Gonzaga was relatively unusual in that he stipulated both his burial in his family chapel in San Francesco and that his grave be marked with a marble slab incised with the representation of a cardinal-deacon and his cardinalatial and family arms.[103] Even so, the details provided are minimal.

The serial nature of the development of the last will and testament and the possibility that the place of burial might be changed were features of the fifteenth century. In previous centuries the first expression was taken to be binding, particularly with regard to the place of burial.[104] Cardinal Antonio Martinez de Chaves (d. 1447) first of all wanted to be buried in Santa Maria sopra Minerva but, because he became archpriest of St John Lateran, changed his mind and was buried there instead.[105] When Guillaume d'Estouteville died in 1483, he left behind four wills and added four additional codicils in his last few days.[106] His first will, dated 1470, asked for burial in his cathedral church at Rouen if he died in France. Otherwise he asked that his heart be returned to Rouen. Just before he died in Rome, d'Estouteville designated Sant'Agostino, the church he had been rebuilding since the middle of the century, as his place of burial and had his heart taken to France.[107] Despite mentioning burial in both Santa Maria Maggiore (where he was entitled to be buried as he was archpriest of the basilica and where he had established a chapel) and Sant'Agostino, in the end the cardinal seems to have had no monument provided for him in Rome apart, perhaps, from a simple floor slab.[108] Instead, his heart was buried in Rouen where a fine monument of black marble surmounted by an effigy in alabaster had been constructed in the 1470s "like that of the king."[109]

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[101] Chambers, *Worldly Goods*, 133–4.

[102] Richardson, "Lost Will," 203–9.

[103] Chambers, *Worldly Goods*, 133: "...in ecclesia Sancti Francisci in capella ubi Illustres quondam Domini progenitores mei sepulti sunt, et in sepulcro quod tunc fieri mando subtus terram de lapidibus et cemento iuxta archam seu sepulturam Illustris quondam genitoris mei, et desuper ipsum sepulcrum ponatur lapis marmoreus in quo sit insculpta effigies diaconi cardinalis et insignia cardinalatus et domus mee de Gonzaga."

Even when they specified a location, cardinals were inclined to be flexible. In his will Giordano Orsini asked to be buried in St Peter's "in the chapel which is commonly called 'Saint Mary of Pregnant Women,' which is situated in the same basilica next to the chapel of Saint Ivo and [next to] the door within the church which leads to the chapel of Santa Petronilla."[110] Located in the north transept, the chapel of "Saint Mary of Pregnant Women" was one of a number under Orsini patronage in the basilica.[111] If the canons of St Peter's did not want Orsini to be buried there, he offered them another location—the chapel of San Salvatore where his mother and father were buried.[112] No more detail is given on the form of any monument, however.

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[104] Paravicini-Bagliani, *Testamenti*, c–cviii; Gardner, *Tomb and Tiara*, 5.

[105] See above, chapter 8 at n. 79.

[106] Gill, "Death and the Cardinal," 347.

[107] Gill, "Death and the Cardinal," 349–51, 362. As Gill points out, the practice of division of the corpse had died out by the start of the fifteenth century but was revived by the French royal family under Charles VIII.

[108] Gill, "Death and the Cardinal," 354.

[109] Gill, "Death and the Cardinal," 369–71. The king mentioned was Charles V (d. 1380), whose body was buried at Saint-Denis but whose heart was sent to Rouen. On the fate of d'Estouteville's heart monument see 374. It was still extant in the seventeenth century but is now lost.

[110] Celenza, "The Will of Cardinal Giordano Orsini," 272, 275: to support the chapel, Orsini left a house in *rione* Sant'Eustachio on the Via del Papa, another in Rione Pigna, a vineyard, and two *apothecas* (store rooms). In the (liturgical) north transept, the chapel of Saint Ivo was long confused with an altar of Saint John, based on a mistaken reading of the will. For example, Tiberio Alfarano, *Tiberii Alpharano de*

Francesco Piccolomini set out a number of options in his will for where he was to be buried, depending where he died—in or near Rome, or at some distance from the city, in which case he wanted to be buried at the altar he had commissioned in Siena Cathedral (Figure 118). Even then he accepted that this might not be possible and the nearest cathedral church would do.

> If I happen to die in Rome, I choose a place of burial in the basilica of the Prince of the Apostles within the chapel of St Andrew the Apostle amongst the bones of my uncle Pope Pius, so that he who brought me up from childhood and advanced me to this rank when alive may even in death tend the ashes of his nephew… up to the great day of the Resurrection. I order that my body be laid in the ground at the feet of my uncle's tomb on his right between the sepulchre and the wall of the basilica covered only by a marble sculpted in my likeness, but I do not wish the tomb to be decorated with any sculptures except that a marble tablet is to be inserted into the wall three braccia [2 metres] from the ground above the tomb which has an epitaph incised with beautiful letters as follows:
>
> Sacred to God/to Francesco Piccolomini/deacon of St Eustace/Cardinal of Siena/nephew of Pope Pius II/in accordance with his will/lived… [left blank] years.
>
> But if I die outside Rome in Italy but beyond the river Paglia which flows through the valley of Aquapendente… I desire to be brought back to the city and interred in the tomb I have mentioned. But if it pleases God for me to die elsewhere in Italy or unexpectedly I ask that it not be a burden to my executors and heirs to take my body back to the city of Siena under their own care and supervision.

Basilicae Vaticanae antiquissima et nova…, Studi e testi 26. (Rome: Tipografia Poliglotta Vaticana, 1914), 42–3 n. 4.

[111] The chapel of the *Madonna del Partorienti* was founded by Cardinal Giovanni Gaetano Orsini (d. 1385) and later embellished by Giordano Orsini himself. It was later decorated with a fresco of the Virgin and Child attributed to Antoniazzo Romano which may have been commissioned by Latino Orsini in the 1460s or 1470s: Vittorio Lanzani, *The Vatican Grottoes* (Rome: Elio de Rosa, 1995; English edition 2003), 84; Giacomo Grimaldi, *Descrizione della basilica antica di S. Pietro in Vaticano. Codice Barberini Latino 2733*, ed. Reto Niggl, Codices e Vaticanis selecti 32 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1972), 66–8.

[112] Celenza, "The Will of Cardinal Giordano Orsini," 276; Grimaldi, *S. Pietro in Vaticano*, 395.

In the end Francesco Piccolomini ended up with not one but three monuments.[113] These were the altar in Siena and a floor tomb for St Peter's carved with his effigy as a cardinal, which were organized while he was still alive, and a wall monument, which was commissioned by his family and set up behind the altar of St Andrew after his death as Pius III in 1503 (Figures 119 and 115). As he requested in his will, even as pope Francesco Piccolomini was buried not in his own monument but at the feet of his uncle's monument.[114] The marble slab carved with an effigy of the cardinal-deacon was recycled. It closed

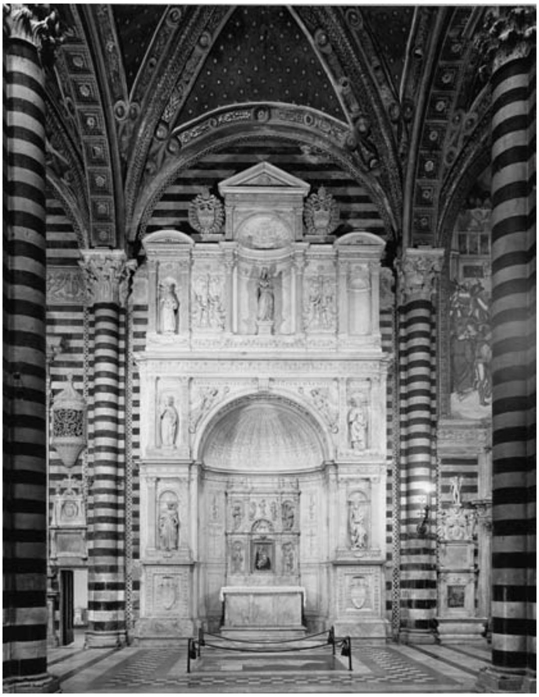

Figure 118 Piccolomini altar, Siena Cathedral, 1490s. Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art, neg. no. B88/715.

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[113] Johannes Röll, "Das Grabmonument Papst Pius III," in *Praemium Virtutis: Grabmonumente und Begräbniszeremoniell im Zeichen des Humanismus*, ed. Joachim Poseschke, Britta Kusch, and Thomas Weigd (Münster: Rhema, 2002), 233–56.

[114] When the popes' remains were exhumed by Grimaldi and his assistants those of Pius II were in a wooden coffin sealed within the marble monument. The body of Pius III was buried in the floor below his uncle's monument: Grimaldi, *S. Pietro in Vaticano*, 255.

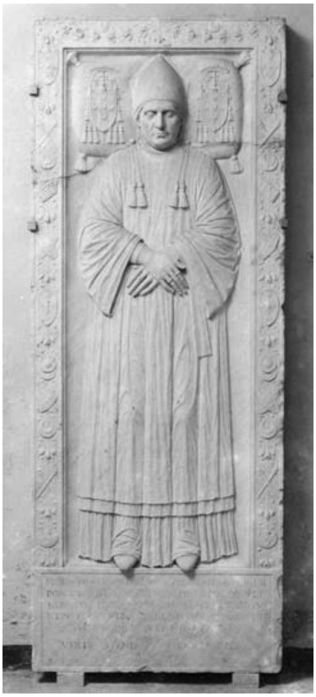

Figure 119 Grave slab of Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini/Pius III. Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art, neg. no. A74/1036.

his tomb as Pius III but with the effigy facing down, which is why it is so well preserved today. The reverse face was carved with the letters PIVS III. PONT. MAX.

Nicholas of Cusa was similarly practical.[115] If he died north of Florence, then he requested burial at Kues in the church attached to the hospital he had established there. If he died south of Florence, then he was to be buried in San Pietro in Vincoli in front of the altar he commissioned for the relic of the chains of St Peter (see Figures 22 and 23).[116] In the end he died at Todi on 11 August 1464, just before Pius II's death, on his way to Ancona to support the launch of a papal fleet against the Ottoman Turks but his body was brought back for burial in Rome.

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[115] Übinger, "Zur Lebensgeschichte des Nikolaus Cusanus," 555–7.

[116] Übinger, "Zur Lebensgeschichte des Nikolaus Cusanus," 554. BAV, Barb. lat. 2160, f. 120; BAV, Vat. lat. 11905, f. 220, gives the position of the tomb.

The majority of cardinals were buried and commemorated in Rome, even if they had not died there.[117] The Augustinian Alessandro Oliva da Sassoferrato died in 1463 at the age of 57 in Capua near Naples, but was brought back for his interment in Sant'Agostino (see Figure 117). The half-brother of Pope Nicholas V, Filippo Calandrini died on 22 July 1476 in Bagnoregio in the diocese of Viterbo, where he was accustomed to spend the hot summer months.[118] His body was brought back to Rome and buried in his titular church of San Lorenzo in Lucina, though whatever monument he may have had is now lost.

Bessarion was seized with an illness and died aged 77 en route to Ravenna in 1473: he was brought back to Rome and buried in the chapel of Sant'Eugenia he had embellished in Santissimi XII Apostoli (see Figure 39).[119] He is commemorated by two marble panels which survive in the second cloister of the convent, one bearing a Latin inscription and the other Greek (Figure 120). The details he gave in his will of 1464 for his burial, nine years before his death, are unusual in their precision and are therefore worth considering further. The form of the tomb and the level of detail provided are most likely explained as being a convention of the Byzantine monastic order of St Basil to which Bessarion belonged.

To the right-hand side of the altar in his chapel of Sant'Eugenia, Bessarion asked that a pit eight feet deep be dug.[120] The pit was to be lined on four sides but the bottom left unlined. Two feet above

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[117] See chapter 8, above, note 5.

[118] Pius II, *Commentarii*, 97–8; Pius II, *Commentaries*, 177.

[119] Chacon, *Vitae, et res gestae*, vol. 2, col. 907.

[120] Vitaliano Tiberia, *Antoniazzo Romano per il Cardinale Bessarione a Roma* (Todi: Ediart, 1992), 120–1: "Item in altari in angulo dextrae partis intrando prope cancellos fiat sepulcrum meum in hunc modum. Fodiatur in longum et largum quantum sufficiat ad profunditatem octo pedum, et murentur omnes quatuor parietes, solario dimisso sine muro, et in altitudine duorum pedum figatur inter murum, dum fit murus, una craticula ferrea, ubi jacebit cadaver. Deinde supra craticulam duos pedes murus habeat incastraturam circumcirca, ut superponantur supra corpus una tabula marmorea. Deinde ad aequalitatem pavimenti capellae alia tabula marmorea, quae ex nunc possit parari et poni tali modo quod possit extrahi et poni; post haec super illam tabulam ex tribus partibus, nam quarta erit murus tribunalis, eringatur tres marmorae tabulae altitudinis quinque palmarum, et supra eas ponatur una pulchra marmorea tabula. In istis autem tribus tabulis erectis fiat aliquis ornatus, in quarum anteriori scribantur hae litterae: Bessarion, episcopus Tusculanus, S. Romanae Ecclesiae cardinalis, patriarcha Constantinopolitanus, sibi vivens posuit anno salutis, etc., cum designatione annorum Domini tunc occurrentium. Hoc autem sic factum aedificium erit credentia, si quando pontifex aliquis in capella celebraverit; et ideo ponatur superius una pulchra tabula marmorea." Bessarion wrote another will on 10 April 1467 in which he ensured the chapel was properly endowed.

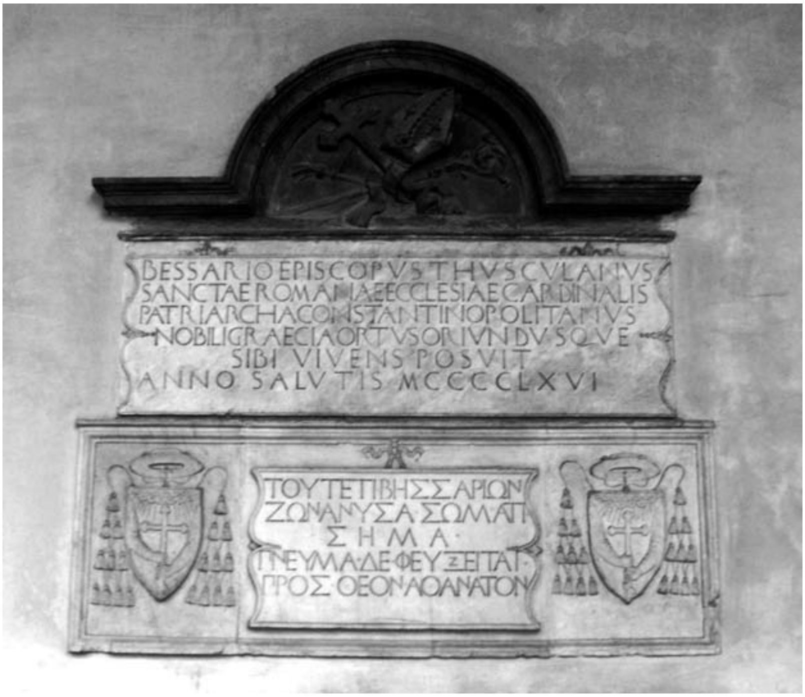
BESSARIO EPISCOPVS THVSCVLANVS
SANCTAE ROMANAE ECCLESIAE CARDINALIS
PATRIARCHA CONSTANTINOPOLITANVS
NOBILI GRAECIA ORTVS ORIVNDVSQVE
SIBI VIVENS POSVIT
ANNO SALVTIS MCCCCLXVI
ΤΟΥΤΕΤΙ ΒΗΣΣΑΡΙΩΝ
ΖΩΝ ΑΝΥΣΑ ΣΩΜΑΤΙ
ΣΗΜΑ
ΠΝΕΥΜΑ ΔΕ ΦΕΥΞΕΙΤΑΙ
ΠΡΟΣ ΘΕΟΝ ΑΘΑΝΑΤΟΝ

Figure 120 Tomb monument of Bessarion (d. 1473), relocated to second cloister, Santissimi XII Apostoli. Author.

the bottom was to be inserted an iron grating on which the cardinal's cadaver would lie. This was presumably done so that the corpse would quickly decompose and reduce to the skeleton. Two feet above the iron grating was to be a slot into which a marble cover would fit. At floor level another marble slab was to be placed in such a way that it could be removed and replaced when the cardinal had died. Above this Bessarion wanted three marble tablets set up in such a way that they would support a fine marble slab and form a table against the wall of the chapel. This side table would serve as a credence (on which the vessels for the bread and wine would be placed) for the altar. On the front of the credence was to be a Latin inscription. Although it is not mentioned in Bessarion's will, an inscription in Greek seems to have been added above the credence. Together these inscriptions bring out the contrast between body and soul. Whereas the Latin inscription, which is in the third person, is factual and more impersonal, the Greek, which is an elegiac couplet, is more personal and poetic:

> I Bessarion, while still alive built this tomb for my body, but my spirit will escape to immortal God.

Bessarion controlled his burial site because it was within the chapel he had endowed and embellished in his titular church.

Since the thirteenth century, burial in St Peter's had been entirely in the gift of the pope.[121] Cardinal Richard Olivier de Longueil died in August 1470 outside Rome on his legation to Perugia, but as he had requested in his will, his body was transported back to Rome and buried in St Peter's before the altar which he had restored there.[122] Burial in the Vatican basilica was his right because he had been made archpriest by Paul II. Similarly, Francesco Piccolomini expected as a cardinal to be buried in St Peter's because his uncle, Pius II, had established the chapel of Saints Andrew and Gregory there, which quickly became a focus for the Piccolomini clan. Cardinal Piccolomini was nevertheless careful to secure papal licences which confirmed his intention, as was discussed above.

Jacopo Ammannati was an adopted member of the Piccolomini family and therefore, according to his undated will, hoped to be buried in St Peter's under a simple slab in the chapel of Saints Andrew and Gregory.[123] According to Alonso Chacon, Sixtus IV refused his request and he was buried in Sant'Agostino instead.[124] However, Meredith Gill has demonstrated that when Ammannati's mother, Costanza, died in 1477, the cardinal changed his mind and he ordered monuments for them both in Sant'Agostino out of respect for his mother's devotion to St Monica, whose remains had been moved to the church from Ostia under Eugenius IV. As Cardinal of Pavia, Ammannati also had reason to choose to be buried near St Monica: her son, St Augustine, was buried in Pavia in the church of San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro, which in 1479 he had tried to secure for the Observant Augustinians.[125] It is possible that Ammannati changed his mind having tried to secure permission for burial in St Peter's under Sixtus IV however. When he was refused, he may have instead decided to develop monuments for himself and his mother in Sant'Agostino where the two could lie *ad sanctos*.[126]

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[121] Sible de Blaauw, *Cultus et decor: liturgia e architettura nella Roma tardoantica e medievale*, Studi e testi 355–6 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1994), 673–4.

[122] Chacon, *Vitae, et res gestae*, vol. 2, col. 996.

[123] Gill, "Death and the Cardinal," 360; Meredith J. Gill, "'Remember me at the altar of the Lord': Saint Monica's Gift to Rome," *Collectanea Augustiniana: Augustine in Iconography, History and Legend*, ed. J.C. Schnaubelt and F. Van Fleteren (Villanova: Augustinian Historical Institute, Villanova University, 1999), 549–76.

[124] Chacon, *Vitae, et res gestae*, vol. 2, col. 1062.

[125] Gill, "Saint Monica's Gift to Rome," 553.

Considering papal efforts in the fifteenth century to organize and rationalize the monuments and altars in St Peter's, it is not unlikely that Sixtus IV wanted to have some control over their proliferation. While the Venetians had established the top of the north aisle in St Peter's as their burial ground, the Piccolomini had laid claim to the bottom of the same aisle. Sixtus IV and his family were newcomers to Rome and the papacy, however. Francesco della Rovere had only been made cardinal by Paul II in 1467 and was lucky to be elected pope so soon after. He quickly made six of his relatives cardinals, among them—to help construct a noble lineage for his mercantile family by association—two of the della Rovere nobility of Vinovo near Turin.[127] But rather than St Peter's, his relatives and associates patronized Santa Maria del Popolo.

Santa Maria del Popolo stands just inside the Porta del Popolo, which marks the entrance of the Via Flaminia to Rome (Figure 121). The vast majority of visitors to the city entered this way: it was the gate through which pilgrims following the route from Canterbury to Jerusalem, the Via Francigena or French route, entered Rome for example.[128] Men who had been made cardinals but had not yet received their regalia from the pope customarily waited at Santa Maria del Popolo until being allowed to formally enter the city. In March 1462, for example, the two French cardinals-elect, Jean Jouffroy and Richard Olivier de Longueil, entered

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[126] Cardinals Domenico (d. 1458) and Angelo (d. 1478) Capranica were similarly buried *ad sanctos* near the shrine of St Catherine of Siena in Santa Maria sopra Minerva: Diana Norman, "The Chapel of Saint Catherine in San Domenico: A Study of Cultural Relations between Renaissance Siena and Rome," in *Siena nel Rinascimento: l'ultimo secolo della repubblica. II, Arte, architettura e cultura.* Atti del convegno internazionale, Siena (28–30 sett. 2003, 16–18 sett. 2004), ed. Mario Ascheri, Gianni Mazzoni and Fabrizio Nevola (Siena: Accademia degli Intronati, forthcoming).

[127] Sixtus IV's cardinal-nephews were Pietro Riario (d. 1474) and Giuliano della Rovere (died as Julius II 1513), created in 1471; Raffaele Riario (d. 1521) and Girolamo Basso della Rovere (d. 1507) in 1477; and the della Rovere of Vinovo, Cristoforo (d. 1478) and Domenico (d. 1501), in Andrew C. Blume, "The Sistine Chapel, Dynastic Ambitions, and the Cultural Patronage of Sixtus IV," in *Patronage and Dynasty: The Rise of the della Rovere in Renaissance Italy*, ed. Ian Verstegen (Kirksville: Truman State University Press, 2007), 3–7. See also Marinella Bonvini Mazzanti, "I della Rovere," in *I della Rovere: Piero della Francesca, Raffaello, Tiziano*, ed. Paolo Dal Poggetto (Milan: Electa, 2004), 35–50, on the rise and fall of the dynasty.

[128] Giulia Petrucci, "La via Sistina da Porta del Popolo al Vaticano ed il programma urbanistico di Sisto IV per il Borgo (1471–1484)," in *La città del Quattrocento*, ed. Guglielmo Villa (Rome: Kappa, 1998), 35–57.

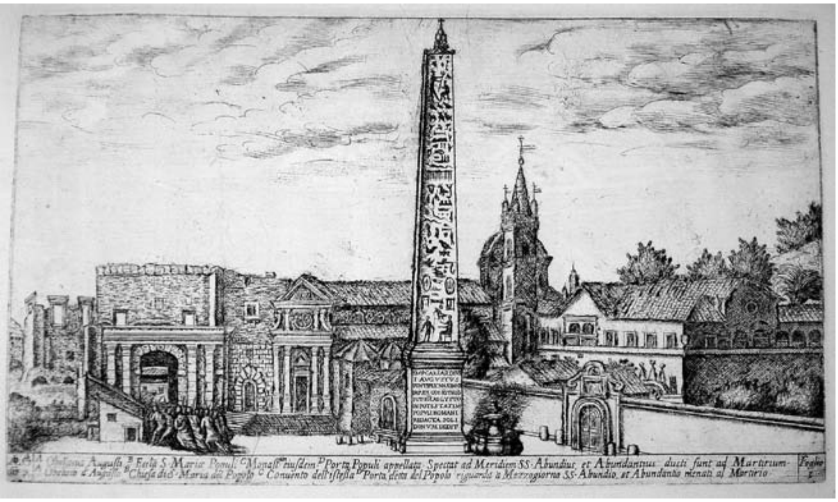
A Obeliscus Augusti B Eccl[es]ia S. Mariae Populi C Monast[eriu]m eiusdem D Porta Populi appellata Spectat ad Meridiem SS. Abundius et Abundantius ducti sunt ad Martirium
A Obelisco d'Augusto B Chiesa di S. Maria del Popolo C Convento dell'istessa D Porta detta del Popolo riguarda a Mezzogiorno SS. Abundio et Abundantio menati al Martirio
Foglio

Figure 121 Porta del Popolo and Santa Maria del Popolo, in Aldò Giovannoli, *Roma antica* (1619). British School at Rome/author.

Rome together through the Porta del Popolo and stayed at the church overnight awaiting the escort of cardinals who would accompany them to the Vatican palace.[129]

Beginning in 1472, Sixtus IV had Santa Maria del Popolo rebuilt: an inscription on its facade declares his patronage and its place in preparing "the way for the kingdom of heaven."[130] Sixtus IV maintained regular contact with the church by celebrating mass there on the feast of the Birth of the Virgin (6 September) and by visiting the church to pray there every Saturday, as well as on other occasions. His cardinal-nephews quickly joined in the project to rebuild and enrich the church: Giuliano della Rovere commissioned a new high altar in 1473; from 1477 Domenico della Rovere commissioned the decoration of the first chapel on the right-hand side, where Cristoforo della Rovere's tomb monument was erected when he died in 1478; in 1484 Girolamo Basso della Rovere took over the third chapel on the right for his family; and in 1505 Giuliano della Rovere (Julius II) commissioned a new choir for the church from Bramante.[131] In all, eleven of the thirty-four cardinals created by Sixtus IV were buried in Santa Maria del Popolo, and it became a fairly regular choice thereafter: it had not been before. As a result, a significant group of cardinalatial patrons who might have expected burial in St Peter's—Sixtus IV's relatives and close associates—were removed from contention for the already limited space in the basilica, where they might even have wanted to share the Capella del Coro with the pope himself.[132]

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[129] Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, vol. 2, 36 n. 190. Richard Olivier de Longueil was nominated cardinal by Calixtus III on 17 December 1456 and Jean Jouffroy by Pius II 18 December 1461.

[130] Lisa Passaglia Bauman, "Piety and Public Consumption: Domenico, Girolamo, and Julius II della Rovere at Santa Maria del Popolo," in *Patronage and Dynasty: The Rise of the della Rovere in Renaissance Italy*, ed. Ian Verstegen (Kirksville: Truman State University Press, 2007), 41; Enzo Bentivoglio and Simonetta Valtieri, *Santa Maria del Popolo* (Rome: Bardi, 1976), 135.

More often than not, cardinals relied on their executors and heirs to provide an appropriate memorial. In some cases their monuments came to represent more than the commemoration of a prince of the Church and to include the political and even commercial associations from which their friends, relatives, and acquaintances could benefit. Two notable examples are Don Jaime, the Cardinal of Portugal, and Niccolò Forteguerri.

The chapel of the Cardinal of Portugal has long stood as a symbol of the disapproval of a young but devout man for the excesses of Rome, and his burial in Florence seemed to demonstrate his disdain for the worldly reality of the papal court (Figure 122).[133] In fact, according to Eric Apfelstadt, the Cardinal of Portugal "was manipulated in death as in life by the agendas of those around him," agendas "that involved the web of dynastic, economic, and scientific interests that linked Florence with Portugal and Burgundy in the fifteenth century."[134] In early 1459 Don Jaime left Rome as he had been made legate to Vienna to negotiate participation in the crusade against the Turks with Emperor Frederick III, who was married to his first cousin, Leonor.[135] By late June he was at Florence, staying at the Cambini palace, where his ill health delayed him, a fact noted by the pope, who wrote to the Florentine government twice about the delay in the cardinal's arrival at the Congress of Mantua.[136] He died on 27 August.

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[131] Bauman, "Piety and Public Consumption," 42–57.

[132] This will be the subject of a future study.

[133] On the chapel see Hartt, *Chapel of the Cardinal of Portugal*; Linda A. Koch, "The Early Christian Revival at S. Miniato al Monte: The Cardinal of Portugal Chapel," *The Art Bulletin* 78 (1996): 527–55; Apfelstadt, "Bishop and Pawn," 183–223.

[134] Apfelstadt, "Bishop and Pawn," 184, 199.

[135] Apfelstadt, "Bishop and Pawn," 185.

[136] Apfelstadt, "Bishop and Pawn," 185 n. 13: Pius II wrote on 18 July and 16 August. The documents are at ASF, Signori, Responsive, Copiari, I ff. 75, 79–81.

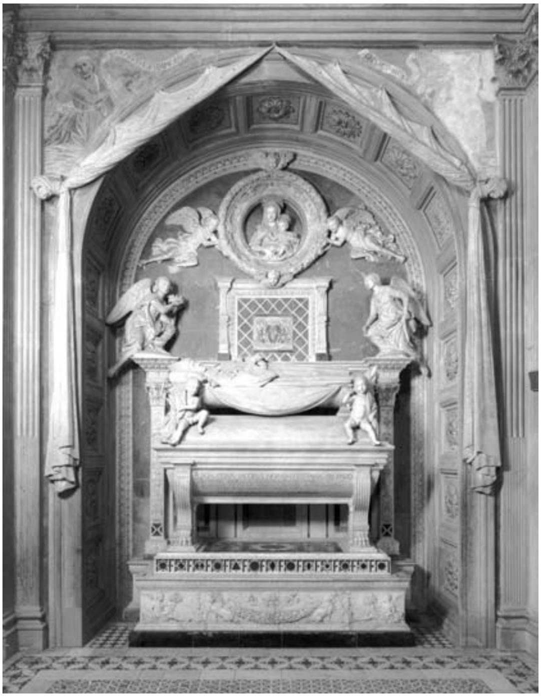

Figure 122 Monument of the Cardinal of Portugal (d. 1459), San Miniato, Florence. Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art, neg. no. B80/2635.

The Florentine state paid about 200 florins for an appropriate funeral (compared with 30–50 for a statesman and 300 florins for Baldassare Cossa—John XXIII), and the members of the Signoria attended the requiem in Santa Maria Maggiore. The cardinal was interred at San Miniato al Monte, a Benedictine church of the Monteolivetan congregation, until his tomb was ready in a chapel off the north aisle of the church by September 1466.[137] Don Jaime had become a regular visitor to the Monteolivetan monastery of Santa Maria di Montemorcino, which explains why he wanted to be buried in one of their churches. However, the Florentines paid for the funeral not out of charity but because of their connections with the Portuguese, who were regular investors in Florence. Pedro, Jaime's father, a member of the Portuguese royal house, had visited Florence in 1428 to inspect his interests in the city.[138] The cardinal left limited resources, but by providing his funeral, the Florentine government could also expect favours from the family of such a well-connected cardinal: a letter was sent to the King of Portugal in May 1460 pointing out the honours they had given Don Jaime. Among other things, the Florentines hoped to secure concessions for their merchants among Portugal's allies. In September 1460 Duke Philip of Burgundy, to whom Don Jaime's sister was married, extended his permission for Florentine merchants to trade throughout his duchy. Indeed, the documents closing the account for the cardinal's estate in 1466 make explicit that the Florentines were releasing funds for the chapel to protect the interests of their merchants.[139]

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[137] Apfelstadt, "Bishop and Pawn," 199.

According to Apfelstadt, the impression given by the cardinal's will and Vespasiano's account, which credits the cardinal with the idea for the chapel, is not so much of a devout and holy man but "of a rather vain yet unworldly young man, who did not realize that his resources would barely cover his debts and the salaries of his servants."[140] His total estate probably came to about 11,000 florins, whereas the chapel cost around 12,000. Immediately following his death, work commenced on his chapel with Antonio Manetti as architect. Desiderio da Settignano was asked to make a mould of the cardinal's head.[141] On 14 September 1459 Pierfilippo Pandolfini wrote to ask Platina to compose an epitaph for the planned monument.[142] In 1461 the tomb was commissioned from Antonio Rossellino, which then took five years to complete. In the same year the ceiling decoration was commissioned from Lucca della Robbia. In 1466–7 Antonio and Piero del Pollaiuolo undertook the altarpiece, which includes Saint Eustace in the centre to whom his *diaconia* in Rome was dedicated, and fresco decoration for the altar wall, with others frescoes carried out between 1466 and 1472 by Baldovinetti.[143] The generously proportioned chapel combines a variety of media to give as opulent an impression as possible and show off

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[138] Apfelstadt, "Bishop and Pawn," 200; Francis Millet Rogers, *The Travels of the Infante Dom. Pedro of Portugal*, Harvard Studies in Romance Languages 26 (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1961), 25–8.

[139] Apfelstadt, "Bishop and Pawn," 199–202; Hartt, *Chapel of the Cardinal of Portugal*, 132–3: the letters to the king of Portugal and Duke Philip are in Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Signori, Missive, I Cancelleria, 43, ff. 30r–v, f. 75r.

[140] Apfelstadt, "Bishop and Pawn," 191.

[141] The detail of the process in making the monument is given in Apfelstadt, "Bishop and Pawn," 192; Hartt, *Chapel of the Cardinal of Portugal*, 144.

[142] Hartt, *Chapel of the Cardinal of Portugal*, 43: the letters of Pandolfini are in BNCF, Codici Strozziane, cl. VI, 166, ff. 105r–107v.

[143] John Pope-Hennessy, *Luca della Robbia* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1980), 48.

Florentine craftsmanship and artistry to the full. The tomb is unusual in its richness, but it is also distinctly Roman. With its stone curtain, fully articulated sarcophagus and effigy, it has more in common with the additive, piled Gothic monuments of early fifteenth-century Rome than with the compact wall tombs that were gaining favour, although the parts are treated with a delicacy and expressiveness typical of carving in Florence.

Niccolò Forteguerri died on 21 December 1473 while he was on legation to Viterbo. The cardinal seems to have died intestate, a fact that can be gleaned from Sixtus IV's use of his Roman estate for the hospital of Santo Spirito in the Borgo.[144] Forteguerri had been careful to endow the school he established in Pistoia in August 1473, just a few months before his death, and his Tuscan properties had already been distributed amongst his heirs.[145] His brothers, Pietro and Giovanni, had his remains returned to Rome, where they were buried at his titular church of Santa Cecilia in Trastevere. He was commemorated not only in Rome but also in Pistoia, where the civic authorities commissioned a cenotaph in gratitude both to his generosity to their town, where he had established a school, but also, no doubt, for his support against their Florentine rulers.[146] On 2 January 1474 the Consiglio of Pistoia agreed that the cardinal should be commemorated with a requiem mass, for which they set aside 30 florins, and that they would commission a monument to the cardinal's memory, for which they would pay 300 florins. A competition was held and Andrea del Verrocchio's design for a cenotaph was chosen by the Commissari of Pistoia, a committee of four Florentines who supervised local affairs. However, the local Pistoians resented their overlords and approached another sculptor, Piero del Pollaiuolo. One reason for their bravado was that Cardinal Forteguerri had helped protect local interests against the Florentines. They therefore appealed to Lorenzo de' Medici, de facto ruler of Florence, to decide which artist should win the commission.

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[144] Ottorino Montenovesi, "L'Arcispedale di S. Spirito in Roma," *Archivio della società romana di storia patria*, n.s. 62 (1939): 183; Eunice D. Howe, *The Hospital of Santo Spirito and Pope Sixtus IV* (New York: Garland, 1978), 39.

[145] Shelly E. Zuraw, "The Sculpture of Mino da Fiesole (1429–1484)" (PhD thesis, New York University, 1993), 866–7.

[146] On the Forteguerri monument in Pistoia Cathedral see Andrew Butterfield, *The Sculptures of Andrea del Verrocchio* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), 137–57 and 223–8 (catalogue 21 and 22). Elizabeth Wilder, Clarence Kennedy, and Peleo Bacci, *The Unfinished Monument by Andrea del Verrocchio to the Cardinal Niccolò Forteguerri at Pistoia* (Northampton MA: Smith College, 1932) reproduces the relevant documents.

Not surprisingly, Lorenzo sided with the Florentine Commissari. In the end, Verrocchio's large sculpted votive relief representing the cardinal kneeling before the Virgin and Child was never completed, and survives as an odd assemblage of sculpted figures and coloured marble in the cathedral at Pistoia.[147]

Meanwhile the cardinal's brothers commissioned Mino da Fiesole to come to Rome to make the tomb monument (see Figure 107).[148] The sculptor left the work he was doing in Florence unfinished and moved with his workshop to Rome. The Forteguerri monument is unusual for the period in Rome in that it is not built into a wall but set against it. As a result it seems to have been comparatively easy to dismantle, most likely when Cardinal Paolo Emilio Sfondrato (d. 1618) commissioned extensive works at the church in the sixteenth century. Two porphyry columns were reused to support the canopy over the crypt altar in Santa Cecilia, for example. However, it also proved relatively straightforward to reassemble at the beginning of the twentieth century.

The Forteguerri were related to the Piccolomini of Siena, and it was Pius II who made Niccolò a cardinal in 1460. In 1473 two other members of the Forteguerri family were buried in Santa Cecilia, Cencio and Giovanni, whose floor slab lay before the cardinal's monument.[149] The deep red porphyry columns and traces of gold that delineate the figures suggest that this was designed to be a sumptuous memorial dedicated to the cardinal's memory by his loyal brothers but also a focus for the family in the city.

Monuments as funerals in stone

It is a common assumption that tomb monuments of the type that became popular in Rome and elsewhere from the middle of the thirteenth century, comprising an effigy raised on a sarcophagus and surmounted by an arch or canopy, represent the exposition of dead cardinals—or popes—at their funerals.[150] These monuments are funeral ceremonies captured in stone. But is this analysis sustainable for the fifteenth century?

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[147] On the politics of the Forteguerri monument see Wright, *The Pollaiuolo Brothers*, 312–13.

[148] Zuraw, "Mino da Fiesole," 861–75; Shelly E. Zuraw, "The Public Commemorative Monument: Mino da Fiesole's Tombs in the Florentine Badia," *The Art Bulletin* 80 (1998): 462.

[149] Zuraw, "Mino da Fiesole," 865–6.

[150] For example, Andrew Butterfield, "Social Structure and the Typology of Funerary Monuments in Early Renaissance Florence," *Res* 26 (1994): 59: "Effigies on tombs,

The correlation between effigies and the way the cadaver was dressed for burial is well known. When papal tombs were opened during the demolition of the remains of the nave of old St Peter's in the first decade of the seventeenth century, careful notes were taken of what lay within which demonstrate that descriptions in the liturgies were closely followed.[151] The corpse was dressed according to the cardinal's position in alb, tunicle, and chasuble, usually with orphreys and mitre, gloves and slippers, a pastoral ring on his finger unless, as indicated in the liturgy, he was a cardinal-deacon. In that case he was dressed accordingly in a dalmatic and simple mitre, smaller gloves and ring than those of the other orders, as can be seen in the case of the effigies of cardinal-deacons Pedro Fonseca, Don Jaime, and Francesco Piccolomini (see Figures 84, 122, and 119).[152] There, the less elaborate garb of the deacon, with the simple sleeves of the dalmatic, contrast with the more voluminous draperies of the chasuble of the cardinal-priests and bishops, as can be seen in the effigies of Louis D'Albret, Alain Coetivy, and Berardo Eruli (see Figures 101, 123, and 86). By the Avignon period, the body was supported on the bier with a cushion under both feet and the head.[153] Censers, holy water, torches, procession of clergy, the reading of the office of the dead can all be found in earlier tomb design. But in the fifteenth century these details were pared back, leaving a more universal monument and one with fewer links to the specific time-limited event of the funeral.

The closest connection made with the obsequies was with light. One of the most notable features of wills and liturgy is the emphasis put on

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both in relief and in the round, refer specifically to the privilege of having one's corpse exposed for view during the funeral, and served the same function of establishing the deceased's membership in a prestigious elite. It is for this reason that these effigies record in exact detail the distinctive ceremonial clothing of the deceased."

[151] Paravicini-Bagliani, *Pope's Body*, 136–8.

[152] Dykmans, *L'Oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini*, 222: "Ministri cardinalis defuncti, ut corpus mundaverint, illud vestiant omnibus quotidianis indumentis usque ad rochettum inclusive, deinde ornent eum sacris vestibus, ac si missam esset celebraturus. Si est presbyter aut episcopus cardinalis imponant sandalia, amictum, albam, cingulum, stolam, manipulum, tunicellam, dalmaticam, cirothecas, planetam, mitram simplicem et anulos. Si vero esset diaconus, supra stolam transversam dalmaticam tantum imponerent, et mitram simplicem in capite, ea scilicet ornamenta quibus uteretur si evangelium esset dicturus. Et ita indutum deponant in terra super aliquem pannum sive tapete, cum cereis ardentibus a capite et a pedibus. Ponent super eius pectus crucem aliquam, quam manibus teneat." Gardner, *Tomb and Tiara*, 13.

[153] Gardner, *Tomb and Tiara*, 13.

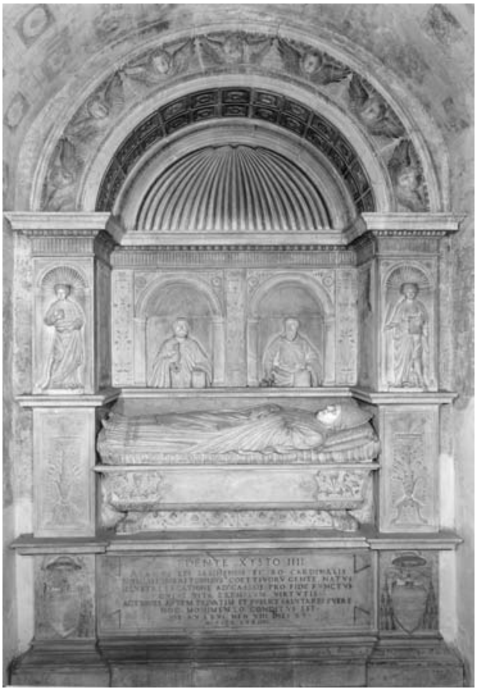

Figure 123 Monument of Alain Coetivy (d. 1474), Santa Prassede. Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione, Rome, no. E 110584.

having large numbers of candles around the bier. Candles carved on tomb monuments ensure that the effigies of the cardinals are always lit. Light was an indispensable symbol of the funeral, representing at once the nearness of Christ and the transience of life. Nicholas of Cusa encapsulated the reassurance of light in the midst of uncertainty: "He who is infinite light itself [Christ] shines always in the darkness of our ignorance, but the darkness cannot comprehend the Light."[154] Candles also illuminated the altar as a sign of divine presence during the long funeral process. The tombs of Louis D'Albret in Santa Maria in Aracoeli and Ludovico Trevisan in San Lorenzo in Damaso display objects which are quite obviously candles: d'Albret's stand at his head and feet inside the niche, while two appear behind the Trevisan effigy on either side of a cross (see Figures 101 and 102). More abstract carved detail on tombs such as that of Alain Coetivy can also be understood as torches (see Figure 123). Other elements—the simple cross behind Ludovico Trevisan or the Virgin and Child behind the effigy of Niccolò Forteguerri—represent the altars before which the cardinals were laid and at which prayers were said for their souls (see Figures 102 and 107).

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[154] Nicholas of Cusa, *Of Learned Ignorance*, trans. Germain Heron (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1954), 59.

This relatively straightforward interpretation becomes anomalous, however, when it is considered that dead popes and cardinals in the fifteenth century were speedily buried, their bodies often hidden as quickly as possible—there are no cadaver effigies in papal Rome.[155] The *novena* often took place around an empty bier, framed by the *castrum doloris*. However, the vast majority of surviving monuments incorporate effigies. If these effigies are not a record of the display of the body at the funeral, what do they represent?

In his will, Francesco Piccolomini stressed that it was not his body but his place as a cardinal that was to be honoured at the funeral:

> My body... should be honoured—not because it deserves any honour, but by reason of the dignity which the Roman Church has permitted for burial—with those trappings and ceremonies which the custom of our order has laid down in such a way that everything affirms not so much a celebration of life as a humility appropriate to death.[156]

While the effigy had become a standard part of ecclesiastical tombs in the latter half of the thirteenth century, they were not portraits in the modern sense.[157] Gardner concludes that portraits, such as they were around 1300, were only of living persons: "we must abandon the notion of the death-mask and regard the assumption of a 'portrait' quality in tomb effigies rather as a compliment to the creative talent of their sculptor rather than as an objective judgement."[158] The head of the effigy of Nicholas V, with its angular carving and formulaic detailing for example is more generic than specific (see Figure 96). Only in the later fifteenth century could some effigies begin to be called portraits: that of Alain Coetivy in Santa Prassede must surely be a portrait of a man whose physical demeanour was even remarked upon by a pope

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[155] Local practice was followed when cardinals were not buried at Rome: for example, the monument of Cardinal Jean de la Grange in Saint-Martial in Avignon (d. 1402); see Anne McGee Morganstern, "The Lagrange Tomb and Choir: A Monument of the Great Schism in the West," *Speculum* 48 (1973): 52–9.

[156] See above, note 43.

[157] Gardner, *Tomb and Tiara*, 16.

[158] Gardner, *Tomb and Tiara*, 175.

(Figure 124). Pius II in his *Commentaries* described Coetivy as "a tall man with a huge paunch" who in the procession for the relic of the head of St Andrew "had difficulty propelling his great bulk," the result of his excessive lifestyle.[159] Indeed, his physical bulk is evident in the effigy, for example in the double chin under the face, but it is a nonetheless dignified representation. Even then, the coats of arms and other details on the tomb were the more likely conveyers of identity. Sixtus IV's effigy was admired almost immediately for its lifelike qualities, though Alison Wright points out that this was a celebrated feature of the Pollaiuolo brothers' work, which could at times verge on caricature.[160] The wiry figure represented is quite unlike known portraits of the pope. Similarly, as Shelly Zuraw has observed, the effigy of Niccolò Forteguerri in Santa Cecilia is remarkably like that of the tomb from which Mino da Fiesole broke off work in Florence to go to Rome for the cardinal's brothers, the monument to Count Hugo in the Badia in

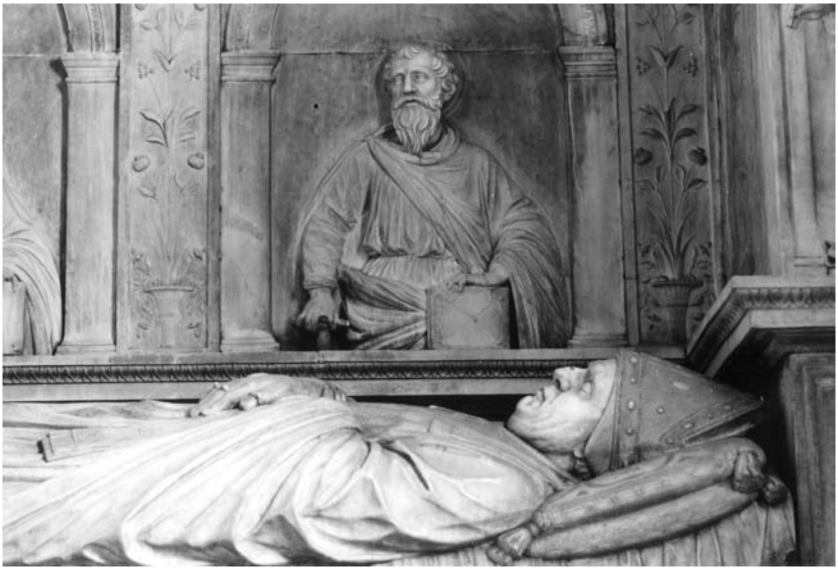

Figure 124 Monument of Alain Coetivy, detail of effigy, Santa Prassede. Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art, neg. no. A76/1534.

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[159] Pius II, "Commentaries of Pius II," 532; Pius II, *Commentarii*, 99, 478.
[160] Wright, *The Pollaiuolo Brothers*, 362.

Florence, "Mino's ideal, middle-aged man."[161] And in his request for a floor tomb, Francesco Gonzaga refers only to a representation of a cardinal-deacon in a general sense for his tomb.[162]

Defining tomb monuments as funerals in stone contains an element of truth, but it is too narrow. The ceremonies surrounding death were only a part of the process of commemoration which began with the will and which depended for their effectiveness on the relationship of the pope with the cardinal. The tomb monument combines the rigid structures of the liturgy with the idealized depiction of the individual as a representative of the papal office. They epitomize the ideal not the real, the continuity of the apostolic succession and the popes and cardinals as witness to Rome's eternity. Gone are the individuals in Avignon who jostled for position to keep the pope in his place.

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[161] Shelly E. Zuraw, "Mino da Fiesole's Forteguerri Tomb: A 'Florentine' Monument in Rome," in *Artistic Exchange and Cultural Translation in the Italian Renaissance City*, ed. Stephen J. Campbell and Stephen J. Milner (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 85.

[162] See note 103 above; Chambers, *Worldly Goods*, 133.

EPILOGUE

The relationship that developed between Rome, the pope and the cardinals in the fifteenth century represented the culmination of a thousand years of crises, councils, synods, and the more mundane development of the day-to-day administration of an evolving institution. At the same time, it marks the beginning of the relationship recognisable today and which only ended in recent memory.

A major issue left outstanding after the close of the Second Vatican Council in 1965 was the status of the cardinals: "it was an anomaly, if not a scandal, that the Episcopal college existing by divine right had so very little part in the government of the Church, while the college of cardinals enjoyed all the power, the privileges, precedence and tenure."[1] It is the bishops who possess the sacramental power of ordination, whereas the cardinals are simply appointed; and with the delegated model of the modern Church that still struggles for life following Vatican II, the bishops in the diocese have a more central role to play.[2]

While the cardinals are still left with the job of electing the pope, their role has become more honorary than active in the last few decades. Under Paul VI (1963–78) cardinals no longer received the red brimmed hat from the pope, nor are they entitled to wear the voluminous cloak, the *cappa magna*, in Rome; the internal hierarchy of cardinal-bishops, priests and deacons is all but gone and the college is now listed alphabetically and not by order—it also includes patriarchs from eastern Orthodox churches; those who are older than eighty have even lost the right to take part in papal elections, although the fact that Bishops and Archbishops retire at seventy-five means that a larger number of cardinals are already 'retired' from their dioceses. John Paul II made the honorary nature of the cardinals clear when he promoted men who were older than eighty to the College. As a result, in 2005 there were 117 cardinals eligible to take part in the election that made Joseph Ratzinger Pope Benedict XVI and sixty-six who were too old to take part.[3]

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[1] René Laurentin quoted in Peter Hebblethwaite, *Paul VI: The First Modern Pope* (London: Fount, 1993), 590.

[2] Angelo Roncalli (John XXIII) received the cardinalate as an honour, not as a sacrament; Peter Hebblethwaite, *John XXIII: Pope of the Century* (London and New York: Continuum, 2000), 115.

What made this major shift possible, after all the hard-fought battles waged in the fifteenth century? It was the simple fact that in the twentieth century bishops, not cardinals, were recognised as the heirs of the apostles. And as the Church has become more historically aware, the evolution of the College of Cardinals over the centuries has been revealed more clearly as a historical process rather than a doctrinal fact.

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[3] Hebblethwaite, *Paul VI*, 563; Francis A. Burkle-Young, *Passing the Keys: Modern Cardinals, Conclaves, and the Election of the Next Pope* (Lanham, MD: Madison Books, 1999), 301, 329, who accuses John Paul II of compromising "the historical reputation of the College more than any other pope in modern history."

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Abbreviations

ASR = Archivio di Stato di Roma
ASV = Archivio Segreto Vaticano
BAV = Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
CDRI = *Chiese di Roma illustrata*
Chacon, *Vitae, et res gestae* = Alonso Chacon, *Vitae, et res gestae Pontificum Romanorum et S. R. E. Cardinalium ab initio nascentis Ecclesiae usque ad Urbanum VIII. Pont. Max.* 4 volumes. Rome: Typis Vaticanis, 1677.
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RIS = Ludovico Antonio Muratori ed., *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores ad anno aerae Christianae quingentesimo ad millesimumquingentesimum*…

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