The Catafalque of Paul V: Architecture, Sculpture and Iconography

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ABSTRACT

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This dissertation examines the catafalque erected for the reburial of Pope Paul V in S. Maria Maggiore on January 30, 1622. The catafalque, commissioned by the pope's nephew Scipione Borghese, was only the second catafalque ever built for a pope. It was a large tempioetto type structure, fashioned of wood and plaster and covered with black cloth and candles. It was constructed by Sergio Venturi and Giovanni Battista Soria and adorned with thirty-six sculptures by Gian Lorenzo Bernini.

These details are known to us through a funeral book, the Breve Racconto della trasportazione del corpo di Papa Paolo V della Basilica di S. Pietro a' quella di S. Maria Maggiore, Con Orazione recita nelle sue Esequie, & alcuni versi posti nell'Apparato, written by the poet Lelio Guidiccioni which contains extensive descriptions of the monument and obsequies as well as eighteen engraved plates of its architecture and sculpture. Further details are found in the eye witness accounts of Giacinto Gigli and Paolo Alaleone as well as payment records preserved in the Borghese Archives.

These sources allow us to reconstruct the appearance and iconography of Paul's catafalque. Meaning is created through formal choices in the architectural design of the catafalque and the sixteen personified virtues which adorn it. While the iconography is not explicitly dealt with in the Breve Racconto, the visual clues are reinforced by poetry and scriptural quotations which appear both on the actual monument and in the funeral book. The iconography of the catafalque stresses the Borghese family's Romanitas and underscores
the importance of Paul's patronage in both purifying the Roman Church and ushering in a new Golden Age.

This dissertation begins by investigating the context of Paul's reburial. Chapter one looks the protocol surrounding the death and burial of seicento popes. It examines how Paul's obsequies fit into this tradition and where his catafalque sits in the trajectory of the development and use of catafalques for ecclesiastical funerals. Chapter two looks at the Breve Racconto and evaluates the accuracy of both the text and its author. Particular attention is paid to Guidiccioni's intellectual pursuits and his relationship with both Scipione Borghese and Bernini.

Chapter two is devoted to Scipione Borghese and his patronage of art and architecture. Chapter three rehearses the history of the Borghese family, Paul's accomplishments as pope and his patronage. It also considers his presentation in contemporary panegyric.

Chapter four outlines the appearance of the catafalque. Its form echoes both Imperial mausolea and early Christian martyria. Through this formal mimicry the very architecture becomes a metonym for the Pauline resurgence of Rome; it indicates Paul's physical and spiritual restoration of the early Church and also the new Golden Age ushered in by Borghese munificence and patronage.

Chapter five tackles the question of the catafalque's authorship. It examines the involvement of Venturi, Soria and Bernini, attempting to reconcile the style of the building with each of their known works.

Chapter six is devoted to the iconography of the sculptured virtues. It starts by considering the history of defining a ruler through his virtues and the appearance of these virtues in art. It then investigates the choice and portrayal of the sixteen virtues in this
catafalque. The virtues chosen are ostensibly organized around the exegetical conceit of the Four Daughters of God, clearly suggesting Paul's triumph as pope and Christian prince. But many are also closely associated with Augustus and the Imperial cult and there is a clear undercurrent stressing Paul's Romanitas and comparing his reign to that of his imagined Imperial forbearers. This theme is familiar from Borghese panegyric, and presumably intended to further the reputation not only of the pope but also of his surviving family members.
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Acknowledgments

The idea for this dissertation grew out of a paper I wrote on Scipione Borghese for a seminar on Bernini given by Professor McPhee. Without that class, I would never have heard of Lelio Guidiccioni and this dissertation would not have existed. This dissertation has also benefited enormously from the advice, suggestions and encouragement of my advisors, Professor Rosand and Professor Freedberg. Finally, thanks are due to Andrew Wallace-Hadrill and to John Gleason for their help with several Latin passages. Any remaining errors are, of course, mine.
Introduction

The Death of a Pope

On January 31, 1622 a large crowd assembled in the basilica of S. Maria Maggiore to celebrate the reburial of Paul V. The Borghese pope had died a year earlier and been duly buried in the Vatican. But the year being up, it was time to move his body to its final resting place in the sumptuous mortuary chapel he had constructed for himself in the Esquiline. The occasion was marked with all due pomp including an elaborate procession, the singing of a requiem mass, the reading of a Latin oration and, most noticeably, the erection of a magnificent catafalque in the nave of the basilica. Catafalques, while commonplace by the seventeenth century for secular rulers and even cardinals, were still almost unheard of for popes. But Paul's cardinal nephew Scipione Borghese had worked diligently throughout the year and finally received permission to erect a catafalque to mark his uncle's obsequies.

This catafalque and the ways in which it memorializes Paul V and his family is the subject of this dissertation. While sepulchral art is by definition commemorative, the politics of early modern Rome engendered a particularly aggressive form of self-aggrandizement. Unlike feudal or ducal families whose power and continuity were assured by bloodline, the family of a ruling pope had only one shot at immortality. After a pope's death, his surviving family members often found themselves in somewhat reduced circumstances or even social outcasts.¹

¹ This situation was practically universal but usually temporary. The vast land holdings amassed by many early modern papal families ensured the continued prominence of their families. This will be discussed (along with the literature on the subject) in chapter three, particularly pp. 58-59.
Scipione Borghese was no exception. His court had been the center of artistic activity in Rome throughout his uncle's long reign. But with the election of Gregory XV he found his situation much changed. During the Ludovisi years, Scipione Borghese continued to collect art and restore churches, but he had scant opportunity for spectacle on a grand scale. The festive reburial of his uncle a year after his death, provided an opportunity to remind Rome of the Borghese's might and munificence, an opportunity Scipione seized to the fullest extent.

The reburial, or more precisely the obsequies and procession that marked it, were much anticipated in Rome. Writing home a few days before the event, on January 22, 1622, the Florentine ambassador Francesco Niccolini remarked on the preparations for the festival, noting that he had heard that the *apparato* and the catafalque were beautiful and that the cost, which surpassed 12,000 scudi, was borne by Scipione Borghese. That Niccolini was aware of the catafalque's expense is not surprising, for this was surely meant to be public as an important part of Scipione's display of both wealth and magnanimity. In contrast, the

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2 Despite the length of his uncle's reign and the size of his faction in the curia, Scipione failed to elect his preferred candidate, Cardinal Campori, as his uncle's successor. After this failure Scipione, and the Borghese family's, preeminence was eclipsed by the Ludovisi Pope Gregory XV and his nephew Ludovico. While the Ludovisi era was destined to last only two years, contemporaries could not have foreseen the rapid election of Maffeo Barberini, Paul's *creatura* and Scipione's confidante, which shifted the curial power equilibrium back into the Borghese orbit. The machinations of this conclave will be discussed more fully in chapter three.

obsequies for Paul's brother, Giovanni Battista, also staged by Scipione eleven years earlier and also considered costly at the time, cost a mere 3,000 scudi.\(^4\)

We know a great deal about the catafalque and obsequies thanks to a festival book. Although catafalques are by nature ephemeral, most sixteenth and seventeenth-century catafalques were memorialized in a festival book.\(^5\) These books were often lavishly illustrated and included descriptions of the funeral ceremony as well as the *apparato* itself. Paul's catafalque is recorded in one such book: the *Breve Racconto della trasportazione del corpo di Papa Paolo V della Basilica di S. Pietro a' quella di S. Maria Maggiore, Con Oratione recita nelle sue Esequie, & alcuni versi posti nell'Apparato*.\(^6\) This book contains a wealth of information about the catafalque and the funeral service. It has several parts: an Italian text detailing the history of the project, the procession from the Vatican, the catafalque's appearance and creators; a transcription of the Latin oration read at the obsequies; transcriptions of odes and epigrams which were read at the service; and a series of engravings of the monument. These images include sixteen engravings of the sculpted virtues, an engraving of two separate column capitals, and an oversized image of the entire catafalque in the nave of the church. These eighteen plates constitute the only extant visual evidence for the catafalque's appearance.

The publication of this book was undertaken by Lelio Guidiccioni at Scipione Borghese's behest. Guidiccioni was a poet, aesthete, and member of Scipione Borghese's

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court. While largely forgotten today, Guidiccioni's scholarship (and pedanticism) were renowned in the Seicento.³ Happily, Guidiccioni's account can be substantiated and supplemented by payment records and the accounts of two eyewitnesses: the Roman gentleman diarist Giacinto Gigli and the papal ceremony master Paolo Alaleone.⁸

The ceremonies began early in the morning on Sunday the thirtieth of January. Scipione and a group of cardinals, prelates, and canons gathered in St. Peter's to witness the opening of Paul's casket. The pontiff's body had been removed from its tomb in the Vatican catacombs two days earlier on the first anniversary of his death. From there it was brought up to the basilica where it was prepared for transportation to Paul's final resting place in the Cappella Paolina in S. Maria Maggiore, the building of which had occupied much of his long papacy.

His body was placed on a portable platform designed to be carried and richly decorated with ornaments, Borghese arms, and inscriptions. Covered with a blanket of gold brocade, the body was surrounded by twenty four torch-bearing candelabras.

By evening representatives of the monastic orders, mendicants, and confraternities had assembled in St. Peter's and the procession began. This group included members of the Seminario Romano, Collegio Germanico, the Carmelites of San Crisogono, the Dominican protectors and titulararies, the Camaldolesi monks of San Gregorio, and the Olivetan monks. There were also mendicants, a group of beggar children called the letterati after their protector Leonardo Cerusi di Salerno, known as "il Letterato," and other orphans.⁹ This group carried 600 torches. After these came the capitals of the Vatican, Esquiline, and

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³ Chapter two will explore Guidiccioni's career and role in the Borghese household.

⁸ The information and accuracy reliability of all of these sources will be investigated in chapter one.

Lateran, and then the coffin itself borne by mercenaries. Finally came the pontifical cavalcade with members of the pope's retinue and household. This large group made its way slowly through the streets of Rome, which were thronged with spectators.

The facade of S. Maria Maggiore, the destination of this procession, was draped in black fabric, illuminated by candles and decorated with Borghese arms. Inside, the nave was draped in black fabric with a cornice of candles. Large panels depicting the Borghese arms and supported by skeletons hung between the columns. Set up in the crossing was an enormous catafalque, eighty meters tall, painted to resemble bronze, with its dome draped in black fabric and covered with candles. So towering was the structure, that part of the basilica's roof had been removed as a precaution against fire.10

In addition to the fabric and candles, it was adorned with thirty six life-sized statues fashioned of stucco. It is in these sculptures that much of the catafalque's interest lies, for Guidiccioni attributes these to the young Gian Lorenzo Bernini. The combination of Guidiccioni's text and payment records certainly indicate that Bernini was indeed responsible for their design. Because the actual sculptures do not survive, questions of workshop versus master are largely moot: Bernini would surely have determined the basic form of all the figures for such an important commission and patron.11 And, sadly, these basic outlines are all that we can glean from the extant engravings.

The sculptural decoration consisted of sixteen female personifications arranged into four groupings, all of which were carefully chosen to represent aspects of Paul's character both as pope and as Borghese paterfamilias: *Iustitia* (with *Maestà*, *Puritas*, and *Religio*), *Pax*...

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11 The payment records and other evidence for Bernini's authorship, as well as the question of workshop participation, will be discussed in chapter six.
(with Annona, Providentia, and Tranquillitas), Veritas (with Sapientia, Magnificenza, and Magnamitas) and Misericordia (with Eleemosina, Clementia, and Mansuetudo). Guidiccioni identifies these figures all as virtues. Strictly speaking they are not: some are benefits or results of virtues, a problem which will be discussed in chapter seven. All of the figures were painted to resemble marble and placed in the intercolumniation of the catafalque. Twenty more stucco figures of putti were placed around the dome.

Meaning is created through both architecture and sculpture. Formal references to early Christian and Imperial Roman architecture in the design of the structure cast Pauline Rome as the reflowering of the early Church and the Golden Age of Imperial Rome, both analogies carefully cultivated throughout Paul's reign. Paul's prowess as a patron is alluded to by the extensive use of cloth drapery throughout the structure. By incorporating black mourning cloth as part of the very structure of the the building, the catafalque seems to mourn Paul and the loss of such a patron of the art of architecture. The personified virtues create a more specific iconography celebrating the pope's character, again carefully incorporating both Christian and pagan prototypes. Meaning is polysemous: Paul is the heir both of Peter and Augustus: a restorer of the purity of the early Roman Church and a harbinger of a new Golden Age.

Of course none of these themes are novel. Similar tropes were prevalent not only in the encomiastic literature devoted to Paul, but in that of nearly every building pope before him. By recycling these ideas the catafalque simultaneously lauds Paul's life and reinforces the Borghese family's own foundation myth and current status. Thus the catafalque serves as a mirror not only of Paul's many accomplishments, but of Borghese ambitions. Architecture, sculpture, and poetry are all imbued with a classical iconography referring to the imagined Roman heritage of the Borghese, even as it declares the importance of architecture and
building to the family's legacy.

This interpretation of the iconography is predicated on several disparate strands of investigation: first, an understanding of all of the men involved and their merits and abilities and, second, the historical context and how the catafalque's creators both echo history and innovate. The first four chapters will examine this background. The first chapter will look at the development of papal funeral rites and the use of the catafalque. The second chapter will consider the Breve Racconto as a source, examining both its contents and the biography of its author, Lelio Guidiccioni. The third chapter will be devoted to Scipione Borghese and a survey of his patronage. The fourth chapter assesses Paul's life and patronage and how his reign was presented in contemporary panegyric.

This foundation will enable us to investigate the iconography of the entire apparatus funebris and consider questions of the attribution of all of its various elements. The final three chapters will attempt to reconstruct the appearance of the catafalque, assign authorship and understand its iconography. Chapter five tackles the architecture, reconciling the written and visual images to arrive at an understanding of its form and in turn investigating how form creates meaning. Chapter six considers the question of authorship and attempts to untangle the hands of the various artists and architects involved in the catafalque's creation. Chapter seven returns to iconography and looks at the sixteen personified virtues, how they were chosen, and how their specific appearances relate to their meaning.

State of the Scholarship

While most of the players in this drama -- Paul V, Scipione Borghese, Bernini -- have been the subject of much scholarly attention, relatively little has been written about this
Catafalques and ephemeral art in general were little studied until the 1960s. While individual catafalques were recorded in contemporaneous festival books, early authors took little interest in the genre as a whole. The earliest work about catafalques as a genre is Claude François Ménestrier’s *Des decorations funèbres* of 1682.¹³

More recently, the basic framework for the study of catafalques has been laid out by two authors: Olga Berendsen and Liselotte Popelka. Olga Berendsen’s doctoral dissertation, “The Italian Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Catafalques,” catalogues all known structures of this kind in those two centuries, breaks them down into several types and traces their genesis and evolution.¹⁴ She devotes a chapter to each of the four different forms of catafalque she hypothesizes: the monument catafalque, the obelisk catafalque, the baldachino, and tempietto catafalque.

Popelka’s work, *Castrum doloris oder Trauriger Schauerplatz Untersuchungen zu Entstehung und Wesen ephemerver Architektur*, examines the origins of the catafalque and traces its evolution.¹⁵ It gives a very detailed account of the evolution of several different types of structures: the obelisk type, the dome type, etc. She also investigates the iconography of various architectural choices: the meaning of different colors and materials in the monuments.

Seventeenth-century Italian ephemera (including but not limited to catafalques) has been exhaustively studied and catalogued by Maurizio Fagiolo dell’Arco. His two volume

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¹² The literature on the Borghese and on Guidiccioni will be discussed in chapters two and three.


L’effimero Barocco: Strutture della festa nella Roma del’600 catalogues all Roman festivals of the seventeenth century with brief commentary and exhaustive bibliographical information.\textsuperscript{16} His Corpus delle feste a Roma is a later iteration of the same catalogue.\textsuperscript{17} The same author also published an invaluable bibliography of the field.\textsuperscript{18}

Other contributions to this field include several works by Marcello Fagiolo: “Il trionfo sulla morte: i catafalchi dei papi e dei sovrani,”\textsuperscript{19} and Il Gran Teatro dell Barocco.\textsuperscript{20} Minou Schraven has done work on Roman catafalques, writing a dissertation (soon to be published) and several articles about the general trend. Both of these articles provide excellent and concise introductions to the development of the catafalque in Italy.\textsuperscript{21} Another article specifically addresses Scipione's other catafalque commission: that of Marcantonio Borghese.\textsuperscript{22}

All of these works provide a solid background for studies of Baroque ephemera in general and funeral appareti in particular. The bibliography on Paul's catafalque, unfortunately, is much thinner. This neglect is long standing: Paul's catafalque is not

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{17} Maurizio Fagiolo dell'Arco, Corpus delle feste a Roma (Rome: De Luca, 1997).
  \item \textsuperscript{18} Ibid., Bibliografia della festa barocca a Roma (Rome: Pettini, 1994).
  \item \textsuperscript{19} Marcello Fagiolo, ed., La Festa a Roma dal Rinascimento al 1870 (Turin: Allemandi, 1997) vol. II, 26-41.
  \item \textsuperscript{20} Marcello Fagiolo, Il Gran Teatro dell Barocco (Rome: Bulzoni, 2002).
  \item \textsuperscript{22} Schraven 2001.
\end{itemize}
mentioned in the seventeenth-century biographies of Bernini. In his listing of known works by the master Baldinucci explicitly states that he is not including catafalques.

Modern Bernini scholars have taken little notice of Paul's catafalque. This lack of interest cannot be put down to ignorance, for it is certainly known to most writers on Bernini and puts in a regular appearance as a footnote or aside to other projects with varying degrees of accuracy.

The most extended discussion can be found in Cesare d'Onofrio's *Roma vista da Roma.* Berendsen published an article specifically on this catafalque, but apart from one important payment record it does little but introduce its existence and has several serious errors. Many of the payment records were published by Italo Faldi in an article which also briefly discusses the structure. Maurizio Fagiolo dell'Arco discusses it briefly in *Bernini una introduzione al gran teatro del Barocco.*

The iconography of several of the sculptures is referred to by several scholars in their discussions of other Bernini works. Irving Lavin refers to the catafalque, and in particular to the virtues *Veritas, Misericordia, Iustitia,* and *Pax,* as a counterpoint to Bernini's depictions of

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23 D'Onofrio 1967, 288-293.

24 Olga Berendsen, "A Note on Bernini's Sculptures for the Catafalque of Pope Paul V," *Marsyas* (1959): 67-69. There are several factual errors. She claims that the reburial occurred because the *Paulina* was not complete at the time of Paul's death (Ibid., 67) and that the funeral book was anonymous (Ibid., 68). Other errors stem from a misreading of the visual and verbal evidence. Thus she claims that four of the virtues were seated inside the chamber when they are clearly visible outside (Ibid., 69). This mistake is also repeated in her dissertation along with several others: that the catafalque had four staircases (Berendsen 1961, 196) and that steps covered the entire dome (Ibid., 197).


the same virtues on the tomb of Alexander VII.\textsuperscript{27} Mathias Winner discusses the \textit{Veritas} in relation to the Bernini's \textit{Truth Unveiled by Time}.\textsuperscript{28}

The lack of in-depth scholarship is remarkable for several reasons: first, this catafalque may represent the only aspect of Bernini and Scipione Borghese's relationship that has not been thoroughly analyzed, or for that matter of Scipione's patronage in general. Secondly, Bernini's evolution as a designer of catafalques surely bears a relation to his development as a designer of tombs and even of churches, and his catafalques seem to only have been considered in relation to the genesis of the project for the \textit{baldacchino}.\textsuperscript{29}

Finally, it is surprising that scholars interested in the intersection of the Borghese's self portrayal and patronage have not taken up the iconography surrounding this catafalque, as the papal obsequies offer obvious opportunities for studying panegyric and self-aggrandizement. This dissertation will attempt to redress some of these lacunae. I will attempt to reconstruct the monument's appearance and solidify the roles of the various artist involved in it construction. Further, I will investigate the iconography of the architecture and sculpture, as well as the entire obsequies, as seen through the poetry and oration included in the funeral book.

\textsuperscript{27} Irving Lavin, \textit{Bernini and the Crossing of St. Peter's} (New York: College Art Association, 1968).


\textsuperscript{29} See Berendsen 1982.
Chapter 1

Ephemeral Decorations and the Burial of Popes in Seicento Rome

Festivals, processions, and the ephemeral decorations created to celebrate them were an important part of life in seventeenth-century Rome. Processions were arranged and triumphal arches erected for numerous occasions: the *possesso* of a new pope, the transportation of an icon, or the entrance of a foreign dignitary into the city. Elaborate spectacles were prepared for the *quarantore* (forty hours devotion) and even secular festivities such as jousts.  

To suggest the frequency of these events, visual records exist for at least six non-funerary ephemeral festivals during the pontificate of Paul V, but there were surely many more that have been forgotten. Rome saw festivals for the pope's *possesso* on November 6, 1605, for the canonization of Francesca Romana on May 29, 1608, for the canonization of Carlo Borromeo on November 1, 1610, for the transportation of the *Salus Popoli Romani* on January 27, 1613, for the transportation of Charles Borromeo's heart on 

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31 Fagiolo dell'Arco 1978, 17-23.

32 Ibid., 24.

33 Ibid., 30-33.

June 22, 1614, 35 and for the election of Ferdinand II on September 10, 1619. 36 While few festivals other than weddings and funerals received festivals books, they were often recorded in engravings. Prints were published showing not only full elevations of the arches erected for the possesso, but also the exact rout and processional order followed.

Scanning the avvisi from the Borghese period we find references to many more festivals, presumably so minor that they were not recorded in a festival book or engraving. An avviso from June of 1608 describes the festivities at S. Giovanni Fiorentini celebrated by the Florentine nation to mark the completion of a new hospital. 37 An undated avviso from 1608 mentions the festival for the public entry of the Duke of Nevers. 38 Romans took advantage of any and every opportunity to celebrate with ephemeral architecture.

Catafalques, or the specific form of ephemera associated with funerals, became increasingly fashionable throughout Italy from the mid sixteenth century onward. The earliest Italian catafalques were reserved for princes and their architecture often explicitly

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35 Fagiolo dell'Arco 1978, 36-38.

36 Ibid., 39.

37 Quoted in Orbaan, 110. [Urb. lat. 1076. 461 r. and v.]

38 Ibid., 128. [Urb. lat. 1076. 870 v.]
evoked the burials of Roman emperors, being built in the form of a pyre and surmounted by candles. The term "catafalque" first appears in the late sixteenth century. Its origins and etymology are unclear although it seems to derive from catafallicum or scaffold. As we shall see, catafale and other descriptors such as tumulo, mausoleo or castellum are used somewhat interchangeably well into the Seicento.

The idea of some sort of ephemeral covering for the body of the deceased was prevalent in ancient Rome, but fell out of fashion and was only reintroduced in the fourteenth century. This ressurected form, known as the chapelle ardente, was a wooden baldachin type structure covered in arms and candles. They are first recorded in royal funerals in France, but soon spread across Europe. When the popes returned from Avignon, they brought this tradition with them, renamed castrum doloris ("castle of sorrows") and reserved specifically for the use of popes during the novenas, or proscribed nine days of official, ritual mourning. The early papal castrum doloris were usually simple structures supported by four columns and covered by candles. As a rule, they lacked sculptural decoration and complex architectural members. They were of a set size and plan (eleven by nine meters and eight meters high), dictated by the fact that they were built over the rota

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39 This form was also popular for actual tombs in the sixteenth century. Alfred Frazer suggests that this is due to a misreading of the imagery on consecratio coins and a conflation of the rogus or pyre with imperial mausolea. Sixteenth century reconstructions of imperial mausolea found in Marco Fabio Calvo's Antiquae urbis Romae cum regionibus simulachrum of 1527 as well as Giulio Romano's Vatican frescoes confirm this interpretation. Alfred Frazer, "A Numismatic Source for Michelangelo's First Design of the Tomb of Julius II," Art Bulletin 57 (1975): 53-57.

40 See discussion in Berendsen 1961, 4.


42 Berendsen 1961, 5.
These types of sepulchral ephemera persisted and remained relatively static for several centuries, but with the obsequey of Charles V, organized in 1558 all over Europe, things started to change. The many monuments to Charles, though all unique, were all designed according to instructions issued by Philip II. All were decorated with allegorical figures of virtues. All had complex architectural designs, known architects, and set iconographical programs.

Following this example, it became common for foreign rulers to receive numerous obsequeies in different cities throughout the continent. Their funerals in Rome, as elsewhere, often included catafalques. Thus, a catafalque was erected for the obsequey of Ferdinand III, Grand Duke of Tuscany, in S. Giovanni Fiorentini on June 22, 1609. The obsequey of Henry IV of France on July 1, 1610 included a catafalque. On February 23, 1612, Margaret of Austria's funeral was celebrated in S. Giacomo degli Spagnuoli with a

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43 Schraven 2005, 44.


45 All listed by Fagiolo dell'Arco in "La festa effimera, ovvero il barocco secondo Maurizio Fagiolo dell'Arco," *Il "gran teatro" del Barocco le capitali della festa*, ed. Maurizio Fagiolo dell'Arco (Rome: De Luca, 2007) vol. 1, 178-206, the list on 185-188.


47 Fagiolo dell'Arco 1978, 28-9; Fagiolo dell'Arco 1997, 216; Berendsen 1961, 185-186. See also the *avviso* recording the obsequeies in Florence, those in Rome are not mentioned. Orbaan, 177 [Urb. lat. 1078, 666r.]: "1610 settembre 25. scrivono di Firenze, che alli 16 del corrente in San Lorenzo s'erano fatte solenni esequie a Enrico IV rè di Francia, co regale apparato e spesa e con rappresentare in pittura l'imprese e gloriosi fatti del detto rè."
catafalque.⁴⁸ Just six months before Paul's reburial, in August of 1621, the obsequies of Philip III were celebrated with a catafalque in S. Giacomo degli Spagnuoli.⁴⁹

Apart from rulers, catafalques were also considered appropriate for great artists, perhaps because of the example of Michelangelo. Thus on July 29, 1609, the obsequies of Annibale Carracci were celebrated in the Pantheon with a catafalque.⁵⁰

Catafalques were quickly adopted by the local Roman aristocracy. One was erected for Duke Alessandro Farnese in S. Maria in Aracoeli on April 3, 1593.⁵¹ Giovan Francesco Aldobrandini's obsequies in December 1601 included a catafalque,⁵² as did those of Maria Cesi Altemps in the Collegio Germanico on December 18, 1609.⁵³

Because of the makeup of the Roman curia, whose ranks drew heavily from Rome's oldest and most prominent families, it was inevitable that the same pomp would soon be adopted for the obsequies of cardinals. As catafalques became more common in Rome and were incorporated into cardinals' obsequies, a new type appeared which resembled a tempietto more than a pyre. Its form seems to have been inspired by ancient mausolea and the shrines

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⁵² Fagiolo dell'Arco 1997, 196-197.

⁵³ Ibid., 214-215.
built in the form of temples to exhibit the emperor's body during his eulogy.\textsuperscript{54} Another obvious prototype was Bramante's *Tempietto*, and, while still rife with Imperial illusions, the new tempietto-catafalque started to meld pagan symbolism with Christian liturgical practice in a way that made the form acceptable for ecclesiastical use. The first cardinal to have a catafalque was Alessandro Farnese, and he had two: the first in the Gesù for the obsequies on March 23, 1589, and the second for the celebration in SS. Pietro e Paolo on April 28, 1589.\textsuperscript{55} Another catafalque was erected for Cardinal Marco Sitico Altemps in S. Maria in Trastevere on April 27, 1595.\textsuperscript{56} On January 22, 1603, Cardinal Antonio Maria Salviati's obsequies, celebrated in S. Giacomo in Augusta, included a catafalque.\textsuperscript{57}

Despite this rage for catafalques, as late as 1620 they were still almost unheard of for popes. It is hard to understand exactly why the form was considered acceptable for cardinals but not for popes. A large factor was certainly the reform-minded climate in Rome in the second half of the sixteenth century and the dictates of the Council of Trent against unnecessary pomp. But this can hardly be the whole story. The insistence on humility in the funeral of a pope (but not a cardinal) predates the Council of Trent and is an integral part in the rituals of both the election and death of the pontiff, as we shall see later.

To some extent the question of the adoption of papal catafalques may be one of semantics. In other words, the difference between a *castrum doloris*, which was considered particularly suited to a pope, and a catafalque, which was not, seems to be only one of degree and pomp. Significantly, the sixteenth and seventeenth-century sources do not seem to

\textsuperscript{54} Berendsen 1961, 100.

\textsuperscript{55} Fagiolo dell'Arco 1997, 178-179; Berendsen 1961, 165-166.

\textsuperscript{56} Fagiolo dell'Arco 1997, 192.

\textsuperscript{57} Ibid., 198.
consistently differentiate between various terms such as *castrum doloris*, *catafalo*, *mausoleo*, *tumulus* or even *tempio*.

One distinction that does seem to be real is a liturgical one. The *castrum* was originally intended to rise over the bier and the actual physical body. The catafalque, on the other hand, usually contained only an effigy or other signifier of the body, but not the actual corpse. But even this distinction is somewhat nebulous. By the mid fifteenth century popes were buried at the start of the novena and an effigy provided for the *castrum doloris*. Footmen in mourning were placed outside the *castrum* waving palm fronds, pretending to banish the flies which had been attracted by the decaying flesh of not thoroughly embalmed pontiffs.

Furthermore, there is some reason to believe that papal catafalques were not quite as rare as is commonly assumed. It is certainly true that catafalques were not incorporated into

58 This issue of contemporary phraseology has also been commented on by Schraven. However, she argues that a clear distinction can be drawn between the two forms. Schraven 2000, 6. Popelka, on the other hand, argues that the terms are interchangeable and that different usages are regional. Popelka 25. Interestingly, Paul V's catafalque is described as a *castrum doloris* in Ciaconius' brief account of the reburial. Alphonsus Ciaconius, *Vitae et res gestae pontificum romanorum* (Rome: 1677) vol. 4, 387.

59 For the history of the use of effigies in European royal funerals see Giesey 1960, 79-105; Kantorwicz, 419-437 and Julius Schlosser, "Geschichte der Porträtbildner in Wachs," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen der allerbüchsten Kaiserhauses* (Vienna) XXIX (1910). The first use of an effigy seems to be the funeral of Edward II of England in 1327. Effigies in both England and France were originally reserved for princes, only slowly spreading to other royals. Effigies were adopted in France around 1500 and unlike their English prototypes they were made to look alive.

60 This may mirror the general trend throughout Europe in this century towards the use of effigies. Kantorwicz even posits that the use of the effigy took on a triumphal meaning to illustrate the king's undying dignity associated with Roman triumphi. Kantorwicz, 423.

the novena or into any official Vatican recognition of a pope’s death until the mid
seventeenth century. The earliest catafalques commemorating a pope were erected only at
private expense and through the force of personality and influence of family. They also
appear to have been limited to reburials. It is usually assumed that the only papal catafalque
to predate Paul's was that commissioned by Cardinal Montalto in August 1591 for the
transportation of the body of his uncle, Sixtus V, to S. Maria Maggiore. Guidiccioni
explicitly cites that catafalque as a precedent for Paul's, and, perhaps more revealingly, the
"generosity" of Montalto as an inspiration for Scipione to honor his uncle in a similar way.
As we shall see in a later chapter, Sixtus was an important model for Paul both in his
restoration of Rome and his construction of a funeral chapel, which was conceived as a
pendant to that of Sixtus. Guidiccioni may have wanted to underline this relation as well as
reinforce Scipione's political power by insisting on the relation between the two nephews
and two catafalques. Indeed, he specifically claims that Scipione looked to Montalto as a
prototype. Thus, his assertion that Sixtus' catafalque was the only precedent may have been
motivated more by these reasons than historical accuracy.

In addition to noting the influence of Cardinal Montalto, Guidiccioni also lists the
popes who did not receive catafalques and specifically recounts the Sacred College's reasons
for disallowing Pius IV's nephews from erecting one: that the novenas celebrated at the
Vatican had been enough, "nell esequie Vaticane di nove giorni, a ciaschedun Papa si drizza

Sixtus' reburial and catafalque is described in Baldo Catani, La pompa funerale Fatta dall'Illustrissimo &
Reverendissimo Signor Cardinale Montalto nella trasportazione dell'ossa di Papa Sisto il Quinto (Rome, 1591).

63 Guidiccioni 1623, 16. "Alle quai cose, che costituivano l'ultimo stato, adherendo il Signor cardinal
Borghese, volse mantenere questo lodeuol possesso, col quale vn nipote grato viene ad honorar la
memoria d'vn riguarduole Zio..."
il detto Castello, la qual cerimonia, senza replicarla, devria bastare usata per una volta."  

Modern sources discussing the rarity of papal catafalques in this period almost always cite this passage from Guidiccioni as the only evidence that papal catafalques were not allowed.  

But this is not exactly what Guidiccioni says. He writes "that apparatus was not erected for Pope Leo X in the Minerva, nor Adrian VI in the Anima, nor Paul IV in Minerva or for Pius IV in S. Maria Maggiore and finally Pius V in S. Maria Maggiore." All of these pontiffs predate Sixtus V, so Guidiccioni does not actually claim that there were no catafalques between those of Sixtus and Paul. In fact, were there not, we might expect to find their names added to the above list of popes who did not merit a catafalque.  

The funeral arrangements of these intervening popes therefore merit close attention. The problem is that only one pope between Sixtus and Paul ruled for over a year. Sixtus was followed by three popes in 1590-1591 who each lasted less than a year in office: Urban VII who lived just twelve days, Gregory XIV who ruled for 314 days, and Innocent IX who lived just two months. After these came Clement VIII who ruled for thirteen years and Leo XI who lasted twenty six days. This lack of strong rulers may be why Guidiccioni looked to the earlier precedents.  

To further complicate the situation, the reburial of some of the earlier pontiffs actually occurred in the 1580s and ‘90s. The reburial of Pius in 1583, eighteen years after his death, was organized by his three cardinal nephews. A description by the ceremony master Francesco Firmani states that there were no candles or castrum because it was not deemed

64 Guidiccioni 1623, 15.  
65 For example, Berendsen 1961, 13 and Schraven 2005, 53.  
66 Guidiccioni 1623, 15.
appropriate eighteen years after his death. This statement suggests that the length of time, not the pomp, was at issue. Alaleone, writing at the same time states that there was not a *castellum* or catafalque with lights, but that it would have been better had one been built.

This is odd, for in fact, it would have been more remarkable if Pius IV *had* had a catafalque. No ecclesiastical catafalques are recorded in Rome this early, the earliest being Alessandro Farnese's in 1589, making it rather curious that Alaleone would have commented on the lack of catafalque. Pius V was also reburied, by Sixtus V, in January 1588, in a four-day festivity which included a procession and oration, if no catafalque.

It is true that there is no visual record of catafalques for any of the popes between Sixtus and Paul in Rome, but there are certainly cases of important later catafalques for which no visual record exists: for example, the Roman catafalque of Carlo Barberini and that of Urban VIII. And in fact, the literary sources *do* allude to several catafalques. Gigli

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67 [BAV, Chigiani L II 31 [Ceremonial Diary of Francesco Firmani, January 14, 1583] fols. 831-832]. Quoted in Schraven 2005, 52, n 47. "Non fuit facta aliqua distrubutione candelarum, prout solet fieri in exequiis magnis, cum recenter pontifex defunctus non est, nec castrum doloris, quia non videbatur convenire ei huiusmodi exequiis, ipse solum factae fuerunt occasione translationis 18 annis vel circa post eius mortem."

68 BAV, Chigiani II 32 [Ceremonial Diary of Paolo Alaleone, January 7, 1583] fol 20. Quoted in Schraven 2005, 53, n 49. "Non fuit factum castellum, sive catafalcus cum luminaribus, quod melius si factus fuisset." Schraven inexplicably suggests that this means Alaleone changed his mind after the fact. However, this dates to the day before the transportation and a week before Firmani's comments.


70 For a discussion of and bibliography on Carlo Barberini's catafalque see chapter six, n. 555. Although there is virtually no mention of it in the literature, a catafalque appears to have been erected for the last three days of Urban VIII's novenas. This was noted by Andrea Adami, *Osservazioni per ben regolare il coro dei cantori della Cappella Pontificia* (Rome: Rossi, 1711) 90-95, cited by Frederick Hammond, *The Ruined Bridge: Studies in Barberini Patronage of Music and Spectacle 1631-1679* (Sterling Heights, Michigan: Harmonie Park Press, 2010) 250, n. 10. Hammond also cites the diary of the *puntatore* which notes that as of August 6, "non esser' finita la Piramide, che si fa in mezzo à San Pietro per il sud[detto]o funerale." [BAV, CS 63, fols. 48-48v.]
describes the funeral of Sixtus' predecessor, Urban VII, who ruled for all of thirteen days in 1590 before succumbing to malaria. Gigli reports that his body was moved from St. Peter's to S. Maria sopra Minerva by the Compagnia dell'Annunziata to be be buried in their chapel. The nave was draped in black and a catafalque was erected in front of the chapel. It had two sides with stairs and paintings and inscriptions. A black baldachin with silver arms hung over the body.\footnote{Gigli, vol. I, 29.} Also, a catafalque was erected by Grand Duke Ferdinand de' Medici in the duomo in Florence for Leo XI's obsequies, which were celebrated May 15-16, 1605.\footnote{Schraven 2000, 9. Recorded in Descrizione Dell'Esequie di Papa Leone XI celebrate nel Duomo di Firenze da Signori. Operai d'ordine del Serenissimo Gran Duca (Florence, 1605).}

It is perhaps worth noting that neither of these catafalques was commissioned by a cardinal nephew. Between the tenures of Montalto and Borghese, the only cardinal nephew who might have had the financial and political wherewithal to pull off a spectacle on this scale was Clement VIII's nephew, Ippolito Aldobrandini. But relations between Aldobrandini and Scipione Borghese were not cordial and Clement VIII was himself reburied in the Pauline Chapel.\footnote{For more on Scipione's relationship with Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini, see D'Onofrio 1967, 293-296.} Clement had made Paul cardinal and Paul wanted both to repay this debt and to draw another parallel with the Sistine Chapel where Sixtus had included the tomb of his sponsor, Pius V, as pendant to his own. Clement's tomb is mentioned in an\textit{ avviso} as early as 1608, so perhaps this plan forestalled any idea of Cardinal Aldobrandini's to plan his own reburial ceremony.\footnote{Quoted in Orbaan 1920, 120. [BAV. Urb. lat. 1076. fol. 579v.] "...con tutto ciò volse intrar per veder la fabrica della sua capella, dove ha disegnato fra le altre cose mettervi di rincontro - sicome fece nella sua Sisto V la statua di Pio V che l'haveva fatto cardinale - così Sua Beautudine ci vuol mettere la statua di Papa Clemente." See also Ostrow 1996, 321, n. 102, who argues that Orbaan mistranscribes the\textit{ avviso} date and that the correct one is August 6, 1611. In fact, Orbaan does not}
reburial, the sources are curiously silent. The translation of his body had been planned for 1611, but in fact did not happen until 1646.\textsuperscript{75}

While it may be impossible to settle definitively the question of whether there were any earlier papal catafalques, after Scipione's example they certainly became standard. Ludovico Ludovisi commissioned one for his uncle's obsequies held in S. Pietro in Bologna in 1624.\textsuperscript{76} After Gregory, papal catafalques seem to have become even more integrated into protocol, actually being erected in St. Peter's. Urban VIII, was the first pope to have a catafalque erected in St. Peter's, of which, sadly, no visual record survives.\textsuperscript{77} Innocent X in 1655 had a catafalque in St. Peter's as well.\textsuperscript{78} Two years later, in 1667, catafalques had become so acceptable that the expenses for Alexander VII's were borne by the Camera Apostolica.\textsuperscript{79}

None of this history explains how Scipione prevailed in building a catafalque. As we shall see, relations between him and the new cardinal nephew were far from cordial. On the other hand, while Alessandro Ludovisi, Gregory XV, had not been Scipione's first choice in the conclave, he was still a Borghese \emph{creatura} and may have felt some loyalty. Or perhaps the Borghese faction in the curia was simply large enough that they felt compelled to honor their
But if the how must remain obscure, the why is very clear. For the inverse of the Sacred College's logic in burying deceased popes quickly and without pomp is the calculus done by centuries of prominent papal families in building elaborate tombs and monuments to their deceased relatives. Commemorative architecture is by nature particularly suited to glorification. Here we must pause to note that disentangling Scipione's motives is no simple matter. The catafalque he built is at once a sincere commemoration of his uncle's virtues, and a show of his own (and by extension the Borghese family's) power and generosity. Because the fate and role of a cardinal nephew is so tightly bound up with his uncle's reign, the two are not necessarily incompatible goals. Of course, the Borghese already had the Pauline Chapel, but since it and its allegorical programs had been conceived fifteen years previously and completed for a decade, Scipione could have felt a need to rejuvenate its program.

### Papal Burials

The novelty of the papal catafalque (however relative) raises the question of why Paul was reburied at all. Most authors have assumed that the reburial was occasioned by the fact that the Pauline Chapel was not finished at the time of his death. This, of course, cannot be the reason as the chapel was completed in 1611. Why, then, did Scipione wait a year to honor his uncle? The answer is simple: reburials were the norm for popes in the early

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80 See for example dell'Arco 1997, 235 and Berendsen 1961, 129.

modern period. Regulations required the body to be maintained in the Vatican for a year, so families wishing to move their relative's remains into a family chapel had no alternative.

In fact, the Sacred College endeavored to bury popes as quickly and unceremoniously as possible in order to get to the important business of electing a successor and stabilizing the regime. The dichotomy between the mortal pope who dies and the pontifical office which is eternal became increasingly clearly delineated in the tenth century. Theologians took great pains to insist that from the moment the pope dies he ceases to be the pope and becomes merely a body.82 Foreign rulers writing to the Sacred College consistently express hopes for the speedy election of a successor rather than condolences on the pope's death.83 Continuity was clearly important for theological reasons, but also for practical ones. Looting and vandalism were a recurrent problem as a reaction to a pope's death and throughout sede vacante, even into the fifteenth century. The destruction in effigy of deceased popes was common through the sixteenth century and even later, as evidenced by the destruction of a stucco sculpture of Urban VIII within an hour of his death.84

The interrelated ceremonies which arose around the proper burial of the pope and election of his successor can be seen as a response to these threats to governance in two distinct ways. One, the burial of the pope was a prerequisite for the election of a new one --

82 Antje Bräcker, "Das Begräbniszeremoniell für die Päpste Paul V. (1550–1621) und Gregor XV. (1554–1623) – Zwei Wahrnehmungen" *Praemium Virtutis II Grabmäler und Begräbniszeremoniell in der italienischen Renaissance*, ed. Joachim Poeschke, Britta Kusch-Arnhold, Thomas Weigel (Münster: Rhema, 2005) 35. Perhaps this came about as a reaction to the looting which commonly followed a Pope's death. Even into the fifteenth century chaos and looting were rampant upon a pontiff's death. Bräcker investigates this phenomenon, her study is based specifically on the information found in Alaleone and Gigli's accounts of the deaths of Paul and Gregory.

83 Ibid., 35.

disputes over timing caused several elections to be challenged. Two, the evolution of funeral rites focused on the corporeality of the pope and his display to the populace helped create the clear distinction between the individual pontiff who dies and the continuity of the institution of the Church.

The funeral rites, first set out in Gregory X's bull *ubi periculum* of 1274 and elaborated in the first ceremonials dating from the fourteenth century, remained relatively static for centuries. The earliest funeral ceremonial, that of Pierre Ameil, dates to 1385-1390. The rites evolve very little and are echoed in a mid-fifteenth century ceremonial written for Pietro del Monte, bishop of Brescia, and the ceremonial of 1488, *De caeremoniis Curiae Romanae libri tres*, written by John Burckard and Agostino Patrizi Piccolomini and published only in 1516. These rites are very similar to surviving descriptions of Paul's funeral.

A number of sources allow us to reconstruct a basic outline of the funeral rites given Paul. On January 28th Alaleone reports that the pope is dead:

1621, January 28. Our most holy father Pope Paul V died today in the apostolic palace on the Quirinal at eleven thirty in the evening at the age of sixty-eight and four months. His body was adjusted as is customary and was dressed in a cassock, belt, rochett, mozzetta and biretta by the penitentiaries of St. Peter's, and they watched the body up to the eleventh hour, after which it was placed in a litter that was brought to the apostolic palace in the Vatican by St. Peter's, and was attended from here on by certain *palafrenieri* with lit candles, by light horsemen threetimes armed with lances and by the Swiss Guard on foot. And the penitentiaries of St. Peter's in normal clothes attended

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85 Paravicini-Baglioni, 109.

86 Ibid., 146.

87 Ibid., 150.

upon the body, which was carried into the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican, in which was provided every pontifical adornment in red and also, as if mass would be celebrated, sandals, fanon, cloak, and also a miter of gold thread and the body was placed upon the funeral bed with a pillow under his head and with two caps of red pontifical velvet on his feet.\textsuperscript{89}

An \textit{avviso} of January 30, 1620, states that the pope has died and his body been brought to the basilica where it has been placed in a place of adoration.\textsuperscript{90} By the second of February, Alaleone reports that it is "the fourth day of obsequies as is customary."\textsuperscript{91}

More details are provided by a manuscript attributed to Agostino Mascardi on the conclave which elected Gregory XV, which describes the days following Paul's death:

He died finally on Thursday at eleven pm, fortified by all the sacraments, in the hands of a good number of cardinals, and the palace was immediately handed over to Cardinal Detti, the vice camerlengo. The following day the congregation of cardinals was assembled in the room of the consistory in the Vatican to give the necessary orders, and the body was carried to St. Peters accompanied by the Sacred College. For nine mornings they celebrated the obsequies with mass sung by one of the cardinals, after which the ordinary congregation was always held in the sacristy. Sunday the obsequies finished. Mons. Palloni recited the funeral oration. Monday the mass of the holy spirit was sung by Cardinal Giustiniani and by order of the college Agostino

\textsuperscript{89} Orbaan, 38. "1621 Januarii 28, Obiit in palatio Apostolico in Quirinali hora vigesima tertia cum dimidia Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Paulus papa Quintus, aetatis suae annorum lxviii et mensium quatuor. Corpus ejus fuit accomodatum de more et indutum postea a paenetentiaris Sancti Petri vesta subtana, zona, rochetto, mozetta et bireto et custodierunt corpus usque ad horam xi, quod postea fuit in lectica portatum ad palatium Apostolicum in Vaticano apud Sanctum Petrum et associatum ab aliquibus parafrenariis suis cum fanalibus accensis hinc inde, a militibus levis armaturae eques II tribus cum lanceis armatis, et a militibus Helvetiis pedestribus, et paenetentiarii (a) Sancti Petri cum vestibus suis ordinariis associarunt corpus, quod corpus fuit portatum in cappellam Apostolicam, Sixti IIII nuncupatam, in Vaticano, in qua fuit paratum omnibus pontificalibus paramentis rubris ac si missam esset celebraturus, cum sandalis, favone et pallio ac mitra de tela aurea et postum supra lectum mortorium cum pulvino sub capite et cum duobus galeris de velluto rubro pontificali ad pedes. Vixit in pontificatu annos xv menses vili et dies xii."

\textsuperscript{90} [Urb. lat. 1089. 87 r. and v.] "La Santità del Nostro Signore Papa Paolo Quinto...giovedì su le 23 hore rese lo spirito al Creatore et fu poi la sera portato a San Pietro e il suo corpo eposto in quella basilica in luogo dell'adoratione." Quoted in Orbaan, 272.

\textsuperscript{91} "4. dies exequiriarum o(m)nij a ut de more." Quoted in Bräcker, 30.
Mascardi, secretary of Cardinal d'Este, read the oration *de subrogando Pontefice*.  

Here we find all of the components necessary for the orderly transition of power: the handing over of the palace, the ritual dressing and display of the corpse, the summoning of the cardinals for the consistory, and the prescribed nine days of obsequies.

We are equally well informed about the ceremony around Paul's reburial. While there do not seem to be ceremonials summarizing the proper etiquette, we can at least see the ceremonial and liturgical side to Paul's reburial based on a number of sources. Apart from Guidiccioni, whose account was summarized in the introduction, there are two other contemporary accounts of the transportation of Paul's body to S. Maria Maggiore: those of Giacinto Gigli and Paolo Alaleone. Gigli was a Roman gentleman whose private diary of his recollections of life in Rome has been published as the *Diario di Roma*.  

Alaleone was the papal ceremony master from 1582 to 1637.

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92 "Morì finalmente il giovedì sulle 23 ore, armato di tutti i Sacramenti, nelle mani d'un buon numero di Cardinali, e subito fu consegnato il Palazzo al cardinale Deti, Vice Camerlengo. Il di seguente si fece la Congregazione de' Cardinali nella stanza pel Concistoro in Vaticano, per dar gli ordini necessari, e si portò il cadavere in S. Pietro, accompagnato dal sacro Collegio. Per nove mattine si celebrarono l'esecuie con la messa cantata da un de' Cardinali, dopo le quali si tenne sempre l'ordinaria Congregazione in sagrestia. La domenica, finite l'esecuie, Mons. Palloni recitò l'orazione funerale. Il lunedì fu cantata la messa dello Spirito Santo dal Sig. Cardinale Giustiniano, e per ordine del Collegio orò il Sig. Agostino Mascardi, segretario del Cardinal d'Este, *de subrogando Pontefice*. [Archivio di Stato di Modena, *Cancelleria ducale, Documenti di Stati* esteri busta 132, *Roma, Conclavi* and also Biblioteca Arcivescovile di Udine, *Mss italiani N 39.523-542.*] Quoted in Francesco Luigi Mannuci, ed., "Appendice II Due Opuscoli Inediti di Agostino Mascardi," *La Vita e le opere di Agostino Mascardi con appendici di lettere e altri scritti inediti e un saggio bibliografico. Atti della Società ligure di Storia patria vol XLII* (Genoa: Società ligure di storia patria, 1910) 536. We learn more about how Mascardi was chosen to read the oration in a letter he wrote to Camillo Moza on February 3: "Di V.S. Ill.ma, alla quale do nuova come la Congregazione de' Cardinali l'altra mattina mi ballottò in concorrenza di Monsignor Ginetti, proposto da farnesi, per fare l'orazione a' Cardinali *de subrogando Pontefice*, ed io prevalsi senza sapere neanche d'esser nominato, e senza manifestura alcuna del. Sig. Cardinal nostro, che non lo seppe se non sul fatto. Lunedì mattina dunque farò il mio cicalamento, e V. S. ha da riconoscere in questa elezione (salva la proporzione) la stravaganza di questa Corte, che cava dal fango chi meno se lo pensava. I promotori del negozio, per quel ch'intendo, furono Barberino e Borghese e poi tutti con voti conformi." Ibid., 463.
Gigli gives a detailed account of the procession and a brief description of the catafalque. Given the different functions of the men and the intended distribution of their texts, the details are remarkably similar. If we start with the transportation itself, we can see that the descriptions of all three men are very similar. While the focus of their accounts is slightly different, all are more concerned with the festive and liturgical aspects than the artistic. Gigli's account of the procession runs as follows:

On Sunday the 30th day of January 1622, the body of Pope Paul V, of holy memory, was transported to S. Maria Maggiore to bury it in the Chapel of the Madonna built by him, which was done with every solemn right and expenditure by his nephew Cardinal Borghese in this way. The putti di letterato came first, then the orphans, and seventeen different lay companies, than twenty-seven fraternities, the clergy and seminary of clerics, the parishioners of Rome, and a great number of priests in surplices, and all these with very large torches of wax. The putti, orphans, and members of all the above named companies carried 700 beautiful torches of white wax. 

The body of the pope followed inside the casket placed on top of a bier covered with a blanket of gold brocade and a frieze of black velvet. Around the body were the canons of S. Maria Maggiore, and the household of the pope followed behind on horseback, and some cardinals, many bishops, and other prelates, and the servants "extra muros", and other officials of the palace.


95 For a detailed examination of the differences in the two men's styles and interests in the entire corpus of their writings, see Bräcker.

96 Gigli 24, vol. 1, n.16. The putti di letterato were a group of abandoned children who sang for alms who were known by the name of their protector Leonardo Cerusi di Salerno, known as "il Letterato."

97 Ibid., 40, n. 37. Door openers in the papal court outside of the anticamera. They assisted in the chapels and in papal functions, i.e. the posseivo of Innocent VIII and Sixtus V. They wore red robes.
The most numerous crowd was to be seen through every concourse, and through the street one didn't hear anything except blessing of the soul of this pope, everyone recounting and recalling the things done by him, his good governance, remembering him generally, calling him father of the poor, and making a comparison between the time now and a year ago when he was alive. 98

What we find here is a simple list of the participants in the procession and an emphasis on the torches and the crowds of people thronging the streets to glimpse the festivities. Alaleone's account of the transportation is similar but more detailed:

First some lay fellowships, against my opinion, because priority is always disputed among those and they delay the procession. Next orphan boys, all members of a religious order, clergy of the city, clerics of the Seminario Romano, evidently anxious, canons of the ecclesiastical colleges of the city, canons of two famous ecclesiastical colleges and canons and capitals of the three patriarchal basilicas of Rome, one may see of the Lateran, S. Maria Maggiore and the Vatican, and in the beginning of the procession after the lay societies went the great cross of the lords canons and chaplains of S. Maria Maggiore. The first who helped in carrying the funeral bier, supported from below by the pall bearers clothed in sacks, were the lord canons of St. Peters, because the body had been removed from their basilica, and they carried the stretcher or bier, covered above in gold cloth with the insignia of the dead Pope all the way to S. Cecilia on Monte Giordano. Next the lord canons of the basilica of the Lateran took over and carried the aforementioned bier with the body of the dead pope covered as above, and they carried it up to the head of Via S. Maria de Laureto at the end of the Palatine of S. Mark from that side, and in

that very place leaving behind that bier the lord canons of the basilica of S. Maria Maggiore took over. And the bier being deposited inside the basilica, the most reverend lord bishop Curtis Vicarius of the basilica of S. Maria Maggiore, dressed in black pluviale and simple miter of canvas, did the responses and oration for the dead pope. Next he was buried in the chapel of the most beautiful Virgin Mary before blessed recollection of Pope Paul V, as long as he lived being carefully built. There were carried many torches to here from that place by putti literati, by orphans and by many different lay societies. After the bier some prelates rode with great cloaks and ceremonial pontifical hats, papal chaplains with red garments and hoods, papal valets "extra muros" and shield-bearers of the pope with red garments without hoods/ in front of the master of the papal household rode the captain of the Swiss guard, two maggieri of the pope with silver mace and the masters of ceremony. Around the bier papal footmen with violet colored outer garments and scepters walked on foot, the most illustrious presidents of the Datary and reverend lord vicars of the pope with clergy an Swiss Guard on foot by the sides, with halberds as is customary. There were candles distributed and given to all in abundance.\footnote{Alaleone, 240. "Incederunt primi aliquae societates laicorum, contra meam opinionem, quia semper inter ipso altercantur de praecedentia et retardant processionem, uti hodie etiam fecerunt. Deinde orfani pueri, omnes religiosi, clerus Urbis, Clerici Seminarii Romani, videlicet Curati, Canonici collegiarum ecclesiariarum Urbis, Canonici duarum collegiarum ecclesiariarum insignium et Canonici et capitula trium Basilicarum Patriarchalium Urbis, videlicet Sancti Ioannis Lateranensi, Sancti Petri et Sanctae Mariae maioris, et in principio processionis post societates laicorum praecedebat crux Dominorum Canonicerum et capituli Sanctae Mariae Maioris tantum. Primi, qui adjuverunt in portando baram funeralem, portatam subtus à baiulis saccis indutis, fuerunt Domini Canonici Basilicae Sancti Petri, quia ab eorum basilica fuit extractum, et portarunt feretrum/ sine baram coopertum panno aureo ut supra cum insignibus Papae defuncti usque ad Sanctam Caeciliam apud Montem Iordanum. Deinde subintronunt ad portandum dictam baram cum corpore Papae defuncti coopertam ut supra Domini Canonici Basilicae Sancti Ioannis Lateranensis, et portarunt usque ad caput Viae Sanctae Mariae de Laureto in fine Palatii Sancti Marci ab illo latere, et ibidem relinquentes illam subintronunt Domini Canonici Basilicae Sanctae Mariae Maioris. Et deposita bara intus Basilicam Reverendissimus Dominus Episcopus de Cu-rtis Vicarius Basilicae Sanctae Mariae Maioris indutus pluviali nigro et mitra simplici de tela fecit officium cum responsorisi et oratione pro defuncto Pontifice." It is worth noting that while substantively the same there are many minor variations in the only other published transcription, that of Gianbattista Gattico of 1753. Gianbattista Gattico, \textit{Acta Selecta Caeremonialia Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae: Ex Varii Mss. Codicibus et Diariis Saeculi XV. XVI. XVII.} (Rome: Jo. Laurentii Barbieriini, 1753) 484.}

Being the papal ceremony master, Alaleone is more concerned with the actual funeral rights and he also gives a lengthy description of the uncovering of the body which is absent from Gigli’s account:
Sunday sexagesima the 30th of January, 1622. Around the hour of ten, the body of Pope Paul V of happy memory was removed from the tomb in which he had been placed in the Basilica of St. Peter's, and having been identified, and once more having been placed in a leaden casket was hidden and locked inside a wooden casket. Next he was placed in the middle of the basilica of St. Peter's on top of a bier and covered with gold cloth with his arms worked anew with many torches of white wax in a circle around him. Illustrious men - Cardinals Millinus, Gherardus and Pignatelli - were present who identified him. After lunch by ceremonial rite the corpse was carried from the basilica of St. Peter's to S. Maria Maggiore on a bier covered with gold cloth and buried within the chapel of the excellent lords Borghese, in which is the tomb of the aforementioned Pope Paul V...

All of the accounts emphasize the throngs of people and note carefully the order of the procession and all of the participants. There is also an emphasis on the recognition, dressing, and carrying of the corpse.

But in addition to following ecclesiastical protocol, the transportation of Paul's body had another prototype. The procession of Paul's body to S. Maria Maggiore was clearly intended to echo the procession Paul had ordered for the translation of the icon the Salus Populi Romani to the Borghese chapel. Guidiccioni writes:

...the anniversary of the transportation of her sacred and celebrated image, painted by St Luke then proved by St. Gregory and carried for the true and only source of health in the universal plague of Rome. That translation the Pope Paul had made many years before, raising the image from its old tabernacle and with long and celebrated procession and with perpetual yearly dispensations of many spiritual treasures, and for the eight days of her festival, placing her where one finds her now,

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not without having always with marvelous care hastened the work of that chapel, which was the first building started by him, the most abundant of building popes.\textsuperscript{101}

In fact, the similarities between the two processions are clear. The translation of the icon is recorded in the anonymous "Relatione della translatione della S.ma Imagine della Madonna in S.ta Maria Maggiore fatta dalla S.ta di N. S.re Papa Paol V."\textsuperscript{102} The procession occurred on January 27, 1613, with preparations having started three days previously. The icon was placed on a _macchina_ in a special frame and carried along a processional route along with icons of Carlo Borromeo and Francesca Romana. The procession was made up of monks, confraternities, and clerics of S. Maria Maggiore, St. Peter's and the Lateran and the Collegio Germanico, as well as cardinals and other important people all carrying lighted candles.\textsuperscript{103}

By making the connection between the two rites explicit, Guidiccioni emphasized the importance of the Esquiline, the icon and the Virgin herself to Paul. It also served to remind the viewer of formal similarities between catafalques and reliquaries.

While none of this background may have a direct bearing on the form of Paul's catafalque, it is nonetheless important to understand. The rationale that led to the downplaying of the individual pope's power post mortem would also have applied to reburials. The Sacred College had likely refused earlier nephews' applications for festive

\textsuperscript{101} Guidiccioni 1623, 13. "...l'istesso giorno, che si celebraua la trasportatione anniuersaria della sua sacra, & celeste Imagine, dipinta già da San Luca, poi da S. Gregorio prouata, & portata per vero, & vnico fonte di salute nell'vniversal' pestilenza di Roma. La qual; traslatione haueua Papa Paolo fatta molt'anini prima, leuendo l'Imagine dall'antico suo Tabernacolo; & con lunga, & celeberrima Processione, & con annua dispensazioné di molti tesori spirituali, & perpetui, per g'otto giorni della sua festa, collocandola ou'hor si trova, non senza haure con cura marauigliosa affrettato sempre il lauoro di quella Cappella, che fù la prima fabrica cominciata nel suo, di fabrice abondantissimo, Pontificato."

\textsuperscript{102} [ACSMM Fondo Capella Borghese, Misc. III, fasc 11, no 51]. Discussed and quoted in Ostrow 1996, 118-120. For further descriptions see Ostrow 1996, 12-13 and Gigli, I 27.

\textsuperscript{103} Ostrow 1996, 118-120.
reburials for some of the same reasons that popes were buried quickly. Placing too much emphasis on the person of a single deceased pontiff would have undermined the higher authority of the Church – as well as that of his successor. Furthermore, once a new pope was in power there would be dynastic as well as liturgical reasons to deny further commemoration as it would hardly have been in the new pope's best interests to draw attention to the merits of his predecessor.

Scipione, then, had a fine line to walk - memorializing his uncle at the same time as not offending the curia and the new pope. The careful insistence on protocol in the burial and reburial of the pope's body can be attributed to the latter goal. But in the catafalque itself we will find that this balance tips. While there are still nods to the curia - the written and visual references to earlier papal prototypes as well as to early church architecture - these symbols are appropriated and come to signify not the papacy itself but Paul's sanctity and his role in the restoration of the early church.
Chapter 2
Lelio Guidiccioni and the Breve Racconto

The Breve Racconto is by far the most complete source of information we have about Paul's catafalque. It consists of four separate parts: an Italian account of the transportation of the pope's body, the decoration of the church and the catafalque; engravings of the catafalque, sculptures and column capitols; the Latin oration and, finally, poetry about the pope that was apparently attached to the catafalque.

Some modern scholars have assumed that the Breve Racconto was written by an anonymous author.\(^{104}\) Both internal and external evidence demonstrates that the author of the book, that is the Latin oration and Italian description, was Lelio Guidiccioni. The dedication is signed by him and the oration can clearly be attributed to him by the external evidence of other contemporaries sources.

The confusion seems to stem from the descriptive Italian section of the book. It is not signed and for several reasons does not seem typical of Guidiccioni's other writing. First, he refers to the author of the oration in the third person. Secondly, the language he uses to describe Bernini seem very different from his usual writing. However, it is in these very words that we find proof that Guidiccioni was indeed their author, for in a letter addressed to Bernini written over a decade later, in 1633, Guidiccioni actually quotes his own text:

"Son 12 anni, ch'io scissi di V.S. due parole mandate al publico, et conclusi che nell'opere di

scoltura, ella s'incaminava à liberar questo secolo dall'invidia degli antichi. Further evidence of Guidiccioni's authorship is found in a letter written by him to Scipione Borghese apologizing for the delay in the publication.

It is hard to know how much to weigh Guidiccioni's suggestions versus the visual evidence. Reconstructing a work of art, let alone its creators' intent, on the basis of a commemorative book is a frustrating exercise. But perhaps to seek more than the information contained in the book is to miss the point. Much like a permanent tomb or funerary chapel, the entire *apparatus funebris* was designed at least as much for posterity as for the contemporary viewer. But unlike the creator of a tomb, the creators of the catafalque were fully aware that the only mark their creation would leave on history was the record in the funeral book. If much of the intended audience was in the future, shouldn't we look at the record in the funeral book as at least as important as the monument itself? Likewise when discrepancies exist between the book and the eyewitnesses should we ignore them and take the evidence of the book as a better record of the creators' intentions, even if the details of the executed monument were different? After all, they could never have anticipated the public dissemination of private and official diaries centuries later. The representation of the ceremony and catafalque as presented in the funeral book was of the utmost importance to the distillation and distribution of the message. This would mean that a large portion of the intended audience would have been expected to see the catafalque through Guidiccioni's lens.

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105 D’Onofrio 1967, 381. [Cod. Barb. lat 2958, cc. 202-207.]

106 Ibid., 293, n12. "che resti servita dar caldo con un suo cenno alla finale opera di quelli intagli dell'essequie esquilnine, sopra che non mancav i somministrare i ricordi ordinatimi da V.S. Ill.ma, tanto all'Artefice quanto à mons. Majordomo." Letter from Guidiccioni to Scipione 12, August 1622. [Fondo Borghese, IV, 215a, c. 207.]
So who is the man behind the book? Guidiccioni has largely been forgotten by modern scholars. Most references to the poet are to his encomiastic literature on the Borghese and Barberini. Work on (and a translation of) some of his Latin poems has been done by J. K. Newman.\(^{107}\) Tracy Ehrlich has published several of his poems in relation to her work on Frascati.\(^{108}\) Apart from this, none of Guidiccioni’s published works have been reprinted since the seventeenth century. Cesare D’Onofrio has published several documents about Guidiccioni and Bernini: a dialogue and part of a letter which is included in a brief section dealing with the poet in *Roma vista da Roma*.\(^{109}\)

Guidiccioni’s collection has received slightly more attention, starting with Francis Haskell, who cites him as an example of a collector “tricked by unscrupulous dealers.”\(^{110}\) Most subsequent writers echo Haskell’s view. Orreste Ferrari, for example, writes that Guidiccioni was a terrible connoisseur, had no interest in art and collected only in a futile attempt to be seen as a gentleman.\(^{111}\) Two articles, by Sandro Corradini and Luigi Spezzaferro deal with Guidiccioni’s will and the inventory of his collection, although neither publishes or discusses these documents completely.\(^{112}\)


\(^{108}\) Ehrlich, appendix.

\(^{109}\) D’Onofrio 1967, 379-382.


\(^{111}\) Ferrari, 151-161. This view is difficult to reconcile with the history of Guidiccioni’s family, one of the most important in Lucca, boasting several cardinals as well as important Lucchese politicians.

Guidiccioni was born on October 17, 1582. He came from a distinguished Lucchese family which had been involved in local and curial politics for centuries. Guidiccioni seems to have been inspired by two great uncles, Cardinal Bartolomeo Guidiccioni and the poet Giovanni Guidiccioni, both important men of letters and the Church. Following their example, in 1601 he moved to Rome to complete his studies, a decision facilitated both by family ties to the Curia and a close friendship with the Sacchetti brothers. In Rome, Guidiccioni attended the Collegio Romano, but he also seems to have studied law elsewhere. His first position in Rome was court poet to Scipione Borghese. The seventeenth-century biographer Janus Nicias Erythraeus [recte Giovanni Vittorio Rossi] praises Guidiccioni's devotion to Borghese, noting that after Paul's death "the cardinal was deserted by all his friends, his acquaintances, his close advisors, Lelio alone remained, a lone example of love, dutifulness, faith. Nothing except the Cardinal's own death was able to tear him away." After Scipione's death Guidiccioni remained in the Borghese orbit, entering the household of Antonio Barberini the younger whom he served until his death in 1643.

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113 Guidiccioni was buried next to another uncle, Flaminio Guidiccioni, in S. Gregorio Magno. Another relative, Alessandro Guidiccioni was archbishop of Lucca during the 1630s. Guidiccioni himself devotes the preface of his Rime to a discussion of the example and literary fate of his two uncles. Lelio Guidiccioni, Rime (Rome,1637) “Mio lettore” a5. In his will Guidiccioni also expresses concern that the writings of his uncle Bartolomeo be published. Spezzaferro, 1996.

114 Guidiccioni's early association with the Sacchetti may be important to his development as a connoisseur and collector. Both brothers remained close friends, as evidenced by the numerous sonnets exchanged with both in the Rime. Guidiccioni 1637, 17, 25, 131, 132, 150, 214. On the Sacchetti and their art patronage, see Lilian Zirpolo, Ave Papa, Ave Popibile: the Sacchetti Family, their Art Patronage and Political Aspirations (Toronto, 2005).


116 Guidiccioni 1637, 149. He cites the studies as an excuse for not returning some of the sonnets: “nell’andar fouri di Roma a’ studiar leggi, non si ripase ad alcuni sonetti d’amici.”
Guidiccioni was extremely erudite and particularly interested in the classical world. In addition to his encomiastic literature on the Borghese and Barberini, he left a large body of writing on ancient poetry, music and art. He also wrote an Italian translation of the Aeneid as well as his own set of eclogues. His will shows concern for the fate of his unpublished Latin writings, which he considered his legacy. His classicism earned him the moniker of the "lucchese Virgil." Guidiccioni was an important member of the literary and artistic communities in Rome, belonging to the Accademie degli Umoristi, Oziosi, and Insensati, as well as to Francesco Barberini's private academy which met at the Barberini palace and whose ranks were drawn mainly from the Umoristi. His Rime contain exchanges of sonnets with most of the prominent litterati of the day. Contemporary references stress his learning, the beauty

117 Erythraeus, 160.

118 His Rime contain a discourse (dedicated to Vincenzo Buonvisi) entitled “capitolo de’i Poeti Toscani, superiori alla nostra età, & della Poesia in genere.” Guidiccioni 1637, 257-270. He considered Ancient authors (and in particular Virgil) far superior to any of his contemporaries.

119 Spezzaferro, 252.

120 Hieronymus Tetius, Ædes Barberinæ ad Qvirinalem a comite Hieronymo Tettio Persino descriptæ (Rome, 1642).

121 He was one of the signers on the March 27, 1608 decree of the newly formed Umoristi. His inclusion is significant given the date; he had not yet published a single work in his own name. His first work, Ottave rime nella canonizzazione di s. Carlo Borromeo celebrata da N. S. papa Paolo V il primo giorno di novembre 1610, was published under the pseudonym Carolus Aurelius. A work in the Rime is entitled “per l’esequie del Sig. Paolo Mancini nell Academia de gli Humoristi,” Guidiccioni 1637, 121. For Guidiccioni’s involvement in Francesco Barberini’s academy, see Elizabeth Cropper, The Ideal of Painting, Pietro Testa’s Dusseldorf Notebook (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984) 157 and Marc Fumaroli, “Cicero Pontifex Romanus: la tradition rhétorique du collège romain et les principes inspirateurs du mécénat des Barberini,” Mélanges de l’école française de Rome, Moyen Age-Temps Moderne 90 (1978): 797-835, 813-814.

122 Guidicioni 1637. There are sonnets addressed to Guidiccioni from the following poets: Stigliani, 147; Antonio Bruni, 148; Porfirio Feliciano, A13 and 141-3; Alderigo Vanni, 144; Nicolaio Tucci, 145; Marcello Sacchetti, 25 and 150; Battista Bottini, A13. Furthermore there are sonnets addressed to the following people: Manso, 133; Querengo, 115; Virginio Orsini, 117; Virginio Cesarini, 120 and 636; Clemente Merlino, 157 and Pomponeo Torelli, 126-7. Criscuolo records correspondence
of his Latin prose and his passion for collecting. Hieronymus Tetius, in his *Aedas Barberinae*, devotes pages to the poet and his learned, graceful style. Even the acerbic Erithraeus lauds his intellect.

Guidiccioni, as noted, was famous also as a collector. The inventory of his house in the Piazza di Spagna dated July 14, 1643, (several days after his death) enumerates 260 paintings; forty groups of drawings; ninety sculptures (mostly fragments); 1500 medallions and coins (both antique and modern) and fifteen tapestries. His will also gives detailed information about the disposal of this collection. Based on contemporary reports and inventories, Guidiccioni’s collection may have included a *Madonna degli Sportelli Dorati* attributed to Raphael, a terracotta crucifix attributed to Michelangelo, a *Rape of the Sabines* and *Flood* attributed to "Bassan giovane" and a *Nativity* ascribed to Jacopo Bassano.


Hieronymus Tetius, *Ædes Barberinae ad Qvirinalem a comite Hieronymo Tetio Perssino descriptæ* (Rome, 1642), 495.

Erythraeus, 427.

Guidiccioni started collecting soon after he arrived in Rome. A published letter from Lanfranco Margotti to Guidiccioni thanks the poet for the gift of a painting. As Margotti died in 1611, this date serves as a terminus ante quem for the start of Guidiccioni’s collecting activities. Lanfranco Margotti, *Lettere del Sig. Card. Lanfranco Margotti, scritte per lo più ne’tempi di Papa PAOLO V. a nome del Sig. Cardinal Borghese. Raccolte, e publicate da Pietro da Magistris de Calderola* (Rome, 1633).


This attribution seems to have been debated during Guidiccioni’s life based on the defensive tone in a codicil to his will dated June 12, 1643: "perché al quadro della Madonna con gli sportelli non ho saputo trovar luogo di buon lume nella Basilica di S.ta Maria Maggiore, supplico la S.tà di N.ro Sig.re a goderselo, et contenarsi poiché quando Dio lo chiami al premio delle sue tante sollecitudini sia collocato in San Pietro sotto la Tribuna verso il suo sepolcro medesimo, dove non impedisca e possa con buona veduta esser giudicato da valentuomini per quello che è." Spezzaferro, 243.

It is unclear whether Guidiccioni attributed the first to Francesco or Leandro, the text reads "all' E'mm.mo Sig. Cardinale Antonio (Barberini) mio Sig.re...il quadro grande del Bassan giovane col Ratto delle Sabine compagno di quello del Diluvio..." Two paintings with similar descriptions appear
Annibale Carracci’s book of drawings of tradesmen, Ottavio Leoni drawings of the Duke of Savoy and Ludovico Ludovisi, a Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine attributed to Correggio, and a Death of the Virgin by Scarsellino.

His collection and connoisseurship were renowned in the seventeenth century.

Pompilio Totti’s 1638 guide to Rome, *Ritratto di Roma Moderna*, describes Guidiccioni’s

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129 Guidiccioni is recorded as the owner of this book by Giovanni Antonio Massani in the preface to his publication of the drawings from the book in *Le arti di Bologna* (Rome, 1646). His words are quoted by Malvasia. Anne Sumerscale, *Malvasia’s Life of the Carracci: Commentary and Translation* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2000) 271. "The book was given by Cardinal Ludovisi to Signor Lelio Guidiccioni, a gentleman from Lucca, very well known in the Roman court for his virtues and his many praiseworthy qualities. Proud to have something in his collection that made virtuosi in particular curious to go there and see it he enjoyed for many years the applause he himself derived from the praises given to the author of these drawings and from the continued memory of the magnanimity of the donor. When Guidiccioni died and the book passed into other hands, where it risked being moved to someplace where it would never be heard of again it finally came into my own keeping..." See also Ibid., 364 for a discussion of Malvasia’s comments on Guidiccioni.

130 Corrandini 2003, 65.


132 Mancini records Scarselino’s *Death of the Virgin* in Guidiccioni’s collection. Mancini, 244. Scipione Borghese had a large number of works by Scarselino, which may explain Guidiccioni’s interest in the artist.

133 Guidiccioni also acted as “tour guide” of the Villa Borghese. On March 1, 1628, he escorted the Grand Duke of Tuscany Ferdinand II de’ Medici through the collection. Erythraeus, part II 128. See also D’Onofrio 1967, 379. Guidiccioni was asked to estimate a group of antique statues found on the Esquiline by Cardinal Giori. D’Onofrio 1967, 379n. Cardinal Angelo Giori (1586-1662) arrived in Rome in 1606, where he entered the service of Maffeo Barberini and was entrusted with educating his two nephews, Antonio and Francesco. He was created cardinal in 1643. Sandro Corradini, "La collezione del Cardinale Angelo Giori," *Antologia di Belle Arti* 1 (1977): 83-94.
“dottisima libreria e belissime pitture.”

Celio’s *Memorie dell nomi degli artefici* of 1638 documents his activities as a collector, as does Mancini’s *Considerazioni sulla Pittura*.

Giovanni Battista Mercati’s print after Correggio’s *Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine* has a dedicatory inscription documenting Guidiccioni’s piety and interest in art. Erythraeus, though circumspect about Guidiccioni’s attributions, concedes that he has an impressive collection.

Another indicator of Guidiccioni’s connoisseurship can be found in his annotations to Vasari’s *Vite*. His comments are wide-ranging: correcting factual errors in Vasari, quoting Condivi, noting the present location of works, and most interestingly, criticizing

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135 Gaspare Celio, *Memorie dell nomi degli artefici* (Naples, 1638) 143; and reprint, ed. Emma Zocca (Milan: Electa Casareo, 1967) 43 and 107, n 408. “Vi sono Getilhuomini particolari, ch’hanno cose molto curiose, e degne d’esser viste, e lodate, fra li quali il Signor Abbate Lelio Guidiccioni.” Guidiccioni is one of three collectors mentioned, the other two being Francesco Angeloni (called Angelo) and Giovanni Agostino.


138 Erythraeus, part II 127.

139 Guidiccioni’s annotations are transcribed in M. Hochman, “les annotations marginales de Federico Zucchero a un exemplaire des Vies de Vasari,” *Revue de l’art* 80 (1988): 64-71. Guidiccioni’s familiarity with Vasari is important, for as Cropper has shown, the idea of *novità* lying in manner not subject is applied to the visual arts in Vasari’s discussion of Pontormo and his borrowing from Dürer. Cropper 1984, 124. This is the same idea Guidiccioni espouses in his dialogue with Bernini.
Vasari’s taste (usually for being too pro-Florentine). Raphael, Correggio, and Dosso are all singled out. Guidiccioni’s ability to locate works suggests both a broad visual knowledge, and acquaintance with a wide circle of collectors, both in and out of Rome.

Poetry and art were not Guidiccioni’s only interests. He was also interested in music. In fact, Guidiccioni may be best remembered as the addressee of Pietro della Valle’s discourse on music, *Della musica dell’età nostra che non è punto inferiore, anziè migliore di quella dell’età passata.* Della Valle’s famous work is a response to a treatise written by Guidiccioni on the superiority of antique music. Guidiccioni’s interest in music was practical as well as theoretical. He wrote several libretti and there are several poems in the *Rime* labeled “per musica.” In Guidiccioni’s will, the list of treasures to be sold includes four musical instruments, mostly identified by the musicians who played them. This list includes the stars of the poet’s collection: Annibale’s book of tradesmen, a purported Michelangelo

140 Spagnolo, 238. Maddalena Spagnolo suggests that Guidiccioni’s interest in Lombard artists (Correggio, Dosso and Michelangelo Anselmi) can be traced to an extended stay in Parma around 1603 evidenced by a letter to his brother Cristoforo of 1603. She also points out two other connections: Alessandro Guidiccioni had been Archbishop of Parma a century earlier and Lelio’s *Aeneid* translation is dedicated to Odoardo Farnese.


142 Lelio Guidiccioni, *Discorso sopra musica*, cited in Leonis Allacci, *Apes Urbanae, sive de viris illustribus* (Rome, 1633) 17; transcription and translation found in Andrew Dell’Antonio, *Listening as Spiritual Practice in Early Modern Italy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011) 135-156. As Della Valle was a member of the Umoristi, these treatises can possibly be read as a manifestation of a more widespread debate on the topic. Three poems in Guidiccioni’s *Rime* describe the funeral of Della Valle’s wife. Guidiccioni 1637, 138–9.

143 Guidiccioni 1637, 44, 46, 295.

144 Corradini 2003, 65. “il mio cimbalo…lo spinetto d’un palmo, che Giorgio porto sempre addosso, il Liuto, che Gio. Franc.o suono a tutte le feste p[er] 35 anni, L’arpicordo chiamato dal frescobaldi la Gioa.” Guidiccioni probably knew Frescobaldi well. Coliva, 403. In addition to his work for the Barberini, the composer dedicated his *Secondo libro di modulazioni diverse sacras modulationes. ad ecclesiae concentum, & usum pietatis* to Scipione Borghese in 1627. Gio. Franco. can be identified as Giovanni Francesco Brissio, papal choirmaster under Paul V.
crucifix and several Bassano paintings. The inclusion of instruments is indicative both of their value to Guidiccioni, and their presumptive monetary value.

Guidiccioni was deeply religious and especially devoted to the Virgin. \(^{145}\) Paul V made him canon of S. Acconcio in SS. Paolino e Lucca in 1608, and Antonio Barberini appointed him canon of S. Maria Maggiore in 1633. Guidiccioni was also involved in both secular and curial politics. Although little is known of his political role, Erythraeus and Tetius suggest that he tried to live up to his uncles’ model of statesmanship. \(^{146}\)

What, then, does his biography tell us about how we should read his commentary? Several important points emerge: that he was staunchly loyal to the Borghese, that he shared a particular devotion to the Virgin with the pope, that he was extremely learned in the classics, and that he was at least a passable connoisseur of paintings. Furthermore, that he was on close enough terms with Bernini to exchange letters and perform dialogues with the artist suggests that their working relationship was close. All this indicates that we can treat him as a reliable source for the catafalque. So what can we learn from the text?

Guidiccioni’s description of the funeral procession, as already noted, pays attention to rank, precedent, custom and theological niceties. The description of the decorations themselves are actually surprisingly cursory, occupying three of the section’s fifteen pages. These pages are purely descriptive, and the closest to iconography he ventures is to state that

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\(^{145}\) Spezzaferro, 251 n.

\(^{146}\) Erythraeus, part II, 127. "Sed cum virtutis & ingenii vis tanta, in Reip. multis maximq: provinciis administrandiss, florere deberet, quemadmodum olim duo illa, non Lucæ solum, sed orbis etiam terræ lumina, Bartholomæus & Ioannes, fecerant; caruit omnino muneribus publicis, sive temporum injuria, sive aulae vitio; quæ sependumero, in mandandis honoribus, bonis prætermisssis, eorum præmia indignis defert; sive animi illius judicio, ut remotus à studiis ambitionis, otium & tranquillitatem vitae sequeretur." Similarly, Tetius, in his letter to Guidiccioni published in the *Aedes Barberini* warns Guidiccioni of the dangers of excessive modesty and urges the poet to seek greater recognition from the Barberini. Tetius, 495. Guidiccioni carried out several political missions for Scipione Borghese, acting as a representative in Lucca and bringing the cardinal nephew’s condolences to Carlo Emmanuel of Savoy upon his son’s death in 1605. Criscuolo, 373.
the virtues are "molto bene appropriate alle laudi di Papa Paolo,"\textsuperscript{147} and that the "dodici in piede...dipendeuano dalle prime quattro, trè per ciascuna."\textsuperscript{148} In fact, Guidiccioni explicitly states that he is not discussing the iconography because it will be done elsewhere:

Di questa Mole, & delle sue figure, & d'ogni suo particolare intendimento, altroue si rappresenta da alcuni belli ingegni vna più piena notitia, con la significatione de gl' habiti, & de gl'attributi delle Virtù in essa comprese. Onde non facendo qui luogo de Fermarsi sopra questa parte.\textsuperscript{149}

This omission is curious. Perhaps another funeral book was intended (or even published and lost) specifically devoted to this subject.

**The Oration**

To the modern reader Guidiccioni's Latin prose is dense, ponderous and as lacking in information as it is replete with rhetorical flourishes. But it shares these characteristics with most papal funeral eulogies of the period which were derived from the classical tradition of the epideictic oration.\textsuperscript{150} In its Greek incarnation the epideictic oration contained a number of elements: a profession of inadequacy on the part of the speaker, praise for the subject's family, a recounting of his youth and an account of his life and deeds.\textsuperscript{151} In Greek funeral

\textsuperscript{147} Guidiccioni 1623, 17.

\textsuperscript{148} Ibid., 18.

\textsuperscript{149} Ibid., 19.

\textsuperscript{150} See John McManamon, "The Ideal Renaissance Pope: Funeral Oratory from the Papal Court," *Archivium Historiae Pontificiae* 14 (1976): 9-71 and Theodore Burgess, *Epideictic Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1902) 89-261. According to McManamon, twelve out of seventeen extant papal funeral orations from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are clearly based off of this tradition while the rhetoric of the remaining five are closer in spirit to the Medieval *ars praedicandi*. McMannamon, 26.

oratory, lament and consolation of the listener were also important parts of the formula.\textsuperscript{152} While the Roman funeral oratory, the \textit{laudatio funebris}, built on the Greek precedent, it was first applied to individual citizens. For this distinction, is often considered an indigenous Latin form.\textsuperscript{153} The \textit{laudatio funebris} became the basis for most Renaissance funeral oratory, a circumstance that is somewhat surprising given that very little written record exists of Roman funeral oratory.\textsuperscript{154} Renaissance orators could have gleaned some idea of the parameters of Roman funeral rhetoric through the writings of Cicero, Quintilian and from the Ciceronian \textit{Rhetorica ad Herrenium}, but they may have relied more on the living art form which was still practiced in Byzantium although it had long fallen out of favor in the West.\textsuperscript{155}

Regardless of their derivation, all of these elements are present in Guidiccioni's oration. Between his protestations of sorrow and praise for the pope, he touches on the Borghese family, Paul's military exploits, his devotion to the Virgin, and briefly reflects on most of the virtues depicted in the catafalque. But he does not attempt anything that could be called an iconographic program. The virtues found on the catafalque are \textit{Iustitia, Maestà, Puritas, Religio, Pax, Annona, Providentia, Tranquillitas, Veritas, Sapientia, Magnificenza, Magnamitas, Misericordia, Eleemosina, Clementia}, and \textit{Mansuetudo}.

\textsuperscript{152} McManamon 1976, 22.


\textsuperscript{154} McManamon 1989, 6.

Of these *Iustitia*, *Maestà*, *Puritas*, *Pax*, *Tranquillitas*, *Sapientia*, *Magnificenza* and *Magnamitas* are explicitly credited to Paul in the text. Many of these (as well as others not found in the catafalque) are enumerated in a single sentence: Guidiccioni praises Paul for possessing prudence, temperance, magnificence, wisdom, justice, majesty, harmony and sanctity. He repeatedly mentions many of these characteristics of the pope. He invokes Paul's purity: "o candorem tuum Paule." Paul is the chosen seat of justice: "Iustitiae lectissimum domicilium." Paul is a defender of peace: "aureæ pacis propugnator," and when Paul dies peace and tranquility depart the city of Rome: "in eius obitu ita universa urbanæ paci, & tranquillitati conssona." Guidiccioni praises Paul's tranquility of mind ("mentis tranquillitatem").

Paul's possession of the virtue of *Religio* is attested to by his attachment to the Virgin, *Annona* by a discussion of his improvement of the grain supply and *Misericordia*, *Eleemosina* and *Mansuetudo* by his giving of alms to the poor.

156 Guidiccioni 1623, (oration 6). "Ego verò id existimo esse fœlicem dici, quod virtute præditum, cum illo censeo in hac vita agi fœliciter, cuibis consiliu prudentem euncent, mores temperatum, facta magnificum, scita sapientem; in cuius denique dominatu iustitia secundo eventu regnauerit, floruerit maiestas; grauitas constantia, ac sanctitudo præfulserit."

157 Ibid., (oration 7).

158 Ibid., (oration 6).

159 Ibid., (oration 9).

160 Ibid., (oration 9).

161 Ibid., (oration 5).

162 Ibid., (oration 4-5).

163 Ibid., (oration 5)."Modo illam circumspect Italiae oram rei frumentariae inopia laborantem, Agrum verò omanum fertilitate cumprimis inuidendum, provincialis Horrea refertissima, suum quæque puncto vel agrè capientia, urbana munimenta præ Annonæ vbertate vix se sustinentia."

164 Ibid., (oration 10).
The oration, then, defends Paul's possession of the traits found on the catafalque but does little to further our understanding of how they specifically were chosen and why they appear in the guises they do. Furthermore, the text is clearly not just illustrative of the monument, for among the other virtues there is also a long discussion of prudence, which Guidiccioni describes as the virtue from which all others flow: "Magnum omninò Prudentiae decus, vt cæteræ virtutes laudari non possint, quin ipsa laudetur. Ego quidem à fortitudine incipiens, sensim ad prudentiam deflectere sum coactus, à qua reliquæ proficiscentes...."165

Apart from prudence, the most discussed virtues are majesty and magnificence, almost always relating to building. By building sacred buildings Paul became worthy to be called magnificent: "in extruendis sacris Ædibus magnificentia dignè dicturum profiteatur."166 Guidiccioni gives a concise summary of Paul's buildings: his work on St. Peter's, the building of fountains, widening of roads and the creating of prospects and S. Maria Maggiore.167 He also enumerates Paul's more mundane projects for the safety of the Roman people: restoring the citadel at Ferrara and other strongholds, rebuilding the ports and freeing up the river for maritime trade.168

165 Ibid., (oration 9).

166 Ibid., (oration 10).

167 Ibid., (oration 11). "...Beatissimi Petri Templum, centum fermè annos summis Pontificibus admaturatum, tam grandi accessione à Paolo feliciter absolutum, neque vndarum fontes fluiali vbertate ductos, nequePrætoria, totq. alienæ commoditati ædificia substructa, neque stratas vias, neque latiùs prospectus datus..." and later "Fœlices Exquiliæ; vobis id vum deerar honoris culmen, vt Pauli Triumpho cohone staremini."

168 Ibid. (oration 7). "...Arcibus restitutis...munitionibus regio sumptu, inexpugnabili robore (Testis est Ferraria)substructis: curatis Portubus, repurgatis fluminum alueis iám maritimo exitu penè interclusis, quæ quidem satis Pyrgi veters, Tiberina Ostia, Fanum, & Ancona testantur."
Closely tied to building we find the theme of the renewal and renovation of Rome. Paul is the restorer of Rome's majesty: ""patriae maiestatis restitutorem."" The entire city of antique splendor would be restored: "Vrbem totam antiquæ maiestati restituendam." He makes a new Rome out of the old: "Romæ se veteri Romam nouam imposuisse." Paul restores Rome's illustrious Christian probity by building and decorating churches.

As we will see in the next chapter, these related ideas of magnificence through building and the restoration of Rome are important and recur in the encomiastic literature throughout Paul's reign.

The Odes

The final textual section of the Breve Racconto comprises poems by various authors which were attached to the catafalque. Guidiccioni describes their role in the obsequies thus:

"furono dalla sparsa moltitudine per tutta la Chiesa letti con gusto i seguenti versi composti da alcuni valenti, & amoreuoli litterati, che si vedeuano con bel compartimento attaccati sù per le negre spalliere della Naue principale."

The quality and style of these works is uneven, confirming that they were, in fact, written by divers poets. It seems probable that these were works by other literati around the Borghese,

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169 Ibid., (oration 12).

170 Ibid., (oration 2).

171 Ibid., (oration 10).

172 Ibid., (oration 6). "An anteactis Tempribus æquè se Roma reddiderit christianæ probitate conspicuam, an visa sint magnificentius extraucta, & ornata Templa."

173 Guidiccioni 1623, 18.

174 For a discussion of Guidiccioni's style see Newmann 1992, 65-76.
or perhaps the members of one the Roman academies.\textsuperscript{175} Collections of poetry by academicians on various subjects and current events were common in seicento Rome. One example was the \textit{La Veronica Vaticana del Signor Francesco Mochi}, a book containing twenty six poems by different authors published in 1640 by Ludovico Grignani.\textsuperscript{176} Another example is the booklet containing Italian poems and Latin epigrams on the 1631 eruption of Vesuvius published in 1632 and dedicated to Antonio Barberini.\textsuperscript{177} But if the poems were included for their literary merit (or the prestige of their authors) it is odd that they are not attributed to specific authors.

The poems fall into two distinct groups. The first is twenty four pairings of ode and epigram, each on the topic of a specific virtue. Their subjects loosely mirror those of the sculpted virtues in the catafalque. But some virtues which appear on the catafalque do not merit a poem and others are included which do not appear in the catafalque. This disparity requires some explaining. Since the poems were actually read at the obsequies and displayed around the church, they must have been written in anticipation of the ceremony rather than in reaction to it. This indicates that the authors must have had some guidance from Guidiccioni, so it is interesting that there is not a closer alignment of subjects. Even if (as seems likely) a program had been distributed to these poets some of the writers deviated from the it. These discrepancies mean that we must treat the poetry with care. It cannot be read as strictly programmatic, but more as a reflection of the sentiments of the Borghese court.

\textsuperscript{175} For more on the members of these groups see Fumaroli, “Cicero Pontifex Romanus,” 1978.

\textsuperscript{176} For more on this publication see Orreste Ferrari, "Poeti e scultori nella Roma seicentesca: i difficili rapporti tra due culture," \textit{Storia dell’arte} 90: 151-161, 153.

\textsuperscript{177} Urbano Giorgi, \textit{Scelta di poesia nell’incendio del Vesuvio fatta dal signor Urbano Giorgi Segretario dell’ Ecc.mo D. Conti di Conversano All’ Emenentiss. e Reverendiss. Prencipe il Signor cardinal Antonio Barberini} (Rome: Tamburelli, 1632).
Iustitia receives two odes, Maiesta one, Religio two and Puritas (or at least her cousin Castitas) one. There is one ode on Pax (or Amor Pacis), two on Tranquillitas, two on Providentia but none on Annona. Veritas, Sapientia, Magnificenza and Magnanimita each receive one ode. Misericordia receives one ode, Mansuetudo two, Clementia one and Eleemosina none. Thus, while most of the virtues are covered, there is certainly not an equitable division. Nor do the virtues which Guidiccioni singles out as more important (Veritas, Misericordia, Pax, and Iustitia) receive more poetic attention. And oddly enough both of the virtues found in the poetry but not in the sculpture (Prudentia and Liberalitas) receive two odes.

Just because they do not form a cohesive program does not mean that these odes are not useful to our understanding of the catafalque. As one would expect given their disparate authorship, some come closer than others to explaining the virtue's relevance to Paul. We will return to some of these works in chapter seven in the course of our investigation of the iconography of the sculpture.

The second group of poems in the Breve Racconto is comprised of epigrams on more wide-ranging subjects (though all still relating to the pope or his obsequies). They fall into three broad categories: elaborations on the conceit of the "Four Daughters of God" in Psalm 84, praise of the virtues of the pope, and descriptions of various aspects of the funeral and the Esquiline.

Most interesting is the group relating to Psalm 84, which as we shall see is one of the sources for the iconographical program of the sculptures. Verse 12, the basis for the conceit, reads:

Misericordia et veritas obviaverunt sibi:
iustitia et pax osculatae sunt.
Veritas de terra orta est:
et iustitia de caelo prospexit
Four epigrams address various aspects of this theme. Two take as their subject Mercy and Truth: "Misericordia, Veritas obuiauerunt sibi" and "Veritatis, & Misericordiæ nouum fœdus." One elaborates on Justice and Peace: "Iustitia, & Pax osculatæ sunt." A more oblique reference to Psalm 84 comes in an epigram on the Borghese _stemma_. Because this is the main organizing principle for the sculptures, this group provides the clearest indication of collaboration between the poets and Guidiccioni about the intended meaning of the catafalque.

There are also a number of epigrams on virtues. Several address specific virtues: "De Annonæ studio," "Magnificentia," "De eius Castitate ex sacello Exquilino" and "De eius Magnanimitate." Others take as their topic the combination of generic ("Virtutum concursu" and Conciliatis Virtutibus) and specific virtues ("De eiusdem maiestate, religione, & Tranquillitate").

The subjects of the final grouping of epigrams are more disparate, but most address various aspects of the burial: the subjects are "Quod in Exquilino Virginis templo fortitus fit tumulum," "In sacello Virginis Deiparæ tumulo," "Cuius corpus facello Exquilino reconditur," "De eius Funere," "Funere è Stemmatis Aquila," "De Sacello à PAVLO V. PONT. MAX. Ex aedificato," "Ad Exquilias translatum," "In eius ad Exquiliæ funere," "Ex sanguis corporis pallore," "De eius mentis Amplitudine," and "De eius gloriae Immortalitate." Finally, there are two which do not seem to fit any of these categories:

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178 DE PAVLI SVMMO PRINCIPATV
Burgesij stemmatis omina.
EPIGRAMMA.
A Spice Iustitiae tractantem tela volucrem,
Et pacis vigilem cerne Draconis opem.
Burgesio in regno geminae virtutis honores
Stemmatis agnosce prædocui be iubar.
Terrarum imperio natus: cunabula PAVLVS
Pacem inter nactus, Iustitiamque fuit.
"Marmorea effigie in sepulcro," and "Qui Vaticano templo ædificium adiunxit amplissimum."

The epigram as a form is perhaps better suited to visual analysis than the ode, being in some sense a written emblem.\textsuperscript{179} And there is a contemporary example of this in the distichs composed by Maffeo Barberini and inscribed on the bases of Bernini's \textit{Pluto and Persephone} and \textit{Apollo and Daphne}.\textsuperscript{180} But once again, these poems disappoint as a program to the sculpture.\textsuperscript{181} The epigrams in the \textit{Breve Racconto} are not in any way ekphrastic. They belong rather to the tradition of the epideictic tradition common in the \textit{Greek Anthology}.\textsuperscript{182}

The subject of epigrams was hotly debated in early seicento Rome. While the Greek style, based on the \textit{Greek Anthology}, had been common in the sixteenth century the new century favored the Roman sarcastic style typified by Horace. But there was still a school favoring the Greek style and interest in the \textit{Greek Anthology} was rejuvenated by the discovery in 1606 of the manuscript of the Palatine Anthology, which was actually brought to Rome by Leone Allacci in 1623.\textsuperscript{183} Allacci and Lucas Holstein were champions of this style. While they


\textsuperscript{181} Also this role is already played by the scriptural quotes inscribed on the sculptures' bases as will be discussed in chapter seven.


\textsuperscript{183} Estelle Lingo, \textit{François Duquesnoy and the Greek Ideal} (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 2007) 69-70 and Fumaroli 1978, 797-835.
were both members of the Barberini sphere the closeness of the Borghese and Maffeo Barberini render their authorship of at least some of these epigrams probable.

For almost all of the epigrams of the Breve Racconto conform to the Greek type. The two sources for the Greek Anthology are the Palatine Anthology discussed above and the c. 1300 Planudean Anthology. A manuscript of the latter work was brought to Venice as part of Cardinal Bessarion's library and an edition published by Janus Lascaris in 1494. Planudes and Lascaris both attempted to codify accepted types of epigrams. Planudes lists four categories of epigrams: epideictic, scoptic, sepulchral and ekphrastic. Lascaris admits only the epideictic genre. In content, the epigrams of the Breve Racconto could mostly be classified as either sepulchral or epideictic. But their allegiance to the Greek style does not stop there. They are also marked by frequent direct addresses to the viewer, a tactic common in the Greek Anthology.

These questions of style, of course, do not effect their relationship to the sculpture. They do, however, place the authorship firmly in the circle of poets around Guidiccioni and more specifically Maffeo Barberini, Ciampoli, Allaci and Holstein. In other words, the closeness between the Borghese and Barberini spheres is evident. Establishing this connection is important, for it suggests that even if the poetry was not part of the official program, it is unlikely that its meaning is significantly different from that intended by Guidiccioni. These poets were members of the same academies and saw and debated each

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184 Lauxtermann 2009, 43.

185 Ibid., 44.

186 Lingo, 68.

187 On the stylistic aims of this circle, see Fumaroli, 814.
other on a regular basis. It is highly unlikely that they would not have understood the messages Guidiccioni and Scipione intended to convey.
Chapter 3

The Patron: Scipione Borghese

It was no small feat for Scipione to gain approval to erect a catafalque for his uncle's reburial, and the expenses involved in its construction were enormous. That Scipione went to these lengths is indicative of its importance to the former cardinal-nephew. Scipione commissioned Paul's catafalque out of reverence for his deceased uncle, but also, as we learn from the Breve Racconto, in emulation of Cardinal Montalto and the catafalque he had commissioned for his uncle's reburial. 188 Cardinal nephews' positions were notoriously precarious after their uncle's deaths, and Alessandro Peretti, Cardinal Montalto, was famous as one of the few who managed to remain in good standing with the rest of Roman society. 189

188 Guidiccioni 1623, 15-16. "Il Signor Cardinale Montalto seguendo lo stile della generosità sua, volse drizzarlo, allegando, che per la freschezza della morte del Zio, & per essersi quelle prime esequie celebrate col rito generale dal sacro Collegio de' Cardinali, & dalla Camera Apostolica; non si doueua togliere à lui d'esequir le sue parti, & di consolarsi col rinouar la memoria d'un suo congiunto, e d'un Principe così degno. Alle quai cose, che constituuiano l'ultimo stato, adherendo il Signor Cardinal Borghese, volse mantenere questo lodeuol possesso, col quale vn nipote grato viene ad honorar la memoria d vn riguardevole Zio..."

Cardinal Montalto seems to have been both a friend and role model for Scipione, as he had been for Paul V. Both men were early patrons of Bernini. Both also had curiously similar taste in villas at Frascati. Montalto had unsuccessfully attempted to buy Mondragone from the Duke Altemps before Scipione's purchase of the villa. In a strange twist, he ended up buying Acquaviva on July 21, 1614, which had previously belonged to Scipione. That Guidiccioni mentions Scipione's desire to emulate Montalto is significant, for it suggests a certain calculus behind Scipione's decision to erect the catafalque -- that it was just as much motivated by his own social rehabilitation as filial piety. For while the iconographical program of the catafalque obviously relates to Paul and his deeds, its meaning is tempered through a lens of Scipione's own situation and his ambitions.

Investigating his life will help us appreciate these subtleties. Similarly, cognizance of the sum of Scipione's patronage and particularly his other architectural projects, will help us understand the choices he made in this catafalque, from style to the employment of specific artists and architects.

190 See Chapter Four, 75 - 76.


193 Ibid., 335, n. 6.
Scipione Borghese was born Scipione Caffarelli on September 7, 1577. He was the son of Camillo Borghese's sister Ortensia. Young Scipione received an education typical for an ecclesiastical career, studying philosophy at the Collegio Romano and law at Perugia.

Like many of his predecessors, one of Paul's first acts as pontiff was to bring his nephew to Rome and make him cardinal. Cardinal nephews played an important role in papal politics, aiding not only in their uncle's statesmanship but also cementing the family’s political power and wealth. Scipione was made cardinal in the consistory of July 18, 1605, immediately following his uncle's elevation to the papacy and he took the Borghese name and arms at this time. While his cousin Marcantonio was chosen to carry on the family line, he was an infant and thus most practical responsibilities devolved upon Scipione.\textsuperscript{194}

Once elevated to the purple Scipione's rise was meteoric. In August of 1605 he was made head of the Consulta, in 1607 legate to Avignon, in 1608 archpriest of the Lateran and Abbot of S. Gregorio al Celio. In 1609 he was made librarian of the Roman church, in 1610 Grand Penitentiary, in 1612 Camerlengo and Prefect of the Briefs. From 1610-1612 he was Archbishop of Bologna. He also was Archpriest of St. Peter's and protector of Loreto. While this nepotism may seem excessive, it was the norm at the time. After Paul's election, a pasquinade read: "dopo i Carafa, i Medici e i Farnese/or se deve arrichir casa Borghese," which suggests resignation rather than outrage.\textsuperscript{195}

The rapid changes of fortune occasioned both by a relative's elevation to the papacy and subsequent death were well understood by seicento cardinal nephews and their families. Most worked diligently to make friends within the curia in order to lead a faction of cardinals

\textsuperscript{194} The pope was involved in the negotiations for Marcantonio's bride. After attempting to settle matches with the daughter of Henri IV and the Medici, he settled on the Orsini.

\textsuperscript{195} Baldessare Labanca, \textit{il Papato sua origine, sue lotte e vicende, sub avvenire: studio storico-scientifico} (Turin: Fratelli Bocca, 1905) 392.
and hopefully influence the election of their uncle's successor. In practice, this rarely worked out and strategic allegiances often occurred between a previous cardinal nephew and a new one to try to break this type of influence.

The popes themselves also tried to ease these transitions for their nephews after their deaths. Paul III wrote a text advising his nephew Alessandro on these matters and Gregory XV wrote a tract addressed to his cardinal nephew on how to thrive in reversals of fortune entitled Ricordi dati da Gregorio XV al cardinale Lodovisio suo nipote. The latter gives advice to the nephew on how to comport himself should the new pope be hostile. The answer: dissimulation and leaving Rome. The plight of the deposed nephew was so well known that it was even taken up by satirists. An anonymous manuscript exists addressed to Scipione after Paul's death. Its writer proffers advice for Scipione's new circumstances. His prescription: a quiet life. But to this he adds that the nephew should continue to spend money on good works and the patronage of churches.

While Scipione certainly heeded the second part of this advice, he does not seem to initially have followed the first. At the start of the conclave to elect Paul's successor, Scipione took a different course. Perhaps he felt unassailable. Because of his uncle's long reign,

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197 Rosa, 95.

198 See for example the parody in Traiano Boccalini, Ragguali di Parnasso (Bari, G. Rua, 1912). This is further discussed by Hill, "Patronage of a Disenfranchised Nephew," 2001, 438.

Scipione headed a faction of forty-two cardinals created by Paul. The first choice of the Borghese faction was Cardinal Pietro Campora. But this was not to be. At the urging of Cardinal Orsini, his candidacy was excluded by the French. The eventual choice, Alessandro Ludovisi, while a creature of Paul's, was not one of Scipione's confidantes and the new cardinal nephew, Ludovico Ludovisi, was outright hostile.

In response to this new situation Scipione does seem to have settled down to a quieter life. Gigli describes Scipione's deportment during the Ludovisi years as modest and tranquil, behavior that he only abandoned after Gregory's death.

The animosity between Scipione and Ludovico Ludovisi was in fact entirely typical. Scipione himself had certainly had a very contentious relationship with Cardinal Aldobrandini after Paul's election, which is recorded in his correspondence. In fact,

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201 Visceglia, 122.


Ludovisi's disdain for Scipione may have been compounded by Scipione's mistreatment of Aldobrandini as a marital alliance had been made between the Aldobrandini and Ludovisi families immediately following Gregory's election.²⁰⁵

Ludovisi set out to rival Scipione as a patron. He built villas on the Pincio and at Frascati.²⁰⁶ His commission of an Aurora fresco from Guercino should almost certainly be seen as a competition with Scipione's fresco of the same subject by Guido Reni.²⁰⁷ Whether out of diplomacy or under pressure is unknown, but Scipione showered his replacement with gifts. Scipione gave Bernini's sculpture of Pluto and Proserpina to Ludovisi shortly after its completion.²⁰⁸ Scipione also gave Ludovisi a carriage and two paintings on copper by Guido Reni.²⁰⁹

Curiously Ludovico'sanimosity may have extended to Scipione's role model Alessandro Peretti. Passeri reports that Ludovico interfered with Montalto's decoration of S.

²⁰⁵ Gigli, vol. I, 85: "A di 25. di Aprile 1621. si fecero per mano del Papa le ceremonie dello Sponsalizio della sua Nipote Lavinia con Giangiorgio Aldobrandini." The name Lavinia is an error. The bride was Ippolita, her mother Lavinia. Gigli vol. I, 90, n. 15. That this alliance was planned even earlier is suggested by Gigli's commentary on the elevation of the Ippolito Aldobrandini on April 19. "Papa Gregorio fece quattro Cardinali uno di Casa Aldobrandini, al fratello del quale già era stato ordinato di dar per moglie la nepote di Papa Gregorio." Gigli vol. I, 84.

²⁰⁶ Hill 2001, 438.


²⁰⁸ An alternate explanation of this gift will be suggested in the conclusion.

Andrea della Valle. While Montalto had promised the entire commission to Lanfranco, Domenichino, the new Ludovisi favorite, decided he wanted it and Ludovisi intervened on his behalf. However both Bellori and Baldinucci state that Lanfranco only obtained the commission for the dome after Montalto's death.\(^{210}\) Of course, even if Passeri's account is correct it may only indicate Ludovisi's devotion to Domenichino and not hostility towards Montalto, but given the alliance between Montalto and Scipione it is tempting to read the incident politically.

All of this background is meant to underline several circumstances that will be important to our understanding of how Scipione sought to reinforce his uncle's memory. Scipione needed to keep a low profile, but at the same time wanted to reinforce his position through lavish spending on ecclesiastical projects. Furthermore the constant affronts by the Ludovisi and his own new situation would have led him to want to increase his own import through shoring up his uncle's memory.

This would have been the obvious strategy. Scipione was defined throughout his life by comparison with his uncle, as is evident in the vast panegyric literature devoted to him. In Guidiccioni's dedication of the *Breve Racconto* to Scipione, for example, we find praise of filial piety and an attempt to equate Scipione with his uncle both through his lineage and through his valor.\(^{211}\) Paul differs from Scipione only in that "he has reigned, and you were worthy of


\(^{211}\) Guidiccioni 1623. All’ Illustrissimo, & Reuerendissimo Signore, il Signor Cardinal Borghese. Io doueva, conforme all'vfanza, publicar subito l'Oratione fatia da me nell'Esequie di Papa Paolo, glorioso Zio di V. S. Illustrisima; & benche l'opera fusse debole, desiderai sodisfar con prontezza à diversi Signori & Principi, che m'honoraron di chiederla instamente. Ma perche pensai di rappresentare in intaglio il Catafalco da V. S. Illustriss. Eretto con splendor veramente regio , & e
reigning." Paul is "your most grand uncle, who is completely one with you." Scipione is "a new Scipione, in every way worthy of such a Camillo." But curiously Scipione's worth to Paul is suggested not through his deeds, but through a comparison *all'antica*: "he had seen himself shining in you with the fortune of Augustus, the clemency and humanity of Scipione." Scipione becomes an amalgam of Augustus and Scipio Africanus. While these are standard topoi, it is striking just how often they occur. These same themes are elaborated in several stanzas of the poem on Marcantonio's marriage lauding Scipione. Guidiccioni writes:

> He emulated the great uncle, he fully shows
> the high gentle affection, which resides in him.
> He restored the sacred temples, and he adorns the pleasant yoke of Tusculum with royal buildings.
> As if it were almost the African ground devoted to Scipio.

212 Camillo is a reference to the Roman dictator, Marcus Furius Camillus, known as the second founder of Rome. See further discussion on page 93, n. 345.

213 See for example Guidiccioni 1937, 248-55 in which the poet compares Scipione to Scipio Africanus (stanza 2), Augustus (stanza 9) and Hercules (stanza 25).

214 Ibid., 244.

Emulo del gran Zio, ne mostra à pieno
L'alto affetto gentil, ch'in lui soggiorno.
As these quotations show, Scipione's character and his patronage of architecture helped define him in imitation of the Antique. Of course a cardinal nephew's status is defined by his uncle, and we should not overlook the importance of these comparisons. If we are to see the catafalque as a part of Scipione's social rehabilitation, then any praise of Paul found in the catafalque naturally accrues to its patron, Scipione.

Scipione's own memory did not fare well after his lifetime. The centuries after Scipione's death were not kind to his reputation. By the twentieth century most historians dismissed him as a dilettante and hedonist, who only acquired art for the pleasure of stealing it. These views seem to have their root in a report of the Venetian ambassador questioning Paul's judgment in appointing Scipione, "given his mediocre learning and a life much dedicated to pleasures and pastimes." In light of the friction between Paul and the Venetians, it is questionable whether this account is reliable.

And, indeed, the facts paint a rather different picture. While indubitably somewhat sybaritic, Scipione seems to have also taken his duties as cardinal nephew to heart. His correspondence reveals a serious engagement with the issues of the day. He had a sizeable

Ristaura i sacri Tempi, e'l giogo ameno
Del Tusculan, di regie moli adorn.
Et quasi ancor sia l'African terreno
Deuto à SCIPIO...

215 Pastor writes "no certain proofs of immorality have yet been adduced." Frances Haskell dismisses Scipione as a man "of few intellectual attainments," and the Villa Borghese as "the centre of the most hedonist society Rome had known since the Renaissance." Francis Haskell, Patrons and Painters (New Haven and New York: Yale University Press, 1966) 27-8.

216 Paul and Scipione's relations with Venice will be discussed in the next chapter. Incredibly, Tracy Ehrlich seems to be the only modern author to note this fact. Ehrlich, 31.

217 For pieces of Scipione's diplomatic correspondence, see Guido Bentivoglio, La nunziatura di Francia del cardinale Guido Bentivoglio, lettere a Scipione Borghese (Florence, 1863-70) and Decio Carafa, Correspondance du nonce Decio Carafa, archeveque de Damas (1606-1607) publié de Lucienne van Meerbeck (Brussels, 1979).
library composed largely of theological texts, not a given for an early seicento cardinal, and
certainly not suggestive of a frivolous mind. Scipione surrounded himself with some of the
most renowned poets of the day, most of whom were members of the Accademia degli
Umoristi. He employed Gironimo Aleandro and possibly Antonio Bruni and Gregorio Porzio. Tomasso Stigliani was also a member of Scipione’s circle. A vast number of books were dedicated to Scipione by these and other writers, the majority of which are theological treatises or encomia.

Today Scipione is best remembered for his art collection, the bulk of which remains housed in the Villa Borghese. Yet even here he has not escaped criticism, with some scholars seeing his collection as the fortuitous result of a life of bullying and stealing. While it is

218 Victoria von Fleming, “‘ozio con dignita’ die Villenbibliothek von Kardinal Scipione Borghese,” Romische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte 85 (199): 182-224. Another inventory of Scipione’s books counts 1800 titles, broken down into similar categories. Annalies Maier, Codices Burghesiani Bibliotheca Vaticana (Città del Vaticano, 1952) 430. In both of these cases, the bulk of texts are exegetical and theological.


220 Aleandro was the author of a treatise on antique sculpture and mythology in art, Antiquae tabulae marmoreae solis effigie, symbolisque esculptae : accurata explicatio: qua priscæ quaedam mythologiae, ac non nulla praetera vetera monumenta marmorum, gemmarum, nomismatum illustrantur (1617). For more on Aleandro, see Herklotz, Cassiano Dal Pozzo, 35-36.

221 Fleming makes this claim, but there is no evidence to verify it. In fact, they seem to have been working for other patrons in the teens and twenties. Both were Marinisti; Aleandro wrote a defense of Adone and Marino acted as a mentor to Bruni. According to Pastor, vol. 21, 60, Gregorio Porzio held the post of ‘segratario delle lettere latine del card. Borghese.’ He also wrote at least two panegyrics on Borghese palaces. Anna Coliva claims that Guidiccioni, Aleandro, Bruni and Panfilo Persico were members of Scipione’s court. Coliva, 418, n. 94.

222 According to Pastor there are 400 works dedicated to Scipione which are not included in Ciaconius’ list. Pastor, vol. 21, 63.

223 For instance Haskell, 25-26.
true that Scipione did acquire some parts of his art collection by unorthodox means, it is equally clear that he had a serious interest in commissioning and encouraging artists, both young and established. Scipione’s tendency was to acquire in bulk, which may have suggested a lack of discrimination to some scholars. But in fact, this was entirely typical of men in his positions: cardinal-nephews often built up collections very rapidly both for fear that their collecting clout would disappear after their uncles’ deaths and to fill their newly built palaces and villas.

Scipione's earliest documented purchase dates to 1605, immediately after his uncle's election. The majority of acquisitions seem to have taken place shortly thereafter, in 1607 and 1608. Scipione’s purchases in 1608 include both individual masterpieces and entire

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224 Examples include his acquisition of Domenichino's *Hunt of Diana*. This work was commissioned by Cardinal Aldobrandini, but when Domenichino refused to give it to Scipione he seized it and threw the painter in jail. See Ann Sutherland Harris, "Domenichino's Caccia di Diana: Art and Politics in Seicento Rome," *Shop Talk: Studies in Honor of Seymour Slive, Presented on his Seventy-fifth birthday*, ed. Cynthia Schneider and William Robinson (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Art Museums, 1995) 92-96. Another incident is his theft of 105 paintings from Cavalier d'Arpino. Ehrlich, *Landscape and Identity*, 315, note 26. For an inventory of the works taken from Cavalier d'Arpino, see Zygmunt Wazbinski, “Il cavaliere d'Arpino ed il mito accademico: il problema dell'autoidentificazione con l'ideale.” *Künstler über sich in seinem Werk: Internationales Symposium der Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rom, 1989* (Weinheim: VCH, 1992) 317-363. Raphael's *Deposition* was stolen from the church of S. Francesco in Perugia in 1607 and given to Scipione by the pope but it is unclear whether Scipione was complicit in the crime.

225 Coliva interprets this as an effort to present himself as a great and cultured prince. Coliva, 398. Buying in bulk does not, however, necessarily indicate a lack of discernment. In fact, it was typical of the period. Many other seventeenth-century collectors, among them the Ludovisi and Chigi, acquired their collections in similar manners. For a history of Ludovico Ludovisi’s collecting practice, see Wood 1992. Ludovisi acquired 300 paintings in the two years of his uncle’s pontificate, mostly through “legacies and politically motivated gifts.” Ibid., 515.

226 Early on Scipione certainly bought in bulk, while his acquisitions slow down later in his life. In the early years he was busy acquiring and building palaces which needed decorations. He bought the Borgo Palace in 1608, began buying land for the Pincio in 1607 and 8 and begun work on the Quirinal in 1611.

227 Caravaggio’s *Madonna dei Palafrenieri*, which he acquired from the confraternity dei Palafrenieri. Coliva, 399.
estates. These included seventy-one paintings purchased from Cardinal Sfondrato, a number of canvases from Ferrara acquired by Enzo Bentivoglio, Titian’s *Sacred and Profane Love* (also acquired from Ferrara) and Raphael’s *Deposition*.

Scipione's interests extended to antiquities. In 1607 he purchased 237 statues from the Ceuli family. In 1609 he bought the della Porta collection, which included 100 antique statues, fifty busts, as well as several sarcophagi, reliefs and a number of modern sculptures

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228 Ibid., 398. Cardinal Sfondrato found the body of Saint Cecilia in 1599 and promoted her cult. Among the paintings acquired by Scipione was Reni’s *Saint Cecilia* now in the Norton Simon Museum.

229 Ibid., 398.

230 Ibid., 399.


232 Katrin Kalveram, *Die Antikensammlung des Kardinals Scipione Borghese* (Worms: Wernersche, 1995) 7. There also appears to be some confusion about whether the collection was bought by Paul or Scipione. An *avviso* of December 15, 1605 mentions the 237 statues of the Ceuli bought by Scipione for seven thousand scudi. Johannes Albertus Orbaan, *Documenti sul barocco in Roma* (Rome: Sede della Societa, 1920) 90. “Il cardinale Borghese ha compreso per 7 mila scudi tutte le statue di marmo e bronzo, che li Ceuli hanno nel suo palazzo di strada Giulia, che sono al numero 237.” An *avviso* of December 19, 1605 states that while it had been thought that the Ceuli statues were bought by Scipione, they had been seen en route to the Apostolic palace, a sign that they were bought by Paul. Orbaan, 89. “Le statue del palazzo Ceuli, che furono scritte essere stato comprate del Cardinal Borghese, si sono vedute et si vedono portar verso il palazzo Apostolico, che è segno la compra facesse il Papa per la Camera, non il cardinale Borghese, e vorrà farle metter con l’altre a belvedere dove con la condotta dell’acqua Sabatina si faranno alter cose di bello e da spasso.” An *avviso* of December 22 also credits the purchase to Paul. Orbaan, 90. “le statue comprè per 9 mila scudi, che erano del ceuli…"
and busts. In 1613 he acquired a smaller horde of antiquities from Antonio Ceparelli, himself one of Bernini's earliest patrons.

The core of Scipione's collection was in place by 1613, the year of Scipione Francucci’s *La Galleria dell'Ill.mo Sig. Scipione cardinale Borghese*, which describes an imaginary tour guided by Apollo through Scipione's Borgo palace. But Scipione continued to collect after 1613 and even after his uncle's death. Indeed, most of Bernini's Borghese sculptures date from a later period. Likewise Lanfranco’s ceiling frescos at the Villa Borghese were only begun in 1624, well after Paul’s death.

Like his uncle, Scipione was a prodigious builder. While Scipione is best known for his domestic architectural projects -- the Villa Borghese, his villa and gardens on the Quirinal, and his villas at Frascati -- he also restored a number of churches both during and after his uncle's reign.

At least during Paul's lifetime, it is difficult to determine agency. While many projects were carried out by and paid for by Scipione, they seem to have happened under Paul's

233 Kalveram, 12.

234 Ibid., 18.

235 [Archivio Vaticano, Fondo Borghese, IV, n. 102] Orbaan records some of it. Orbaan, 112. It includes Barocci, *L'incendio di troia*; Arpino, *Roma trionfante and fama*; Brill, *Paesaggi*; Baglione, *Giuditta*; Caravaggio, *David col Teschio*; Cigoli *un quadro*; Lavinia Fontana, *vergine Annunziata*; Salviati, *Nascita di Cristo*; Passignano, *un quadro*; Francioso, *Giovanetto moro, statua*; Scipion Borghese simigliante all'Africano. See also Coliva, 418, n. 67. It is interesting that the works were all in the Borgo at this date; they were moved to the Pincio by 1614. Heilmann 1973, 97-158, 110.


auspices and with the assistance of papal architects. Baglione suggests that the villa on the Pincio and the restorations to S. Crisogono and S. Sebastiano were Paul's projects.\(^{238}\) As in matters of politics or entertaining, Scipione necessarily deferred to his uncle's wishes and often assumed duties that would be unseemly for the pope to perform himself.

We have a very clear picture of the gestation and decoration of all of Scipione's residential commissions. The villa on the Pincio has been studied by Cristoph Heilman.\(^{239}\) The various commissions at Frascati have all been studied by Tracy Ehrlich.\(^{240}\) Finally, Howard Hibbard has written on the garden casino on the Quirinal.\(^{241}\) All of these buildings have intrigued art historians because of the tremendous amount of pictorial decoration. The Palazzo Borghese, while mostly implemented not by Scipione but by Marcantonio, has also been thoroughly studied by Hibbard.\(^{242}\) The only palace which has not been investigated is Scipione's Borgo palace (the present day Palazzo Giraud-Torlonia).

The churches have received less attention to date. Michael Hill wrote a dissertation on Scipione's patronage of ecclesiastical architecture and has examined Scipione's restorations of S. Crisogono.\(^{243}\) The payment records for S. Sebastiano fuori le mura have

\(^{238}\) Baglione, I 97.

\(^{239}\) Heilmann 1973.

\(^{240}\) Ehrlich.

\(^{241}\) Hibbard 1964.

\(^{242}\) Ibid., 1962.

been studied by Aloisio Antinori, and Hill has also considered Scipione's involvement with
this project. But Scipione's other ecclesiastical commissions remain little studied.

Scipione's first project, stipulated by his uncle, was the construction of the two
oratory chapels of Sant' Andrea and S. Silvia at S. Gregorio Magno. This work was
undertaken between 1607 and 1609 and completed a project begun by Cardinal Baronio,
allegedly on the foundations of a building built by Gregory the Great.

His next project was the restoration of S. Sebastiano fuori le mura, which began in
1607. His renovation entailed a new crypt, new rear entrance, new timbered roof, and the
rebuilding of the façade. The ostensible reason for the repairs was to provide better access
to crypt and relics. Scipione's renovations were distinguished by the heavy inscriptions
honoring himself and the equally huge amount of heraldry, with eagles even incorporated
into column capitals.

The restoration of S. Crisogono had two distinct phases. The first was a new ceiling,
built in emulation of Cardinal Aldobrandini's at S. Maria in Trastevere. After 1623 (and the
end of the Ludovisi papacy) Scipione undertook a full decorative restoration of S.

244 Michael Hill, "Reform and Display in Cardinal Borghese's Restoration of S. Sebastiano fuori le
Zealand (2005) 15-42. On S. Sebastiano see also Aloisio Antinori, Scipione Borghese e l'architettura
(Rome, 1995) 31-137 and Abdelouahab Zekagh, "La chiesa di S. Sebastiano fuori le mura in Roma e i


247 Ibid., 19.

248 Ibid., 20.

249 Ibid., 24.

Crisogono.\textsuperscript{251} The most remarkable part of the architecture, as at S. Sebastiano, is the extreme number of inscriptions and Borghese emblems, woven into the fabric of the architecture.\textsuperscript{252} 

In 1611 Scipione made plans to complete the cathedral of S. Pietro in Bologna, where he was briefly archbishop, with the help of Ponzio and Maderno. Their plans were never executed.\textsuperscript{253} Scipione also devoted time to the restoration of the shrine at Loreto, of which he was cardinal protector.\textsuperscript{254} 

Scipione's public spending increased after Paul's death. His expenditure on alms increased from 495 scudi per annum before Paul's death to 7,419 for the years after.\textsuperscript{255} After Paul's death the scope of his church renovation projects also drastically expanded. He provided a new façade designed by Giovanni Battista Soria for S. Maria della Vittoria in exchange for the antique statue of a hermaphrodite excavated during its renovation in 1625-27.\textsuperscript{256} He was involved in several projects in S. Maria sopra Minerva where the burial chapel of his father's family, the Caffarelli, was located. He began by commissioning a tomb for his father Francesco in 1620 and providing a new altar in 1621-

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\textsuperscript{251} Ibid., 440. Hill interprets this as Scipione celebrating his return to power with the election of his ally Maffeo Barberini.

\textsuperscript{252} Ibid., 444.

\textsuperscript{253} Antinori, 279-334 and Hibbard 1971, 191. He held the position from October 25, 1610 until April 2, 1612.

\textsuperscript{254} For Scipione's connection with Loreto, see Martin Faber, \textit{Scipione Borghese als Kardinalprotektor: studien zur römischen Mikropolitik in der frühen Neuzeit} (Mainz: von Zabern, 2005) 290-268.

\textsuperscript{255} Hill 2001, 438.

\textsuperscript{256} Hibbard 1971, 141.
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He bought the church new organs and rebuilt the choir in the late 1620s, with Soria responsible for the stucco work.

He built churches in Montefortino and Monte Compatri and he spent 3000 scudi between August 1627 and April 1628 to restore the monastery of S. Chiara a casa pie and rebuild the façade of its church.

We learn several important things from Scipione's record as a patron. His flurry of spending on church renovations after Paul's death suggests that he was taking the advice of the tracts that urged deposed cardinal nephews to rebuild their reputation through spending on ecclesiastical projects. The catafalque, then, should likely be read as part of this same rehabilitation project. We also learn that Scipione had a talented stable of architects and artists at his disposal and that he moved in a circle of learned men and poets who certainly would have helped guide the program of the *appatatus funebris* for Paul's reburial.

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258 Hibbard 1971, 234. Soria was paid for decorative stucco work in April 1630.

259 Ibid., 205; Gaetano Moroni, *Dizionario erudizione-storico-ecclasiastico* (Rome, 1840) vol. VI, 220-221. See also Faber, 494-496 for Scipione's patronage of S. Chiara.
Chapter 4

The Borghese: Restorers of Ancient Rome

Because a catafalque is by nature commemorative, the character of the man it celebrates is integral to our understanding of its meaning. A summation of Paul's life is given in Guidiccioni's funeral oration, but to really understand the man we must take a step back and appraise the actual facts of his life as well as the image presented by Guidiccioni and his fellow panegyrists. For while the Borghese encomia are grounded in fact, they also in turns both neglect and embellish the truth in order to show a specific (and hardly new) image of papal splendor. This chapter addresses the fact and fiction of the Borghese reign.

The last quarter century has seen a resurgence of interest in the dynastic aims of the early seventeenth-century Roman papal families as manifested in their patronage of arts, music, and letters. Scipione Borghese in particular, as we have seen, has been the subject of much art historical research because of his prodigious art collection. But research into the Borghese has not been limited to Scipione's paintings. In fact, the field of Borghese studies has substantially expanded in recent decades. German scholars have been particularly diligent in their investigation into the financial and political machinations of the family.\textsuperscript{260} Borghese architectural commissions have been studied by a number of authors -- including Howard

Hibbard, Patricia Waddy, Christopher Hill, and Tracy Ehrlich. Tracy Ehrlich, Anna Coliva, and Victoria Fleming have looked at the Borghese through the lens of the encomiastic literature produced at Scipione's court.

The Borghese's origins were in Siena, not Rome. The family (initially spelled Borghesi) relocated to Siena from the neighboring village of Monticiano around 1200. Once settled in Siena they increased the family's prestige through prudent marriages and involvement in banking and mercantile activity. By 1433 their status had grown sufficiently that they were granted the right to add an eagle to their crest by the Holy Roman Emperor. But the family's ambitions did not end there. Marcantonio Borghese (1504-1574), father of the future pope, moved to Rome to seek his fortune in 1537. He began his Roman career as a curial lawyer and rose to be Consistorial Advocate. His position continued to grow and he earned the trust both of Julius III and Paul III, as well as being entrusted with various diplomatic missions by his home state of Siena. His position in Roman society thus established, he set out to further enhance his status by marrying into the Roman nobility. His chosen bride, Flaminia Astalli, came from an old Roman baronial

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264 Ibid., 333.

265 Ibid., 334-335.
family. In 1552 Marcantonio was granted Roman citizenship. Shortly after, their first son, Camillo, was born on September 17, 1552. He was followed by six more children: Orazio, Girolamo, Francesco, Giovanni Battista, Ortensia, and Margarita. The two eldest were both primed for ecclesiastical careers and the family focused on finding suitable marriages for the rest among the Roman aristocracy.

The Pope

Camillo Borghese, the future Pope Paul V, followed in his father's footsteps and studied law at Perugia. When he returned to Rome he rose rapidly, acquiring a number of important positions and assignments within the curia. His first assignments were assessor of the Segnatura and then chaplain of S. Maria Maggiore. Much of Camillo Borghese's early career in Rome overlapped with the papacy of Sixtus V. The Peretti pope Sixtus must have had a tremendous influence on the young cleric and when he became pope he modeled his reign very self-consciously on Sixtus' example in almost every respect. The enormous amount of building undertaken in Sixtus' short reign, including the completion of St. Peter's dome and virtual transformation of Rome's streets, must have been a revelation and demonstrated just how much could be accomplished by a strong-willed leader. More concretely, Cardinal Montalto seems to have adopted Borghese as a protégé, taking him to

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266 The exact date of their marriage is unknown, but Reinhard points out that an inscription in the Astalli chapel in Trinità de' Monti records her birth only in 1630, so it must date between then and Camillo, the eldest son's, birth in 1652. Reinhard 1974, 333, n. 21.

267 Ibid., 339. This was somewhat thwarted by the early death of many of them. Apart from the future pope, only Francesco and Marcantonio survived into the seventeenth century. Ortensia married Francesco Caffarelli on July 7, 1676. Margarita married Orazio Vittori on April 7, 1579. Francesco married Ortensia di Fabio Santacroce on March 8, 1581. Giovanni Battista married Virginia Lante on September 25, 1588. Ibid., 344-345.

268 Pastor, vol. 25, 40. The next brother Orazio was a jurist who became Consistorial Advocate and Auditor of the Apostolic Chamber. The remaining siblings advanced the family through land purchases and marriages among the minor Roman nobility. Ehrlich, 29.
Bologna as vice-legate in 1588 and then intervening to assure his ability to take over his brother Orazio's role of *uditore generale* after his death.\(^{269}\)

In 1593 Camillo went to Spain as envoy extraordinary to Philip II, an appointment which was to pay dividends in the support of the Spaniards in the conclave that elected him. On June 15, 1596, he was made cardinal by Clement VIII. From 1597-1599 he was the bishop of Iesi. In 1603 he was made vicar of Rome. He was also a member of the Roman inquisition and protector of Scotland.\(^{270}\) Despite these qualifications and the fact that he was widely liked and respected as a jurist, his ascension to the papacy came as a surprise. At fifty two, he was the youngest pope in decades, having emerged as the compromise candidate after Leo XI Medici died after only twenty five days.\(^{271}\) The conclave that elected Leo had been particularly divisive, and the calling of a second conclave within the month only served to harden each group's opposition to the others' candidates. The Spaniards favored Cardinal Sauli who was opposed by Cardinal Aldobrandini head of the biggest faction, comprising twenty six cardinals. Cardinal Tosco, the Aldobrandini candidate, was almost elected by *adoratio*, but the election was thwarted by Cardinal Baronio, who considered the cardinal a bore and not dignified enough for the position. Faced with a stalemate, the Aldobrandini and Montalto factions decided a compromise was necessary and settled on Borghese.\(^{272}\) Camillo's election as Paul V was due in large part to his time spent in Spain, because the

\(^{269}\) Ostrow 1996, 137-138.

\(^{270}\) Pastor, vol. 25, 41.

\(^{271}\) The Spanish proposed Sauli who was vetoed by Aldobrandini. Montalto proposed Pierbendetti who was vetoed by the Spaniards. Aldobrandini proposed Tosco who was vetoed by those who wanted Baronio. Maria Visceglia, "Factions in the Sacred College in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in *Court and Politics in Papal Rome 1492-1700*, ed. Gianvittorio Signorotto and Maria Visceglia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) 99-132, 122.

\(^{272}\) For a concise overview of this conclave see Pastor, vol. 25, 29-38.
Spaniards, who had the ability to veto candidates, supported him after it became clear that their choice, Cardinal Sauli, would not win.

The surprise of his election coupled with the newness of the family on the Roman scene left the Borghese scrambling to try to validate their position in Roman society. They did this through what most scholars have assumed was a calculated and concerted campaign of land acquisition and intermarriage with established Roman families. They bought huge tracts of land throughout Campagna and acquired titles for the pope's nephew Marcantonio, with the pope elevating their fiefdom of Vivaro to a principate and Scipione purchasing the Spanish fiefdom of Sulmona. In short, they continued to pursue the same strategies that had helped them prosper both in earlier centuries in Siena and thus far in Rome.

Paul's reign was marked by peace in the Papal States, which contrasts strikingly with the political machinations in the rest of Europe toward the end of his reign with the start of the Thirty Years War, the dual threat of the Ottoman Turks and of Protestantism, and heresy gaining inroads even in traditionally Catholic allies. Awareness of this historical context is vital to understanding how the Borghese family wanted to cast the pope's role in these tumultuous times.

The peace that flourished within the Papal States can be ascribed to two factors: Paul's concern for the welfare of his people and his stern handling of justice. Paul was very concerned with the wellbeing of the Roman populace, a priority he manifested by

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273 This was, in fact, the typical way papal families consolidated their position in society. See Coliva 1998; Ehrlich and Wolfgang Reinhard, "Papal Power and Family Strategy in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," in Princes, Patronage and the Nobility: the Court at the Beginning of the Modern Age, 1450-1650, ed. Ronald Asche and Adolf Birke (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 239-356.

274 Ehrlich, Landscape and Identity, 34-5.

275 Disentangling the motives and even outcomes of various events is thwarted by the events of the later seventeenth century, which color both contemporary and modern historians views of the events and players.
ameliorating the living conditions of his subjects and stabilizing the grain and water supplies. He also paid off the Papal See's debts. In fact, Gigli notes that despite Paul's enormous spending on building he left a large surplus of gold in the treasury. Paul also attempted to deal with the perennial problem of bandits which dogged the Papal States. It is perhaps no coincidence that all of these issues had also been priorities for Sixtus V.

Paul's personality aligned with his policies: he was dogmatic, reform-minded and strictly Post-Tridentine. He was preoccupied with the carriage of justice and sought to exclude immunities for dignitaries such as cardinals and ambassadors. Despite his modern reputation for nepotism, Paul's contemporaries noted that he was equally strict with his own family.

Judicial reforms begun in 1608 included the establishment of a special congregation which met every Friday, led by Scipione, which oversaw the protection of the poor and monthly inspection of the prisons. He also enforced residency requirements for clergy.

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277 Gigli vol. I, 121. Interestingly Gigli makes this point in contrast to the debts left by Gregory. "Restò dopo la morte di Gregorio la camera essausta, et aggravata di grandissimo debito, senza sapersi come si fosse fatto, dove che quando morse Papa Paolo, oltre le grandissime spese da lui fatte per tante gran fabbriche che egli fece, et più milioni d'oro riposti in Castello di S. Angelo, furno da un muratore dimostrati al nuovo Pontefice Gregorio, in un muro rinchiusi quattrocento mila doppie d'oro, che Papa Paolo haveva nascoste per suoi occulti disegni, et haveva ordinato a detto Muratore lo manifestò a Papa Gregorio, il quale nella prima allegrezza del suo Papato largamente li dispenzò fra i suoi."


279 Pastor, vol. 25, 79.

280 Ibid., 79.

281 Ibid., 82.

282 Ibid., 218.
An oft cited incident illustrates this: the execution of a certain author, Piccinardi, for the offense of writing (but not publishing) an unflattering life of Clement VIII.\textsuperscript{283}

Indeed, Paul's reaction to the Venetian crisis can perhaps be best explained in this context. In a brief dating to December 1605, Paul wrote,

However much we are desirous of public peace and quiet and direct our thoughts to the end of governing the Christian Republic as quietly as we can solely in the service of God, and however much we desire the minds of all men, and especially of great princes, to be in conformity with our own, nevertheless if ever the dignity of the Apostolic See should be offended, if ecclesiastical liberty and immunity should be impugned, if the decretals and canons should be despised, and if the rights of the Church and the privileges of ecclesiastical persons should be violated, which is the sum of our responsibility, do not think that we will dissimulate in any way, or be lacking in our duty.\textsuperscript{284}

Because it is the most controversial event of Paul's reign, we must take a moment to examine his actions in the interdict of Venice. The incident of the interdict can only be properly understood in the greater European context, for it was more than Paul just flexing his might but a serious response to what he perceived as the very real threat that the republic would break with Rome.

While generations of scholars have seen the Venetian interdict as evidence of Paul's rashness and lust for power, it is now viewed as a perhaps inevitable result of decades of tension between Rome and Venice exacerbated by economic and political factors such as the decline in maritime trade and, perversely, the peace in the rest of Europe which left other powers with nowhere to focus their attention.\textsuperscript{285} A series of Venetian laws, some passed before Paul's time, set the wheels in motion: laws of 1602 limiting clerical ownership of land

\textsuperscript{283} Ibid., 78.


\textsuperscript{285} See for example Ibid., 339-416. Documentary evidence can be found in Carlo de Magistris, *Carlo Emmanuele I e la contessa fra la Repubblica Veneta e Paolo V (1605-1607): documenti* (Venice, 1906).
and requiring the permission of the Council of Ten to build a church, and two of 1605
restricting the alienation of lay property and reiterating la Serenissima's right to try clergy in
civil court.\textsuperscript{286}

No doubt Paul's personality and insistence on the absolute rights of the Church
precipitated the crisis. The interdict of Venice was not Paul's first show of strength. He had
previously quarreled with Lucca over the rights of the state versus Holy See to pass laws
about theological matters,\textsuperscript{287} and with Genoa over jurisdiction over clerics.\textsuperscript{288} In
anticipations of further conflicts he built up the Papal See's military strength and shored up
fortifications along the coast.\textsuperscript{289} Paul also rebuilt the fortress at Ferrara and renovated the
Castel Sant Angelo.\textsuperscript{290}

However, the ensuing war of words and pamphlets led by Paolo Sarpi for the
Venetians and by figures such as Roberto Bellarmine in Rome show that there was a serious
political-ecclesiological or even theological debate at stake, not just saber rattling.\textsuperscript{291}

Another problem with viewing Paul as a tyrant is that he lost the battle. More
importantly, he lost willingly when he had the promise of military support from Spain and

\textsuperscript{286} Bouwsma, 344-346.


\textsuperscript{289} Pastor, vol. 25, 102-104.

\textsuperscript{290} Abramo Bzovio, "Paolo V," \textit{Le Vite de Pontefici di Bartolomeo Platina Cremonese, Dal Salvator Nostro

\textsuperscript{291} There is extensive literature on Sarpi. See Paolo Sarpi, \textit{Istoria dell'Interdetto}, Scrittori d'Italia vol. 181
(Laterza, 1940); David Wooton, \textit{Paulo Sarpi between Renaissance and Enlightenment} (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); Giovanni Getto, \textit{Paolo Sarpi} (Florence: Olschki, 1967); Ivone
Cacciavillane, \textit{Paolo Sarpi: la guerra delle scritture del 1606 e la nascita della nuova Europa} (Venice: Corboe
Fiore, 2005).
financing from Genoa should the situation come to war. In the end, Venice won on most points, thanks to a settlement mediated by the French Cardinal Joyeuse in which the Venetian laws were allowed to stand but the offending clerics were handed over, not to Rome, but to the French king. 292

Apart from his focus on jurisprudence and expanding the papacy's temporal powers, Paul was preoccupied with building. Construction was an integral part of Paul's regime. His major building projects--the renovations of and additions to St. Peter's, S. Maria Maggiore and the Quirinal Palace, and his erection of fountains and roads--were an important part of how he envisioned himself and in turn how his reign was remembered by his contemporaries. Paul's architectural projects ranged from ecclesiastical (renovating and enlarging churches) to infrastructure (building roads and aqueducts). Much of his architectural patronage seems to have been done self consciously in imitation of Sixtus V. 293

Paul's enlargement and renovation of S. Maria Maggiore is particularly significant both as the site of his catafalque and also because S. Maria Maggiore itself clearly was special to the pope. Paul had been a chaplain of the basilica and as such witnessed firsthand the erection of Sixtus' chapel. 294

Paul's earliest embellishments of the church--the commission

292 Bouwsma, 412.


of two paintings by Jacopo Zucchi to adorn the tabernacle which housed the icon: the
_Miracle of the Snow_ and _Procession of Gregory the Great_ -- date from the period during which he
was vicar of the basilica.\(^{295}\)

But his dedication to the basilica was motivated by more than just these historical
facts. It would be difficult to underestimate the importance of S. Maria Maggiore for an
ambitious counter-reformation pope and it is no coincidence that both Sixtus and Paul chose
the basilica to house their earthly remains. Not only is the basilica Rome's most important
Marian shrine and home to many relics, it also has a historical relation to earlier papal
patrons.\(^{296}\) The legend of the Madonna of the Snow, which suggests that the impetus not
only for the founding but original design of the church was the Virgin herself, places these
popes in an even more august lineage of patrons: one that starts with the Virgin.\(^{297}\)

The Borghese Chapel in S. Maria Maggiore was conceived in counterpoint to the
Sistine Chapel.\(^{298}\) While the iconography of the chapel does not appear to bear a direct
relation to the catafalque, it is worth noting that it is at once a celebration of _Ecclesia Militans_,
depicting the conquest and fortification of Ferrara and the wars against Hungary and the
Turks, and at the same time a celebration of the Virgin, around whose icon it was built.\(^{299}\)

Paul's devotion to the basilica extended far beyond the chapel itself. He built a new

\(^{295}\) Ostrow 1996, 133. He was appointed vicar August 9, 1577 and kept the position for eleven years.

\(^{296}\) Ibid., 3.

\(^{297}\) Ibid., 2-3. Although the origins of the Miracle of the Snow seem to be in the twelfth century. J.
Fernandez-Alonso, "Storia della Basilica," _Santa Maria Maggiore a Roma_, ed. Carlo Pietrangeli (Rome:

\(^{298}\) On the Pauline Chapel, See Ostrow 1996; Klaus Schwager, "Die architektonische Erneuerung von

\(^{299}\) On the iconography of the frescos see Ostrow 1996, 184-252.
sacristy, a new bell and canon house, and erected the column dedicated to the Virgin in the piazza in front.

If the decision to build the Pauline Chapel as a pendant to that of Sixtus suggests that Paul actively wanted to tie his legacy to the Peretti pope, it is easy to understand his early determination to be the pope to finish St. Peter’s. Of course, nearly every pope before Paul had shared this same ambition, but Sixtus had accomplished more in his short papacy than almost any of his predecessors with the successful erection of the dome. The completion of the nave and facade fell to Paul. The undertaking of a new nave was a contentious issue both because the remains of the old Constantinian nave were still standing and because Michelangelo’s as yet unexecuted central plan did not cover all of the ground of the old church. Close to the start of his reign, on April 18, 1606, Paul ordered the destruction of now dangerous remnants of old St. Peter’s to make way for a new basilica. The decision was quickly made to build a nave in order to cover all of the sacred ground of the Constantinian basilica. Thus, as Sixtus had done before him with the dome, he abandoned Michelangelo’s designs. Paul has been much criticized for this decision, but it is

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300 Schwager, 253.
301 Pastor, vol. 26, 412.
302 See Ostrow 2010.
best understood in the context of his general philosophy and other patronage. Returning to the dimensions of the Constantinian basilica and most importantly covering all of the sacred ground would have been of paramount importance for a pope so concerned about tracing his and his church's lineage back to the early church.

By March 6, 1607 work had started with the façade. By 1612 Carlo Maderno had completed the seven central bays of the new façade. In 1617 the façade was extended by two bays as bases for bell towers, which were not begun prior to Paul's death. After the façade was complete, Maderno built the nave and other internal details. Paul also had Maderno build the confessio in the crossing between 1615-17 where the curved stairs serve as a physical link to the early Christian church. In another link to the early church, he built new grottos, which carefully preserved all antique relics. Paul also built a new entrance to the Vatican palace, but his work here was not extensive as he preferred the Quirinal.

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306 Pastor, vol. 26, 389. For more on Paul's renovations of St. Peter's and in particular Maderno's facade, see Hibbard 1971, 65-74 and 155-188; and Margaret Kuntz, "Maderno's Building Procedures at New St. Peter's why the Facade First?" Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte 68 (2005): 41-60, who argues that the sequence and design of the facade were necessitated by the encroachment of the Pauline Chapel into the basilica and the necessity of a connection between the palace and the benediction loggia for ceremonial reasons.


308 Hibbard 1971, 72-3. Hibbard point out the irony that the form of the stairs echoes Julius II's nymphaeum at the Villa Giulia as well as Scipione's hanging garden.


310 For Paul's contribution, especially the new entrance to the palace, see Tod Marder, "Paul V's New Palace Entrance," Bernini's Scala Regia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) 56-81.
Paul made great expansions to the Quirinal Palace, the papal summer residence. He worked on the Quirinal from the start of his papacy through 1618, expending 33,037 scudi over the entire period. Between 1605 and 1612 Flaminio Ponzio built a new wing enclosing the courtyard on the east, which included the new Cappella dell’Annunziata. From 1609 to 1611 Ponzio was engaged in constructing an entirely new building to house the Datary, and in 1613 he built a new winter apartment. The final stage of renovations, after Ponzio's death, involved the renovations to the Cappella Paolina and surrounding rooms undertaken by Maderno in 1614.

In addition to these major projects, Paul, like Sixtus V before him, focused on urban rebuilding. Today, all that seems to be remembered are the fountains. Indeed, Paul was such a prodigious builder of fountains that he earned the nickname "fontefice massimo," a pun on "pontifex maximus." Paul's most important change to the waterworks of Rome was the construction of the Acqua Paola, which brought water to the Janiculum and into Trastevere. While the aqueduct was new, it was meant to follow and mimic that of Trajan. But aside from this ancient reference it served a vital purpose: providing Trastevere with water as well.

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312 Ibid., 239.


314 Wasserman, 235.

315 Ibid., 238.

as increasing the supply to the Borgo, Vatican, and even across the river.\textsuperscript{317} In addition to the Acqua Paola, several fountains were built by Maderno in the piazza in front of St. Peter's and in Piazza Scossacavalli in front of Scipione's Borgo palace. While these fountains were, of course, functional, they also would have been seen as an expression of Paul's princely virtue.\textsuperscript{318}

Paul also attended to other less decorative infrastructure needs. Abramo Bzovio, who begins his life of Paul with a discussion of his major ecclesiastical buildings, returns to the theme at the end of his work and details all of Paul's more mundane urban improvements not often mentioned elsewhere. He includes Paul's modifications to the mouth of the Tiber to enable maritime commerce and his rebuilding of the port and fortress at Civitavecchia to protect against pirates as well as numerous other improvements in bridges and streets to connect Rome more easily with the suburbs and countryside.\textsuperscript{319} Paul also made provisions to protect against flooding of the Tiber.\textsuperscript{320}

Paul widened and reengineered a number of key roads throughout Rome, but specifically in Trastevere.\textsuperscript{321} Among his many road building projects were the laying of Via delle Convertite and Via Capole Case. But while Sixtus's roads had been designed to provide

\textsuperscript{317} Heilmann, 660.

\textsuperscript{318} For this view, see Katherine Wentworth Rinne, \textit{The Waters of Rome: Aqueducts, Fountains, and the Birth of the Baroque City} (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010).

\textsuperscript{319} Bzovio, 715.

\textsuperscript{320} Ibid., 717. Rescuing the Roman populace from the rising waters of the Tiber became a particularly important piece of Borghese propaganda when Seipione Borghese ventured into the floodwaters on horseback during a flood of 1606 which immediately drew comparisons to the Roman general Marcus Curtius who then appeared, jumping off his horse, on the facade of the Pincian villa. D'Onofrio 1967, 208-212.

grand vistas and fundamentally reshape the city, Paul's seem to have been provided for mundane reasons: to ease the movement of goods and people from the ports to the city.\textsuperscript{322}

Paul was unusually interested in the bread supply of the city, implementing multiple price controls, executing those seen as profiteering, checking daily on the supply and even testing bread from the various bakeries himself.\textsuperscript{323} He also built the granary by the baths of Diocletian 1607, subsequently enlarged in 1609.\textsuperscript{324} He also instituted the "monte di farina" for the poor.\textsuperscript{325} Because of these measures there was never a grain shortage during the rest of his pontificate.\textsuperscript{326} Once again, Paul's emphasis on the grain supply is a continuation of a policy started by Sixtus V.\textsuperscript{327}

But there were also ancient prototypes both for the ruler's management of the grain supply and its distribution to the poor. The city's grain supply was overseen in Imperial Rome by the \textit{Annona}.\textsuperscript{328} Augustus himself took over supervision of the grain and towards the end of his reign implemented the office of the \textit{praefectus Annonae} to better manage the city's

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{322}Heilmann, 661.
\item \textsuperscript{323}Pastor, vol. 25, 87-90.
\item \textsuperscript{324}Ibid., 50-51.
\item \textsuperscript{325}Bzovio, 716.
\item \textsuperscript{326}Pastor, vol. 25, 93.
\item \textsuperscript{327}On Sixtus' reform of the grain supply see Pastor, vol. 21, 99-101. On the symbolic import of Abundance and the Golden Age for Sixtus see Mandel 1988, 32-36.
\item \textsuperscript{328}On the Roman grain supply see Peter Garnsey, \textit{Famine and Food Supply in the Graeco-Roman World: Response to Rise and Crisis} (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 167-244.
\end{itemize}
supplies.\textsuperscript{329} Related to the \textit{Annona} was the \textit{Alimenta}, an early form of welfare instituted by Trajan that used public funds to feed poor children.\textsuperscript{330}

In addition to recalling these illustrious precedents, Paul's protection of the grain supply also contrasted favorably with his successor, as famines reoccurred under Gregory in November of 1621.\textsuperscript{331}

Paul was also responsible for the renovation of many early Christian churches, including S. Gregorio al Celio and S. Sebastiano -- which, as we have seen, he outsourced to Scipione.\textsuperscript{332} He also helped with other restoration projects as the need arose -- for example, he funded the rebuilding of the Cloister of the Convertite after a fire in 1610, even though it was under the patronage of his rival, Cardinal Aldobrandini.\textsuperscript{333}

\textsuperscript{329} Ibid., 218 and 232-233.

\textsuperscript{330} Trajan's implementation of the Alimenta has been debated by scholars with some seeing it just as a tax or forced payment. See Peter Garnsey, "Trajan's Alimenta: Some Problems," \textit{Historia Zeitschrift für Altegeschichte} 17 (1968) 367-381 and R. P. Duncan-Jones, "The Purpose and Organization of the Alimenta," \textit{Papers of the British School at Rome} 32 (1964): 123-46 and Paul Veyne, \textit{Les "Alimenta" de Trajan} (Paris: centre national de la recherche scientifiques, 1965). The many visual representations of Trajan's \textit{institutio alimentaria} will be considered in Chapter Seven along with the iconography of \textit{Annona}.

\textsuperscript{331} Gigli vol. I, 87. Gigli in his account specifically points out that Gregory's reduction of the size of a loaf of bread to eight ounces directly contradicted Paul's policies. "A di 21. di Novembre fu calato il Pane, et ridotto a otto oncie il baiocco sotto pretesto di voler il Papa soccorrere Bologna sua Patria, et altri lochi, che pativano carestia, non ostante che il Popolo chiaramente si dolesse, che non era bene levare il grano di Roma, che già Papa Paolo V. haveva provisto abondevolmente per tre anni a venire, si come ancora dannava il giudizio, o, lo interesse di Papa Gregorio in havere nella estate passata, prima delle riccolte, dato la tratta al grano in Ancona, et permesso che i Veneziani ne potessero portar via. Laonde pareva, che la carestia fosse procurata, e non mandata a Roma da Dio. Per questo si mormorava per tutto, et quelli, che maggiormente havevano havuto a caro la mutazione del novo Papa, hora dicevano di conoscere quanto si fossero ingannati nella loro espettazione, perché non solo il grano, ma era rincariito ancor l'oglio for di modo, et così tutte le altre cose."

\textsuperscript{332} See discussion in chapter three, 68-70.

\textsuperscript{333} Funds were provided for restoration after a fire in 1617 by the pope and Cardinal Aldobrandini. Hibbard 1971, 205.
From the beginning of Paul's reign, Flaminio Ponzio was the official papal architect, as well as the architect for Scipione Borghese. Ponzio’s rise to this position was fortuitous. He was working on the Palazzo Borghese, which Paul had bought unfinished shortly before he became pope. Having inherited the architect along with the palace, Paul seems to have kept him on until his untimely death in 1613. Ponzio was replaced by the Fleming Jan Van Zanten (also known by the italicized Giovanni Vasanzio). The employment of such undistinguished architects by patrons so preoccupied with building requires. Carlo Maderno would have been the obvious choice for Borghese patronage, and indeed he was employed on certain projects, but most often in an advisory role. Maderno's employment as co-architect of the Fabbrica of St. Peter's predated Paul's elevation, but in any case he received the commission for the facade because he won the competition. Perhaps Maderno's association with Cardinal Aldobrandini precluded his formal employment by the Borghese.

It is also possible that Paul's own interests were strong enough that he preferred a weak architect he could dominate. Paul's interest in architecture seems to have have been more than just theoretical. He took an active role in the design process. In a dialogue with Guidiccioni, Bernini recounts how Paul solved a problem which had baffled the architects of how to install a door between the Cappella Paolina in the Quirinal Palace and the Sala Regia.

Ibid., 53. Hibbard suggests that he was only hired at the insistence of Stefano Pignatelli and that he was incompetent and often had to have his messes cleaned up by Maderno.

Cesare D’Onofrio, "un dialogo-recita di Gian Lorenzo Bernini e Lelio Guidiccioni," Palatino 10 (1966): 127-134, 133. "Ma perché questa con la sua ampiezza resta più larga di quella gli architetti non sapevano trovar odo da far la porta, che stesse in mezzo del muro, rispetto l'una, et all'altra.Papa Paolo trovò invenzione di cosa, che rimedio al disordine, at accrebbe ornamento notable...Il pensiero fu tutto suo." It is not entirely clear what Guidiccioni is referencing. For Paul's construction of the chapel, see Wasserman, 236-238.
The sum of all of these projects clearly had a tremendous impact on the appearance and functionality of the city. This historical record suggests both citizens and visitors to Rome were amazed. Paul's transformation of the city was so complete that Guido Bentivoglio, returning after eleven years absence, wrote that he didn't recognize the city.  

Another visitor to Rome, Johann Heinrich von Pflaumern, wrote in 1625 that the new buildings (those built since his previous visit in 1607) surpassed even the ancient. An anonymous contemporary writing after the death of Gregory XV recorded that Paul's renovations of Rome superseded those of any other pope. Even at the end of the century Alessandro Donati still claimed in his Roma vetus ac recens that Paul's only concern was adorning the city.

**Poetry**

So much for the historical facts about the Borghese. As impressive as Paul's actual legacy may be, an entirely more grandiose picture of his import is painted by the poetry of the period. A number of leitmotifs recur throughout the encomiastic literature produced at Scipione's court: Paul's pontificate as a new Golden Age and the incumbent comparisons of Paul to Apollo, Caesar and Augustus. Most of these tropes are not unique to the Borghese,


337 Johann Heinrich von Pflaumern, Mercurius Italicus (Lugdani, 1649) 378. Quoted in Noack, 194.


339 Alessandro Donati, Roma vetus ac recens (Rome, 1595). "Iam vero Pauli V in exornanda urbe singularis cura." With this he starts his description of Paul's building campaign which runs from pages 347-350. Also quoted in Heilmann, 662.
but it is still significant that they occur. For it is impossible to read the literature generated at the Borghese court without concluding that there was a concerted effort to promote classical analogies and underscore the family’s *Romanitas*. This may seem odd given that they were not, in fact, Roman, but the very newness of the Borghese family in Rome probably underscored their interest in creating a faux Roman lineage for themselves.

While much of this poetry rehashes these classicizing tropes, another theme is equally prevalent in the literature that has not received the critical attention it deserves: the importance of architecture and building. The Borghese are consistently portrayed as rescuers of Rome, by light of their many building projects and renovations to the city. We can see these two themes, *Romanitas* and building, as two sides of a coin. It is not just the fact of Paul’s election, but the Pauline renovation of the city, that ushers in a new Golden Age. Both of these ideas will prove integral to our understanding of the catafalque.

Nonetheless, it is wise to remember that, however compelling the poets’ analogies, these were words written by men trying to curry favor, and we must be cautious not to impose their motives upon their masters, especially in light of the exaggeration inherent in encomiastic poetry. We must be wary of extrapolating patrons’ motives out of the flattery of their retainers. Furthermore, the frequency with which the same motifs show up throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries makes it impossible that the presentation *all’antica* was a Borghese-specific project.\(^\text{340}\) Furthermore, some of the more florid and obscure passages of poetry should surely be read as displays of poetic bravura and knowledge as much as Borghese self-aggrandizement.

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\(^\text{340}\) For example the Pamphilij claimed to trace their heritage through Numa Pompilius to Aeneas. See Rudolf Preimesberger, "Pontifex Romanus per Aeneam Praesignatus: Die Galleria Pamphilij und ihre Fresken," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 16 (1976): 221-287.
Borghese Romanitas is a frequent theme in the encomiastic literature. In his panegyric celebrating the birth of Paolo Borghese, Guidiccioni writes that his birth "restores Roman hopes" and that of his "issue will be born new cities and new realms."341 Another poem extolls the "Latin blood" of the Borghese family.342

Romanitas seems to have been stressed not just by the poets but by Paul himself. Despite the family's Sienese origins, Paul always identified himself as a Roman. An example of this thinking can be found in the foundation documents for the Borghese chapel, that give explicit instructions for the future care of the chapel. Popes regularly issued bulls stipulating the succession of cardinal protectors of their chapels. Paul's first bull on this topic, dating to 1610, makes Scipione Borghese the cardinal protector of the Paolina and dictates that his successors must always be a Borghese cardinal, or if none exists one born in Rome. This last part is telling, as most popes specify a cardinal from their home state.343

341 Guidiccioni 1637, 137.

342 Ibid., 129. "a un parente del Card. Scipione Borghese" o degno homai, cui'l Tebro honorai, & cante Signor, del Latin sangue inclita speme:
Che per calle d'honor, ch'oblio non preme,
Affretti al giogo di virtule piante...

343 Faber, 370. The bull was changed in 1615 giving the family even more control. It states that the head of the Borghese family can pick the cardinal protector.
Epigraphical evidence yields a similar insistence on Paul's Romanitas. All of the inscriptions on the monuments erected for Paul's possessio include the word "Romanus." Likewise, the inscription which crowns Maderno's facade of St. Peter's reads "IN HONOREM PRINCIPIS APOST.PAULUS V. BURGHESIUS ROMANUS PONT. MAX AN MDCXII PONT VII."

The insistence on Romanitas not only links the Borghese to the city, but it engenders comparisons to antique heroes and events. Guidiccioni's poetry is full of comparisons of Paul and Scipione to various classical figures. In a play on his given name, Paul is cast as superior to the antique Camillo. The antique Camillo is Marcus Furius Camillus, the fourth-century warrior and dictator known as the second founder of Rome, having liberated Rome from the Gauls. The connection seems to have been suggested not only be the play on the name Camillo, but by the idea of the reinvention, or rebirth of Rome brought about by Camillus. This connection was maintained by later generations of Borgheses and appears in a ceiling fresco in the Villa Borghese by Mariano Rossi commissioned by Marcantonio IV in the eighteenth century. The fresco shows Truth triumphant over Time vindicating Camillus who triumphed after his exile in Gaul by saving Rome.

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344 Francesco Cancellieri, *Storia de' solenni possessee' somme pontefici* (Rome: Luigi Lazzarini, 1802) 174. There were at least four separate apparati erected for the occasion: one by the spetiale del drago, one by the Collegio Romano and arches by the Gesu and Campidoglio.


In a similar play on names, Scipione is compared to Scipio Africanus, but Scipione is also the child of Euterpe and Clio "fanciul t'alletta Euterpe, & Clio." Paul is the son of Bellona "lui, che di Bellona è figlio." In the most common tropes, Paul is compared to Caesar and both Scipione and Paul to Augustus "duo nativi Augusti." Scipione and Paul are both the equals of Hercules. Paul is a new Apollo.

Most often, these analogies to classical heroes and gods are used to foretell a new Golden Age come to Rome under the rule of the Borghese. Virgil, in the *Fourth Eclogue*, writes that a new Golden Age will commence when Astraea returns to earth:

> Now is come the last age of Cumaean song; the great line of the centuries begins anew. Now the Virgin returns, the reign of Saturn returns; now a new generation descends from heaven on high. Only do you, pure Lucina, smile on the birth of the child, under whom the iron brood shall at last cease and a golden race spring up throughout the world! Your own Apollo now is king!

Starting in the fifteenth century this Virgilian imagery was frequently applied to popes to suggest the inauguration of a new Golden Age with their reign.

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347 Guidiccioni 1937, 248 (stanza 2).

348 Ibid., 250 (stanza 9).

349 Ibid. 255 (stanza 29).


The recurrent allusions to Astraea in Borghese panegyric are multivalent. They allude to Paul's legal background and his role as a stern administrator of justice. But more importantly they cast Paul's reign as the new Golden Age in terms that would have been immediately clear to the seventeenth-century reader.

Some poets even use the Borghese stemma, the dragon and eagle, to demonstrate the fulfillment of this prophesy. The encomium of Ambrogio De Magistris, Aetodracontaeum, written in 1617 and dedicated to Scipione, describes a new Golden Age brought about by the union of eagle and dragon:

The ancients consecrated the eagle to Jupiter and the dragon to Saturn, and through both expressed the concept of the prince....but at last these two [animals], most illustrious prince, are combined in the family stemma of the Borghesi [sic]. So that just as Jupiter succeeded Saturn, and surmounted the dragon with the eagle, and opposed to the Saturnian sisters Irene and Astraea his own sisters Amalthea and Politica, by whose work the times were seen to be reintegrated and a return made to the ancient Golden Age, the sweetly in our time the eagle is in accord with the dragon, and truly restores all things that formerly, by a certain splendid deceit the age of Saturn had bestowed.


353 The iconographic elaboration of papal stemma had been common since at least the sixteenth century. For a very thorough discusision of this phenomenon under Gregory XIII see Marco Ruffini, Le imprese del drago: Politica, emblematica, e scienze naturali alla corte di Gregorio XIII (Rome: Bulzoni, 2005) and Von Fleming 221-222. For the stemma of Sixtus V see Mandel 1988.


355 Translation from Paul, 315-316. Transcription Ibid., 326: "Aquilam Iovi, Draconem Saturno Veteres consecrabant, utroque Principem exprimebant: Illa prapotentis animi celis studiunem adumbrantes, hoc excellenis imperij magnitudinem, illa sanguinis illibati claritudinem, hoc honestissimi corporis habitudinem, illa populorum
De Magistris was not the only panegyrist to meditate on the Borghese emblems. Francisco Guevara wrote that the combination of dragon (a sign of Cronus and the Golden Age) and eagle (a sign of Jove) represents the melding of the present and Golden Age.\footnote{His undated poem "Epipompeuticum" is transcribed by D’Onofrio 1967, 219, n. 6: "sic innocenter ite [Draco et Aquila]: sic salutem / unanimi iugo traentes / atque Pacis, atque letae / Uber Amaltheae / effere terric, effere ponto."}

These were of course not the only associations of the eagle and dragon. In Borghese panegyric, the eagle often appears as a symbol of Apollo and Augustus while the dragon is a symbol of Minerva.\footnote{Von Fleming, 225-6. She makes a compelling case for the relationship between Minerva and the dragon in Borghese encomia. While she claims this was a typical pairing, she does not credit a Classical source. In fact, it is difficult to find any references to the dragon as symbol of Minerva. Possibly it is a reference to her role in helping Cadmus slay the Ismenian dragon. See Ovid, \textit{Metamorphoses} I-VIII, trans. Frank Miller, ed. G. P. Goold (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984) III, 48-112.} The subordination of the dragon to the eagle in the Borghese arms also allowed for comparison of Paul to the eagle (Apollo) and Scipione to the dragon (Minerva).\footnote{Von Fleming, 225-230. She quotes extensively from the following unpublished manuscripts by decidedly minor poets dealing with this theme: Bernardo Lagarda, \textit{In Laudem Scipionis Burghesii S.R.E. carditis amp.li odae undecim. Bernardus Lagarda seminarii romani clericus} [ASV, Fondo Borghese I, 696]; Giovanni Matteo Savio, \textit{L’aquila e ’l drago. canzonette di Gio.mattia Savio Accad.mo insensato, eccentrico et unisono di Perugia} [ASV, Fondo Borghese IV, 196]; Stephanus Landus, \textit{Scipionis Burghesio Pauli V. Sororis Filio Carditi Ampliss.o Stephanus Landus felicitatem} [ASV, Fondo Borghese, I, 700] and Marc Antonio Maffei, \textit{Eironpolemion illiustriss. principi scipionis burghesi S.R.E. Card. ampliss. decantatum inter philosophicas theses M. Antonii Maffei romani in collegio romano soc.tis ius} [Biblioteca nationale 34.9.C.9. int 10].}
The motifs of dragon and eagle thread their way through a long poem in
Guidiccioni's *Rime* titled "panegirico sopra il gia Car. Borghese con le laude di Paolo V." In
this poem of twenty-nine stanzas, Guidiccioni lauds both Scipione and Paul, resorting to
almost every popular classicizing trope. While it is not dated, the dedication to Cardinal
Spada provides a *terminus post quem* as he was made cardinal in 1626.

The first theme of the poem is Astraea, Roman goddess of Justice and the last
immortal to leave earth. The theme is introduced in the third stanza:

And while intent on their sublime honors
through the solitary roads you yourself advanced
and emulating the better centuries
you desired also to surpass those who were before
and surrounded with the virtue of eternal laurels,
standing behind you, & in front of all others
Behold the great uncle, in whose hand hangs
Astraea's balance, of the south wind Ostro shining

which the antique Camillo saw, in exile
from Gaul, proud Rome and the Tarpeus
torn and burnt; he gave death to the enemy throngs,
& to him they erected a trophy of his valor...

and returns again in the very last stanza:

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359 Guidiccioni 1633, 248.

Et mentre intento a’ i lor sublimi honor,
Per le solinghe vie te stesso avanzi;
E imitator de’ i secoli migliori
Brami anche superar quei che fur dianzi;
Et cinto da Virtù d’eterni Allori,
Poggi à lei dietro, & à tutt’altri innanzi;
Ecco il gran Zio, ne le cui man sospende
La sua bilancia Astrea, d’ostro risplende.

Qual l’antico Camillo, in stran’ forme
Vista dal Gallo altier Roma, e’l Tarpeo
Lacerà, ed arsa; à l’inimiche torne
Diè morte, & n’erse al suo valor trofeo;
Tal’ei, di glorie à quel primier conforme,
A drizzar nato il ben che già cadeo,
Fè guerra a’ i vitij, & l’anime bramose
Di vera gloria in libertà ripose.
you, who follow Pallas, embrace the merits
SCIPIO, of him, who is Bellona's son
See rare virtue which fastens the senses
Excellent heart, great soul, high counsel.
among you wanting love anew you trace
you recall Astraea to the world from long exile.  

The idea of the Golden Age also appears in Giacomo Lauro's *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* of 1612 and Abramo Bzovio's slightly posthumous (1625) biography of Paul. Bzovio describes Paul as the "true restorer of the century of gold, under whose rule flowered religion, innocence, holiness, faith, law, doctrine, and from doctrine then justice, and peace, from peace abundance of every spiritual and worldly good, and from this the happiness of Rome and of the world." 

The application of the theme of Astraea and the Golden Age to the Borghese is not limited to poetry, it also appears in art. In fact, Astraea appears in a frieze over the door to Scipione's Borgo palace, where she is joined by representations of Peace and Abundance. D'Onofrio associates the theme of the return of Astraea with the early Bernini group of the

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360 Ibid., 255.
Tu, che Pallade segui, i merti abbraccia,
SCIPIO, di lui, che di Bellona è figlio.
Vedrai rara Virtù, ch'i sensi allaccia,
Eccelso cor, grand'alma, alto consiglio.
Trà voi volando Amor, con nova traccia,
Richiami al Mòdo Astrea dal vecchio esiglio.
O fortunati; In terra à voi non vide
Due pari alhor, che segno i mari, Alcide.


362 Bzovio, 720. "vero Restauratore del secolo d'oro, sotto il cui governo fioriva la Religione, l'innocenza, la santità, la fede, le leggi, la dottrina, e dalla dottrina poi giustitia, e la pace, dalla pace, l'abbondanza di ogni bene spirituale, e temporale, e da questa la felicità di Roma, e del Mondo."


364 Rudolf Preimesberger, *Paragons and Paragone* (Los Angeles: Getty, 2011) 62. She stands over a rainbow and is flanked by justice and abundance. The inscription reads "Renovatio saeculi."
Anna Coliva has interpreted Lanfranco's *Council of the Gods* as an allegory of the return of the Golden Age brought about by the end of the Ludovisi papacy and the birth of a Borghese heir, Marcantonio, the son of Scipione's cousin Paolo.\(^{366}\)

While Astraee appears more often in the Borghese literature than with most earlier popes, where Apollonian imagery is more common, there is another harbinger of the Golden Age which appears even more frequently: Paul's renovation of the city of Rome.

The rebirth of Rome and ensuing dawn of a new Golden Age is frequently cast as the result of Paul's ambitious building campaign. Papal rebuilding as a catalyst for the new Golden Age is of course not a new conceit. It is particularly prevalent in the literature about Julius II and Sixtus V, both prodigious builders.\(^{367}\) But this history only makes the analogy more compelling, for it equates Paul not only with his pagan predecessors, but also with his Christian forbearers.

Guidiccioni's panegyric on the marriage of Marcantonio Borghese and Camilla Orsini on October 20, 1619 includes a lengthy passage devoted to the pope, almost all focused on Paul's renovations of Rome:

\begin{quote}
Behold PAUL, now in old age,  
three crowns adorn the noble head of hair  
and return under him faint and gentle,  
that which before was not, the resurgent Rome;  
Astraee reigns...  
Therefore of the sacred Vatican  
every hour new marvels he erects.
\end{quote}

\(^{365}\) D'Onofrio 1967, 216-219. He traces the associations between Amalthea as sister to Astraee, symbol of Abundance and nymph (or goat) who raised Jove on Mt. Ida. Here he interprets the goat as Amalthea and the putti as Jove and a satyr, showing the new Golden Age brought about by Scipione and Paul.

\(^{366}\) Coliva, 355.

\(^{367}\) On Julius II see Temple, 2001. On Sixtus V see Mandel 1988, 29-52, 48-50. Mandel cites extensive literature crediting a new Golden Age to Sixtus' good works, i.e. his renovations of Rome.
There with great labor he opened the great street
to fountains to rivers in rich spring.
Here he makes the Quirinal rival Heaven
and on top of Rome he makes another Rome.

See he alters on the Esquiline a temple
which to all the centuries to lengthy oblivion contrasts
to [the Virgin] here new honors he erects...

Guidiccioni singles out Paul's public works: the Esquiline, the Quirinal, the Vatican,
and the opening of streets and creation of fountains. The emphasis on the last two less
glamorous projects is telling, as is his silence about the private Borghese residential
projects.

368 Guidiccioni 1637, 242. This text was also published independently as Nelle Nocce del Sig. Principe di Sulmona, & della Sig. D. Camilla Orsina.

Mirai PAOLO, anzi l'età senile,
Di tre Corone ornar la nobil chioma.
E tornar sotto lui vaga, & gentile,
Qual pria non fù, la rinascente Roma;
Astrea regnar, la forza hauersi à vile,
Giacer la fraude, e l'alvezza doma.
Giusta bilancia à la sinistra ei tiene;
Con la destra comparte, & premij, & pene.

A mercennarie schiere offre soccorso,
Ciascun chiamando à l'opre, e l'otio incalza.
Quindi del sacro Vatican sul dorso
Ogn'hnor nouelle merauiglie inalza.
Là con lauoro immenso apre il gran corso
A fonti, à noui fiumi in ricca balza.
Qui fà, ch'il Quirinale al Ciel s'oppone;
Et soura Roma vn'altra Roma impone.

Mirasi al tero in sù l'Esquilie vn Tempio,
Ch'a i secol tutti, al lungo oblio contrasta.
A lei qui noui honor is erge, ch'à l'empio
Serpe rio, mentitor col piè sovrasta.
Oro, e gemme l'offrisce; & fatto esempi
D'alta bontà,con mente pura, & casta,
Vuol qui chiamarsi in ricco intaglio, & pio,
Di lei vil seruo,egli, ch'in Terra è Dio

369 Hibbard, "Palazzo Borghese" 1962 remains the authority on this building. While Paul gave the
Palazzo Borghese to his brothers upon his election, he remained intimately involved in the planning
and financing of its construction. On the gift see Ibid., 46; on the pope's continued involvement see
Other poets' encomia laud Paul's renovations of Rome in similar terms. A poem by Francesco della Valle from "Le nuove fabbriche di Roma sotto Paolo V" praises Paul's renovations of Rome, particularly his building of fountains and concludes "o valor of grand Paul! She [Rome] who lay in the furor of her children extinct and subdued under a great sun in peace to the end revived.\(^{370}\)

The particularly interesting element of the Golden Age motif is that while it begins as a purely pagan reference, it acquires a simultaneous syncretic Christian reading, for the rebirth of Rome comes to symbolize not only a new Augustan Golden Age, but also the rebirth of the early Roman church and the reemergence of Catholic strength rooted in this history after the perils of the Reformation. The Borghese focus on restoring early Christian monuments only cemented this interpretation. The origins of this transformation can probably be located in several strands of seventeenth-century philosophical thought: the

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Ibid., 47-48. On the taxes levied to fund its construction see Ibid., 49, n. 24 and 73, n. 6. See also Waddy 1990.


Già cede il tempo e coronata sporge
d'auré tetti ogni monte al ciel la cima,
ed a l'alte maëstà di prima
da le ruine sue Roma risorge.

Ogni machina antica l'auré sorge,
quant'in terra giacea s'erge e sublima,
e ciò che de l'età ròse la lima,
ristorato dal ferro omai si scorge.

gli ampi spazi non copre inutil soma,
ma l'adornan le fonti e inondan l'acque,
e fatta sopra Roma è nova Roma.

Oh valor del gran Paolo! Ella, che giacque
nel furor de'suoi figli estinta e doma,
sott'un gran figlio in pace al fin rinacque
humanist view of patronage as a manifestation of various princely virtues and post-Tridentine doctrine which viewed architecture as a work of faith.

Renaissance and seicento theorists considered building a sign of magnificence, an appropriate princely virtue. In fact, magnificence in the Renaissance was a virtue particularly associated with artistic or architectural patronage, and thought to be appropriate only in a ruler or prince. That this specific association of building with the virtue of magnificence was intended to be a theme of Paul's *apparatus funebris* is clear by the prime place that the virtue of *Magnificentia* receives on the catafalque and the poetry extolling her.\(^\text{371}\) Likewise the discussion of Paul's magnificence as a builder is, as we have seen, a key theme in Guidiccioni's oration.\(^\text{372}\)

The interpretation of magnificence as a virtue related to building was already current in Italy by the fourteenth century and appears in Galvano Fiamma's justification of Azzone Visconti's building projects. Fiamma quotes Aristotle extensively as evidence of the magnificence of building.\(^\text{373}\) Later, Cosimo de' Medici's vast expenditures on architecture prompted a defense of his building spree: Timoteo Maffei's treatise *In magnificentiae Cosimi Medicii Florintini detractores*.\(^\text{374}\)

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\(^{371}\) This will be discussed in chapter seven.

\(^{372}\) See chapter two, 45-49.


Giovanni Baglione's *Vite de' pittori scultori et architetti* includes a dialogue between a Roman and a foreigner on the "Opere di Papa Paolo V." The Roman gentleman sets out to explain to the foreigner the "magnificenza" of the pope and says that he reigned with "giustitia, pace, & abbondanza." He thoroughly enumerates Paul's building projects and states that the works at St. Peter's are "degna di Paolo" and "opere magnifiche, e memorande." He sums up by praising the "magnificenza di Paolo V. Romano."

Magnificence, as defined through the building and restoration of churches, was also seen as an appropriate virtue for the seicento cardinal. The Jesuit thinker Giovanni Botero, in *Dell'Ufficio del cardinale*, had written that the main function of cardinals (apart from electing popes) is to build churches to promote faith: and that this exemplifies the virtue of magnificence. In this work he extolled the building of churches as a sign of magnificence, noting that restoration was preferable to construction *ex novo*.

The promotion of faith introduces another important motivation for building. In the post-Tridentine context, artistic and architectural patronage was often seen as a way of making doctrinal points through the use of images. While architecture might not serve as

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376 Ibid., vol. I, 95. He lists the Pauline Chapel, the sacristy at S. Maria Maggiore, the column in front of that church, the Quirinal palace, and the demolition of old St. Peter's and its facade and benediction loggia, the expansion of the Vatican library, the new fountains in St. Peter's square and in Piazza Scossacavalli as well as the Aqua Paola, the Palazzo Borghese, the Annona, new streets, Frascati, the convent of the Convertite, the ports of Fano and Civita Vecchia, and the citadel at Ferrara.

377 Ibid., vol. I, 97.


clear a didactic purpose as a fresco cycle, it was certainly important as a vehicle for housing such works as well as relics of early Christian saints. Religious piety fostered the renovation of the churches of early Christian Rome. The physical renewal of early Christian churches was seen as an outward manifestation of inward religious renewal and a show of Catholic triumph.\textsuperscript{380} That this motivation was present in Paul's mind is certainly suggested by Guidiccioni's description of his building projects in the oration.\textsuperscript{381} The importance of this goal in Guidiccioni's description is interesting given that the esequies occur at the same moment as the founding of the Propaganda Fide.

More than just magnificence or doctrine, however, building could also be an expression of \textit{Caritas}. The idea of building as a form of \textit{Caritas} recurs throughout the literature of the period. Paul's majordomo Giovanni Battista Costaguti explained his projects as a way to give work to Roman laborers.\textsuperscript{382} In his biography of Bernini, Domenico Bernini defends Paul's vast expenditures on architecture as necessary for the adornment of the city rather than a frivolous waste of money.\textsuperscript{383} In the seventeenth century it was clearly common to view building as a way of renewing the city, making it more habitable for its

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item See Ostrow 1996, 1. For a discussion of counter reformation popes' emphasis on early christian basilicas.
\item Guidiccioni 1623, (oration 6). "An anteaecis Tempribus æquè se Roma reddiderit christianae probitate conspicuam, an visa sint magnificentius extracta, & ornata Templa."
\item Franco Mormando, trans. and ed., \textit{The Life of Gian Lorenzo Bernini by Domenico Bernini: a Translation and Critical Edition} (University Park: Penn State Press, 2011) 96. "Under this pontiff, a most vigilant promoter of men of talent, that great court was flourishing more than ever before, through the great abundance of excellent individuals in every profession, the majesty of its edifices, and everything capable of procuring exceptional fame for that pontificate. In the heart of this great prince, occupying a place equal to any other expression of creative talent, were sculpture and architecture and by these two means Paul greatly amplified the ecclesiastical and secular magnificence of Rome. For the adornment of the city, Paul spent more than five million \textit{scudi}, but did so with no detriment whatsoever to the states under his care."
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
citizens and keeping laborers employed. Paul's contemporaries clearly considered the import of these projects to extend beyond the practical. Several sources explore Paul's motives as a patron. The biography of Paul written by the Polish Dominican Abramo Bzovio several years after the pope's death deals with his life, wars, and theological determinations, but the majority of it is given over to his buildings. Significantly, Bzovio is as concerned with the reasons behind Paul's patronage as the actual results. His account of Paul's decision to finish St. Paul's is instructive. He writes, "to give a living example to the cardinals to enlarge their titular churches, and to the rest of the populace to raise the poverty of many churches of Rome, he made the decision to follow the building of St. Peter's in Rome...."  

384 After listing Paul's main building projects Bzovio writes:  

But to declare to the world, that these examples of piety do not have an origin in an affection for eternal pomp, but from true zeal and internal devotion, the Holy Shepherd did not leave even once during his pontificate a day until the last Sunday before he died, in which he did not celebrate, after having been first reconciled and arraigned with particular orations.  

385 For Bzovio, the primary reasons for Paul's patronage are clear: piety, zeal, and devotion. His other motivation, to inspire cardinals, can be supported by the fact that he encouraged Scipione to restore early Christian churches. There is, of course, no reason to accept these imputed motivations, and Bzovio's need to clarify that they were not done out of "an affection for eternal pomp" might suggest that such a view was prevalent.

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384 Bzovio, 702. "... per dar un vivo esempio a' Cardinali di ingrandire le Chiese di titoli loro, & al rimanente al popolo si sollevar la povertà di molte Chiese di Roma, fece determinazione di seguire l'edeficio di San Pietro in Vaticano..."  

385 Ibid., 704. "Ma per dichiarare al mondo, che questi esempi di pietà non traevano l'origine da un'affettione di eterna pompa, mà da vero zelo, e divozione interna, non lascio il Santo Pastore già mai nel suo Pontificato, giorno fino alla Domenica ultima innanzi che morisse, in cui non celebrasse, dopo essersi prima reconciliato, e disposto con particolari orationi."
From all of these sources it seems clear that the renovation, even the reinvention, of Rome was integral to the Borghese papacy both physically and metaphorically. Paul used his building projects to secure the well-being of his citizens and to spur their faith. But these projects also brought with them connotations of earlier reinventions and reinventors and the promise of a new Golden Age. As we shall see in the following chapters, the conceit of Paul as builder and the virtue of building itself are key elements in the iconography of the catafalque.
Chapter 5

Un Tempio in Lutto: Architecture as Iconography

... a ragion, dico, à si degno Corpo si doveva Sepolcro dignisimo, à si gran fabricatore di Tempij si deveva de i Tempij il più ornato... 386

...fù in quel temp tutta, dall'imo al sommo, coperto à bruno, quasi mostrandoutto di veder' morto colui, che sosteneva si larga parte del suo splendore. 387

The papacy of Sixtus V was the model on which Paul based his reign. Likewise Sixtus's catafalque was the prototype for Paul's own (figure 1). The program of Sixtus's catafalque explicitly commemorated that pope's building projects by reproducing them in simulacrum, with friezes depicting his good works running around the dome and models of the obelisks and columns erected by him placed on the architrave (figure 2). 388 Paul's catafalque also refers to his status as a patron, but the approach is at once subtler and more brazen. Instead of formally referencing Paul's buildings like Sixtus' catafalque, the entire building is shown in mourning for the dead pope. This sense of architecture's loss is expressed in the actual design of the catafalque. The theme of architecture in mourning is conveyed through the symbiosis of ephemera and church architecture and complements the iconographical program describing Paul's virtues which is found in the sculptures.

386 Guidiccioni 1623, 13.

387 Ibid., 16.

The two quotations as epigraphs to this chapter, both taken from the *Breve Racconto*, alert the reader to this element of the catafalque's program. In the first Guidiccioni, describing the Borghese Chapel, opines that it is appropriate not only that such a worthy body would have such a dignified tomb, but that such a great builder of churches should rest in such a temple. In the second, talking now about the catafalque, he anthropomorphizes the structure, suggesting that it wears black drapery as mourning to express sorrow at the death of its patron. These two passages indicate that the catafalque's iconographical program was not limited to the sculpture but that the architecture itself -- both that of the catafalque and the entire *apparatus funebris* (or decoration of the rest of the church) -- was carefully designed to reflect a view of Paul's importance as a patron of architecture and should be read symbolically.

As we shall see, the monument is designed both to suggest this loss and to recall early Christian martyrria and Imperial Roman tombs, continuing the syncretic approach seen in the Borghese encomia that equate Paul with both imperial rulers and fathers of the early church.

Before continuing to unravel the meaning of the catafalque's architecture, we must establish its appearance. We have a fairly good idea of its basic outlines thanks to the engraving in the *Breve Racconto* (figure 1) as well as the descriptions of Guidiccioni, Gigli and Alaleone.

Guidiccioni describes it thus:

This tomb was situated in the middle of the church, also in the form of a church or mausoleum, all bronze in color, supported by twenty columns, with their capitals, from which hung gold and black cloth instead of foliage, & volutes, of the composite number and style, and above them recurred a great cornice, which coming back in from four parts, extends out with protrusions, and members of massive beauty,
and of marvelous view. The height of the edifice was eighty *palmi* and the width fifty-four.\textsuperscript{389}

This, as far as it goes, agrees with Krueger's engraving. The catafalque is clearly in the middle of the church and of tempietto form. Based on the visible columniation we would expect the illustrated catafalque to have twenty columns. The capitals appear to be composite and there is fabric hanging between the volutes. Similarly, the cornice does meander in and out.

Gigli also describes the catafalque. Although his account is more concerned with the plastic decoration than architecture, he does provide some additional details:

In the middle of the church then was made a most beautiful catafalque of wood with eight sides with many columns going above the plinth, which supported a round cornice above which was a dome of silvered candelabras with lit torches, and all of the said columns and the bases and the pedestals were made, that they appeared to be copper, and the capitals of the columns were gilt. Between the columns were most beautiful sculptures of white stucco, which were placed on pedestals of copper color like the columns and in the middle of the pedestal was a black field with gilt letters. Also above the said cupola among the candelabras were very many angels of stucco, who held candelabras with lit torches of white wax, and inside this catafalque was placed the body when it came in the church.\textsuperscript{390}

The only new information here concerns the coloration of the pedestals and fabric draping the capitals and the profusion of candles. The candles are obvious in the engraving. The


\textsuperscript{390} Gigli, vol. I, 95. "Nel mezzo poi della chiesa era fabbricato un bellisimo catafalco di legno a otto facie con molte colonne parte sopra base, che sosteavano un cornicione rotondo sopra il quale era una cuppola di candellieri inargentatì con facole accese, et tutte le dette colonne et le base, et i piedestalli erano fatte, che parevano di rame, et li capitelli delle collone erano indorati, tra le colonne erano belissime statue di stucco bianco, che posevano sopra piedestalli di colore rame come le colonne, et nel mezzo del piedestallo era il campo negro scritto a lettere di oro. Similmente sopra la detta cupola fra li candellieri erano moltissimi Angeli di stucco, che tenevano candellieri con facole di cera bianca accese, et dentro questo catafalco fu posato il corpo quando giunse in Chiesa."
pedestals are not, but the engravings of individual virtues show a shallow pedestal with the name of the virtue engraved across it (see figures 20 - 35). This pedestal does not seem large enough to contain extensive text. Guidiccioni describes the scriptural quotations alternately only as appearing "sotto" or "a piè," so perhaps the protruding semicircles which fall under the statues in the plinth were treated as pedestals and contained these cartouches. 391

Regardless, it appears that the basic elements of the structure are accurately reflected in Krueger's engraving.

The Ground Plan

Based on these sources we can deduce that the catafalque was a peripteral central plan building. At first glance the ground plan seems to be circular but it is actually more complex (figure 3). While the entire structure sits on a low round step, the plinth which forms the base of the upper structure is a Greek cross with stairs positioned between at least the two arms facing the nave and choir. 392 These stairs extend beyond both the high plinth the colonnade rests on and the low step which forms the base of the entire monument. The entablature repeats the lobes of the cruciform, cutting back at right angles at each stair opening to meet the cella wall.

Because of the round base, curved arms of the entablature and the fact that the plane of each arm is broken by the semi-circular bases for the statues, the entire structure reads as round in Krueger's engraving while it actually is a hybrid. This interpretation is supported by the written evidence. Guidiccioni describes the form thus: “quattro quadranti constituiti

391 Guidiccioni 1623, 16.

392 The ground plan provided by Fagiolo dell'Arco and Carandini is incorrect. It is the plan for the catafalque for Sixtus V and unrelated to this work. Fagiolo dell'Arco and Carandini 1970, I, 46.
dentro a quarto angoli esteriori di due parallegrogrammi, attorno all’istesso centro se medesimi intersecanti.”

Gigli describes it as having an eight-sided base, with many columns supporting a round entablature. While Guidiccioni and Gigli's descriptions differ, they can be reconciled both with each other and Krueger's engraving. If the catafalque were a Greek cross, the arms would constitute the exterior angles of two rectangles. If Gigli read the stairs set between the arms as independent sides, this would create an eight sided structure (one side for each arm of the cross and four more spanning the distances between the arms). If there were not staircases at the lateral entrances but instead a flat wall surmounted by a sarcophagus, this reading becomes even more cogent.

The exact appearance of these lateral entrances is unclear since they do not fully appear in Krueger's engraving. Some guidance is found in Guidiccioni's description of the seated figures and their relation to these entrances. He writes "of the sixteen virtues, four sat on two large sarcophagi, which exited from inside of the funeral bed in a way, that two by two they end up at the foot of the two lateral entrances of the catafalque." Berendsen took

393 Guidiccioni 1623, 17.

394 Because Gigli recorded several funeral apparati in his diaries, we can check the accuracy of his descriptions. The most germane comparison is his description of Carlo Barberini's catafalque, which based on the visual evidence, had a very similar ground plan to Paul's. Gigli describes the catafalque for Carlo Barberini as "un catafalco bellisimo a quattro faccie, ma rotondo con 16, collone di colore di ottone scannellate con piedestalli, e capitelli e cornicioni di colore di diversi metalli, cioè oro, rame, e statue 16. di color bronzo, nel mezzo del catafalco era una bellissima urna sostenuta da quattro Statue in habito militare." Gigli I, 196. This can be compared to a drawing from Bernini's studio in London and a ground plan attributed to Borromini. There are few others controls; Gigli does not describe most funeral apparati, and when he does his focus is usually more on the decoration of the church than the catafalque. His description of the catafalque for the obsequies of the benefactors of the Gesu in 1639, while brief, seems accurate as far as it goes. It can be compared to an engraving by G. Valdor reproduced in Fagiole dell'Arco and Carandini, I, 117. "un Catalafco altissimo con quattro Piramidi nelle cantonate con molte Scrittioni, et Statue, et figure rappresentanti corpi morti di ossa fatti di cartone." Gigli, I, 323.

395 Guidiccioni 1623, 17. “Delle sedici Virtu, quattro sedevano sopra due grand’urne, che uscivano di dentro dal letto funebre per modo, che a due a due risalauo al piede delle due entrate laterali del Catafalco."
this to mean that the figures were placed “inside the catafalque, around the sarcophagus.”396 Most authors have followed her interpretation.397 But this view is not supportable based on the visual evidence. The inside of the catafalque is dimly visible in Krueger's engraving. The funeral bed sits on the center of the floor. There is nothing that resembles a sarcophagus visible under the bed, or anywhere else inside the catafalque. Nor are there any sculptures.

On the other hand, the seated figures with their legs protruding over the plinth are clearly visible on the extreme left side of the catafalque, approximately where one side entrance should be. These figures are clearly identifiable with the individual engravings of Veritas and Misericordia. The head of a third seated figure is visible on the far right, through the interior lateral door. All of these figures appear to sit on, or even be recessed into, the plinth and are separated by a protruding object. This object is more clearly visible in the individual engravings of the four virtues as a bench or sarcophagus with scrolled ends. The figures then would seem to sit on a sarcophagus-like structure that extends from well underneath the funeral bed (i.e. from inside the podium) to the feet of the lateral entrances (figure 4).

This arrangement would parallel a common type of wall tomb in which two allegorical figures recline on top of or on either side of a sarcophagus. The obvious prototype for this genre is the two lateral tombs in Michelangelo's Medici Chapel.398 Closer

396 Berendsen 1961, 197.


at hand was Guglielmo della Porta's tomb of Paul III in the Vatican (figure 5), which was clearly executed in emulation of the Medici tombs.\footnote{See Werner Gramberg, "Guglielmo della Porta's Grabmal für Paul III. Farnese in S. Pietro in Vaticana," \textit{Römische Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte} 21 (1984): 253-365. The tomb was not finished at della Porta's death and the original plan was a free standing monument. For Michelangelo's contributions to its alteration, see Arnold Noach, "The Tomb of Paul III and a Point of Vasari," \textit{Burlington Magazine} 98 (1956): 376 and 378-9.}

In turn, della Porta's tomb was to serve as a model for Bernini's monument to Urban VIII (figure 6), the placement of which, facing della Porta's monument to Paul III, indicates that this precedent was not lost on the sculptor.\footnote{Panofsky 1964, 94. On Urban's tomb see Wittkower 252-253; Catherine Wilkinson, "The Iconography of Bernini's Tomb of Urban VIII," \textit{L'Arte} IV (1971): 54-68; Philip Fehl, "L'umilità cristiana e il monumento sontuoso: la tomba di Urbano VIII del Bernini," \textit{Gian Lorenzo Bernini e le arti visive}, ed. Marcello Fagiolo dell'Arco (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1987) 185-207.} Panofsky, in his discussion of these two works, contrasts the stasis of della Porta's reclining figures with the dynamism of Bernini's figures whose movements extend beyond the niche which frames the entire tomb.\footnote{Panofsky, 94. Also see Philip Fehl, "Hermeticism and Art Emblem and Allegory in the work of Bernini," \textit{Artibus et Historiae} 7 (1986): 153-189, 180-181. Fehl sees that as a defining shift in the representation of allegorical figures with the sculptures coming to life and expressing grief over the pope's death rather than just reflecting his virtues.} The deportment of Bernini's virtues in Paul's catafalque provides a missing link in this transformation. They sit rather than recline and gesture both with their limbs and expressions towards the viewer and each other.

Bernini returns to this formula throughout his career. Tellingly, the impetus for its use came from the sculptor not his patrons, as is evident from its appearance in many more preparatory drawings than in finished works. A preparatory sketch for the tomb of Countess Matilda of Tuscany shows an elaborate sarcophagus with two virtues reclining on top.
supporting a cartouche between them.\footnote{114} A preparatory drawing for the unexecuted tomb of Doge Giovanni Cornaro shows a two story structure with Mercy and Justice sitting on a stepped cornice flanking a sarcophagus.\footnote{115}

The motif does also appear in several executed monuments. The first example is the memorial plaque for Carlo Barberini in S. Maria in Aracoeli from 1630. This relief wall plaque shows two figures \textit{(Ecclesia militans and triumphans)} sitting on either side of a sarcophagus shaped cartouche which bears a dedication to the deceased.\footnote{116} The tomb of Cardinal Pimentel of about 1653 in S. Maria sopra Minerva includes virtues sitting on steps at the base of a sarcophagus.\footnote{117}

The type seems to have been particularly popular for papal monuments. Bernini returned to it for the tomb for Alexander VII in St. Peter’s (figure 7), executed between 1670-78.\footnote{118} The motif had also been taken up by Algardi in his monument for Leo XI (figure 8), the bulk of which dates the 1630s.\footnote{119}

The decision to design this type of tomb seems, then, to be a stylistic rather than iconographic one. This hypothesis is further supported by the visual parallel drawn with the

\footnote{114} [Now in the Musee des Beaux-Arts Brussels] Illustrated in Wittkower, 255. The one on the right holds scales and is clearly identifiable as Justice. The only visible attribute of the virtue on the left is a cross. Wittkower identifies her as Faith. Ibid., 254. In the final plan the virtues are replaced by \textit{putti}.

\footnote{115} Illustrated in Ibid., 267. Wittkower suggests that this is a reworking without space constraints of the Pimentel tomb. See also Anthony Blunt, ”Two Drawings for Sepulchral Monuments by Bernini,” \textit{Essays in the History of Art Presented to Rudolf Wittkower} (London, 1967).


\footnote{117} As illustrated in Wittkower, 273-274.

\footnote{118} see Ibid., 295-297.

\footnote{119} See Harriet Senie, ”The Tomb of Leo XI by Alessandro Algardi,” \textit{Art Bulletin} 60 (1978): 90-95, 90.
architecture of S. Maria Maggiore. The creation of these two faux wall tombs in the
catafalque, facing into the Pauline and Sistine Chapels, would have also created a parallel
with the architecture of those two chapels. In the Pauline chapel angels sit above the
tabernacle that houses the *Salus Popoli Romani* and in the spandrels over the arched entrance
(figure 9).\(^{408}\)

But while this decision may have been stylistic, many of the architectural choices
made throughout the catafalque carry a deeper symbolic meaning. The very choice of a
Greek cross was surely meant to echo early Christian churches and, in particular, martyria.
Coopting their form would have accomplished several purposes. First, it would signify the
pope's devotion to and continuity with the early church. Interest in early Christian churches
was high in post-Tridentine Rome and restoring the landmarks of early Christianity was an
important focus of Borghese patronage. The first church renovations undertaken by
Scipione (at Paul's bidding) were notable early Christian sites.\(^{409}\) The project to complete the
Vatican had long been seen as a restoration, and the construction of the Pauline chapel
around the icon *Salus Popoli Romani* lent a paleochristian air to that project as well.\(^{410}\)

But the evocation of martyria in a funerary monument surely has a more specific
purpose. Just as a martyrium was built to house a martyr's relics, so the catafalque was built
to house (at least temporarily) Paul's remains. The formal similarities between the two types

\(^{408}\) See Ostrow 1996, 142-174. This device is also later adapted by Bernini in the Vatican. In 1647-49
a team of sculptures was assembled to decorate the nave of St. Peter's for the holy year. Among their
works were personifications of virtues in stucco in the spandrels arches in the naves based on the
example of one pair already complete in 1599. Jennifer Montagu, *Roman Baroque Sculpture: The Industry
of Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989) 133-134. Montagu states that rough sketches and
iconography must have been worked out by Bernini as the actual sculptors are relatively minor. See
also Robert Enggass, "New Attributions in St. Peter's: the Spandrel Figures in the Nave," *Art Bulletin*

\(^{409}\) See chapter three.

\(^{410}\) Hill 2005, 18.
of structure was surely intended to impart an air of sanctity to the pope by conflating his earthly remains with those of the martyrs. This is not meant to suggest that Scipione was lobbying for his uncle's canonization. Even the most optimistic reading of his reign and the climate of the early seventeenth century would not have stretched this far. What it does do is draw a parallel between the intercessionary role of saint and the intercessionary role of the pope. While Bernini's virtue statues will be discussed in a later chapter, one point may help underscore this motif. The two virtues which flank the main entrance are majesty and purity. We have already suggested that majesty refers specifically to Paul's patronage and the idea of building as a virtue. Purity, then, would play an equally important role in guiding the viewer's interpretation of the catafalque by underlining Paul's relation to the early church and cult of martyrs.

But martyria are not the only depository of relics that the catafalque resembles. The form, and particularly the bronze coloring, of the structure evokes tabernacles. The association would surely have been evident to the seventeenth-century viewer and would have reinforced the idea of the pope's sanctity by equating his remains with the sacrament housed in a tabernacle. This similarity would also have been underscored by the relations between translatio ceremonies for relics and transportation of pope's body for its reburial. It is perhaps no coincidence that the translation of Paul's body seems to have been consciously

411 See chapter four.

412 Another intended association may have been with the Mausoleum of Hadrian. The Mirabilia claimed that all of the statuary on the mausoleum - men, horses and peacocks (which later adorned the Pigna) was gilt bronze. S. Rowland Pierce, "The Mausoleum of Hadrian and the Pons Aelius," *Journal of Roman Studies* 15 (1925): 75-103, 76-77.
designed to echo the translation of the *Salus Populi Romani*, again drawing the parallel between pope's body and relic.\(^{413}\)

In the last chapter we saw how pagan and Christian themes were intertwined to show the various ways in which the Borghese reign represented a new Golden Age. Here, once again, the construction of the architecture is imbued with pagan as well as Christian meaning for the central plan building has both pagan and Christian resonance. In fact, early Christian martyria grew out of the tradition of Imperial tombs. This association was clearly intended, as Guidiccioni draws attention to these antique precedents in the *Breve Racconto*.\(^{414}\) He cites the mausolea of Augustus and Hadrian as well as the Monte del Grano (which he describes as the tomb of Severo) and the tomb of Cecilia Metella as precedents for the design.\(^{415}\)

By the seventeenth century little remained to be seen of the Mausoleum of Augustus, but this did not stop artists and antiquarians from trying to reconstruct its appearance. Most seventeenth-century engravings seem to be based entirely on Pirro Ligorio's reconstructions (which illustrate a structure with four equal tiers seemingly derived from funeral pyres as

\(^{413}\) As discussed in chapter one.

\(^{414}\) Guidiccioni was not the first author to connect a modern catafalque to ancient Roman burials - similar observations had been made about the catafalque of Cosimo de Medici half a century before in the *Descrizione della Pompia funerale fatta nell' esequie del Ser.mo Sig. Cosimo Gran Duca de Medici gran duca di Toscana* (Florence, 1574). See further discussion in John Peacock, "Inigo Jones' Catafalque for James I," *Architectural History* 46 (2003): 1-5 and 134-135. 3. Peacock notes that similar comments were made by the Venetian ambassadors in London about the funerals of Prince Henry and James I.

\(^{415}\) Guidiccioni 1623, 14. "Che l'uso di questa erettione di Catafalco introdotto ad imitazione de gli'antichi gentili, che fald a materia superbamente costruirono vaste moli, & memoria sepolcrali, onde la vecchia fama nell’Asia ricorda, & vanta i Mausolei, nell’Africa le Piramidi, & gl’Obeleschi, & in Roma tutte queste cose insieme, di che si vede restar testimonio nel Mausoleo d’Augusto, & d’Adriano, nell’Obelisco di Cesare & nel Sepolcro piramidale de Cestio, oltre quello, che poco fa si vedeva di Severo, & al quanto prima deli Scipioni, & si vede anco pur de’ i Metelli, &oltre l’altissime cataste, o pire, & roghi funebri, che insieme con gl’istessi Corpi s’abruociavano solennemente."
depicted on consecratio coins) rather than the archaeological record.\textsuperscript{416} The original state of Hadrian's Mausoleum was equally obscure, not withstanding its usurpation by the Vatican. Again, many reconstructions would have been available in the 1620s.\textsuperscript{417} The Monte del Grano was a relatively new site.\textsuperscript{418} Excavation had begun in 1582 when Fabrizio Lezaro found a sarcophagus which Flaminio Vacca identified as that of Alexander Severus and his mother.\textsuperscript{419}

While neither the archaeological record or seventeenth-century reconstructions suggests that this group of mausolea had an serious formal similarities to Paul's catafalque, the very idea of a free standing (basically) round monument may have been enough to conjure up ideas of Imperial tombs. Interestingly, another sixteenth-century source, drawings by Giovanni Battista Montano, presents a series of unidentified Greek cross Roman

\textsuperscript{416} Its destruction seems to have begun immediately upon its acquisition by the Soderini family. R. A. Cordingley and I. A. Richmond, "The Mausoleum of Augustus Papers of the British School at Rome 10 (1927): 22-35, 25; L. Richardson Jr., A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1992) 252 and Frazer, 57. Frazer suggests that Ligorio's reconstructions of Hadrian's mausoleum and and Calvo's of the meta romuli were the sources for Julius II's tomb.

\textsuperscript{417} Filarete's bronze doors of St. Peter's and drawings by Du Perac and Ligorio. Interestingly as the century progressed, reconstructions became better and Bartoli's Antichi sepolchri 1697 is more accurate. Pierce, 98.

\textsuperscript{418} The name "monte del grano" derives from the fact that the tomb looks like a spilled sack of grain and medieval legend had it that the site was just this turned magically to dirt.

\textsuperscript{419} Famiano Nardini, Roma antica di Famiano Nardini (Rome: Stamperia de Romanis, 1661)1-52. "Mi ricordo, fuori di Porta S. Gio: un miglio passati l'Acquedotti, dove si dice il Monte del Grano vi era un gran massiccio antico fatto di scaglia, bastò l'animo ad un Cavatore di romperlo ed entratovi dentro, calò giù tanto, che trovò un gran Pilo storiato con il Ratto delle Sabine e sopra il coperchio vi erano due figure distinte con il ritratto di Alessandro Severo, e Giulia Mammea sua madre, dentro del quale vi erano delle ceneri, ed ora si trova nel Campidoglio, in mezzo al Cortile del Palazzo de' Conservatori." While modern scholars have rejected the attribution, it was still identified in this way by Piranesi. In 1590 the sarcophagus was moved to Palazzo dei conservatori. Legend has it the the Portland vase, originally the Barberini vase was also found in this tomb, although this theory has since been debunked.
tombs. Giovanni Battista Soria -- who as we shall see in the next chapter was involved in the design and constructions of Paul's catafalque -- had been a student of Montano's and actually was the custodian of these drawings in the 1620s, so it seems likely that these images could have been a significant source for imagining antique tombs. Regardless, Roman tombs and funeral practices were well studied in the early Seicento and a number of treatises were available detailing ancient burials - Lilio Giraldi's de sepulchris et vario sepeliendi rite of 1539, Onofrio Panvinio's de ritu sepeliendi of 1568, Tomasso Porcacchi's Funerali antichi di diversi popoli et nationi and Claude Guichard's Funérailles et diverses manières d'ensevelir des Romains, Grecs et autres nations, tant anciennes que modernes of 1581. Interest in antique funerals continued throughout the seventeenth century as witnessed by the appearance of Johann Kirchmann's de funeribus romanorum in 1672.

Columns

The colonnade consisted of twenty columns whose composite capitals were festooned with black and gold ribbons in place of foliage. The decision to use twenty columns is a reference to Constantine's Rotunda of the Anastasis in the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. The design of these columns was evidently an important piece of the


421 Lilio Giraldi, de sepulchris et vario sepeliendi rite, libellus (Basel: Mich. Isting, 1539); Onofrio Panvinio, de ritu sepeliendi mortuos apud veteres Christianos (Cologne: 1568); Tomasso Porcacchi, Funerali antichi di diversi popoli et nationi (Venice, 1574); Claude Guichard, Funérailles et diverses manières d'ensevelir des Romains, Grecs et autres nations, tant anciennes que modernes (Lyon, Jean de Tournes, 1581).

422 Johann Kirchmann, de funeribus romanorum libri quatuor (Lugd. Batv: Apud Hackios, 1672).

iconography, for Guidiccioni specifically describes them as composite, more detail than he provides elsewhere.

Apart from this numerological reference, the very use of the composite order invokes early Christian architecture. The term composite was coined by Serlio who was the first to codify the order. While the order had only emerged in the first century AD, possibly developed by Augustus's architects, it quickly became associated with Imperial functions, appearing on every triumphal arch starting with Titus up till Constantine.

Constantine did not use it for his own triumphal arch but appropriated it for Christian monuments, including the columns closest to the altar in old St. Peter's. After this, the composite order was used to symbolize the victory of Christ over death and sin, rendering it particularly appropriate both for a papal monument and a funerary structure.

The triumphal arch was appropriated by Renaissance rulers. It was quickly associated with the triumphal entry into heaven and thus became a common form for Renaissance tombs.


See for instance Margaret Zaho, Imago Triumphalis: the Function and Significance of Triumphal Imagery for Italian Renaissance Rulers (Bern: Peter Lang, 2004).

It was used by Baccio Bandinelli for the tombs of Leo X (1521 and Clement VII (1542), in S. Maria sopra Minerva. In fact, the tombs in both the Sistine and Pauline chapels take this form.

The triumphal arch was also connected with the Roman god Janus, a linkage which was particularly apt in sepulchral iconography. This meaning has also been commented on in a later work of Bernini, the monument to the Blessed Ludovica Albertoni. Here the arch which frames the sculpture is seen as a passage way to eternity, because of the arch's association with Janus, god of new beginnings. This connection is strengthened by the timing of her death, which (like Paul's) occurred in January.

But the symbolic import of the capitals is not limited to their order. They are also made of ribbon. To stress the significance of this point, Guidiccioni draws attention to the capitals’ construction in the text, noting that they are made of ribbons rather than foliage. Visual evidence is provided by a plate illustrating two capitals, the only architectural detail provided in the Breve Racconto (figure 10). The use of fabric is appropriate for an ephemeral structure, but more importantly it serves an iconographic function. The drapery of the

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429 See Ostrow 1996.

430 Janus, the first King of Latium, was thought to have presided over the first Golden Age. Thus his imagery became important to a number of Renaissance rulers. For the use of Janus imagery in this connection with Leo X, and its combination with the idea of the return of Astraea, see Manfredo Taufuri, *Interpreting the Renaissance: Princes, Cities, Architects* (New Haven: Yale, 2006) 100 and Stinger, 298.


ribbons creates a stand in for a column "in lutto": the capitals are mourning the death of the pontiff. Berendsen suggests that this type of capital became popular after this, but there are very few examples in ephemeral or ecclesiastical architecture, and none that are as elaborately draped to the exclusion of solid architectural detail.

Earlier catafalques, to be sure, had featured ribbons, hanging between columns or framing the entrance. Ribbons framing the entrance arch appear in Fontana's design for Philip II's catafalque in 1599, and again in Cigoli's for Ferdinand I of 1609. Henri IV's catafalque of 1610 featured ribbon hanging between columns and on the pediment. The closest precedent is the catafalque of Alessandro Farnese in the Gesú. But none of these structures has anything approaching the same amount of fabric. Nor does the fabric form an integral part of the architecture by actually becoming a part of the column.

This type of integration remains equally uncommon afterwards. Columns featuring ribbons as an actual part of their construction (as opposed to just mimicking the common vegative garland which hangs between the volutes of ionic columns) only seem to occur again in two incidences: the 1665 catafalque for Philip IV in S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli, and, in 1686, for the obsequies of Queen Christina in S. Maria in Valicella, where ribbons were added to the actual capitals of the engaged pilasters around the nave and in the architrave above. Outside of Rome heavily draped capitals (now with the incorporation of death heads) appear in the catafalque for Isabella Bourbon in Milan in 1644 and 1645.


434 Ibid., 548.

Closer examination of the visual evidence suggests that these columns may have been even more unusual. The individual engravings suggest that one ribbon treatment topped a smooth column, while the other topped a fluted column. Krueger's engraving of the entire monument shows the two types of capital reproduced in the individual engravings alternating. Because Krueger uses vertical parallel lines to indicate shading, it is impossible to determine whether the columns are fluted.

Life size virtues stood in the intercolumniations. The statues were arranged in groups of three, each group relating to one of the pope’s principal virtues, which sat flanking the lateral entrances. The statues stood slightly proud of the columns and the plinth had semicircular protrusions to accommodate them, creating further movement in the base of the building. These statues and their meaning will be discussed in chapter seven.

Dome

The form of the dome is as complex as the ground plan. It is a hybrid: part step pyramid and part elliptical dome. The elliptical dome, reminiscent of a papal tiara, was covered by gold and black drapery which was gathered up at the bases of the eight articulating ribs and met eight concave volutes rising from the architrave, which were surmounted by alternating heraldic eagles and dragons. Under the fabric the drum was partially sheathed in a series of pyramidal steps rising from each lobe of the cruciform. The steps served to join the outer lobes to the point from which the dome sprang, even with the cella wall below. The finial of the dome was a papal tiara supported by four eagles and dragons. The height of the dome was high enough that Soria had to remove part of the ceiling of the nave as a fire precaution.436

436 Schraven 2001, 27, n. 47.
This dome is remarkable for two facts: its fabric covering and its hybrid nature. The fabric reinforces the funereal aspect in an even stronger way than the draped columns discussed above. Although earlier baldachins were often made of cloth, confirming these references as appropriate in a sepulchral context, the incorporation of drapery on this scale into the architecture of a catafalque is unprecedented. By covering the entire catafalque in black cloth they have essentially created an entire "tempio in lutto."

The idea of the arts mourning a lost patron is certainly not a new theme in tomb sculpture. The theme Panofsky terms the "arts bereft" appears first on the tomb of Robert of Anjou in S. Chiara in Naples (1343-5) where the seven liberal arts are depicted en pleurant around the effigy. It appears again and in a similar form in Pollaiuolo's tomb of Sixtus IV (1493), where they flank the effigy of the pope and have ceased to exhibit grief. This has also been posited as a meaning of Michelangelo's early plans for the Julius tomb. But what is novel in Paul's catafalque is that the architecture itself is in mourning.

The combination of dome and step pyramid drum is odder. On a purely formal level it is a clever solution to a visual problem: how to join the round dome to the cruciform contour of the entablature. But as tidy as this solution is, it surely was meant

437 See Berendsen 1982, 136-137.


iconographically as well, for it allows the architect to incorporate and merge elements of two Roman funerary types: the mausoleum and the pyramid. Berendsen suggests that the entire dome was stepped, but this does not seem to be the case. No changes of plane are visible on the ribs.  

Along with the mausolea discussed earlier, Guidiccioni mentions a number of antique sources in the Breve Rasconto which can be loosely grouped into the category of mete. The term "meta" in the Renaissance was applied to any conical shaped form ranging from the fountain "meta sudans" to obelisks and pyramids. Guidiccioni lists three such monuments.

The first he describes as the obelisk of Caesar, what is now known as the Vatican obelisk. Many in the Renaissance believed that the ball on top of the obelisk contained the ashes of Caesar. The obelisk was moved to its present position by Sixtus V and the ball removed in an attempt to negate its pagan connotations.


441 Guidiccioni 1623, 14. "Che l'uso di questa erettione di Catafalco introdotto ad imitazione de gli'antichi gentili, che falda materia superbamente costrussero vaste moli, & memorie sepulcrali, onde la vecchia fama nell'Asia ricorda, & vanta i Mausolei, nell'Africa le Piramidi, & gl'Obeleschi, & in Roma tutte queste cose insieme, di che si vede restar testimonio nel Mauseleo d'Augusto, & d'Adriano, nell'Obelisco di Cesare & nel Sepolcro piramidale de Cestio, oltre quello, che poco fa si vedeva di Severo, & al quanto prima delli Scipioni, & si vede anco pur de' i Metelli, & oltra l'altissime cataste, o pire, & roghi funebri, che insieme con g'l'istessi Corpi s'abruociavano solennemente."

442 The obelisk was built in Egypt and brought to Rome where it was located in the spina of Caligula's circus. Bramante's proposal to reorient the basilica of St. Peter's has been interpreted as an effort to align the Vatican obelisk, Peter's tomb and Julius' tomb, thus drawing the comparison of Julius II as a new Caesar. Nicholas Temple, Renovatio Urbis: Architecture, Urbanism and Ceremony in the Rome of Julius II (London: Routledge, 2011) 256-7. For more on Julius' tomb, see n. 439 above.

443 For a fifteenth century skeptic, see Brian Curran, Anthony Grafton and Angelo Decembrio, “A Fifteenth-Century Site Report on the Vatican Obelisk,” Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 58 (1995): 234-48, which transcribes a report in Angelo Decembrio's De politia litteraria. The chapter starts by paraphrasing the Mirabilia and Fulvio Biondo, but goes on to question whether it could really be Caesar's tomb. Also see "St. Peter's Needle and the Ashes of Julius Caesar: Invoking Rome's
Guidiccioni’s second example, the pyramidal tomb of Gaius Cestius still stands today, built in to the Aurelian wall.\textsuperscript{445} It is interesting that Guidiccioni correctly identifies the monument, as it was frequently referred to in the Renaissance as the \textit{meta Remi} and considered a foil to the \textit{meta Romuli}, a similar monument near the Vatican.\textsuperscript{446}

Guidiccioni refers to the \textit{meta Romuli} as the first tomb of the Scipios. This pyramidal structure near the Vatican was present into the sixteenth century, but totally destroyed by 1551.\textsuperscript{447} During the Renaissance it was often erroneously referred to as "sepulchrum

\begin{footnotesize}
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\textsuperscript{445} Richardson, 353-4.


\textsuperscript{447} On the \textit{meta}, see B.M. Peebles, "La Meta Romuli," \textit{Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia} XII (1936): 21- 63; Richardson, 252-3.
\end{footnotesize}
Scipionis." While Guidiccioni could not have seen the *meta* prior to its destruction, representations of it abound in sixteenth-century art.

So we see that Guidiccioni has picked three monuments associated with Caesar, Romulus and Remus. That he gives different names to them should not take away from its programmatic implications. As an antiquarian and classicist he would have wanted to demonstrate his knowledge, but at the same time would have felt sure that the average reader (and viewer) would have made the popular association.

Referring to the *meta Remi and Romuli* would have been particularly resonant for a papal tomb. By the fifteenth century the two pyramids had become known as "*meta sancti*

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448 Francesco Albertini, *Opusculum de mirabilibus novae et veteris Urbis Romae* (Rome, 1510) Lib. II, chapter "De obiliscis et methis." Albertini gives all three interpretations: tomb of Scipio, Aepulonum or *meta Romuli*. Cited in Peebles 1936, 27. Antonio Bosio, *Roma subterranea novissima* (Rome, 1659) I, 138. "Hanc vero Pyramideon nonnulli ipsammet fuisse asserunt, quae non multisab hinc annis haud longe ab Hadriani Mole erecta conspiciebatur." This attribution was certainly not exclusive and it was known as the *meta Romuli* in the Renaissance as well. On the *meta Romuli* and its relation to Chigi Chapel, see John Shearman, "The Chigi Chapel in S. Maria del Popolo," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 24 (1961): 129-160, 133. Shearman argues that Raphael creates a hybrid by combining *meta Romuli* with obelisk, and argues that the relation with Romulus made it a particularly appealing model. This identification seems to be based on a scholion of Acron on Horace epod 9.25 saying that the body of Scipione Africanus was removed "de pyramide in Vaticano constituta" and reburied in Porta. Richardson, 359.

449 Renaissance reconstructions of the *meta* appear in Filarete's bronze doors and Giulio Romano's fresco *Vision of Constantine* in the Sala di Constantino in the Vatican Palace. Frazer argues that Calvo's reconstruction was based on consecratio coins. It is certainly not accurate, apart from the agreement of other early visual sources, a fifteenth-century manuscript (published by Peebles 1963) also attests to its form.

"Petri" and "meta sancti Pauli." The two pyramids become entangled with the topography of the city and iconography of burial of Peter.

Pyramidal forms were also common in the Renaissance; they came to symbolize immortality and were often incorporated into funerary monuments. This usage, however, does not seem to have extended to catafalques in the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth centuries. The only example of a pyramid before Paul's catafalque is Fillip III's catafalque by Orazio Torriani in S. Giacomo degli Spagnuoli erected on August 4, 1621 (figure 11).

Indeed, nothing resembling a pyramid reappears in catafalque designs until a preparatory drawing attributed to Algardi for the Catafalque of Ludovico Facchinetti, erected

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451 Temple 2001, 275, n. 17. Citing Ludovico Antonio Muratori, Rerum italicarum scriptores 24 (Città di Castello: S. Lapi, 1900) 1014 and 1038. This section is a transcription of the "Diarium Romanum ab anno MCCCCIV. usque ad annum MCCCXVII Auctore Antonio Petri" 969-1069 from Biblioteca Estensis. The terms appear repeatedly in Muratori - also on pages 1006 and 1044, but their origin is not described. Their use seems to be much older - occurring in the Mirabilia. See Gustavus Parthey, ed. Mirabilia romae e codicibus Vaticanis emendata (Berolini, 1869) 28. "In naumachia est sepulcrum Romuli, quod vocatur Meta sancti Petri."

452 The phrase "inter duas metas" attached to the burial place of Peter seems to have been common in the twelfth through fifteenth centuries but is only first recorded in writing by Flavio Biondo in his Roma instaurata. Nicholas Temple, Disclosing Horizons: Architecture, Perspective and Redemptive Space (London: Routledge, 2006) 134-7. Finch also argues that the two metae were not romuli and remi but romuli and another monument lost already in the fifteenth century called the Obelisk of Nero, located near the Castel Sant'Angelo. Finch 1991, 70.


on April 9, 1644 (figure 12). But it does not appear in the finished version.\textsuperscript{455} In fact a pyramid does not reappear until the catafalque for Anne of Austria in the Lateran in June 1667.\textsuperscript{456}

If we group obelisks with pyramids, the list expands to include Bernini's catafalques for Alessandro VII from 1667 and for Francesco Guiron de Ville from 1669.\textsuperscript{457} But these are a very different type of monument.\textsuperscript{458} Similarly, the pyramid as catafalque reached its zenith in two other Bernini catafalques of the same period in which the pyramid actually becomes the entire monument: the catafalques of Muzzio Mattei, erected June 8, 1668 in the Aracoeli,\textsuperscript{459} and the fulfillment of the form, the catafalque of the Duke of Beaufort erected on September 28, 1669, also in the Aracoeli (figure 13).\textsuperscript{460}

On the other hand, many catafalques from this period are surmounted by domes.\textsuperscript{461} Likewise there are several precedents for stepped domes. The catafalque of Ferdinand I in Florence designed by Cigoli and erected June 22, 1609, in S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini had a

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{455} Fagiolo dell'Arco 1977, 124-125.
\item \textsuperscript{456} Ibid., 225-227.
\item \textsuperscript{457} Ibid., 246-247.
\item \textsuperscript{458} Ibid., 234-237.
\item \textsuperscript{459} Ibid., 245-246.
\item \textsuperscript{460} Ibid., 248-252.
\item \textsuperscript{461} Examples of domes are Sixtus V's catafalque erected August 27, 1591 in S. Maria Maggiore by Domenico Fontana (Fagiolo dell'Arco 1977, 4-13), Philipp II's 1599 catafalque in Naples, also by Domenico Fontana (Fagiolo dell'Arco 1977, 13, Henri IV's catafalque of July 1, 1610 in Rome designed by Lemercier). While not exactly a prototype for this, the lateral walls of the Chigi Chapel in S. Maria del Popolo are an interesting analogy because of the use of a pyramid which breaks through the architecture of the wall. In his article on the chapel, John Shearman calls attention to the novelty of this device: "the pyramid passes through the entablature, and this is one of the earliest appearances of a new idea in architecture, the passage of one form through or over another: it can only be understood if one imagines the form endowed with movement." Shearman 1961, 137.
\end{itemize}
stepped dome.\textsuperscript{462} There is also a drawing of a Roman tomb by Montano, not published in 
\textit{Scienza variis} but certainly in Soria's possession in 1622, which has a similar structure.\textsuperscript{463} There are also some examples in more permanent architecture both before and after: the Pantheon (figure 14) and Borromini's S. Ivo (figure 15).\textsuperscript{464}

The papal tiara which tops the dome was quite influential. In Gregory XV's catafalque, just a year later, the entire dome takes the shape of the tiara. This form may have also influences the spiral top of S. Ivo and another project by Borromini for a tiara topped baldachino for S. Maria a Capella Nuova.\textsuperscript{465}

The other prominent features of the dome are the presence of putti and the profusion of candles. Above the four doors the fabric was held taught by putti to reveal inscriptions. In addition to these eight putti, three were placed on each lobe, two standing on the volutes and one in between. These putti held large candles in cornucopias. Candles were also placed on the steps of the stepped sections of the dome and across the ribs (figure 16). Smaller candles covered the draped surfaces of the dome.\textsuperscript{466}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{462} Fagiolo dell'Arco 1977, 25-28.
\item \textsuperscript{463} A drawing of a catafalque by Giovanni Battista Montano in Milan has a similar stepped dome. Reproduced in Fairbairn 1998, vol. II, appendix 8, 770.
\item \textsuperscript{466} No. 174 in a Borghese inventory published by Sandro Corradini is "un disegno di candelieri d'argento di Santa Maria maggiore." Sandro Corradini, "Un antico inventario della quadreria del Cardinale Borghese," \textit{Bernini Scultore: La Nascita del barocco in Casa Borghese}, ed. Ana Coliva and Sebastian Schütze (Rome: De Luca, 1998) 449-456, 453.
\end{itemize}
Candles, of course, are remnants of the old castrum doloris, but we must not forget that their use almost certainly derived from Roman funerary pyres. Once again we see a melding of pagan and Christian symbolism. Guidiccioni acknowledges pyres as a source in the Breve Racconto but gives no examples. This omission is interesting given his large collection of ancient coins. Seicento understanding of Roman pyres was based largely on coins of the consecratio type which show a pyre on the obverse.

The association with the pyre is compelling for several reasons. First, many consecratio coins show large amounts of drapery incorporated into at least one level of the pyre (figure 17). Second, the Borghese eagle makes an obvious link to the eagle which was believed to carry away the emperor's soul to heaven as the pyre burnt.

Epigraphy and Heraldry

The front entrance had an arched opening draped with ribbons which cascade from an oval feigned marble relief portrait of the Pope praying, which was placed above the door. The large inscription in the fabric above read "Paolo Quinto pontifici ter optimo, ter maximo."

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467 Guidiccioni distinguishes between permanent and ephemeral monuments "cataste, o pire, & roghi funebri." Guidiccioni, 15. Renaissance scholars had difficulty distinguishing between pyres and mausolea and mausolea and temples. See Krauthammer 1996 and Frazer 56.

468 See Frazer.


470 Ibid., 59.
The corresponding door facing the apse was surmounted by a relief of the papal throne and the inscription "templorum positori, Pastori populum." This inscription explicitly refers to two of Paul's main characteristics lauded in the catafalque: his building and his charity towards the Roman people. Its wording may also be meant to evoke a comparison with Augustus, whom Ovid called the "templorum positor." 471

While these two inscriptions relate to Paul, those over the lateral entrances relate to Scipione. One was surmounted by an oval relief of a dragon, with the fabric above bearing the inscription "Scipio Borghesius SRE Poenitenti." This was the way Scipione commonly identified himself in inscriptions. 472 The other door was crowned with an eagle and the inscription "Avuncolo sanctissimo."

The prominence of the inscriptions echoes their abundance at S. Crisogono and S. Sebastiano. But even more prominent than inscriptions are the Borghese devices, the dragon and eagle, which cover almost every conceivable surface of the monument. The frieze was adorned with sculpted eagles and dragons, alternating over each column below. 473 Ribbons


473 The incorporation of eagles into the frieze echoes the Chigi Chapel, where the association with Imperial pyres is intended to suggest the soul's journey into heaven. See Shearman 1961 and Ingrid...
were festooned between the animals. The cella wall was articulated with engaged pilasters echoing each column. The spaces between these walls were covered with trophies and skulls.

**Interior**

The interior of the catafalque is difficult to make out in Krueger's engraving. We can see only a bed, draped in fabric, with an eagle at its foot and a papal tiara topping it. Guidiccioni provides more detail:

inside the concave of the catafalque between the four doors in the middle of the pilasters were four faux niches, where in chiaroscuro, in the act of recommending the soul of the dead pope to God were painted: the Holy Virgin, and written under her "you accept prayers"; St. Peter, and under him "you free the bonds"; S. Carlo Borromeo and S. Francesca Romana, canonized by him, with the motto of one you advance light and the other you prepare the way.474

The import of these figures is clear liturgically: they intercede for the pope's soul, assuring his salvation and simultaneously reinforcing doctrine of the intercessionary power of saints. Paul's faith in the intercession of the Virgin is outlined in the foundation bull for the Pauline chapel, where she is described as "sedulo exoratrix, & pervigil ad Regnem, quem genuit intercedit."475 Marian devotion was an important piece of the Church's reinvention of itself after the Council of Trent.476

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475 Ostrow 1996, 167. The bull "Immensae bonitatis," is quoted by Ostrow, n. 204 and 209.

In fact, these figures create a link to the Pauline Chapel. There the chapel is focused on a relic of Mary, the *Salus Populi Romana*, and flanked by two subsidiary chapels dedicated to, and containing relics of, Francesca Romana and Carlo Borromeo. The inclusion of the two saints canonized by Paul emphasizes his rejection of protestant doctrine. Paul canonized Francesca Romana in May 29, 1608 and Carlo Borromeo in November 1610. The echo of their presence in his actual tomb in the catafalque underlines Paul's devotion to the cult of saints, but it also is another reference to his salvation as it stresses Paul's *deposito ad sanctos*.

St. Francesca, or Francesca Bussa dei Ponziani was an obvious choice for Paul's devotion. Like Paul she was Roman, particularly devoted to the Virgin and (though married) celibate. She also cared for the Roman people, delivering grain and wine and attending the sick. Paul's affinity for the saint is suggested by the fact that he chose the anniversary of his coronation to canonize her. The bull *Caelestis aquae flumen* announcing the canonization emphasizes both her (and the pope's) *romanitas* and her good works.

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480 Ostrow 1996, 141.
Carlo Borromeo is, of course, known as the great reformer of the Church, defender of the Church's temporal rights over those of its secular rivals, and reformer of the clergy. But Carlo Borromeo was also a cardinal nephew and thus may serve as a stand in for Scipione. The fact that it was as cardinal nephew and in his capacity as secretary of state that he was instrumental in reconvening the Council of Trent, may be meant to suggest the good that can be done in such positions.

Likewise he was also a great patron of architecture. His treatise *Instructionum Fabricae et Supellectilis Ecclesiasticae* sets out guidelines for building and furnishing churches. There is of course a degree of irony involved in Carlo Borromeo's image adorning such a pretentious catafalque. He had stripped the Milan cathedral of elaborate tombs he considered inappropriate and ostentatious.

The mottos transcribed by Guidiccioni relate to the biographies of the saints. There was a legend that an angel lit the road ahead of St. Francesca, keeping her safe as she travelled. The story of St. Peter in chains refers to an angel releasing Peter from chains while he was imprisoned. Eudocia, wife of emperor Teodosio II, found the chains in Jerusalem and they were given by her daughter to Leo the Great. When these chains miraculously fused

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483 Colvin, 220.
with another set in Rome, the empress built S. Pietro in Vincoli to house this relic.\textsuperscript{484} You prepare the way refers to Carlo Borromeo's reforms of the church.\textsuperscript{485}

But in addition to being biographical, the last three mottos are taken from the Marian hymn "ave maris stella," thus linking them to the third figure: the Virgin.\textsuperscript{486} The anthem was part of the Feast of the Immaculate Conception,\textsuperscript{487} so this may also be a subtle indication of Paul's private stance on this very current issue.\textsuperscript{488} Monteverdi's 1610 Vespers, dedicated to Paul V, included a setting of the "ave maris stella," but most scholars agree that this was just an attempt to secure patronage on Monteverdi's part and there is no serious

\textsuperscript{484} Acts 12:7. "And, behold, the angel of the Lord came upon him, and a light shined in the prison: and he smote Peter on the side, and raised him up, saying, Arise up quickly. And his chains fell off from his hands."

\textsuperscript{485} Michael Mullett, \textit{The Catholic Reformation} (London: Routledge, 1999) 138. Borromeo is often considered the embodiment of Tridentine zeal. His first provincial council assembled in Milan in October of 1565, was intended to further to adoption of the Council of Trent's decrees about the behavior of the clergy, e.g. visits to Switzerland. He firmly believed that clergy must lead the way to reform by setting a good example.

\textsuperscript{486} Menestrier also made this connection but it (and Menestrier's comments) has remained unnoticed by scholars. The latter likely because they occur in a separate section of his treatise Menestrier, 342. It occurs in a section devoted to the decoration of churches. "Pour la Pape Paul V. On mit l'image de la sainte Vierge, dont il avoit fait bâtir et orner la superbe chapelle avec ces mots qu'elle adressoit à Dieu: \textit{Sume preces}. S. Pierre dont il avoit fait achever l'Eglise disoit a Dieu: \textit{Solve vincla}. S. Charles Boromeé, qu'il avoit canonisé: \textit{Profer lumen}; demandant pour luy la lumiere de gloire; & sainte Francoiše qu'il avait aussi canonisée: \textit{iter para}. Tous ces mots estoient empruntez de l'Hymne \textit{Ave maris stella}."


\textsuperscript{488} Stephen Ostrow "Cigoli's Immacolata and Galileo's Moon: Astronomy and the Virgin in Early Seicento Rome," \textit{Art Bulletin} 78 (1996): 218-235. Ostrow identifies Cigoli’s Virgin in the dome of the Paulina as a Virgin of the Immaculate Conception and cites contemporary sources making this claim. He argues that Paul was an Immaculist sympathizer despite being unwilling to issue an official verdict on the matter. On the Immaculist debate during Paul's reign, see Spear, 149-152; Suzanne Stratton, \textit{The Immaculate Conception in Spanish Art} (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) 67-87. See also n. 770 below for the connection between the Immacolata and Divine Wisdom.
connection between him and the Borghese.\textsuperscript{489} Perhaps it is just meant to tie the other saint's intercessionary role to the Virgin. The doctrine of the intercessionary powers of the Virgin also play a prominent role in the iconography of the Pauline chapel.\textsuperscript{490}

If we assume the center of the catafalque would only have been entered by the cardinals singing the requiem mass it is tempting to imagine that this interior fresco cycle had a special program visible to them and related to the words they intoned. Unfortunately we know next to nothing about the music at Paul's funeral.\textsuperscript{491} Guidiccioni states merely that Cardinals Borghese, Barberini, Lante, Verallo, and di Nazzaret entered the catafalque after the "ceremonie di cappella" and sang a requiem.\textsuperscript{492} Exactly what the form of this requiem was we do not know. Frederick Hammond has examined the music sung as part of the official papal novenas, but there is no reason to assume that the practice would have been the same for a reburial.\textsuperscript{493} Music was certainly an important part of the Cappella Borghese and Scipione himself was involved with yearly funeral masses for Paul starting in 1622.\textsuperscript{494}


\textsuperscript{490} Ostrow 1996, 167-174.

\textsuperscript{491} Berendsen notes that music was an integral part of the program for an \textit{apparatus funebris}.

\textsuperscript{492} Guidiccioni 1623, 19-20.


\textsuperscript{494} Lionet 1993, 525. For more on music in the Borghese chapel see Lionet, "La Salve' de Sainte Marie Majeure: la musique de la Chapelle Borghese au la siezième siècle" \textit{Studi musicali} XII (1983): 97-119.
Decoration of S. Maria Maggiore

Of course the catafalque itself was only part of the entire *apparatus funebris*. The clerics and members of the Roman public attending the ceremony would have first seen the decorated facade. The most complete description of the facade is found in Gigli:

> At S. Maria Maggiore the facade and the entire portico were covered with arms of this pope, and painted "heads of death", and doors ornamented with festoons and most beautiful friezes all around made of paper, which showed skeletons in a black field, and beautiful papal realms and in the architrave of the doors in each one between two white and black rosettes there were the arms of the Pope Paul painted on board with the reign above without the keys.

Gigli goes on to describe the interior of the church:

> The church, then, of S. Maria Maggiore was entirely covered in black cloth from the gold ceiling to the ground: above the columns, which closed the nave of the church there went around the long big cornice full of candelabras of silvered wood, above which there were lit very large candles of white wax. There hung then in the space between the columns large arms of the pope painted in canvas around which were various and different figures which with diverse gestures showed sadness and tears. And above the aforementioned candelabras were attached infinite arms with death heads arranged in the form of a large cross.\(^{495}\)

Much of this decoration is visible in Krueger's engraving: the fabric, candles and shields with papal arms hung between the columns. The most obvious difference is that Gigli's mourning figures are here replaced by skeletons. The profusion of

\(^{495}\) Gigli, vol. I, 94-95. "A Santa Maria Maggiore la facciata, et il Portico tutto era pieno di arme di esso Pontefice, et di teste di morto dipinte, et le porte ornate con festoni, et bellissimi fregi intorno di carta, che in campo nero mostravano ossa de' morti, et Regni Papali con bellissimo disegno, et nell'architrave delle porte in chiascheduna fra due rosonibianchi et negri vi era l'Arma di Papa Paolo dipinta in tela con il Regno sopra senza le Chiavi. La Chiesa poi di S. Maria Maggiore era tutta apparta di cotone nero da soffitto di oro sino a terra: sopra le colonne, che chiudevano le navi della Chiesa girava intorno in lungo cornicione pieno di candelieri di legno inargentati, sopra li quali erano accese facole di cera bianca molto grosse. Pendeva poi nello spaziofra una colonna et l'altra un'arme grande dipinta in tela del d.o. Pontefice, intorno alle quali erano figure varie et differenti,le quali con diversi gesti mostravano mestizia e pianto, et di sopra alli candelieri sudetti erano attacate nel panno infinite arme con teste di morto di carta accomodate in forma di gran croci."
memento mori described by Gigli was typical of Counter Reformation sepulchral art, encouraged perhaps by the Jesuits meditation of death. 496

In sum, the architectural choices made in this catafalque reflect several points. They tie the pope to early Christian martyrs and underscore his intercessionary role in the salvation of mankind. They also reference antique tombs, thus equating him with Imperial rulers. But simultaneously they also reinforce his importance as a patron of architecture, and architecture's mourning at the loss of such a great patron. The profusion of references was surely intentional; the building was designed to evoke all of these ideas.

Chapter 6
The Architect

Attributing an ephemeral work to a specific artist or architect is fraught with difficulties. First, the usual tools of style and form cannot be trusted because we no longer have the physical work to judge. In this case, our only visual evidence is a third-hand representation: an engraving of a drawing of a building. While we also have written testimony, which confirms that this image must be relatively faithful, it is still a derivative of the original. Furthermore a very large building is reduced to a single sheet of paper, making details, even if accurate, difficult to read. More problematical, it shows only one angle, not allowing us to see the other sides or interior of the building.

This circumstance compels reliance on the documentary evidence. But here again the problem is complicated by the tangled web of architects and artisans which befuddles attribution in all of Scipione Borghese's projects of these years. As we shall see, even with the aid of extensive payment records there is simply no scholarly consensus on the attribution of various elements of many of Scipione's buildings from the teens and twenties, with a number of architects (Venturi, Soria, Van Santen) seemingly playing a role in each. The titles of architect, falegname and misuratore seem to have been rather fluid and a signature bearing one of these titles does not seem to have ruled out participation in other capacities as well. This fact makes it difficult to associate stylistic elements of the catafalque with any of these men.

It seems probable that this porosity of roles would have been heightened in an ephemeral commission, where the construction of an entire monument out of wood and stucco would have, perforce, fallen more to the falegname and to his expertise and design.
So, we are left to guess based on the sources we have. According to Guidiccioni, the catafalque was "erected with magnificence by the most praiseworthy architect by Sergio Venturi."\footnote{Guidiccioni 1623, 14. "la bella machina del Catafalco dal Signor Borghese per arte, e dondotta del lodatissimo Architetto il Signor Sergio Venturi con real magnificenza eretto."} Payment records confirm Venturi's involvement with the project, but also introduce the name of Giovanni Battista Soria.\footnote{Schraven 2001, 27, n. 47. [Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Archivio Borghese, Vol. 4173, 'Artisti di Scipione Borghese 1607-1623', fol. 15 r.] "A dì 22 di gennaio 1622. Opere del Catafalco. Mesura et stima dell'opere de legname fatte a tutte sue spese da Maestro Gio. Battista Soria Capomastro falegname a S. Maria Maggiore, in servitio dell'Ill.mo et R.mo sig. Card.le Borghese, per l'essequie della S.ta Mem. di N.ro sig.re Papa Paolo Quinto."} Both Soria and Venturi spent the bulk of their careers in the service of Scipione Borghese. Both were classicizing, pedantic practitioners and nothing in their collective oeuvre matches the innovation in the catafalque, drawing their authorship into question.

**Sergio Venturi**

Virtually nothing is known about Venturi. He was Scipione Borghese's nominal architect after Van Santen's (Vasanzio in the italicized version of his name) death in 1621. Based on Borghese payment records, Hibbard credits him with portions of S. Crisogono, S. Maria della Vittoria and the Borghese villa at Mondragone.\footnote{Howard Hibbard, “Scipione Borghese’s Garden Palace on the Quirinal,” *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 23 (1964): 163-192, 174. Hibbard 1962, 73, n. 6. Hibbard writes that Venturi's signature appears on nearly all the documents from these buildings.} Venturi may have also worked on the Palazzo Volpi in Como.\footnote{See Stefano Della Torre, "Un gruppo di disegni di Sergio Venturi," *Il Disegni di Architettura* 0 (1989): 28-29. Della Torre attributes a group of fifty drawings at the Archivio di Stato di Como [Archivio Storico Civico, fondo Ex-museo, cart. 42] to Venturi.} However, there is little consensus among either seicento sources or modern scholars about any of these attributions. Starting with Baglione, the facade of S. Maria della Vittoria has usually been attributed to Soria, as has that of S.
Crisogono and Tracey Ehrlich has demonstrated that the major work at Mondragone was executed by Van Santen, with Venturi only applying finishing details at Frascati after Van Santen's death.

It is also unclear whether Venturi acted as an architect or as a merely as a supervisor. In the 1620s his name appears attached to almost every building project of Scipione's. Hibbard's investigation of the Borghese payment records suggests that Venturi had a hand in all of these projects, sometimes as an actual architect and sometimes as misuratore. Hibbard transcribes a document dating from February 10, 1622 giving 150 scudi to "Sergio Venturi nostro Architetto...per donativo et recognitione di tante le sue fatighe per uso nostro." Hibbard argues that Venturi was succeeded by Soria around 1627 or 8, despite Venturi remaining in Scipione's employ. The last payments signed by Venturi as architect date to between August 30, 1627 and March 3, 1628 (for the masonry at the Pinciana) and May 18, 1628.

The lack of any firm architectural attributions to Venturi makes it difficult to pinpoint his role in the genesis of the catafalque: without a control, it is challenging to relate any of this monument's style to Venturi.

Giovanni Battista Soria

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501 Ehrlich, 118-119.
502 Ibid., 343 n. 100.
504 Hibbard 74, n. 6. AB 7933, fol. 19, 1, no. 131.
505 Ibid., AB 5059, no 107; AB 6057, no. 327.
Giovanni Battista Soria (1568-1651) is somewhat better known. Soria's biography is included in Lione Pascoli's *Vite* of 1736, from which we can glean the basic outline of his career.\(^{506}\) He was born in Rome in 1581.\(^ {507}\) He trained as a carpenter and architect with Giovanni Battista Montano, whose drawings he later published in a series of volumes entitled *Scelta di varii Tempieti antichi*.\(^ {508}\) He worked first in Città di Castello and visited Florence and Sicily before returning to Rome where he entered the service of the Sacchetti.\(^ {509}\) Pascoli suggests that his introduction to the Borghese came through his work assisting Carlo Maderno on S. Maria della Vittoria.\(^ {510}\) It seems possible, however, given Scipione's (and Guidiccioni's, for that matter) friendship with the Sacchetti that they may have been another source of introduction. In any case, starting in 1614, Soria seems to have been Scipione's primary carpenter.\(^ {511}\) In 1619 he made frames for Scipione's picture collection at Mondragone.\(^ {512}\) While Soria's title switched to architect in the late 1620's, he seems to have continued working as a carpenter, or *falegname*, through the first half of that decade. His name certainly appears in that capacity in many of the documents of 1625-1626.\(^ {513}\) This designation may be misleading to the modern mind. The *falegname's*

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\(^ {507}\) Ibid., 989.


\(^ {509}\) Pascoli, 989-990.

\(^ {510}\) Ibid., 991.

\(^ {511}\) Antinori, 52.


\(^ {513}\) Hibbard 1962, n. 6.
responsibilities were much more wide-ranging than mere construction. Tracey Ehrlich argues that as *falegname*, Soria supervised the decoration of all Borghese projects in these years.\textsuperscript{514}

As noted above, he seems to have taken over Venturi's official position as architect in 1628, but he certainly continued to work as a carpenter outside of the Borghese's patronage, completing the choir stall and tribunes for the Capella del Coro at St. Peter's, the organ for the Capella del Sacramento, the throne for the Cathedra Petri, the library of the Palazzo Barberini and the models for Bernini's bell tower and the *baldachino*\textsuperscript{515}.

His work as an architect is less clear because the attribution of building elements to the various Borghese architects in the twenties and thirties is very tentative. He is usually credited with S. Crisogono, S. Maria della Vittoria (1625-6), S. Caterina da Siena (1638), S. Gregorio Magno al Celio (1633), S. Carlo ai Catinari (1636-8) and the Palazzo della famiglia Borghese (a distinct building from the better known Palazzo Borghese).\textsuperscript{516}

Stylistically he was certainly a classicist. His twentieth-century monographer, Brigette Ringbeck, describes him as one of the foremost architects in the classical style.\textsuperscript{517} This judgement was shared by Anthony Blunt, who wrote an entire article contrasting Soria's classicism to the High Baroque style.\textsuperscript{518} Wittkower describes his work in a similar fashion, as “academic” and demonstrative of “conservative views as far as church architecture.”\textsuperscript{519}

\textsuperscript{514} Ehrlich, 338 n. 32.


\textsuperscript{516} For example, Ibid., 1.

\textsuperscript{517} Ibid., 1.


\textsuperscript{519} Rudolf Wittkower, *Art and Architecture in Italy 1600-1750* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982).
This classification is certainly supported by Soria's extant church facades. Blunt groups Soria's facades in two groups: "a facade of two equal storeys" (exemplified by S. Carlo ai Catinari and S. Maria della Vittoria), and "a three-arched portico and a closed chamber above" (S. Caterina da Siena and S. Gregorio). Neither of these types has anything in common with Paul's catafalque. This evidence, however, may not be conclusive. Blunt observes that every extant Soria project is a renovation or facade. There are no known buildings designed entirely by Soria, so possibly the extant Soria buildings are not an indication of the extent of his imaginative capacity but merely his solution to existing circumstances.

As noted at the start, the overlap between buildings attributed the Soria and Venturi is large, creating yet another obstacle to sorting out their respective roles on the catafalque. As a comparison, we can examine Scipione's employment of architects for his other major building project in 1621-22: the ceiling of S. Crisogono. There are two distinct phases to Scipione's renovation of the church. In the first, which encompassed the ceiling, work was begun by Van Santen and completed by Soria. There is no record of Venturi's participation. In phase two, the question of Venturi's participation is also unclear as the payments records are inconclusive and at times contradict both the primary sources and stylistic considerations. Ringbeck concludes that Venturi acted as building supervisor, overseeing

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521 Ibid., 65.
construction and signing the *misure* while Soria was responsible for the design.\(^{523}\) After 1627 Soria assumed both roles.\(^{524}\)

The difficulty in untangling the separate hands of Scipione's architects may suggest that all or some were involved in the design. Antinori sees the same collaboration between Giovanni Battista Bulin as *misuratore* with Soria and Venturi in S. Crisogono, the Palazzo della famiglia Borghese, the facade of S. Maria della Vittoria, S. Chiara alla casa pia, stuccos for the new choir of S. Maria sopra Minerva.\(^{525}\)

A similar collaboration on the catafalque is supported by the payments. The stylistic confusion can perhaps be attributed to roles (architect versus builder) being, as already suggested, more fluid than generally assumed. The fact that Soria was acting as an architect several years after this certainly suggests that he would have at least been cognizant of, if not a participant in, the design of this monument. Furthermore, as suggested earlier, the blurring of lines may be exaggerated in an ephemeral structure where the carpenter's role would have been important in determining structural capacity.

To further complicate matters, the timing of the project does not rule out Van Santen's participation, at least in the early design stages. Because the catafalque was erected a full year after Paul's death it is not unreasonable to assume that members of Scipione's entourage were tasked with generating ideas for its design shortly after his death. Van Santen died on August 25, 1621. Construction of the catafalque appears to have started by the beginning of November, meaning that it would have been one of the first projects entrusted

\(^{523}\) Ringbeck, 30-31.

\(^{524}\) Ibid., 31.

\(^{525}\) Antinori, 103, n. 183.
to Venturi in his official capacity. Would the actual design of the catafalque have been entrusted, even nominally, to Venturi? Because of the importance of the catafalque to Scipione's social rehabilitation, it seems unlikely that it would have been entrusted to an untested architect. However, it remains possible that ephemeral monuments were given to new architects to test them. There is in fact some evidence of this practice. Van Santen himself had been entrusted with the design of the catafalque for Giovanni Battista Borghese in 1610, three years before he became Scipione's official architect.

But it is also possible that Van Santen was involved in the conceptual planning of the monument. Although work did not commence until November, Paul had died the previous January and it is likely that Scipione commenced planning well before official permission was received. The Dutch born Van Santen became Scipione's house architect after Flaminio Ponzio's death in 1613. While many of his projects consisted of execution of Ponzio's designs, he was responsible for the facade of the Villa Borghese. But again we are faced with a stylistic problem for Van Santen's style is no less pedantic than Venturi's.

Another measure of each architect's involvement is the payment records. Soria received 1674 scudi. Bernini received 490. Venturi, as house architect, signed the misure and seems to have received a payment of 150 scudi for work relating to the catafalque. This certainly suggests that the brunt of the work fell to Soria.

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526 On Van Santen's death, see Ehrlich, 118.


528 Ringbeck, 104. [ASV AB 4174 August 2, 1622] Oddly, this payment seems to date to six months after the completion of the catafalque.


530 Ringbeck, 104 and 30, n. 161. On Feb 10, 1622 Venturi received 150 scudi; "Sergio venturi nostro Architetto...per donativo et recognizion de tante le sue fatighe per uso nostro..." (ASV AB 7933, fol.
Bernini

All of the evidence suggests that the design was some sort of collaboration between Soria and Venturi. As is the case with all of Scipione's other projects, it is unlikely that their exact responsibilities will ever be untangled. However, one more factor remains to be considered: the involvement of Bernini.

While it is tempting to see Bernini's hand in the architecture, there is little solid evidence to justify this claim. Ringbeck, the only scholar to have made this claim (or specifically, attributed it to a collaboration between Bernini and Soria completely discounting Venturi's involvement) bases her hypothesis on two stylistic considerations: the integration of the sculptural figures with the architecture and the sense of movement created by the entrance that she sees as anticipating S. Andrea al Quirinale. In other words, her thesis is based solely on style. As we have already noted, discussing style in a nonexistent building is a questionable activity. Additionally, one could just as easily argue that any stylistic similarities to later Bernini buildings are due to the fact that Bernini learned from his involvement with this project.

Before going further, we should pause to examine the evidence for attributing the sculptures to Bernini. The attribution derives from Guidiccioni. In the *Breve Racconto* he describes the sculptures thus:

> trentasei statue di molta bellezza, finte di marmo, & maggiori del naturale, con fondamento essquisito in brevissimo spati condotte dal

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19a, n. 131) This seems to be in recognition for this particular project because afterwards his salary falls off to three or four scudi per month. See also Hibbard 1962, 73.

531 Ibid., 106.
As discussed in chapter two, Guidiccioni and Bernini were on friendly terms, making it unlikely that he would be mistaken about the sculptor's participation. But even if this were not the case, Guidiccioni's statements are borne out by multiple payment records. Six separate payments are made by Scipione Borghese to Bernini, all of which explicitly reference Bernini's sculptures for the catafalque. The first three come from the Uscita de' Conti dal Banco from 1621 and are all signed by Giovanni Rotoli. The, fourth, fifth and sixth come from the Registro dei Mandati of 1622-23.

A separate invoice signed by Bernini enumerates his expenses. This bill suggests that Bernini was responsible for more of the decoration than just the figures, but again does

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Cavalier Bernino scultore nell'età nostra di chiaro grido, che dalla natura formato à dar viue forme à spiranti marmi, & dall'arte...

532 Guidiccioni 1623, 16. For Guidiccioni's reiteration of this passage in a letter to Bernini dating from 1633, see note 105 above.

533 Faldi, 316. The first: [doc XVII - 7617] "Sig. Cauallier Gio Lorenzo Bernino p(er) s. 150 m'ta fattili pag(ar)e sotto di 3 detto a conto dell'opere di scoltura da farsi p(er) il Catafalco delle esseque celebrazisi in S. Maria Maggiore p(er) fel.me di papa Pavolo V, a credito del Sr. Rotoli." The second: [doc XVIII - 7617] "Sig. Cauallier Gio Lorenzo Bernino scultore p(er) s. 150 m'ta fattigii pag(ar)e di (30) detto a conto delle statue di stucco che fa p(er) il Catafalco. A cred(it)o del S. Rotoli suddett(o)


535 Berendsen 1959, 68.
not seem to include payments for anything that could be construed as architecture.\textsuperscript{536} 22.30 is paid for "clay, hay, string and cloth."\textsuperscript{537} 32.15 is paid for "timber, that is large boards of poplar for the large faces of 2 1/2 palmi and other joists and boards."\textsuperscript{538} 21.050 is paid for "carpenters and nails."\textsuperscript{539} 11.75 is paid for "pulleys and iron wire."\textsuperscript{540} 33.25 is paid for "artists, terra d'ombra, gesso, glue, brushes and boards."\textsuperscript{541} 20.60 is paid for "coal, candles and large string for the figures."\textsuperscript{542} All of these supplies would have been needed for the construction of the sculptures and their attributes. Interestingly, the attributes themselves are included in the bill and were actual borrowed objects, not sculpted renditions.

Now, neither Guidiccioni's words nor the payment records can be taken as proof that Bernini himself was responsible for all of the sculptures. In fact, another payment record clearly indicates the participation of the workshop. Two separate line items on an invoice submitted by Bernini allude to the payment of assistants.\textsuperscript{543} And in fact, the construction of thirty-six sculptures in two months would have been a Herculean, if not impossible, effort for a single man, even one as prodigious as Bernini. But the question of workshop participation is not a particularly urgent one in ephemeral art. Since we are dealing

\textsuperscript{536} Ibid., 68.
\textsuperscript{537} Ibid., 68."Per Creta fieno spago e per telo."
\textsuperscript{538} Ibid., 68. "Legnami cioe tavoloni d'albuccio per le fasce larghi p.mi 2 1/2 e altri travicelli e tavole."
\textsuperscript{539} Ibid., 68. "fatture per fallegnami e chiodi."
\textsuperscript{540} Ibid., 68. "Verzelli e filo di ferro."
\textsuperscript{541} Ibid., 68. "Pittori terra d'ombra giesso Colla penelli Cartoni."
\textsuperscript{542} Ibid., 68. "letti locandi carbone candele e corde grosse per le statue."
\textsuperscript{543} Berendsen 1959, 68. Of the total bill of 462, 210 is designated "per fattura Alli scultori a chi piu e manco conforme alli meritii." A further 28.50 is paid for "Omini per aiuto delli scultori e accomodare le crete."
only with images of the sculptures rather than the real objects, the question of attribution to
the master versus workshop would be difficult to settle.

It also may not matter. Without the objects, we are necessarily more concerned with
content and general form than style. And the broad outlines of these compositions would
surely have been determined by Bernini in any case. For any commission Bernini would
have determined the basic outlines of the sculpture through sketches and terracotta
bozzetti.544 Given Bernini's close relationship with Scipione Borghese in these years, it seems
improbable that he would not have accorded this commission at least as much attention as
usual. Since all we have to work with is engravings of drawings of sculptures, the differences
in style that would allow us to attribute one virtue to Bernini and another to the workshop
are lost. Thus it seems safe to attribute the invenzione behind each figure (which is precisely
what we are left with) to Bernini himself.

With this issue addressed, let us return to the more controversial one of Bernini's
participation in the architectural design. As we have seen, the numerous and detailed
payment records for the sculptor's work on the catafalque all explicitly reference only
sculpture and other decorative elements. This documentary evidence suggests that any
architectural input from Bernini would have been purely informal.

But even without the evidence of the payment records, it would be improbable for
Bernini to have acted as architect this early in his career. Baldinucci informs us that it was
Urban VIII who set Bernini to the study of architecture and painting "so he could unite with
distinction these disciplines to his other virtues."545 Bernini's first architectural commissions

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544 On the use of the workshop, see Jennifer Montagno, *Roman Baroque Sculpture: the Industry of Art*

545 Baldinucci, 15.
also came from the Barberini pope: the baldachino and S. Bibiana. The earliest project where Bernini is recorded as an architect of a building is S. Bibiana, undertaken between July 31, 1624 and November 11, 1626. While the facade bears little superficial resemblance to Paul's catafalque, there are several details worth noting. Like the catafalque, the facade shows changes in plane marked by breaks in entablature. Within the church there is an integration of sculpture, architecture and frescoes which may be explained by the fact that although, also unmentioned in the payments, Bernini seems to have designed the fresco program, as well as the sculpture and architecture. The facade's echo of a triumphal arch seems to reference both the Pauline and Sistine chapels.

By the end of the decade he had certainly established his record as an architect, for in 1629 he succeeded Maderno as architect of the Fabbrica of St. Peter's and also took over responsibility for work in the Barberini palace.

Having examined the historical record, we must return to style. So, is there any compelling stylistic evidence that would lead us to assume that Bernini did in fact have a hand in the catafalque's architecture? The first argument is a negative one: that the catafalque cannot really be attributed to either Soria or Venturi on stylistic grounds. As we have seen, this is a difficult argument to either prove or disprove. There is, however, certainly evidence for a good working relationship between Bernini and Soria later in both men's' careers. This

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547 Ibid., 13

548 Domenico Fedini, La vita di S. Bibiana vergine e martire romana (Rome, 1627) 76. "A me il Capitolo per un poco di gusto o d'affezione ch'io m'habbia al disegno diede carico d'essere co'l Cavaliere Bernino per servire a pensieri si Sua Santita a dovendosi con pittura a fresco spiegare la vita della Santa nella Nave grande..." Quoted in Bauer, 16.

549 Ibid., 32-33.
leads credence to the idea they may have worked together on this project. Bernini used Soria as a collaborator on several later projects: He commissioned Soria to build wood models for the columns and superstructure of the baldachin.\textsuperscript{550} Soria also built a wooden model that was to form the third story of the south bell tower for St. Peter's in May 1641.\textsuperscript{551} Bernini clearly relied heavily on Soria's architectural expertise even into the forties as is demonstrated by a letter in which Bernini complains of his difficulties with the bell tower and begs for Soria's help.\textsuperscript{552} But this continuity of collaboration does not in any way prove that the two men's relationship was the same on this project.

The question of the integration of sculpture and architecture is a more rewarding line of inquiry, for here we find solid evidence that Bernini was involved very early on in the process. Work on the sculptures seems to have commenced simultaneously with the structure of the catafalque. Guidiccioni writes that the catafalque occupied workers day and night for the five weeks preceding the obsequies.\textsuperscript{553} In contrast he states only that Bernini worked very quickly.\textsuperscript{554} But the estimate of five weeks is consistent with the payment records, which date from between December 31, 1621 and February 19, 1622.\textsuperscript{555}

\textsuperscript{550} Lynda Fairbairn, \textit{Italian Renaissance Drawings in the Collection of Sir John Soane's Museum} (London: Azimuth, 1998) 550; Montagu 1989, 72-5 discusses the many changes to the model for the superstructure recorded in Soria's payment accounts.


\textsuperscript{552} McPhee 2002, 69.

\textsuperscript{553} Guidiccioni 1623, 6. "l'Apparato del Tempio gia fusse ad ordine, come per lo spazio di cinque settimane vi si fusse continuato il lavoro, non solo i giorni, a delle notti gran parte."

\textsuperscript{554} Ibid., 16. "con fondamento esquisito in brevisssimo spatio condotte dal Cavalier Bernino scultore."

\textsuperscript{555} Faldi 1953, 315-316.
More importantly, the placement of both the Virtues and putti is integral to the rhythm of the building, suggesting some sort of integral design process involving both sculpture and architecture. If the building was designed to accommodate the sculpture, this may have guided the architectural design of the building.

Now for the question of style. It is curious that Ringbeck bases her claims to Bernini’s authorship on a supposed similarity to S. Andrea al Quirinale, a project that falls fairly late in Bernini’s development as an architect, occupying him between 1658 and 1670. There are better analogues in type, style and date: namely Carlo Barberini’s catafalque erected in S. Maria in Aracoeli in 1630 and the *baldacchino*.

Carlo Barberini’s catafalque is known through two drawings. While a funeral book was published, it includes only the oration, with neither pictorial or written description of the catafalque. The first drawing is an elevation at Windsor attributed to Bernini’s studio (figure 22). The second is a ground plan attributed to Borromini (figure 23). While payment records reveal that the elevation could not represent exactly the final form of the catafalque, it is certainly relevant as an artifact of Bernini’s evolution as an architectural designer.

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557 Giulio Cintio, *In funere illustriissimi et excellentiissimi principis Caroli Barberini, generalis S.R. E. ducis. Oratio habita in aede B Virg in Capitolio a Julio Cincio* (Rome, 1630). See also Alessandro Adimari, *In morte dell’illustiss. et excellentiiss. sig. don Carlo Barberino, general di Santa Chiesa, canzone d’Alessandro Adimari* (Rome: Zannetti, 1630). Another catafalque was erected in Bologna and is described and illustrated in Floriano Nani, *il funerale fatto dal Senato di Bologna al illustriss. et eccmo sigr. D. Carlo Barberino* (Bologna: Benacci, 1630). This catafalque consisted of two parts: a pyramidal ribbon baldachin attached to the roof and a low round base covered with steps with candles. Another was erected in Ferrara, recorded in *Oratio in funere Illuiss. et Excellentiiss D. Caroli Barberini* (Ferrara, 1630). This was an eight sided catafalque with much sculpture and a candle covered dome. The Ferrara catafalque is reproduced in Fagiolo dell’Arco 1997, 276. The Bologna catafalque is not reproduced in any modern sources.

While the two catafalques appear quite different - Carlo's is just the skeleton of a building, strongly architectural and classicizing with no draperies and little paraphernalia - the actual structures of both are almost identical: a Greek cross with stairs set in between the arms, topped by an elliptical dome. Carlo's catafalque, in fact, is basically Paul's stripped of all of its draperies. Both also have a profusion of virtue statues. 559

The baldachino is a relevant comparison more because of type than style. The questions of the early evolution of the baldachino is a vexed one. 560 But the period that concerns us is the very earliest stages in which Bernini was involved following the election of Urban VIII. It is important to establish what the structure looked like prior to Bernini and Urban's interventions. Paul V had models erected of both a baldachin over the crossing and a ciborium in the apse. These models were replaced by Gregory XV with payments starting just months after Paul's obsequies, in June of 1622. 561 Engravings of the triple canonization of Saints Isidore of Madrid, Ignatius Loyola, Frances Xavier, Teresa of Avila and Filippo Neri on March 12 of that year give us some idea of the baldachino's appearance just before the Ludovisi changes. 562 Kneeling angels support staves bearing a canopy. Bernini's work began

559 On the attribution of the various sculptures, see Montagu 1985, 27-28 and 421.


561 Irving Lavin 1968, 8.

by July of 1624, the date of the earliest payments when the main altar is returned to crossing.\textsuperscript{563} Within a year the baldachin had morphed into something very different: a structure with Solomonic columns supporting a ribbed dome hung with ribbons from which hung a fabric canopy. These changes had certainly been made by May 25, 1625 as we can see of an illustration on the canonization of Elizabeth of Portugal.\textsuperscript{564}

While this baldachin still does not look a lot like Paul's catafalque, several elements are significant: the use of columns (instead of staves) and the fabric canopy. In fact, this stage of Bernini's plan was criticized by Agostino Ciampelli because of these very elements. He decried the structure as a chimera, part baldachin and part ciborium, because of this very combination.\textsuperscript{565}

But while the combination of ciborium and baldachin may have been shocking, something similar had actually been going on for decades in the evolution of the castrum doloris into the catafalque.\textsuperscript{566} Paul's catafalque, with its particularly prevalent use of fabric in combination with solid architecture, may have suggested the feasibility of this combination

\textsuperscript{563} Ibid., 10.

\textsuperscript{564} See illustration in Fagiolo dell'Arco 1997, 257. There are two states of the print which show a different baldachin. The earlier state shows standing angels with staves. This seems to suggest that the changes to the baldachin occurred at precisely this point as some of the architectural screen and sculptures must have been completed before the change to the baldachin. The fact that it was Bernini himself who was responsible for the entire apparatus further supports this assumption. For more on the canonization see Ibid., 255-258.

\textsuperscript{565} Lavin 1968, 11. Recorded in the marginalia of F. Martinelli Roma ornata dall'architettura, pittura, e scultura [Bibl Casanatense MS 4984 p 201]. "...li Baldacchini non si sostengono con le colonne, ma con l'haste, e che in ogni modo voleva mostrare che lo reggonoli Angeli: e sossioneva che era una chimera."

\textsuperscript{566} This point was made by Olga Berendsen, "I primi catafalchi del Bernini e il progetto del Baldacchino," Immagini del barocco. Bernini e la cultura del seicento, ed. Maurizio Fagiolo and G. Spagnese (Florence: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1982) 133-143, 137.
to Bernini. There is one other element of this stage of the *baldachino's* development which may have been inspired by Paul's catafalque: the putti which sit on top of the columns.\(^{567}\)

Of course, these similarities do not prove definitively that Bernini was responsible for the architectural design of Paul's catafalque. But they certainly do suggest that he was involved. He clearly paid careful attention to the architecture and returned to it as a starting point for his own projects when he turned his attention to architecture later in the decade. Thus the architecture of Paul's catafalque can be seen as seminal in the formation of Bernini as architect.

### The Decoration: Annibale Durante and Other Collaborators

Of course, the architecture and sculpture are not the only elements of the catafalque. There also was a profusion of decorative painting, gilding and draping of fabric, not just on the actual catafalque but throughout the church.

Payment records show that several artists worked on the decoration, apparently mostly on the painted arms and trophies which decorate the cella wall of the catafalque and the nave of the church. Payments were made to Annibale Durante (the nature of whose work is not indicated); Sigismondo Tracci for "armi dipinte in carta;" Fabio Corcetti for "armi dipinte in carta e Trofei depinti in tela;" and Michelangelo Stefanelli for "fregi ed Armi dipinte in carta."\(^{568}\)

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\(^{567}\) Ibid., 139.

\(^{568}\) Faldi, 313. Faldi quotes these specific phrases from the payments but does not transcribe the actual records.
Payments were also made to one Marcanti, who is described as a "festarolo." The festarolo was the merchant who rented the black morning cloths and sometimes even provided the skeletons and arms which hung over them. Because of the incorporation of the drapery into the architecture, it is interesting to contemplate this man's role, but he cannot be identified with any significant artisan of the period.

Annibale Durante

Annibale Durante is the only one of the artists to leave a trace on history. Durante was a Fleming, whose earliest recorded work in Rome was a number of "stendardi" for the archconfraternity of S. Maria in Campo Santo in 1601. As a Fleming, he probably was introduced into Scipione's circle by the cardinal's majordomo Stefano Pignatelli, who acted as protector of many Flemish artists in Rome. Durante executed many projects for Scipione between 1610 and 1622 including work in the Borghese villa, Cicognola and Frascati. He also worked for Paul at the Vatican and the Quirinal palace, where his work was recorded between 1613-19. Durante served as Scipione's decorator in chief between 1611-1623, first

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569 Ibid., 313.


572 Hoogewerff 1913, 227.

573 Heillman 1973, 111.

574 Johann Mandl, "Jan van Santen in Artena und Cecchignola," Mededelingen van het Nederlandisch Instituut Rom VIII (1928): 136, n. 3.

575 Ehrlich, 338 n. 35.
primarily working on gilding ceilings and frames, but graduating to overseeing all of the interior decoration at Scipione's Quirinal gardens and the Pinciana.\(^{576}\)

Ringbeck suggests that Scipione had a group of artisans who were frequently employed on all of his building projects to create an atmosphere of trust and reliability: these were the metalworker Giovanni Maria Zaccaria, glassworker Pietro Neri, Annibale Durante and Giovanni Carrara as painters as gilders.\(^{577}\) It is useful, once again, to compare the artisans working on Borghese's other big building project of 1622: the ceiling of S. Crisogono. Here Soria was responsible for the carpentry and Annibale Durante for the painting and gilding (along with Giovanni Battista Ferrari, Lorenzo Verri and Fausto Rucci).\(^{578}\) Soria and Durante were also collaborators on Borghese's renovations to Mondragone in 1614; Soria was in charge of the carpentry and Durante of fresco and stucco work.\(^{579}\) In 1614 Soria and Durante worked together outfitting two chambers at Mondragone for the pope's use.\(^{580}\)

He was probably responsible for the faux painting of the catafalque to resemble bronze and perhaps also the painting of arms, both roles he played repeatedly. It is possible that he also executed the chiaroscuro saints in the interior of the catafalque.

The authorship of the bas-relief medallions is also unclear. The festival book only attributes the Virtues and putti to Bernini. Did he, or his workshop, also undertake the

\(^{576}\) Coliva 1998, 408.

\(^{577}\) Ringbeck, 34.

\(^{578}\) Hill 2002, 445, n. 5. See also Mandl 1938, 17. Soria received 5,432 scudi. Durante received 1,168 scudi for painting. 4,500 scudi for gilding is divided among Durante and the other three artists.

\(^{579}\) Ehrlich, 122.

\(^{580}\) Ibid., 122.
reliefs or was another sculptor involved? It is possible that these fell under Soria's purview. Records exist for at least one instance where he was involved in the sculptural decoration of a building.\textsuperscript{581}

\textbf{The Funeral Book and the Question of Lanfranco}

Apart from Durante, the other artists mentioned in the records are completely anonymous. One wonders why the catafalque did not merit the involvement of more prominent painters. Why, for example, was Lanfranco involved in illustrating the funeral book, but not in decorating the catafalque?

This circumstance is especially strange given that Lanfranco was a particular favorite of the pope's, working on the ceiling of the Sala Regia in the Quirinal and receiving the commission for the ceiling of the benediction loggia at St. Peters which was never executed due to Paul's death.\textsuperscript{582} He was certainly in Rome in 1622 as he was working on the dome of the Capella Sacchetti in S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini.

In the dedication of the \textit{Breve Racconto} to Scipione Borghese, Guidiccioni apologizes for the delay in the publication of the book, attributing it to his desire to have the sculptures engraved by a learned artist.\textsuperscript{583} This concern is reiterated in a letter addressed to Borghese on

\textsuperscript{581} Hibbard 1962, 74, n. 6. He was paid for the relief over the door of S. Maria della Vittoria executed by Domenico de Rossi. AB 6053, no. 357, September 15, 1627.

\textsuperscript{582} Eric Schleier, ed., \textit{Giovanni Lanfranco un pittore barocco tra Parma, Roma, Napoli} (Milan: Electa, 2001) 38-39. The designs were preserved in engravings by Pietro Santi Bartoli in 1655 by Lanfranco's son Giuseppe who was Scipione Borghese's godson.

\textsuperscript{583} Guidiccioni 1623, dedication. "Ma perche pensai di rappresentare in intaglio il Catefalco da V.S. Illustriss. eretto con splendor veramente regio, & insieme ciascuna sua statua, impressa per mano di dotto artefice."
August 12, 1622. Lanfranco's involvement, then, is due to Guidiccioni, not Scipione Borghese. This requires explanation. Guidiccioni left a large collection and scattered observations about the relative merits of various artists and Lanfranco appears in neither. So how did Guidiccioni alight on Lanfranco as a "learned artist" worthy to engrave Bernini's masterpieces?

One explanation is a working relationship between Dietrich Krueger and Lanfranco. Krueger engraved a series of twenty drawings by Lanfranco dedicated to Cardinal Odoardo Farnese, "Vita S. Brunonis. Cartusianorum, Patriarchae." Although the cycle is not dated, number ten is dated 1620 and number eleven 1621. This suggests that the two men may still have been involved in that project in early 1622. Since Krueger was responsible for all of the engravings in the Breve Racconto, he may have suggested Lanfranco's involvement.

Another mystery is how Lanfranco accessed the sculptures. As Guidiccioni's letter indicates, the drawings were not completed as late as August 12. The catafalque would have been disassembled well before then, so the statues must have been preserved. However, they do not seem to have ended up in either Guidiccioni or Scipione's collections. Perhaps they were kept in Bernini's studio.

The situation becomes even more convoluted by the existence of several later appearances of the images. The first is a printed edition of the sixteen virtues published by

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Lanfranco with a dedication to Francesco Piccolomini. The plates appear identical with two alterations: the addition of the dedication to Piccolomini which appears on the representation of Veritas, and the movement of the inscriptions, which appear on the verso of each plate in the Breve Racconto, to the recto. The images are also reversed.

"Illmo Dno Francisco Piccolomineo" ideo meis effectua umbri tibi debetur Virtutum Chorus, naq uryuit iure nunc est, qiod uerius tuo hyrent anima propriojs expresse lumenibus. eas igitur meq, iamdis haq incipati benificentis ita completere ut uere naveas hic nihil non tuum. Vale.

Pietro Marchetti for. Bernardius Oppius DDD"

Further complicating matters, two of the virtues make another later printed appearance. Maiestà and Clementia both appear in an architectural border to the printed "conclusioni filosofiche difese in disputa pubblica da Pier Francesco de Magistris" in 1677. They are placed in niches in an architectural frame around the text. They appear on the right and two other virtues Pietà and Potestà appear on the left. Marc Worsdale called attention to these figures in his catalogue entry for the 1981 exhibit "Bernini in Vaticano" but believed incorrectly that all four figures were derived from the catafalque. The fact that these figures were reused twice is suggestive and may indicate that by the middle of the century that this type of virtue imagery had become so standard that it could be interchangeably applied to various rulers.

If Lanfranco's involvement must remain obscure, the explanation to the question posed earlier -- why no great painters were involved -- is probably relatively mundane. There

587 Giovanni-Pietro Bernini, Giovanni Lanfranco (Parma: Grafica Artigianna, 1985) 318. There is at least one extant copy of these prints, located in Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, Raccolta Ortalli, 3212-3215.

is not a lot of complicated painting. In fact almost all of the decoration (with the exception of the grisaille saints) is purely decorative. There are trophies, arms, and a lot of decorative faux painting. This is exactly the sort of work that Scipione's team of artists had perfected working on his many villa projects over the past decade so it makes sense that he would entrust this type of work to them.

In fact, this arrangement mirrors the situation with the architecture. Scipione Borghese had a team of competent if not brilliant architects and artists and he turned to them for all of his needs. Because of the specific iconography involved in the architectural and sculpted elements of the building it is probable that the basic outlines of the structure were designed by some combination of Guidiccioni, Borghese, Bernini and perhaps even other scholars. Soria, Venturi and Durante, then, would have been left to work within these specific parameters.
Chapter 7

The Sixteen Virtues

We have already investigated how meaning was conveyed through the architectural form of the catafalque. By echoing early Christian and Imperial buildings alike the architecture declared the renewal or resurgence of both of these earlier eras, brought about by Paul's own copious building projects. These constructs are subtle and only truly accessible to an erudite audience, versed in both architectural and ancient history. Surely these learned references must have been augmented by another program, one that was clearly understandable to the crowds which thronged to the basilica to pay their last respects to the pope. To cement Paul's reputation in the minds of the general populace Scipione would have had to invoke not Paul's similarities to Augustus, but rather his strengths as a ruler, his good deeds for the people and city of Rome and his reform of the church. For Paul's obsequies were an opportunity for Scipione to broadcast his uncle's legacy as a good pope and leader not only to the curia and letterati but also to the Roman people.\(^{589}\)

And indeed, there was a second program attributing the characteristics of a good ruler to Paul. This was conveyed through the use of personified virtues. Several millennia of political thought associated the strength of a ruler with his possession of certain inherent virtues. This rich iconographic tradition allows the virtues to be endowed with multiple layers of meaning, equating Paul with ancient rulers at the same time as lauding the

characteristics that made him a good Christian prince. In some cases the allusions seem obscure or even contradictory; the layers of allegory are so complex that they may not have been intended to be understood by the viewer and but were an intellectual exercise or form of bravura.\footnote{590}

The catafalque contained sixteen female sculptures divided into four groups of four. While Guidiccioni identifies all of them as virtues, strictly speaking they are a mix. The blurred lines between personifications of virtues and results of virtues is certainly not new to this catafalque. There was a debate in Imperial Roman rhetoric over the differences between benefits and virtues of the emperor.\footnote{591} The differences between virtues, gifts, fruits and beatitudes remained a live topic in medieval theology and had been ably discoursed upon Aquinas and others. But these subtle philosophical or theological distinctions do not seem to have been noted by Guidiccioni.

His first group comprises \textit{Institia, Religio, Maestas,} and \textit{Puritas}. The second group is \textit{Pax, Tranquillitas, Annona} and \textit{Providentia}. The third grouping is \textit{Misericordia, Eleemosina, Clementia} and \textit{Mansuetudo}. The final group is \textit{Veritas, Sapientia, Magnanimitas} and \textit{Magnificentia}. Each of these groups contains three standing virtues which Guidiccioni describes as dependent on one seated virtue. According to Guidiccioni the four seated sculptures (that is \textit{Institia, Pax, Misericordia,} and \textit{Veritas}) represent the Pope's four principal virtues.\footnote{592} These

\footnote{590} For the frequency in which elements of the symbolism in festivals was designed not even to be viewable by the audience see Panofsky, who notes that details were often such that "nobody but the organizers themselves could ever hope to understand all the learned allusions lavished on the costumes of figures which would only appear for a fleeting moment." Panofsky, \textit{Icones}, 178. See also Aby Warburg, \textit{I Costumi Teatrali per gli Intermezzi del 1589} (Florence: Galletti, 1895) 280.

\footnote{591} See Noreña, 59 and 108. On Cicero's contributions to this debate see Fishwick 1987, 459-60.

\footnote{592} Guidiccioni 1623, 18. "Le dodici in piede, che dipendevano dalle prime quattro, tre per ciascuna...significavano dodici virtu dependenti da quelle prime."
virtues are not randomly selected from the group, but represent the Four Daughters of God. The Four Daughters of God, also known as the Parliament in Heaven or the Virtues Reconciled, was a long-standing exegetical conceit based on a reading of the twelfth verse of Psalm 84. As we shall see, the confluence of these virtues in Paul signifies his strength as a ruler and sets the stage for the salvation of man and a new Christian Golden Age. But while this grouping is the driving organizational theme of the symphony of virtues, the iconographical program is at once deeper and richer than this one scheme.

Before we turn our attention to its visual and iconographic apparatus, let us look at two other virtues, Magnificentia and Puritas, whose placement in the catafalque (flanking the door facing the nave) accords them a sort of visual precedence. These are the first virtues the viewer would have encountered, so it is logical to assume that they were intended to inform and colour his reading of the rest. We will examine the specific interpretation of these two virtues in turn, but for now suffice to say that these two virtues present the twin faces of Paul’s pontificate: the magnificence of his patronage which would usher in a new Golden Age and the purity of the church, representing the purification of the Counter Reformation and rebirth of a new, purer form of Christianity. In other words, the sculptures in the most architecturally prominent positions enhance the meaning already presented by the architecture.

593 While this is not mentioned by most scholars writing about the catafalque, it has been pointed out by several authors discussing Bernini’s later depictions of Truth. Hans Kauffman in his discussion of Truth Unveiled recognized that the catafalque was Bernini’s first variation on the theme and states that the entire iconography of the catafalque is organized around it. Hans Kaufman, Giovanni Lorenzo Bernini. Die figürlichen Kompositionen (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1970) 207. It is also noted by Winner. Matthias Winner, "Veritas," in Bernini Scultore: la Nascita del Barrocco in Casa Borghese, ed. Anna Coliva and Sebastian Schütze (Rome: De Luca, 1998), 290-309, 299-300.

594 This will be discussed below. See further bibliography in n. 637.
The decision to adorn the catafalque with virtues was probably an easy one. Most recent catafalques had included some number of personified virtues, either surrounding the bier, on the architrave or, as in this case, distributed in the intercolumniation. But these examples would have only supplied the concept of virtues, rather than prescribing their appropriate identities, for there is no homogeneity of virtues used in catafalques in the half century before Paul's death. The apparati staged for the obsequies of Emperor Charles V had a very specific program outlined by Philip II, but even these instructions did not extend to dictating the virtues, which were chosen by each city. The obsequies of King Sigismund II of Poland, celebrated in Rome in 1572, contained two virtues: Faith and Justice. The 1589 catafalque of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese in the Gesù incorporated the four cardinal virtues, the three theological virtues, in addition to Religion, Liberality, Hospitality, Honor, and Virtue. Even Sixtus' catafalque, erstwhile model for Paul's, which contained ten virtues (the four cardinal virtues inside surrounding the sarcophagus and Fede, Autorita Pontificia, Sicurezza, Religio, Providentia, and Magnificenza outside), does not seem to have served as a blueprint for the choice of Paul's virtues. Not that catafalques were the only precedent Scipione and Guidiccioni could have looked at. In determining appropriate virtues for the pope they could turn to a rich tradition, both literary and pictorial, for the proper virtues of a ruler.

595 Schraven 2005, 47.
596 Ibid., 50-51.
597 Fagiolo dell'Arco and Carandini, 4-9.
From the Virtues of the Emperor to a "Mirror of Popes"

The idea of defining a monarch through his possession of certain internal characteristics (or virtues) has a long history. It first appeared in Greek thought in the fourth century B.C. with the writings of Isocrates and Xenophon. In the writings of Socrates and Plato a canon of four virtues began to emerge comprising Bravery, Temperance, Justice and Wisdom. The genre of virtue literature became more fully developed in the Hellenistic period.

The Romans co-opted much Hellenistic political thought and it was really in Imperial Rome that the cult of virtues reached its apex. While over forty virtues appear in descriptions of the emperor from this period, a canon of Imperial virtues seems to coalesce, consisting of Virtus, Clementia, Iustitia and Pietas. Roman ideas on virtues are preserved in

598 For a discussion of their role in forming this concept of kingship, see Carlos Noreña, Imperial Ideals in the Roman West Representation, Circulation, Power (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) 39-40.


601 See Charlesworth 1937, who argues that these virtues becomes formalized in the Golden Shield of Augustus. For a reevaluation of the validity of this canon, see Wallace-Hadrill, 1981. Wallace-Hadrill points out that these particular four virtues do not appear together as a group either before or after with any frequency.
both textual and visual sources. The two texts which had the most lasting influence on the
development of western political philosophy are Cicero's *De officiis* and Seneca's *De
Clementia*. Cicero's text, much of which is a scathing attack on the tyranny of Caesar and
monarchy in general, singles out *Iustitia* as a necessary virtue for a leader. But Cicero's ideas
on virtues are not confined to *De officiis*. They appear throughout his writings and he
constantly returns to four main virtues: *Fortitudo, Temperantia, Iustitia* and an amalgam of
*Prudentia/Sapientia*. Seneca, writing a century later within the framework on a new Roman
system of government, declares *Magnanimitas* and *Clementia* the most important virtues,
particularly the latter because it demonstrates a ruler's wisdom and justice. Another
extensive and influential treatment of the virtues of the emperor comes in Pliny's *Panegyric*
addressed to the young Trajan.

Two other formative authors of a slightly later era were Prudentius and Macrobius.
Prudentius' *Psychomachia* of c. 405 A.D. describes a battle between the seven deadly sins and
seven virtues (Chastity, Temperance, Charity, Diligence, Patience, Kindness and Humility).
It led to many visual representations, famously Mantegna's *Minerva expelling the Vices*.

602 See Peter Stacy, *Roman Monarchy and the Renaissance Prince* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) chapter one on Cicero's *De officiis* and Seneca's *De Clementia* and the construct of the Roman prince through virtue.

603 Stacy, 33. For Seneca's resignation to monarchy as a necessary form of government, see Braund 2009, 68-69.


Macrobius Ambrosius Theodosius was a Roman doctor at the turn of the fourth to fifth centuries. His commentary on virtues comes in two main texts: the *Saturnalia* and *Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis*.\(^6\)

These writings were instrumental in shaping the concept of kingship that dominated western thought for the next several millennia. While Christian thinkers had few scruples about co-opting pagan philosophy, classical ideas were also tempered by the writings of the doctors of the church, in particular St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas. While clearly of the utmost importance to Renaissance theology, neither deals specifically (or at least not exclusively) with the appropriate virtues for a ruler. Augustine famously took a dubious view of pagan virtues, seeing the idea of virtue as incompatible with the non-Christian and suggesting that any virtue not applied to the worship of God was really a vice.\(^6\) For Augustine virtue was a means to achieve the *summum bonum*.\(^6\) Thomas' views are more circumspect and much of his virtue writing shows the clear influence of Seneca. His two

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main expositions on virtues can be found in the second part of the *Summa Theologica* and in the *Disputed Questions on the Virtues*.610

In the Middle Ages and early Renaissance the *specula principum* or "mirror of princes" flourished, a genre intended for the edification of the prince by reflecting desirable traits or virtues for a leader. The writers of these tracts drew on a combination of Christian (the Vulgate, Augustine and Aquinas) and pagan sources (Seneca, Cicero and Macrobius).611

But while this literature was an amalgam of all these sources, Seneca remained the predominant one. In fact the very name "speculum" derives from the first lines of *De Clementia* in which Seneca addresses the young Nero.612 Seneca's influence was due in large part to the fact that his view of the prince was seen to align with ideas found both in the Vulgate and church doctors, namely the importance of the virtues of *clementia*, *mansuetudo* and *magnificentia*.613 The compatibility of Seneca with Christian thought was prominent up into the seventeenth century when this view was espoused by Lipsius.614

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612 Braund 2011, 97. "Scribere de clementia, Nero Caesar, institutui, ut quodam modo speculi vice fungeret et te tibi ostenderem peruentutum ad voluptatem maximam omnium."

613 See Stacy, 84 and 90-91 and Kantorowicz, *The Kings Two Bodies*, 1957, 473. n. 56.

Medieval treatises leant heavily on patristic and scholastic sources and stressed the importance of the theological virtues. But with the advent of humanism, the conception of the ideal prince reembraced many of the virtues that had constituted the ideal Roman emperor. In fact by the dawn of the sixteenth century there was such a profusion of these texts that Machiavelli had to point out their futility as actual political advice and there is a lively literature debating the degree to which *The Prince* can be read as an explicit inversion of Senecan concepts of virtue based monarchy. But Machiavelli in turn spawned a reaction and the treatises of the sixteenth century promote a new Counter Reformation ideal of the prince, once again predicated on his inherent virtues.

This, of course, is the briefest overview of this very complex topic, but it serves to illustrate that there was no shortage of literature on the subject. By the early seicento anyone contemplating the ideal virtues of a ruler had many centuries worth of political thought to lean on, thought espousing the definition of a rule through his inherent virtues as much as his deeds, or at least of seeing his acts as reflection of intrinsic character traits.

The office of the papacy, of course, makes slightly different demands of its holder than a secular ruler: the pope's primary duties are spiritual rather than secular and the position is elected rather than inherited. But the story of the papacy in the early modern period, Counter Reformation not withstanding, is in significant ways a history of the

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adoption of princely precedents and secular power. The distinctions between the pope's pastoral and temporal duties began to break down towards the end of the sixteenth century with the advent of a series of popes mindful of Rome's temporal powers, of whom Paul certainly was one.

Regardless of the reason, most compendiums of papal virtues closely track those of their secular counterparts. We can analyse papal virtues based on the corpus of "de eligendo pontefice" orations read to the conclave on the electing of a new pope.618 These orations frequently outline the virtues that render a cardinal papabile: Justice, Piety, Clemency, Humility and Wisdom (as well as the eloquence to convince his flock to Peace, Concord and the moral life).619

Virtue Cycles and the Development of an Iconografica Numismatica

The next question we must face is whether some virtues are automatically lost or gained in the translation from verbal to visual. In other words, do these virtues lend themselves to personification and if so how? Many paintings and fresco cycles for secular patrons have been interpreted as visual mirrors of princes.620 There are far fewer papal commissions that could be similarly classified. Nonetheless several works have been interpreted in this way. One of these is Fra Angelico's frescos for the chapel of Nicholas

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619 Stinger, 92. He gives the example of Celadoni's oration to elect the successor of Alexander XI.

Another is the Galleria Delle Carte Geografiche in the Vatican, commissioned by Gregory XIII. Another is Innocent VIII's now destroyed chapel in the Vatican Belvedere for which Mantegna painted a cycle of virtues comprising Faith, Hope, Charity, Discretion, Prudence, Justice, Temperance and Fortitude. While not exactly a cycle, virtues also appear in the Sala di Costantino in the Vatican. 

Virtue cycles were also popular with papal families and cardinal nephews. Alessandro Perretti commissioned a series of virtue frescos which decorated the sala grande of the Palazzo alle Terme of the Villa Montalto. Cardinal Alessandro Farnese commissioned Vasari's so-called "sala dei cento giorni" in Palazzo della Cancelleria, the program of which was designed by Paolo Giovio and includes the virtues of Justitia, Merito, Industria, Eloquenția, Caritas, Concordia and Benignitas alongside histories of Pope Paul III.

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623 This chapel is described in several eighteenth century texts. Giovanni Pietro Chattard, Nuova descrizione del Vaticano (Rome 1762-67) vol. III, 142-3. Chattard lists the virtues as Faith, Hope, Charity, Discretion, Prudence Justice, Temperance and Fortitude. Agostino Taja, Descrizione del Palazzo Apostolico Vaticano (Rome, 1750) 403: "Intorno a ciascun tondo sono due virtute in sembiante femminile, ma di una grazia, e di una leggiadria da non potersi esprimere."


exhibiting these various merits.626 Virtues appear again in Pietro della Cortona's ceiling in the Palazzo Barberini, *The Triumph of Divine Providence*.627

But there is an enormous inherent difference of purpose between painted fresco programs intended for the private contemplation of a pope or prince and funerary art which is by definition propagandistic and intended for both the contemporary and future public. Thus the best analogies for the visual explication of papal virtues can be found in other inherently public works: funerary monuments, medals and arches and official ceremonies. Indeed personified virtues were common in the pageants and arches erected for triumphal entries.628 The arches for papal possessi took a similar form.629 One of the triumphal arches erected for Paul's possessio contained six virtues: *prudenza, forza, abondanza, giustita, pace,* and *religione*.630

We have already noted that the only papal catafalque before Paul's, that of Sixtus V, incorporated virtues. Turning to the permanent tombs of Paul's sixteenth and early seventeenth-century predecessors we find that some, although by no means all, incorporate virtues. In fact, the use of virtues on papal tombs does not become ubiquitous until the mid-

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seventeenth century. Nonetheless, there are examples to be found. Paul III's tomb originally contained four virtues: Justice, Prudence, Abundance, and Peace. An early design for Paul IV's tomb in S. Maria sopra Minerva shows Justice and Fortitude. Leo XI's tomb in St. Peter's, executed by Algardi, contains two figures sometimes identified as Wisdom and Abundance. This sample demonstrates that there was no set canon of princely virtues that was adhered to.

If other sepulchral monuments or papal ephemera may have served as inspiration for the choice of virtues, the designers of Paul's catafalque would not have had to rely on these cinque- and seicento precedents in determining how to depict individual virtues. There was another readily available source of virtue imagery close at hand. Personified or deified virtues appeared frequently on the reverses of coins in Imperial Rome. These coins provided the amateur antiquarians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with easy (and cheap) access to the classical world as Rome was literally flooded with ancient coins and medals.

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631 Panofsky writes that the use of virtues on tombs "assumed the proportions of an international rage from the sixteenth century." Panofsky, 1992.

632 Interestingly, when Bernini reworked this tomb to form a pair with his new tomb for Urban VIII he removed Abundance and Peace. Lavin 2005, 132.


635 Charlesworth argued that these can be seen as an arm of official propaganda, Charlesworth 1937. Wallace-Hadrill disputes the validity of this view before the second century A.D. Wallace-Hadrill, 307-314.

Starting in the sixteenth century scholars and amateurs alike began the serious task of investigating and cataloguing these coins, resulting in a the proliferation of numismatic treatises and guides throughout Europe. Andrea Fulvio's *Illustrium Imagines* appeared in 1517. By the middle of the sixteenth century there was a virtual explosion of texts on numismatics. 1548 saw the publication of Enea Vico's *Le imagini con tutti i riverse de gli imperatori*, followed a decade later by his *Discorsi di M. Enea Vico Parmigiano, sopra le medaglie de gli antichi divisi in due libre*. Gabriele Simeoni's *Illustrazione de gli epitaffi et medaglie antiche* appeared in 1558. The *Discorso di M. Sebastiano Erizzo sopra le medaglie de gli antichi* appeared first in 1585, and in a much expanded second edition already in 1592.

Many of these antiquarians were prominent figures in early seicento Rome and certainly members of the same circle as both Guidiccioni and Scipione Borghese, and some of the most learned and important works on numismatics came out of this circle. Antonio Agustin's dialogue was translated into Italian in 1592 as *Dialoghi di Don Antonio Agostini Arcivescovo di Tarracoco intorno alle medaglie inscritioni et altre antichità*. Fulvio Orsini's numismatics, see Frances Haskell, *History and its Images: Art and the Interpretation of the Past* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993)13-26.


638 Enea Vico *Le imagini con tutti i riverse de gli imperatori* (Venice, 1548) and Ibid., *Discorsi di M. Enea Vico Parmigiano, sopra le medaglie de gli antichi divisi in due libre* (Venice: Gabriele Giolito, 1558).

639 Gabriele Simeoni, *Illustrazione de gli epitaffi et medaglie antiche* (Lyon: Giovan de Tournes, 1558).

640 Sebastiano Erizzo, *Discorso di M. Sebastiano Erizzo sopra le medaglie de gli antichi* (Venice: Giovanni Varisco, 1585) and much expanded second edition (1592).

monumental *Familiae Romanae Quae Reperiuntur in Antiquis Numismatibus* was published in Rome in 1577.\(^642\)

But these books had a range far beyond the narrow numismatic circles in which they originated. They formed the basis of what were to become the iconographic handbooks of the period. These iconographical handbooks proliferated in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, culminating in Cesare Ripa's tremendously influential *Iconografia*, first published in 1593 and expanded in 1603.\(^643\) Ripa drew heavily on the earlier efforts of Vincenzo Cartari's *Immagini delli Dei de' gli Antichi* of 1547 and 1556,\(^644\) Andrea Alciato's *Emblemata* of 1542 and 1546 and Guillaume Du Choul's *Discorso della religione* of 1571.\(^645\) Since the authors of these publications were in many cases friends, they drew heavily on each other's work, resulting in a common culture of symbols and values.\(^646\)

All of this demonstrates that in the early Seicento there was a surfeit of sources for the depiction of a ruler's virtue. But allied to this wealth of prototypes verbal and visual was a distinct lack of specificity. So broad was the canon of princely virtues that a classical or patristic source could be found to defend the construction of almost any imaginable virtue as appropriate to a prince. The virtues chosen to define Paul, then, are the result of active

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\(^{642}\) Fulvio Orsini, *Familiae Romanae Quae Reperiuntur in Antiquis Numismatibus ab Urbe Condita ad Tempora Divi Augusti ex Bibliotheca Fulvi Ursini* (Rome, 1577).

\(^{643}\) Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia* o vere descrittione di diverse imagini cavate dall'Antichità e di propria invenzione Cesare Ripa* (Rome, 1603).

\(^{644}\) Vincenzo Cartari, *Immagini delli Dei de' gli Antichi* (Venice, 1547).

\(^{645}\) Guillaume Du Choul, *Discorso della religione* (Lyon, 1571).

\(^{646}\) Many of these same descriptions are presented in Ripa and Cartari, sometimes, but not always, quoting their sources both ancient and contemporary. For a complete discussion of Ripa's numismatic sources, see Chiara Stefani, "Imagini cavate dall'antichità. L'utilizzo delle fonti numismatiche nell' *Iconologia* de Cesare Ripa," *Xenia Antiqua* 9 (2000): 59-78. For a broader overview of this topic see Jean Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953).
choice not adherence to a canon. Therefore they, and their meanings, bear careful consideration.

**Paul's Virtues: The Four Daughters of God**

As we saw in chapter five, the architectural design of the catafalque required the prioritizing of four virtues to sit on the two sarcophagi which were placed in front of the two lateral entrances. But this architectural exigency does not mean that those four sculptures had to be the Four Daughters. The four cardinal or theological virtues, after all, would have been a more standard choice. The question we are faced with, then, is why Scipione and Guidiccioni chose this particular allegory to form the core of Paul’s catafalque. To understand this decision we must delve into the standard exegesis of Psalm 84 in the Vulgate. Verse 12 reads:

> Misericordia et veritas obviaverunt sibi: 
> iustitia et pax osculatae sunt. 
> Veritas de terra orta est: 
> et iustitia de caelo prospexit.

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648 Benedixisti Domine terram tuam: avertisti captivitatem Iacob. 
Remisisti iniquitatem plebis tuae: operuisti omnia peccata eorum. 
Mitigasti omnem iram tuam: avertisti ab ira indignationis tuae. 
Converte nos Deus saluturis noster: et averti iram tuam a nobis. 
Nunquid in aeternum irasceris nobis: aut extendes iram tuam a generatione in generationem? 
Deus tu conversus vivificabis nos: et plebs tua laetabitur in te. 
Ostende nobis Domine misericordiam tuam: et salutare tuum da nobis. 
Audiam quid loquatur in me Dominus Deus: quoniam loquitur pacem in plebem suam. 
Et super sanctos suos: et in eos, qui convertuntur ad cor. 
Veruntamen prope timentes eum salutare ipsius: ut inhabitet gloria in terra nostra. 
Misericordia et veritas obviaverunt sibi: iustitia et pax osculatae sunt. 
Veritas de terra orta est: et iustitia de caelo prospexit. 
Etenim Dominus dabat benignitatem: et terra nostra dabat fructum suum. 
Iustitia ante eum ambulabit: et penet in via gressus suos.
Mercy, and Truth have met each other:
Justice, and Peace have kissed.
Truth is risen out of the earth: and
Justice hath looked down from heaven.]

The earliest explication of the passage comes in Hugh of St. Victor’s *Annotation of the Psalms* (c. 1120). The central focus of Hugh’s version is the struggle between Truth and Mercy over the soul of man. Hugh’s analysis is influenced by a *midrash* about two camps of angels contesting the creation of Adam and encompasses both verses eleven and twelve, focusing on the virtues’ strife rather than their reconciliation. In this reading God descends to earth with Truth where he is met by Mercy, who begs for forgiveness. Truth and Mercy dispute the fate of man’s soul before God, who then sends Truth to earth and keeps Mercy in

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[O Lord thou hast blessed thy land: thou hast turned away the captivity of Jacob. Thou hast forgiven the iniquity of thy people: thou hast covered all their sins. Thou hast mitigated all thy wrath: thou hast turned away from the wrath of thine indignation. Convert us o God our saviour: and avert thy wrath from us. Wilt thou be wroth with us for ever: or wilt thou extend thy wrath from generation to generation? O God thou being turned shalt quicken us: and thy people shall rejoice in thee. Show us O Lord thy mercy: and give us thy salvation. I will hear what our Lord God will speak in me: because he will speak peace unto his people. And upon his saints: and upon them, that are converted to the heart. But yet his salvation is nigh to them that fear him: that glory may inhabit in our land. Mercy, and truth have met each other: Justice, and Peace have kissed. Truth is risen out of the earth: and Justice hath looked down from heaven. For our Lord truly will give benignity: and our land shall give her fruit. Justice shall walk before him: and shall set his steps in the way.]

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649 Although Chew posits that the theme predates the psalm, and is an expression of the struggle in God’s own mind between Justice and Mercy and that the central theme is redemption and atonement. Chew, 36-37. Also see Tavers, 12.

650 Ibid., 13-14.
Heaven. Truth causes man to repent and returns to Heaven with their confessions, whereupon Justice is sent to earth. Justice summons Peace and both return to Heaven. More influential was the gloss of St. Bernard of Clairvaux, which occurs in a sermon on the Annunciation (c.1140). His interpretation differs from Hugo's, focusing more on the redemption attained by the reconciliation of the sisters than the strife between them. Bernard's version also is more Christological, substituting Christ's sacrifice for man's own repentance and confession as the solution to the dispute. Bernard argues that man originally possessed the four virtues but lost them through his sins. After this, a dispute arose in Heaven about whether to punish or forgive man. The sisters ask God's council and an angel suggests sending a man to earth. As they can find no man without sin, Peace explains that they must send Christ. Because of the decision to send Christ to earth, the story becomes a prelude to the Annunciation. This became the basis for most later versions, almost all of which retain the emphasis on reconciliation.

The pseudo-Bonaventura's *Meditationes Vitae Christi* (c.1300) discusses the allegory in the first several chapters that deal with the need for the Redemption. This version is


653 Tavers, 15. Tavers suggests that this change was suggested by the fact that Psalm 84 is part of the Christmas liturgy.

654 Ibid., 16.

655 Ibid., 18.

656 Sancti Bonaventura Opera (London, 1668) VI, 335-336. For more on the *Meditationes* see Isa Ragusa and Rosalie Green, *Meditations on the Life of Christ: an Illustrated Manuscript of the Fourteenth Century*, Paris,
explicitly derived from Bernard and differs mainly in that the setting begins with an angelic
chorus debating the fate of man, to which the sisters join their voices. This version was
clearly widely disseminated as over 200 manuscript versions remain, including seventeen
illustrated ones. It also was enormously influential spawning for many versions and
translations.

It is hard to overstate how popular this theme was. It occurs not only in sermons
and theological tracts, but was a frequent subject in courtly literature. The intent of the
combination of these four virtues would have been obvious to anyone in the middle ages.
And its popularity continued unabated into the seventeenth century, meaning that it would
have been equally intelligible to viewers of the catafalque.

But the reasons for its choice extend further than its popularity. First, the Marian
slant, clear in all of the versions derived from Bernard, resonates with Paul's particular
devotion to the Virgin. Bernard's gloss which views the episode as prefiguring the

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657 Tavers, 42.

658 Ragusa and Green, 50-51. For instance Nicholas Love's The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ
See Michael Sargent, Nicholas Love, The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ a Full Critical Edition Based
on Cambridge University Library Additional MSS 6578 and 6686 with Introduction Notes and Glossary
(University of Exeter Press, 2005). Tavers gives an extensive list of translations and editions. Tavers,
43-44.

659 For an exhaustive study of the appearance of and iconographical treatment of the virtues in
English literature, see Chew.

660 Chew, 47 n. In England it appears in Milton's notes for his earliest treatments of the fall of man
and in a masque. Shakespeare also uses the device in the trial scene of The Merchant of Venice with
Portia representing Justice and Shylock representing Mercy [Act 4, scene 1].
Annunciation clearly inspired artists and the two scenes are often adjacent in early manuscript illuminations and fresco cycles.\textsuperscript{661}

Second, there is a liturgical connection between the psalm and death. This connection also derives from Bernard of Clairvaux's sermon on the Annunciation in which the truce between Mercy and Truth comes about by man dying a good death and death, in turn, becoming the portal to heaven.\textsuperscript{662} Psalm 84 was used in both the liturgy for the birth of Christ and All Soul's Day.\textsuperscript{663} Despite this connection, earlier examples of this theme in funerary art are difficult to discover. While Hans Kaufmann observes that the four sisters commonly guarded reliquaries, catafalques and tombs, he gives examples only of reliquaries.\textsuperscript{664}


\textsuperscript{663} Lavin 2005, 179

\textsuperscript{664} Kauffmann, 199.
In general, little work has been done on the visual representation of the Four Daughters, and even less on its iconography and derivation. Nonetheless, it certainly seems to have been prevalent throughout Europe in the seicento. The theme seems to have had a particularly strong visual resonance for many popes. Justice and Peace appear on a c. 1506 coin of Julius II. They also appear, along with Abundance, on a coin for Innocent VIII by Niccolo Fiorentino. A more veiled allusion comes in a coin struck for Urban VIII in 1624, which depicts a blindfolded Justice holding scales and sword with the inscription "pax in virtute tua." "Iustitia et Pax" was a motto of Alexander VII and appears on the facade of S. Maria della Pace. The inaugural medal for Alexander VII of 1655 depicts Justice and Peace embracing with the inscription "iustitia et pax osculates sunt," a direct quote from the psalm. Papal interest in the theme can probably be put down to the fact that Justice and

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666 Temple, 113. The inscription reads "osculate sunt."


668 Described in Moroni, 69. Despite the incorporation of Peace and Justice, the text is actually a reference to psalm 122.

669 Martin Delbeke interprets it as proclaiming "the Christian version of the Golden Age." See Cordula van Wythe, "Reformulating the Cult of our Lady of Scherpenheuvel: Marie de Medici and the Regina Pacis Statue in Cologne (1635-1645)42-75, 61. Citing an unpublished article by Delbeke, "Marian Propaganda in Seventeenth-Century Europe."
Charity were both seen as virtues of the state and as representative of the *plenitudo potestatis*. They also were the two main benefits of Divine Wisdom. The importance of the conceit to the overall program is hinted at by its inclusion in the poetry. Two epigrams address Justice and Peace. Another two take as their subject Mercy and Truth. And while none of these particularly furthers our understanding of the...
catafalque, their presence is, nonetheless, important, for it suggests that the authors of the poetry were made aware of this theme before the ceremony.

There were also formal benefits to a grouping arranged around the Four Daughters: namely that the story is predicated both on the division of virtues into two pairs and on their interaction with each other. As noted, this pairing suited the architectural conditions. It also allows for an interaction of the virtues, showcasing Bernini's talents in creating life-like sculptures, what in his portraits was termed the "speaking likeness." This talent would not have been lost on either Guidiccioni or Scipione. Indeed, Guidiccioni was instrumental in disseminating this interpretation of Bernini's sculptures.\textsuperscript{675} In a letter to Bernini he describes two of his portrait busts (of Scipione Borghese and Urban VIII) as actually living and speaking: Bernini “does miracles making marbles talk.”\textsuperscript{676} This conceit is repeated ad nauseum throughout Guidiccioni’s writings on Bernini.\textsuperscript{677} Describing a statue of Urban VIII,

\begin{flushleft}
DE PAVLI QVINTI PONT MAX
Veritatis, & Misericordiae nouum fœdus.
EPGRAMMA.
Obuia de Cælo tibi lux, PAVLE, arbitra veri
Venit, & é nostris tristior aura malis.
Vtraque cordato dominari in pectore longùm
Certauit, meritis ambitiosa tuis.
Utraque sed tandem concordi pacerevincta est:
Quippe capax omnis cor tibi laudis erat.
\end{flushleft}

\textsuperscript{675} By elegizing Bernini’s portraits in this way, Guidiccioni inserts himself into a distinguished tradition of poets writing about art, starting with Petrarch’s sonnets on Simone Martini’s portrait of Laura, which fails to come alive, and encompassing works by Bembo, Aretino and Castiglione in which the artwork seems to life. See for example Mary Rogers, “Sonnets on Female Portraits from Renaissance North Italy,” \textit{Word and Image} 3 (1976): 291-306.

\textsuperscript{676} Letter of June 4, 1633, quoted in D’Onofrio 1967, 381 (Cod. Barb. Lat. 2958, cc. 202-207) “Vostra Signoria e suggetto et creatura che fa miracoli facendo parlare i marmi.” This idea may derive from the famous incident involving the bust of Cardinal Montoya, which is so lifelike that Maffeo Barberini observes “mi pare che mons. Montoya rassomiglia al suo ritratto.” Ibid., 386 n. 17.

\textsuperscript{677} The \textit{Breve Racconto} includes one epigram on a statue of Paul (which of course may or may not be by Guidiccioni). Guidiccioni 1623, Odes 34.

DE PAVLI QVINTI PONT. MAX.
Marmorea effigie in sepulcro.
he writes “the visitor is alive, the stone stiff. By controlling art, on this side and that, the stone gains life, the visitor grows stiff,” and “the living marble plays the blessed part of our Prince,” or “nature made a man, the image of honor, and Art reproduces his living image here. One is the work of God, the other of the Artist.”

How, then, do these sisters interact? First, their relation is indicated by their poses for the postures of each pair mirror each other. Justice and Peace sit perched on the front of their seats. They face away from each other. Each crosses her rear leg over the front. Each raises her right hand while her left lies in her lap. The pairing extends to their attributes: Justice' sword and peace's caduceus echo each other, each pointing upwards and towards the apse of the church. In fact they seem to be pointing at the thirteenth century apse mosaic of the Coronation of the Virgin, perhaps illustrating the ultimate result of their union.

Mercy and Truth's poses are also mirror images of each other. Both perch towards the front of the seat with both legs dangling unsupported. Each bends the leg which is further back up at a somewhat unnatural angle. Mercy supports a child with her right hand while Truth holds a book. Mercy holds her breast with her left hand while Truth crooks her empty arm in a similar gesture. While Justice and Peace appeared to interact with the church, Mercy and Truth both look directly in front of them. In other words, they look into the EPIGRAMMA.

Precantis ore supplices iunxit manus
Vt ora PAVLI marmor insculptum tulit.
Quid anime facias? sola si tanti viri
Docere imago saxa pietatem potest?


“Ad Ioannem laurentium berninium” in Ibid., 173.

“Eiusdem Eximii Principis eximium Simulacrum” in Ibid., 173.

On the early Christian mosaics in S. Maria Maggiore, see Beat Brenk, die Frühchristlichen Mosaiken in S. Maria Maggiore zu Rom (Wisbaden: Steiner, 1975).
Pauline Chapel. In addition, the two pairs are physiognomically similar, suggesting their status as sisters.

We will now turn our attention to the depiction of each individual virtue and look not only at how they relate the this overarching scheme, but also at how other meanings are created concomitantly.

**Iustitia**

*Iustitia* (figure 20) is a fitting virtue for a jurist pope. The importance of justice to Paul's papacy was not lost on the panegyrist and, as we have seen, Astraea was frequently present in the guise of justice in Borghese encomia, used to represent the coming of a new Golden Age. But the invocation of justice was not specific to Paul's pontificate; it is also one of the virtues most frequently used to symbolize the State throughout the early modern period. Justice was key in the representation of Venice and Siena, both in political thought and visual imagery.

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682 From the start of his reign, Paul made legal reform and justice a priority. Pastor, vol. 25, 79. Starting in 1608, he sought to reform and reorganize the entire judiciary, a reform formalized in a bull of March 1, 1612. Ibid., 82. He strictly implemented laws and penalties and ended the immunities of ambassadors and cardinals. Throughout his pontificate, Paul was eager to strengthen ecclesiastical power.

683 Depictions of Astraea are fairly common in the art of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Examples include Salvator Rosa's *Astraea leaves the Earth* in Vienna, Vasari's *Astraea* in the Capodimonte, commissioned by Alessandro Farnese (see Robertson 1992, 55-57 and Liana de Girolami Cheney, "Giorgio Vasari's *Astraea*: A Symbol of Justice," *Visual Resources* 19, 283-305 and Ruben's portrayal of Marie de Medici as Astraea in *The Felicity of the Regency* from the Marie de' Medici Cycle (see Mattias Winner, "The orb as the Symbol of State in the Pictorial Cycle by Rubens Depicting the Life of Maria de' Medici," in *Iconography, Propoganda and legitimation*, Allan Elenius ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999) 63-105, 84-86.

684 Justice was particularly closely associated with Venice. The equation of Venice with justice was central to the conception of the Venetian state and appears in a letter of Petrarch of 1364. The visual equation of Venetia and *Iustitia* starts as early as the fourteenth century and reaches its culmination in Paolo Veronese's ceiling for the Sala del Maggior Consiglio. See David Rosand, "Venetia Figurata: The Iconography of a Myth," *Interpretazioni Veneziane Studi di storia dell'arte in onore di Michelangelo*
As such, it has a resonance far older than Paul's reign, and one which he was not the first pope to co-opt. Justice had been an important theme in the poetic iconography of Sixtus V, in which it is seen as a precondition for the flourishing of peace and abundance.\footnote{Irene Polverini Fosi, "Justice and its Image: Political Propaganda and Judicial Reality in the Pontificate of Sixtus V," \textit{Sixteenth Century Journal IV} (1993): 75-95, 86. Fosi examines Sixtus' record and concludes that the encomiastic descriptions far outpaced reality.}

In fact, one some level, the very legitimacy of the papacy was predicated on Divine Justice, or the idea that the pope was the conduit of God's justice, passed to him through Peter.\footnote{This part of the pope's spiritual inheritance may have been more important after his claims to temporal patrimony were weakened after the donation of Constantine was proved to have been a forgery by Lorenzo Valla in 1440.}

This lineage was of particular importance in defending the papacy during the Counter-Reformation and is alluded to in the scriptural inscription associated with Bernini's figure: "de coelo auditum fecit iudicium, terra tremuit, et quievit," which clearly describes not only justice descending from heaven, but the pope's participation in its descent.\footnote{This is a modification of Psalm 75, verse 9 with \textit{fecit} replacing \textit{fecisti}. "Thou hast caused judgment to be heard from heaven; the earth trembled and was still." Given the reference to the earth trembling in reaction to justice, it is also interesting to note an anecdote recorded by Tetius about Andrea Sacchi's ceiling fresco of Divine Justice in the Palazzo Barberini. Tetius, 32. He writes that the combination of the Divine Justice revealed in the painting, poetry and person of the pope was such that it caused the walls to shake! This episode is also discussed by Panofsky 1948, 192.}

eagle, which also references the words of Psalm 84, "iustitia de caelo prospexit." Further evidence that the source of justice is divine can be found in Iustitia's attendants: Religio, Maiestas, and Puritas. The spiritual overtones of this particular combination of ancillary virtues are very clear.

If, then, we assume that this figure specifically represents Divine Justice, how is this conveyed through her visual representation? What iconographic choices steer the viewer towards this reading? Iustitia sits on the edge of her seat with legs crossed, leaning forward. Her left hand grips the base of a long sword, extending over her left shoulder. Her right hand holds out a group of palm fronds. As noted, an eagle sits at her feet.

The sword and frond were not merely default symbols of justice. In designing this figure Bernini had a rich iconographic tradition on which to draw, for Justice is one of the most commonly illustrated virtues in the Renaissance. Some idea of the many types of Justice current a century earlier can be gleaned from De iusticia pingenda, a 1515 book written by Mantegna's friend Battista Fiera. It is cast as a dialogue set in Rome of 1488-9 between Mantegna and Momus (a sort of reincarnation of the Greek demi-god of mockery, satire and

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688 Matthias Winner has pointed out that the distribution of Borghese heraldic devices is arranged to reinforce the reference to Psalm 84. The earthly animal (the dragon) is assigned to Veritas, described in the Psalm as rising out of the earth. The celestial animal (the eagle) flanks Iustitia, who is described as looking down from Heaven. Winner, 299-300.


poets) in which the painter purports to be so mystified by the many options available to him that he has to consult philosophers.\footnote{James Wordrop, De iusticia pingenda, On the Painting of Justice, A dialogue between Mantegna and Momus by B. Fiera the Latin text of 1515 reprinted with a Translation, and Introduction and Notes (London: Lion and Unicorn Press, 1957). On this exchange also see Resnick, Representing Justice, 446, n. 21 and 22 and Randolph Starn and Loren Partridge, Arts of Power: Three Halls of State in Italy 1300-1600 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992)132-133. Mantegna had painted a Justice for the now destroyed chapel of Innocent VIII in the Vatican Belvedere, see n. 613 above.}

So why does Bernini's Justice carry a sword? The source is not ancient, for both sword and balance are uncommon in ancient coins.\footnote{Agustin, for one, states that he has never seen a coin representing either. Agustin, 45. "B: Non si trovua ella mai con la spada & con le bilancie? A: Io non l'ho veduta in alcuna medaglia."} But the figuring of Justice with sword (but not scales) is common in portrayals of corrective or divine justice as opposed to redistributive justice. As such, it is also common in literary portrayals of the Four Daughters.\footnote{Chew, 97. Chew suggests that this is due to the fact that "she is primarily the advocate of stern correction and retribution rather than of equitable distribution."}

The presence of the sword also alludes to other Christian prototypes. The sword was a symbol of the pope's namesake, St. Paul, as well as a common emblem of female martyrs.\footnote{Marina Warner suggests that the sword becomes "an emblem, not a literal weapon; it compresses the argument that the Psychomachia topos deploys at length, that evil is being destroyed. The sword belongs in the hands of saints from the Christian calendar who are dragon-slayers." It "recalls their death, and their victory over evil." The intentional evocation of Psalm 84 by the placement of a "celestial" eagle becomes more potent when we recall the frequent presence of dragons in depictions of Justice because of the virtues association with female dragon slaying saints (through the connection of the sword). Warner, 159.} The female personification of Justice with her sword in the Renaissance explicitly and implicitly referenced Saints Catherine and Margaret as well as Judith. The palm frond, a typical emblem of martyrdom, not justice, further underscores the hagiographical reference, as does the beatific expression of Bernini's Justice, typical of representations of martyrs.
**Pax**

*Pax* (figure 21) is a less commonly encountered virtue (or rightly personification or benefit). But this is not the first time it appears in a Borghese project. Peace also is an important element of the iconography of another monument on the Esquiline: the column in front of S. Maria Maggiore erected and rededicated to the Virgin by Paul V. The column's association with Peace derives from the fact that it was believed in the seventeenth century to have come from Vespasian's Temple of Peace.\(^{695}\) The inscriptions on the base added by Paul as well as much of the poetry written to commemorate its erection explicitly contrasts the false peace of the ancients with the new true peace of Christ and of Mary as the mother of peace.\(^{696}\) The column is dedicated to "the most blessed Virgin from whose flesh is born the true prince of peace" according to an inscription on its base by Baldessare Ansidei.\(^{697}\) A second inscription by Antonio Querenghi states that it was consecrated to "the most holy Virgin, from whom true Peace comes."\(^{698}\)

This imagery is particularly interesting in light of the virtues annexed to *Pax*; for all have distinctly pagan overtones. The three "virtues" associated with *Pax* are *Providenzia*, *Tranquillitas*, and *Annona*.\(^{699}\) All were frequently linked to Peace in Imperial Roman imagery. Tranquillity and Abundance are both seen as products of peacetime. *Providentia* is derived

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\(^{695}\) Ostrow gives an extremely thorough overview of the evolution of sixteen and seventeenth-century historians’ beliefs about the history of the building, focusing specifically on the views of historians and antiquarians in Paul V’s circle. Ostrow 2010, 362-3.

\(^{696}\) Ibid., 363-364.

\(^{697}\) Ibid., translation and discussion 364 and transcription 375, n. 68. "...beatissimae virgini ex cuius visceribus princeps verae pacis genit[us] est donumedit..."

\(^{698}\) Ibid., translation and discussion 364 and transcription 375 n. 69. "et sanctissimae pax unde vera est consecravit virgini."

\(^{699}\) None of these represent virtues *per se*, but rather the result of virtues. All of these personifications with peace derives from Imperial Roman Imagery.
from an ancient prototype meant to represent the power and wisdom of a leader, another precondition of stable and peaceful rule. By making these pagan versions of Peace subservient to Peace herself, Bernini allegorizes the triumph of Christian over pagan Peace.

Bernini’s Peace sits with her legs crossed. Her right arm extends from her open drapery to support a caduceus. The gesture reveals her right breast, which is somewhat obscured by the shadow of her raised arm. She rests her left arm on her lap and her legs are crossed, feet dangling in the air. A dragon sits at her feet, its face obscured by her billowing garments. In other words, the main emblem of Peace is the caduceus.

The tradition associating the caduceus with Peace derives from the story of Mercury’s caduceus, used to separate two snakes locked in deadly combat, thus creating peace. In this context the reference to Mercury would have had a further connotation because of his association with death and rebirth as guide to the underworld. But there is also an historical source for the equation between the caduceus and peace. Thucydides in the *History of the Peloponnesian War* (431-404 B.C.) refers to the *kerykerion* as the symbol of peace carried by the Corinthians in their meeting with the Athenians. This practice of using the caduceus as a sort of white flag was adopted by the Romans and Livy writes that in 168 BC

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700 For the relation between *Providentia* and *Aeternitas* see Charlesworth 1936. Charlesworth argues that *Providentia* (i.e. the forethought of the ruler) is a precondition for the continuance of the Roman Empire. On the creation of the virtue of *Providentia* see Fishwick 1987, 182. The combination of *Tranquillitas* and *Providentia* is also not unheard of and they appear together in the coinage of Diocletian. Charlesworth 1936, 120.


the conquered Macedonians carried a caduceus to meet the conquering Roman general.\footnote{Ibid., 128.}
The caduceator eventually became an official position: an envoy who negotiated peace
treaties and was granted immunity by his caduceus. This meaning would be relevant both to
the treaty negotiated by God in the Parliament in Heaven and to the pope's role as
peacemaker in foreign exploits, a function stressed by Guidiccioni in his funeral oration. The
caduceus, then, is meant to symbolize the peace brought about by Paul's governance of
Rome. This reading is strengthened by the inscription: "delectatus est in multitudine pacis."
which is a modification of Psalm 36, verse 11: "delectabuntur in multitudine pacis."\footnote{Interestingly, when we reintroduce the first half of the verse: "Mansueti autem hereditabunt terram," (and the meek shall inherit the earth), we see another underlining of the division of virtues set out in the Four Daughters and underscored by the selection of Borghese emblems, for it consigns peace to the earthly sphere.}

The use of the caduceus as an attribute was not pervasive, but is present in most of
the iconology manuals. Ripa, for instance, lists no less that fifteen possible depictions of
Peace, at least seven of which are explicitly derived from Roman coinage.\footnote{Ripa, 375-378.} However, only
two of these list the caduceus as an attribute. The first is described as taken from a medal of
Vespasian: "a woman who holds in one hand an olive branch and in the other a caduceus,
and one sees another with a bunch of ears of grain, and with a cornucopia and with her
forehead crowned with olive leaves."\footnote{Ibid., 377. Donna, che da una mano tiene un ramo d'olivo dall'altra il Caduceo, & un'altra si vede con un mazzo di spighe di grano, & col cornucopia, & con la fronte coronata d'olivo. This same coin is described in Guillaume De Choul, 14. See also a discussion of De Choul as Ripa's source in Stefani, 63.} The second derives from a medal of Claudius: "a
woman, who lowers the caduceus towards the ground where a snake with fierce writhing,
showing the diversity of colours, the venom which he holds, and with the other hand she

covers her eyes with a veil in order not to see the snake with these letters." Agustin also noted that the caduceus occurs in coinage as a symbol of Peace. His explanation of its meaning is that the "caduceus, which some call diving rod is a symbol of happiness," because "nothing is happy without peace." Personified peace in any form occurs only rarely before the seventeenth century. In the later seventeenth and eighteenth century she appears alongside other virtues in a number of allegories of good government, but many of these return to the attribute of the olive branch. Despite the ancient precedent, the use of the caduceus as a symbol of peace only is prevalent in the later seventeenth century

Interestingly, some of the attributes "missing" from Bernini's Peace (the olive branch, sceptre, cornucopia) appear in the supporting virtues. Perhaps Bernini is using them as surrogates for some of Peace’s attributes, instead of having to include them in a single sculpture. This allows him to focus on a single aspect in Pax.

707 Ripa, 378. Una donna, che abbassa il Caduceo verso la terra dove è un serpe con fieri stravolgimenti, mostrando la diversità de colori, il veleno che tiene, & con l'altra mano si scuopere glo'occhi con un velo per non veder il serpe, con queste lettere.

708 Agustin, 42. "il Caduceo, che alcuni chiamano Virgula divina, è simbolo della Felicità, come diremo, quando parleremo d'essa & non si tuovo cosa felice senza Pace."


710 For example Rubens' Minerva Protects Pax from Mars of 1629 in the National Gallery depicts Peace as Ceres and Artemesia and Orazio Gentileschi's Allegory of Peace and the Arts under the English Crown of 1638-9, commissioned by Henrietta Maria (daughter of Marie de' Medici) for the ceiling of Queen's House Greenwich (now Marlborough house). See Keith Christiansen and Judith Mann, Orazio and Artemesia Gentileschi (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001) 228-229.

711 See Friedlander, 128. On the development of the caduceus motif, see also Waldemar Deonna, "Emblèmes médicaux des temps modernes. Du bâton serpentaire d’Asclépios au caducée d’Hermes," Revue internationale de la Croix-Rouge 15 (1933): 310-339. Friedlander suggests that its first use was in a medal commemorating the Peace of Munster in 1648. Friedlander also suggests that in the sixteenth century the caduceus indicated the wisdom of its bearer, Hermes Trismegistus. Ibid., 83-84.

712 Noreña, 128-9.
Misericordia

Charity was a very popular and important virtue in the late sixteenth century. The Protestant disputes over the efficacy of good works led the Catholic church to double down on the importance of charity and it was championed by Charles Borromeo among others. Bernini's *Misericordia* has the inscription "secundum altitudinem coeli a terra corroboravit misericordiam suam." This is Psalm 102, verse 11, left unaltered: "for as the heaven is high above the earth, so great is his mercy." Underscoring God's mercy is a clear reference to the question of good works. For Mercy had been decried by the stoics as an unworthy virtue, in fact the opposition of Justice. It was Petrarch who reclaimed this virtue's place in the pantheon of princely virtues by pointing out that it was the exercise of mercy that made a prince similar to God. The assumption that the "he" here refers to the pope merely reinforces this point, for it suggests that Paul has succeeded in emulating God by adopting his merciful rule. Furthermore, *Misericordia*'s companions (*Clementia*, *Ekeemosina*, and *Mansuetudo*) were all seen as particularly Christian virtues.

Perhaps for doctrinal reasons as much as personal inclination, charity was incredibly important to Paul. He limited his personal expenditures in order to be able to give away

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713 Alain Tapié (ed.), *L'allegorie dans la peinture. la représentation de la charité au XVII siècle* (Caen: Musée des Beaux-Arts, 1986) 45. See also Mâle, 173.


715 Stacey, 84. *Mansuetudo* and *Clementia* are both discussed at length by Aquinas for whom they are both annexed to Temperance. [Question 157 of the Treatise on Temperance and Fortitude] See also Stacey, 93-95 for Aquinas' reliance on Seneca. Mansuetudo's scriptural importance led to its becoming an important element of the medieval conception of the ideal prince and even bishop. See Stacey, 93 and C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Origins of Courtliness: Civilizing Trends and the Formation of Courtly* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985) 149-150. This doubling up of charitable virtues may have been common feature in Four Daughters. Chew notes that in literary works Mercy was almost always accompanied by one of her many interchangeable charitable sisters. Chew, 109.
more, restricting his visits to Frascati (and even contemplating their complete elimination).\(^{716}\) Paul's expenditures on charity were recorded by the majordomo Giovan Battista Costaguti as 82,710 scudi a year, and Pastor suggests that an actual number was 120,000. According to Costaguti, over the course of Paul's pontificate 1,300,000 scudi were given in alms.\(^{717}\) The pope was also personally involved in obtaining flour for the poor at the best price.\(^{718}\) Mercy can also be connected to building. According to Pastor, citing Costaguti, Paul regarded his building projects and their job creation as the highest form of almsgiving.\(^{719}\)

*Misericordia* (figure 22) exposes one breast, holding it with her left hand. Her right hand supports a single putto who stands behind her and holds an ewer up to his lips. Her drapery is diaphanous, clearly revealing the indentation of her navel. This imagery does not align with that found in Ripa, but is certainly similar to many depictions of Charity.\(^{720}\) But

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\(^{716}\) Pastor vol. 25, 50. Referencing *avviso* of September 24, 1605.

\(^{717}\) Ibid., 50.

\(^{718}\) Ibid., 50. Referencing *avviso* of December 29, 1607.

\(^{719}\) Ibid., 99.


Donna di carnagione bianca, haverà gl’occhi grassi, & il naso alquanto aquilino, con una ghirlanda d’oliva in capo, stando con le braccia aperte, ma tenga con la destra mano un ramo di cedro con il frutto, & à canto vi sarà l’uccello pola, overa cornacchia.

*Misericordia* è un affetto de l’animo compassionevole verso l’altrui male, come dice S. Giovanni Damasceno lib.2.cap 24.

La Carnagione bianca ‘occhi grassi, & il naso aquilino secondo detto di Aristotele al capo sesto de fisonomia, significano inclinatione à la Misericordia.

La ghirlanda d’olivo che tiene in capo, è il vero simbolo de la Misericordia nelle sacre lettere, à le quali si deve l’obligo della cognition vera di questa santa virtù, & il ramo di cedro significa il medesimo, come fa fede Piero Valerino, ove tratta del Cedro.
there is one major difference. While most representations include multiple children, here there is a single child. This form is not unheard of—it appears in a sculpture by Andrea Orcagna for the tabernacle of Or San Michele and in a border detail of the fourteenth-century *Allegory of Mercy* in the confraternity of the Misericordia in Florence. It is also typical of Bernini’s later depictions of Charity: those in the tombs of Urban VIII and Alexander VII and in the de Silva Chapel.

But the single child may have a further import here. For Mercy does not actually feed the child, but rather collects milk in a ewer. Thus the child becomes a stand-in for all people, or specifically all of Rome, and thus represents the pope’s nourishing of his flock. In this respect she may relate to images of Roman Charity, usually depicted as a young woman suckling an old man. This imagery derives from the story of Pero and Cimon from Valerius Maximus.

Lo stare con le braccia aperte, dinota che la Misericordia è à guisa di Giesù Christo Redentor nostro, ch’è la vea Misericordia, con pontezza c’aspetta sempre con le braccia aperte, per abbracciar tutti, e sovvenir à le miserie nostre, & Dante nel lib. 3. del Purgatorio spora di ciò così dice:

*Horribil furon li peccati miei*
Ma la bontà infinita hà si gran braccie
Che prende ciò che si rivolge à lei.

Gli si dipinge à canto l’uccello pola, perciòche appresso gl’Egittij significava misericordia, come si può vedere in Oro Apolline.

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722 On Urban’s tomb see Lavin 2005, 131-137, on Alexander’s see Ibid., 178. Commenting on the rarity of the single child in that work, Irving Laving concludes that “the emblematic nature of the allegory of charity as a prelapsarian virtue is evident from the fact that, contrary to all tradition, here she has only one offspring. Also see Michael Koortbojian, "Disegni for the Tomb of Alexander VII," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 54 (1991): 268-273, 271-2 and Rudolf Preimesberger, "Bernini a San Agnese in Agone." in *Colloquio del Sodalizio* 3 (1973) 54f. On the de Silva Chapel see Kauffmann, 208-210. Lavin 2005, 178.

Another example of the charity of the state being depicted with one child comes from ancient coins: the personified *Alimenta*, a figure with one child who appears both on a sestertius of Trajan and the *Anaglypha Traiana* in the Forum. The coin appears in the second edition of Sebastiano Erizzo, where it is understood to refer to the charity of the state in feeding the children of Italy.\(^{724}\) This emphasis on nourishing the people is not surprising for the charity of the pope is analogous to the charity of the state. Paul's role as pontiff was to take care of the Roman people.

**Veritas**

*Veritas* is the most unusual of the virtues.\(^{725}\) In his discussion of the similar figure of Truth on Alexander VII's tomb Irving Lavin contrasts the function of that figure with Bernini's earlier rendition here on the catafalque. He argues that while the catafalque shows Truth as just a daughter of God, the later iteration of the theme shows "the promise of redemption that will emerge over the course of time."\(^{726}\) The ancillary virtues in Paul's catafalque suggest that such a reading is incomplete: that in fact the same ideas are already intended here that were more fully flushed out by a more mature artist over fifty years later.

The three Virtues associated with Truth are *Sapienza*, *Magnarinita*, and *Magnificentia*. The specific guises in which these virtues appear all attest to Paul's patronage and its endurance.

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\(^{725}\) In fact, Lavin calls the presence of Truth in a papal tomb "without precedent." Lavin, 2005, 177.

\(^{726}\) Lavin 2005, 178. Alexander VII's Truth shows a "promissory aspect" which "concerns time alone as a cognitive, quasi-eschatological ideal, whose triumph the psalm declares as the promise of redemption that will emerge over the course of time."
This legacy will reveal the truth of his greatness. In other words, these virtues represent the popular seventeenth-century conceit of "Truth unveiled by Time."

*Veritas* (figure 23) is the only fully nude virtue. She looks downwards, across her right shoulder and gestures with her right hand. She holds open a large volume with her left hand. A sun diadem sits on her forehead. This is very traditional iconography. For instance, Ripa describes truth as holding a book and a sun. Ripa devotes several pages to alternate views of *Verità* and Bernini's representation here contains all of the key elements: nudity, the open book and the sun. In fact Bernini’s *Veritas* seems very closely related to Ripa’s illustration, and differs only in that the sun appears as a diadem, rather than a held object.

Truth bears the inscription "viam veritas elegit." This is a modification of Psalm 118, verse 30, "viam veritatis elegi," with the person and tense altered to apply to the pope to say "he followed the way of truth." The way of truth is the teaching of God and thus Truth

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727 Ripa, 499-502. "The sun, the source of all light, is also a symbol of truth, which is the friend of light; light chases away the shadows, as truth does in the mind. One arrives at truth by the study of science, of facts, hence Truth holds a book."

728 Ibid., 499-502.

**VERITÀ**

Una belissima donna ignuda, tiene nella destra mano alto il Sole, il quale rimira, & con l'altra un libro aperto, con un ramo di palma, & sotto al destro piede, il globo del mondo.

Verità è un'habito dell'animo disposto à non torcere la lingua dal dritto, & proprio essere delle cose, di che egli parla, & scrive, affermando solo quello che è, & negando quello, che non è senza mutar pensiero.

Ignuda si rappresenta, per dinotare, che la simplicità gli è naturale; onde Euripide in Phænissis, dice esser semplice il parlare della verità, ne li fà bisogno di vane interpretazioni, perciocche ella per se sola è opportuna. Il medesimo dice Eschilo, & Seneca nell'epistola quinta, che la verità è semplice oratone, però si fà nuda, come habbiamo detto, & non deve havere adornamento alcuno.

Tiene il sole, per significare, che la verità è amica della luce, anzi ella è luce chiarissima, che dimostra quel che è.

Si può anco dire che riguarda ilsole cioè Dio, senza la cui luce non è verità alcuna; anzi egli è l'istessa verità; dicendo Christo N. S. Io sono Via, Verità, & Vita.

Il libro aperto, accenna, che ne i libri si suona la verità delle cose, & per ciò è lo studio delle scienze.
becomes a stand in for God himself. This, of course, derives from Christ's words to Thomas recorded in John 6: 14 "Ego sum via, veritas, vita." 729

**Dependent Virtues**

If the four virtues were chosen because of their adherence to the Four Daughters, Guidiccioni and Scipione had considerably more latitude in choosing the attendant virtues. It is in these virtues, then, that we should expect to find both accurate representations of Paul and flights of Borghese propaganda. Because of the rigid framework this should mean that some of the groupings make more sense than others and that virtues which were indispensable to the conception of Paul are awkwardly forced into positions they do not belong. After all, not every princely virtue naturally associates itself with Peace, Truth, Mercy or Justice. It appears that some of the virtues were chosen by association with Imperial precedents and others actually as a response to various elements of Paul's biography.

**Religio**

Religio (figure 24) wears a papal tiara and is clothed in a sumptuous cloak of a floral damask-like fabric attached with a jewelled clasp with a putto's head. She holds a censor between her hands. She wears shoes, whereas the other virtues are bare foot or sandaled. This is a somewhat unusual representation and seems designed to underline the pope's importance to the Church: the figure is really an allegory of the papacy. 730

729 It is perhaps significant that Christ often appears in the Middle Ages holding a book open to precisely this passage. See M. Didron and E. Millingston, *Christian Iconography or the History of Christian Art in the Middle Ages* (London: Bohn, 1851) 289.

730 Ripa, 429-432.
In an earlier chapter we argued that Paul and his encomiasts viewed the restoration of Rome and in particular early Christian churches as tantamount to the rebirth of the newly purified church. We also argued that architectural references to early Christian buildings in the catafalque indicate this legacy. This meaning is also suggested by the inscription associated with Religio, which reads "dilexit decorem domus domini, et locum habitationis gloriae illus." This is a modification of psalm 25, verse 8, "Domine, dilexi decorem domus tuae, et locum habitationis gloriae tuae" ("I have loved, o Lord, the beauty of your house; and the place where thy glory dwelleth"). It is surely no accident that Paul's religiosity is equated with his building projects. In fact, the inscription implies that he was religious because of his building.

**Maiestas**

*Maiestas* (figure 25) wears a cloak of a similar material to Religion with elaborate draperies, tall sandals, and a three pointed imperial crown. Her hair is short and tousled and her expression stern, almost masculine. Her left hand grips her drapery while her right holds a sceptre, pointing downwards. The direction of her gaze follows this gesture. The eagle at her feet holds up lightning bolts in its left talon.

The crown and eagle relate directly to Ripa's description of *Maestà Regia*. These attributes both derive from a coin of Antoninus Pius. Ripa's passage also explains the

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731 Ibid., 305. Una donna coronata, & sedente mostri nell’aspetto gravità, nella destra mano tiene lo scettro, & lo stare à sedere, significa la maestà Regia, & per l’aquila gl’Egitij Sacerdot, dinotavano l’potenza Regia, perciòche Giove à questa sola diede il Regno con la signoria sopra tutti gli’uccelli, essendo frà tutti di fortezza, & di Gagliardezza prestantissima, la quale essendo veramente stata dotata dalla natura de’ costumi Regali imita à fatto in tutte le cose la Regia Maestà.
presence of the lightning bolt in the eagle’s talons. He writes that the eagle is a symbol of Majesty because “Jove gave to this one alone the kingdom with the domain of all the birds,” thus Zeus’s lightning stands in for this transfer of power from Zeus to the eagle. Since the eagle is a Borghese symbol, this could be read as an allegory of God's transfer of power to the pope.

The relation of Majesty to either Paul or Justice is somewhat obscure, a circumstance not really elucidated by any of the texts. The ode on Madia speaks of the "streets and gloriously restored buildings." This associates Madia with Magnificencia and the ideas of Magnificencia being appropriate only in princes. The inscription reads "Thronus eius sicut sol" which is taken without change from Psalm 88, verse 38: "His throne as the sun." The choice of this Psalm is interesting. The verse before reads his "seed shall endure forever," which may be read as a reference to the continuation of the Borghese dynasty. More importantly, Psalm 88 ties the throne to justice. Verse 15 describes justice and judgment as the preparation for the throne and incorporates mercy and truth.

Puritas

_Puritas_ (figure 26) wears a simple ankle length tunic, in contrast to the ornate garb worn by most of the other sculptures. She clasps her right hand to her breast and holds up

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732 Guidiccioni 1623, a 3. "Seu faustus Vrbis perlegeret suæ Vias, renatis ædibus inclytas."

733 See pages 102-103 above.

734 "semen eius in æternam manebit."

735 "iustitia et iudicium præperatio sedis tuæ Misercordia et veritas præcedent faciem tuam."
fire in her left hand with a vessel beneath, dangling off of a ring attached to her middle finger. A rooster stands at her side peeping out around the right edge of her dress.

Ripa describes both *Purità* and *Purità et Sincerità d’animo.* His descriptions bear little resemblance to Bernini’s figure, although the latter does include one key symbol: the rooster. Ripa’s equation of the rooster with purity is based on classical authors.

The rooster is not the only element of this figure which derives from Antiquity. The fire she holds represents the sacred fire guarded by the vestal virgins. The equation of purity with the vestal virgins is a logical one because of their vow of chastity. A second reason for this particular allegory is that it reinforces the connection between Justice and *Purità.* Over time, the vestal virgins played an increasingly important role in the running of

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736 Ripa, 421.

*Purità*

Giovanetta, vestita di bianco, con una Colomba in mano. Giovanetto si dipinge la purità, perch’è stà ne’ cori teneri, dove non hà ancora fatte le radici l malitia; & il vestimento bianco, e tal disposizione di mente convenevole, come la bianchezza più d’alcun’altro colore partecipe de la luce, della quale nessun’accidente sensibile, è piu puro, & perfetto, mostrandosi ancora in questo modo la purità essere più di tutte le altre virtù alla divinità somigliante. La colomba bianca, ci dimostra la simplità, & l purità della vita, & col colore, ch’essa con ogni delicatezza mantiene, & col costume naturale, che è di godere con singolar purità il suo compagno, senz’altro desiderare, ö volere, per fine de naturali desiderij d’Amore. Donna vestita di bianco, per la ragione detta in altri luoghi, & che tengi con bella grata un Gallo.

Il Gallo, come riferisce Pierio Valeriano lib. 24 appresso gli Antichi, significava la purità, & sincerità dell’animo, onde Pitagora commandò à suoi Scolari, che dovessero nutrire il Gallo; cioè la purità, & sincerità de gli ani loro; & Socrate appresso Platone quando era per morire, lasciò nel suo testamento un Gallo ad Esculapio; volendo in quel modo mostrare il saggio Filosofo, che rendeva alla divina bontà curatrice di tutti i mali, l’anima sua pura, & sincera come era prima. Onde Giulio Camillo nel fin della canzona in morte Delfin di Francia così disse

Ma à te Esculapio adorno
Ei sacrò pria l’angel nuncio del giorno.

737 “The rooster, as Pierio Valeriano relates, according to the Ancients, signifies purity and sincerity of the soul. So that Pythagoras commanded his scholars that they must nourish the rooster, that is the purity and sincerity of their souls. And Socrates, according to Plato, when he was about to die left in his will a rooster to Asclepius, wishing in that way, to show that learned philosopher that he restored to the divine goodness creator of all ills, his soul pure and simple as it was in the beginning.”

the Roman state. In fact, they were seen as a personification of the state.\textsuperscript{739} The vestal virgins were closely associated with Augustus as Pontifex Maximus and with many of the female members of his family.\textsuperscript{740} They also were sometimes responsible for guarding the wills of emperor.\textsuperscript{741} All of these associations were not lost after the fall of the Empire and vestals continue to appear in ruler iconography, even into the Counter Reformation, when they served as a symbol of the purity and majesty of the ruler.\textsuperscript{742}

Purity's relation to Justice is further underlined by the choice of inscription, "ambulavit in lege domini." This is a corruption of the second half of Psalm 118, verse 1: "Beati immaculati in via, qui ambulant in lege domini," or "blessed are the undefiled in the way, who walk in the law of the lord."\textsuperscript{743}

\textbf{Annona}

\textit{Annona} (figure 27) gathers up her dress with her left arm while her right hand offers sheaves of wheat to the viewer. An overflowing cornucopia rests at her feet, full of grapes and other fruits. Her dress covers her right shoulder and arm but reveals her left breast. She is crowned with a wreath of wheat. Bernini's \textit{Annona} is an active figure with very different physiognomy form many of the other virtues. She appear almost masculine and intensely active.

\textsuperscript{739} Ibid., 424.

\textsuperscript{740} Charlesworth 1937, 124.

\textsuperscript{741} Kroppenberg, 421.


\textsuperscript{743} This is the same psalm used for Truth.
In Roman antiquity, the attributes of *Annona, Abundantia*, and the goddess Ceres seem to have become somewhat interchangeable.\(^{744}\) Cinque- and seicento theorists, including Ripa, are no more careful in drawing a distinction between them. Although Ripa does not give a specific description of *Annona*, he does include several different, but closely related, descriptions of *Abbondanza* in the 1603 edition, one of which he specifically traces to an Antonine *Annona* coin.\(^{745}\) As we have already noted, abundance, and particularly the overflowing cornucopia, is frequently used as "a symbol of the abundance of peace,"\(^{746}\) precisely because only times of peace produce such bounty for Rome’s citizens.

\(^{744}\) Noreña, 116.

\(^{745}\) Ripa, 378. “Donna gratiosa, che havendo d’una bella ghirlanda di vaghi fiori cinta la fronte, & il vestimento di color verde, ricamato d’oro, con la destra mano enga il corno della dovitia pieno di molti, & diversi frutti, vue, olive, & altri; & col sinistro braccio stringa in fascio di spighe di grano, di miglio, panico, legumi, & somiglianti, dal quale si vederanno molte di dette spighe uscite cadere, & sparse anco per la terra.

Bella, & gratiosa si debbe dipingere l’Abondanza, si come cosa buona, & desiderata da ciascheduno, qunto brutta, & abominevle è contraria.

Hà la ghirlanda de’ fiori, perciocche sono i fiori de i frutti che fanno l’abondanza messaggieri, & auttori; posono anco significare l’allegrezza, & la delitie di quella vera compagna.

Il color verde, & i fregi dell’oro del suo vestimento, sov colori propri, essendo che il bel verdeggiar della campagna mostri fertile produttione; & l’ingiallire, la maturatione delle biade, & de i frutti, che fanno l’abondanza.

Il corno della dovitia per la favola della Capra Amaltea, raccontata da Hermogene nel lib. della Frigia, si come riferisce Natale Comite nel 7. libro delle sue Meteologie al cap.2. di cheloo, & per quello che Ovidio scrive del detto Acheloo sotto figura di Toro, nel lib. 9. delle Trasformationi, è manifesto segno dell’abondanza, dicendo così:

\textit{Naiades hoc ponis, \& floris odore repletu, Sacrarut, divesq. meo bona copia cornus est.}

Et perche l’Abondanza si dice Copia, per mostrarla la rappresenatmo che con il braccio sinistro habbia come il dstro la sua carica, & d’avantaggio, essendo che parete di quelle spighe si spargono per terra.

...\(^{746}\) Ripa, 378.

\(^{746}\) Ripa, 378.
Annona was a goddess created by Imperial Rome to signify the grain supply provided to Rome by the emperor. Her image appears frequently on coinage of Nero, Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Septimus Severus. 747

Annona was also the designation for the papal office responsible for overseeing the city of Rome’s grain supply from the fifteenth century onwards. 748 As we have seen this was a particular concern of Paul's and the inscription is an explicit reference to Paul's actions to control the grain supply. 749 It comes from Psalm 143, verse 13 "promptuaria eorum plena, eructantia ex hoc illud" ("their storehouse full flowing out of this into that") and is modified to "promptuaria eius plena eructantia ex hoc illud" ("his storehouse"). This refers to the granary that Paul had built for the poor in 1607 and then enlarged in 1609. 750

Tranquillitas

Tranquillitas (figure 28) holds the neck of a viola da gamba adorned with a lion's head in her left hand and clasps her right hand to her breast. Her left foot is placed slightly forward and elevated on a flat rock. She looks up to her right. Her dress exposes her right shoulder but this is covered by a cloak.

747 Ibid., 122. Noreña notes that Annona coins were particular popular with Antoninus Pius, as were coinage of public building projects.

748 For a very thorough study of this subject, see Volker Reinhardt, Überleben in der frühneuzeitlichen Stadt: Annona und Getreideversorgung in Rom 1563-1797 (Tübingen, 1991).

749 Pastor, vol. 25, 87-90. See discussion above in chapter four.

750 Ibid., 50-51.
Tranquillitas is a very uncommon virtue. She does appear in Imperial coinage and usually represents a calm state of domestic politics.\textsuperscript{751} She is very closely related to peace, and is represented by a sceptre.\textsuperscript{752} She appears on coins of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius with attributes similar to Annona’s grain and a rudder. Ripa describes her as a woman holding a kingfisher.\textsuperscript{753}

While the viola da gamba does not appear in Roman descriptions of tranquillitas, music does feature in the Roman iconography of concordia, which along with tranquillitas was considered a corollary of pax. During the republic the most common definition of concordia

\textsuperscript{751} Noreña, 131.
\textsuperscript{752} Ibid., 132.
\textsuperscript{753} Ripa, 491-492. Donna con allegro volto, tenga con ambe le mani un’Alcione, uccello il quale stia dentro al suo nido, & un’altro ne voli intorno alla testa di essa.

Gli Alcioni, fanno in nido alla ripa del mare con mirabile artificio di officiole, & spine de pesci assai piccioli,& in tal modo intessato, & fortificato, che è sicuro ancora di colpi di spada; hà forma simile alla Zicca, & non hà se non un picciolo pertugio per il quale è fatica entra, & esce l’Alcione istesso, il quale fu presso à gl’antichi Egittij indicio di tranquillità, perche esso per naturale istinto, conosce i tempi, & si pone à far il nido quando vede, che sia per continuare molti giorni tranquilli, & quieti; però tirando di qui la metafora, dimandavano i Romani giorni alcijonij, quei pochi di, che non era lecito andare in giudizio, &attendere alle liti nel Forno.

Tranquilità

Donna bella d’aspetto, la quale stando appoggiata ad una Nave, con l destra mano tenga un cornucopia, & con la sinistra le faldi de panni; per terra vi sarà un’ anchora arrugginita, & in cima ll’albero della nave, si vedrà una fiamma di fuoco.

Si appoggia alle nave, per dimostrare la fermezza, & tranquillità, che consiste nella quiete dell’onde, che non la sollevando, fanno, che sicuramente detta donna s’appoggi.

Il cornucopia, dimostra, che la tranquillità del cielo, & del mare, producano l’abondanza, l’una con l’arte delle mercantie, l’altra con la natra delle influenze.

L’anchora è istromento da mantenere la nave salda, quando impetuosamente è molestata dalle tempeste, gittandosi in mare, & però sarà segno di tranquillità, vedendosi applicata ad altro uso, che à quello di mare.

La fiamma del fuoco sopra all nave, dimostra quella, che i naviganti dimandano luce di S. Ermo, dalla quale quando apparisce sopra l’albero della nave, essi prendotto certo presaggio di vicina tranquillità.

Tranquilità nella Medaglia d’Antonino Pio

Donna, che tiene con la man destra un Timone, & con la sinistra due spighe di grano, mostrando per esse spighe l’abondanza del grano, che si può havere per mare, in tempo tranquillo & quieto.
was “the union between political rivals that produced ‘harmony’ in the state,”\textsuperscript{754} a metaphor that can be traced to Cicero: “quae harmonia a musicis dicitur in cantu, ea est in civitate concordiae.”\textsuperscript{755}

In the Renaissance tranquillitas was more often applied to inner peace than worldly matters. Thus Leon Battista Alberti published a dialogue "Della Tranquillità dell'anima" in which he guides man to a life of inner peace.\textsuperscript{756} The concept of tranquillitas enjoyed a resurgence in the early seventeenth century, having been popularized by Erasmus.\textsuperscript{757}

The inscription reads "pes eius stetit in directo," or “his foot has stood in the direct way,” which derives from Psalm 25, verse 12 "pes meus stetis in directo" ("my foot has stood in the direct way"). This is the second appearance of this psalm, which also was invoked for Religio. It suggests that Paul stood resolute in the course of justice, producing harmony or tranquillity in the state.

**Providentia**

Providentia came late to the firmament of imperial virtues. Providentia was first used as an attribute of the emperor under Augustus and she became firmly established as an Augustan virtue along with Pax, Iustitia and Concordia. She quickly became an earthly rather than heavenly virtue, associated with the emperor’s foresight in regards to the welfare of the

\textsuperscript{754} Nořeňa, 132.


\textsuperscript{756} His work is largely predicated on Seneca. See Matthias Schöndube, *Leon Battista Alberti "Della tranquillità dell’animo" Eine Interpretation auf dem Hintergrund der antiken Quellen* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011).

people, ensuring a stable succession and warding off conspiracies. Tiberius established an altar to *Providentia Augusta*, a virtue defined as the forethought of the emperor to ensure success by adoption.

Bernini's *Providentia* (figure 29) holds a large volume in her left arm and an armillary sphere in her right hand. She steps forward and looks up to her right. This specific depiction of *Providentia* holding a globe derives from a Roman coin type, the *providentia deorum*, in which a woman wearing a matron's dress holds a globe. It was intended to signify the power and wisdom of the emperor, in particular with regards to ensuring a stable succession. The focus on succession is also conjoined with another meaning latent in these coins: Roman emperors frequently used *providentia* coins to prove their legitimacy, especially after they had usurped power. This type was certainly known in the Seicento. Agustin illustrates many examples of *providentia* coins with a globe at the figure's feet or being passes between two emperors, but concludes that the figure herself sometimes holds the globe.

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758 Charlesworth 1936, 110.


760 Noreña, 97-99. He gives a concise overview of the *Providentia* type. From its earliest appearance under Tiberias through Vespasian these coins show a closed altar precinct and read "Providentia." Under Titus, there is a new type where the emperor is handed a globe by his predecessor. After Nerva, coins always depict the female virtue of *Providentia* carrying a scepter and pointing at a globe. He states that this shift represents a pivot from a view of *Providentia* as responsible for dynastic succession to the more general forethought of the emperor.

761 Christopher Howgego, *Ancient History From Coins* (London: Routledge, 1995) 82. In these instances, Providence's globe is passed from one emperor to his successor.

762 Agustin, 56-57. "Alcuni assegnano al Providenza il caduceo, altri il cornucopia (sic) quello significa felicita/ e questa abbondanza, altri appoggiano ad una colonna per piu/ fermezza, altri le danno il mondo in mano,& non sotto a/ piedi, per dimostrare il governo, & eccovi dell' altre medaglie, dove la vedrete ancora in altri modi figurata."
five different types of *providentia*, several taken from Imperial coinage, and mentioning the globe.\footnote{Ripa, 415. *Providenza*.}

That this specific aspect of Providence was important is suggested by the fact that none of the other attributes mentioned by either Ripa (an anchor, cornucopia, and keys) or Agustin (the caduceus) appears. The question of succession would have been relevant for Paul, as his election was something of a surprise. And ideas of continuity and succession would refer not only to Paul’s succession to the throne of St. Peter, but also to Scipione’s

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\footnote{Ripa, 415. *Providenza*. Donna con due teste à somiglianza di Iano, una testa sarà ghirlandata li spighe di grano, & l’altra di vite con il frutto, in una mano terrà due chiavi, & nell’altra un Timone, non potende essere alcun’huomo provido senza la cognizione del tempo passato, & del futuro.

A ragione si dipinge questa figura con le due faccie, le quali dicemmo esser convenienti alla providenza descritta di sopra.

Le chiavi mostrano, che non basta il provvedere le cose, ma bisogna ancora operare per essere perfettone gli atti virtuosi, & le chiavi notano ancora tutte le cose, che sono istromenti delle attioni appartenenti alla terra, & che ci aprono li laborinti fabricati sopra alla difficultà del vivere humano.

Il Timone, ci mostra ancora nel Mare adoprar si providenza in molte occasioni, per acquistarne ricchezze, & fama, & ben spesso ancora solo per salvare la vita; Et la providenza regge il Timone di noi stessi, & dà speranza al viver nostro, il quale quasi nave in alto Mare, è sollevato, & scosso da tutte le bande da venti della fortuna.

**PROVIDENZA**

*Nella Medaglia di Probo*

Si vede per la providenza nella Medaglia di Probo, una Donna stolata, che nella destra mano tiene un Scettro, & nella sinistra un Cornucopia, con un globo a’ piedi, & si mostra la providenza particolarmente à Magistrati.

**PROVIDENZA**

*Nella Medaglia di Massimino.*

Donna, che nella destra tiene un mazzo di spighe di grano, & nella sinistra un’hasta, che con diverse cose mostra il medesimo, che si è detto l’altra.

**Providentia**

Et nella Medaglia di Tito, si vede una Donna con un timone, & con un globo, come in una di Floriano col globo, & con un’hasta.

**Providenza**

Una Donna, che alza ambe le braccia verso il cielo, & se rivolge qua si conle mani giunte verso una stella, con lettere, *Providentia Deorum*; la quale è di Elio Pertinace, come racconta l’Erizzo.

Fra gl’huomini plebei; la providenza, perché immediatamente da Dio, il quale è datore di tutti i beni, & conoscitore di tutte le cose, secondo il detto dell’Apostolo, *Omnis sufficientia nostra ex Deo est*; & non ci provendo esso delle cose necessarie, poco, o nulla vale la providenza nostra, che è come la volontà de teneri fanciullini trasportata dal desiderio di caminare, che presto cade; se la forza della nutrice non se sostenta.

**Providenza.**

Si vede nella Medaglia di Balbino, una Donna, che con la sinistra mano tiene il Corno di divitia, & nella destra una clava, col Mondo a’ piedi, con lettere, che dicono *Providentia Deorum, S.C.*
succession as *paterfamilias*. The Borghese were not the only seventeenth-century papal family to adopt *Providentia* to explain their power. Providence was also an important part of the mythology surrounding Urban VIII’s election and reign.\(^{764}\)

But the poetry suggests that *Providentia* was also meant to refer to Paul’s forethought in providing for the people; both the ode and epigram associated with *Providentia* link this virtue back to *Annona*. The ode discusses Ceres, Triptolemus and mentions the grain fields, Roman crops and storehouses. The epigram refers to the storehouse of Romulus.\(^{765}\)

\(^{764}\) In Bracciolini’s book on Urban’s election *Providentia* plays a key role in the pope’s election. This theme appears again on Pietro da Cortona’s ceiling for the Barberini Palace depicting Divine Providence. See Beldon Scott.

\(^{765}\) Guidiccioni 1623, odes 10.

GENTIS HUMANAE CVSTODIS PROVIDENTIA
Ode VIII.
Cede vetusti nobilis ævi
Fabula, radijs victa nouellis.
Quid Triptolemi garrula currus,
Quid legisere carpenta Deæ
Relegis totum sparsà per orbem:
Ut melioris semina vitæ
In frugisero sererent nymbo?
Quippe iugales tanta dracones
Insinuabant munera terris:
Vt Burghesij stemmata regni
Prodigiali fronte notarent.
Namque vbi socio iuncta Draconi
Regina uuium Vaticani
Sacram imperij tenuit meritis
Grandibus arcem: quanta per urbem,
Quanta per omnes didita gentes
Segetumeluiies, copia rerum!
Non hyemali largior astro
Exundantium currít aquarum
Impetus, vda se mole ferens.

Renuente graues aëre nymbos:
Quanta fericis gloria messis
Romana premens horrea; mundi
Tunc esse nouam dedit altricem,
Regina vetus que fuit orbis,
Hominum sed enim vita Parenti
Finally, despite all of these Imperial overtones, there is another fundamentally Christian interpretation. Providence was viewed as an important virtue for any Counter-Reformation prince to possess and was defined as adherence to God’s plan.\textsuperscript{766} Paul’s participation in this plan is attested to by Providential’s inscription: "deduxit eos in viam rectam ut irent in civitatem habitationis" or "and he led them into the right way, that they might go to a city of habitation."\textsuperscript{767}

**Sapientia**

The idea of Divine Wisdom, the wisdom that was with God in the beginning, derives from a verse in the apocryphal book of Ecclesiasticus (24:9): "He created me from the

\begin{verbatim}
Ingrata suo iam destituit
Illius artus, cuius amatis
Artibus almae lucisin oris
Viula toties alimenta tulit.
Implacatae tristia mortis
Iura vetabant scilicet, almos
Sublime caput censere dies:
Quando repoum non violanda
Lege monebat: satis humani
Iam spectatum luce theatri
Liquere egentes luminis oras
fas esse, Deo Iudice, Paulum:
Vt qui meritis astra petebat,
Mente teneret viuidus astra.
\end{verbatim}

\textbf{DE EADEM RE}

Epigrama
Horrea Romuleae non deficientia genti
Burghesij virtus Principis alma dedit.
Has aedes hominum vitae prestruxit; & inde
Publica ab interitu sepe redempta salus
Quid vaturn Elisios memorant mihi carmina campos?
Vitae immortalis patria, Roma patet.

\textsuperscript{766} See Bireley 236. Lipsius argued in *De Costantia* 1.4.3 that the role of the prince was to understand and implement the divine plan. Justus Lipsius, *Poltica: Six Books of Politics or Political Instruction*, ed. and trans., Jan Waszink (Assen: Koninklijke, 2004) 85.

\textsuperscript{767} Psalm 106, verse 7.
beginning before the world, and I shall never fail." This and other so-called Wisdom texts led medieval mystics to associate *Sapientia* with the bride of God and eventually with the Virgin Mary whom she was seen as prefiguring. As early as the tenth century passages from the Wisdom texts were read at Marian feasts. The feast of the Assumption was introduced in the seventh century and the epistle for the mass was taken from Ecclesiasticus 24. In the tenth century regular Saturday masses to the Virgin incorporated the same text. Bernard of Clairvaux expanded on the relationship between Mary and the Book of Wisdom. Divine Wisdom, thus, is the source not only of the Marian liturgy but also, because of Wisdom's status with God in the beginning, of the doctrine of Immaculate Conception.

Other traditions grew out of the Mary/Sapientia equation, prime among them the relation of Mary with the throne of Solomon, the *sedes sapientiae*, for which there is a rich

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770 On the derivation of the idea of the Immaculata from Ecclesiasticus 24 see Helen Ettlinger, "The Iconography of the Columns in Titian's Pesaro Altarpiece," *Art Bulletin* 61 (1979): 59-67, 59-62. Also see Alice Wood, "Creation and Redemption in the Doctrine of the Immaculate Conception," *Maria, a Journal of Marian Studies* 2 (2002). The immaculate conception was not official church doctrine until Pius IX's bull *Ineffabilis Deus* of 1854 but the feast of her conception was celebrated as early as he seventh century. This feast was legitimizd by Sixtus IV in 1476. August 30, 1617 Paul issued a bull reiterating that of Sixtus which attempted to walk the line between the two positions, making it illegal to teach the inaccuracy of the immaculate conception, but not actually making it dogma, citing the seriousness of the issue and length of time it had been at issue. The doctrine was opposed by St. Bernard Clairvaux, Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventure, but supported by the Franciscans. On the political ramifications (i.e. the efforts of Spain to have it declared doctrine) see Luc Duerloo, *Dynasty and Piety: Archduke Albert (1598-1621) and Habsburg Political Culture in the Age of Religious Wars* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2012) 466. Cigoli's dome of the Paulina is sometimes seen as a representation of the Immaculata. Ostrow 1996, 210-240, Ibid., 1996b and Eileen Reeves, *Painting the Heavens: Art and Science in the Age of Galileo* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997) 138-148. See further discussion of possible Immaculism in this catafalque in n. 488 above.
tradition in medieval art. The pillar in a passage in Proverbs: "Wisdom has built her house, she has hewn out seven pillars." The pillars were equated with the seven liberal arts. The Marian associations of Divine Wisdom would have been compelling given Paul's devotion to the Virgin, which is something of a leitmotif throughout the Breve Racconto.

But this is not precisely the representation of Wisdom that was chosen. In fact, Bernini's Sapientia conforms clearly to a specific Minerva type. Sapientia (figure 30) is dressed as a soldier, wearing armour and a plumed helmet. She supports a shield figured with Medusa's head (a reference to Athena's aegis sometimes said to have been made from Medusa's flayed skin) in her left hand and points upward with her right.

The equation of Wisdom and Minerva was largely an invention of sixteenth-century humanists, who, following Ovid, viewed Minerva as leader of the muses in place of Apollo. A common equation of the liberal arts and muses suggested a comparison with the tradition already discussed that saw Mary as the nourisher of the seven liberal arts. Because of this connection the Wisdom/Minerva type was often used to represent patronage, which is clearly the purpose here. She becomes a sign not only of Truth, but a reminder of his role

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772 Proverbs 9:1.

773 Warner, 177-209.
as a patron of the arts. Wisdom has been interpreted as playing a similar role in Algardi's tomb of Leo XI.\(^\text{774}\)

Of course another obvious relation between Minerva and Wisdom comes from the fact Minerva, as daughter of Zeus, echoes Wisdom as daughter of God. In Ecclesiasticus (24:3) Wisdom describes herself thus: "I came out of the mouth of the most high and covered the earth as a cloud."

Returning to our assumption that these virtues were selected to indicate the triumph of Paul's reputation over time through his patronage, we find support in the scriptural passage chosen.\(^\text{775}\) The inscription, "cogitavit dies antiquos et annos aeternos in mente habuit," then, would be a reference both to Paul's restoring of ancient times and the idea of future generations' recognition of these deeds. The ode on Wisdom also references his patronage and suggests that Paul's building on the Esquiline will reflect on the future reputation of the Borghese family.\(^\text{776}\)

The Minerva/Wisdom was relatively rare in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.\(^\text{777}\) Ripa gives five different version of Sapienza, only one of which is the Minerva type.\(^\text{778}\) But there is some question about the degree to which the Minerva/Sapientia and

\(^{774}\) On Leo XI's repeated use of this motif see Senie, 91-93. On the larger theme, see Pigler, vol. II, 48.

\(^{775}\) This is an adaption of Psalm 76: 6: "cogatavi dies antiquos et annos aeternos in mente habui," or "he thought of the days of old and had the eternal years in mind."

\(^{776}\) Guidiccioni 1623, Odes 11. The last four lines of ode IX, DEI PERSONAM GERENTIS SAPIENTIA, read: "Aggesta Exquilijs templa, superbius PAVLO nacta decus Principe & auspice; Dum stabunt, paris æui Stabit Burghesium iubar."

\(^{777}\) Pigler, Barockthemen (Budapest: Akademiai Kiado, 1956) vol. II, 497. Although it does appear in Sansovino's Logetta where Minerva is represented as a personification of the Wisdom of the State.

\(^{778}\) Ripa, 442. Sapienza
Divine Wisdom were completely separate types. In the 1618 edition, Ripa explicitly contrasts Divine Wisdom to *Sapientia Profana*, exemplified by the Minerva type. Cartari, on the other hand, discusses the relation of the two types. In fact, *Sapientia* points heavenward with her hand, indicating the source of her Wisdom, and suggesting that we read the figure as a hybrid of Minerva and Divine Wisdom.

**Magnanimitas**

*Magnanimitas* (figure 31) is a woman holding an olive branch in her left hand with a lion skin draped over her left arm, which she reaches for with her right hand. She stands on a dagger, spear, helmet and tiara. These symbols are very unusual. Only the lion is mentioned in Ripa's lengthy description of *Magnanimità*. Their rarity is further problematized by the

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E commune opinione che gli Antichi nell'immagine di Minerva con l'oliva appresso, volessero rappresentare la Sapienza, secondo il modo, che era conosciuta da essi, & però sinceramente, che fosse nata dalla testa di Giove, come cosa conosciuta per molto più perfetta, non sapendo errare in cosa alcuna, di quel che comporta la potenza dell'huomo, & fingevano che avesse tre teste, per consigliare altrui, intendere per sè, & operare virtuosamente; il che più chiaro si comprende per l'armatura, & per l'hasta, con le quali si resiste agevolmenent alla forza esteriore d'altrui, essendo l'huomo fortificato in sè stesso, & si giova à chi è debole, & impotente, come si è detto in altro proposito. Lo scudo con la testa di Medusa, dimostra che il sapiente deve troncare tutti gli habiti cattivi da sè stesso, & dimostrarli, insegnando a gl'ignoranti, accioche li fuggano, 7 che si emendino. L'oliva dimostra, che dalla sapienza nasce la pace interiore, & esteriore, & però ancora interpretano molti, che il ramo finto necessario da Virgilio all'andata di Enea à i campi Elisii, non sia altro che la sapienza, la qual conduce, & riduce l'huomo à felice termine in tutte le difficoltà. Alcuni la figuravano col cribro, ovo crivello, per dimostrare, che è effetto di sapienza saper distinguere, & separar il grano, dal gioglio, & la buona, dalla cattiva semenza ne'costumi, & nell'attione dell'huomo.

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779 Ibid., 456.

780 Cartari, 310-11. See also Rosand 2001, 214, n. 134.

781 Ripa, 300-301.
fact that they do not appear in the elevation where they have been replaced by an animal, possibly another lion. *Magnanimitas* does not occur frequently in art, with a prominent exception being Lorenzetti's *Allegory of Good Government* where she is one of two virtues (the other being *Pax*) added to the standard four cardinal virtues surrounding the personification.

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Donna bella, con fronte quadrata, & naso rotondo, vestita di oro con la corona imperiale in capo, sedendo sopra un leone, nella man destra terrà un scettro, & nella sinistra un cornucopia, dal quale versi monnete d’oro. La Magnanimità è quella virtù, che consiste in una nobile moderazione d’affetti, & si trova solo in quelli che conoscedosi degni d’esser honorati da gl’uomini giuditosi, e stimando i giudizi del volgo contrarii alla verità spesse volte, ne per prospera troppo fortuna s’inalza, ne per contraria si lasciano sottomettere in alcua parte, ma ogni loro mutatione con egual’animo sostengono, & aborriscono far brutta per non violar la legge dell’honestà.

Si rappresenta questa donna bella, con fronte quadrata, e naso rotondo à somiglianza del leone, secondo il detto d’Aristotele de fisin.al cap. 9.

Vestita d’oro, perché questa e la materia atta per mandar à effetto molti nobili pensieri d’un animo liberale, & magnanimo.

Porta in capo la corona, in mano lo scettro, perché l’uno dimostra nobiltà di pensieri, l’altro potenza d’eseguirli, per notar che senza queste due cose è impossibile essercitare magnanimità, essendo ogni habito essetto di molte attioni particolari: si dimostra la magnanimità esser vera dominatrice della passioni vili, e larga dispensatrice della facoltà per altri beneficio, e non per vanità, & popolare applauso. Al leone da’Poeti sono assomigliati li mahnanimi, perché non tene di quest’animale le forze de gl’animi grandi, non degnà esso i piccoli, & impaciente, de benefittij altri largo rimuneratore, & non mai si nasconde da’cacciatori, se egli s’avede d’esser scoperto, ch’altrimenti si ritira, quasi non volendo correr pericolo senza necessità. Questa figura versa le monete senza guardarle, perché la Magnanimità nel dare altrui si deve offerare senza pensare ad alcuna forte di remunerazione, e di qui nacque quel detto. Dà le cose tue con occhi ferrati, e con occhi aperti ricevi l’altrui. Il Doni dipinge questa virtù poco diversamente, dicendo doversi fare donna bella, & coronata all’imperiale, riccamente vestita con lo scettro in mano, d’intorno con palazzi nobili, & leggie di belle prospettiva, sedendo sopra un leone con doi fanciulli à piedi abbracciati insieme, uno di queste sparge molte medaglie di oro, & d’argento, l’altro tiene le giuste bilancie, & la dritta spada della giustitia in mano. Le loggie, e le fabbriche di grande spese molto più convengono alla magnificenza ch’altra virtù heroica, la quale s’esercita in spese grandi, & opre di molto danaro, che alla Magnanimità moderatrice de gli affetti, & in questo non so se per avventura habbia errato il Doni, se non si dice che senza la magnanimità la Magnificenza non nascerrebbe.

Il leone, oltre quello c’habbia detto, si scrive che combattendo non guarda mai il il nemico per non lo spaventare, & acciò che più animoso venga all’affronto nel scontrarsi poi con lento passo, o con salto allegro si rinselva, con fermo proposito di non far cosa indecente alla sua nobiltà.

I due fanciulli mostrano che con giusta misura si devon abbracciare tutte le difficoltà per amor dell’ honesto, per la patria, per l’honore, per li parenti, e per l’amici magnanimentespendingo il denaro in tutte l’imprese honorate.

*Magnanimità*

Donna che per elmo portàra una testa di leone, sopra alla qual vi fieno doi piccoli corni di dovitia, con veli, & adornamenti d’oro, sarà vestita in habito di guerriera, & la veste sarà di color torchino, & ne piedi havera stivaletti d’oro.
of the state.\textsuperscript{782} It should be noted that one of the most common modes of depicting magnanimity was through the Continence of Scipio, so perhaps this relation to Scipione's namesake dictated its inclusion.\textsuperscript{783}

Magnanimity's inscription reads "confortatum est cor eius, et sustinuit dominum." This derives from psalm 26, verse 14; "confortetur cor tuum, et sustine Dominum" ("Let thy heart take courage and wait thou for the Lord").

**Magnificentia**

_Magnificentia_ (figure 32) wears a crown and holds a partially unfurled scroll in her right hand.\textsuperscript{784} The inscription reads "magnificentiam gloriae sanctitatis eius loquentor, et miraculi eius narrabunt." This is Psalm 144, verse 5: "Magnificentiam gloriae sanctitatis tuae loquentur, et mirabilia tua narrabunt" ("They shall speak of the magnificence of the glory of thy holiness; and shall tell thy wondrous works"). These wondrous works refer specifically to the Pauline building projects. Perhaps the scroll contained a list of these buildings. Ripa specifies such projects as the provenance of _Magnificenza_: “the effect of magnificence is the building of temples, palaces and other marvellous things, and which they regard or useful to

\textsuperscript{782} See note 684 above.

\textsuperscript{783} The story of Scipio Africanus returning a beautiful bride along with her ransom to her betrothed after the capture of New Carthage in Spain is recorded in Livy, _Ad urbe condita_ XXVI, 50. See _Livy: History of Rome_ books 26-27, Fran Gardner Moore, ed. and trans. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1943). For the history of this story's illustration, see Mauro Civai and Marilena Caciorgna, _Continenza di Scipione: il tema della magnanimità nell'arte italiana_ exhibition catalogue Palazzo Pubblico, Siena (Siena: Protagon, 2008).

\textsuperscript{784} It should be noted that there are slight discrepancies between her appearance in the elevation and individual engraving. The scroll is in her left hand and a different, unidentifiable object is in her right. Her crown remains the same and her dress is similar but slightly shortened. Her legs are positioned differently; they seem evenly placed on the ground whereas in the engraving she is clearly stepping forward.
the public, or the honour of the same emperor and many more to religion." We have already investigated the importance of these ideas in the Borghese encomia and in this catafalque. As noted above, the prime position accorded this virtue (to the right of the main entrance) clearly indicates the importance of these ideas to the entire project.

If this were not enough, the idea is reiterated in the funeral poetry. The ode on Magnificentia is a veritable catalogue of Paul's buildings: tombs, temples, roads, fountains, the Vatican, the Pauline Chapel at Santa Maria Maggiore (particularly the Salus Populi Romana), the Quirinal Palace.

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785 Ripa, 302.
786 Guidiccioni 1623, Odes 4.
GLORIOSISSIMI PRINCIPIS
MAGNIFICENTIA.
Ode II.
Vbi nunc beatus ille terrarum Parens,
Romæq. præsidium & decus;
Burghesius ille pacis augustæ sator,
Fautorq. virtutem potens?
Iacebit ergo sede contentus breui;
Per quem patentioribus
Instructa Roma est ædibus, templis, vijs?
Quibus patet vestigijs
Burghesia mens, ingentium semper ferax
Rerum saluti publicæ.
Miraris, hospes, alteram Romæ additam
Romam superbè assurgere
Miraris alte porticus molem arduam,
Quæ Vaticani Principis
Delubra fronte decorat augustissima?
Miraris ab Iani iugo
Exuberantes prene tot fluviijs aquas,
Quot ora fons Burghesius
Ad liberales Principis laudes sui
Deprædicandas exercit?
Miraris Exquilinae ad aram Virginis
Non iam sacellum conditum:
Sed templa templis splendidè superaddita,
Montesq. adauctos montibus?
Exaggeratos anne miraris lares
Saxo Quirinali super:
Clementia

Clemency arose as a specifically Julian virtue; Clemency as both word and concept only become prevalent under Caesar’s rule and in the writings of Cicero. In 44 B.C. the senate decreed the building of a temple to Clementia Caesaris in the forum featuring the personifications of Caesar and Clemency to be portrayed clasping hands.⁷⁸⁷ After this the deified Clementia became a popular Roman goddess.

Initially Clementia seems to be undistinguishable from Mansuetudo and Misericordia.⁷⁸⁸ But as Clemency becomes codified as a virtue in literature its meaning becomes more precise. Cicero dwells extensively on the importance of clemency to Caesar in both Pro Marcello and Pro Ligoria.⁷⁸⁹ The concept of Clemency gradually evolves under Caesar and

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*Et quæ per urbem latiùs miracula
Spectantium obtутus tenent?
Auctore PAVLO talis illustrat decor
Hanc Orbis Vrbem Regiam.
Illo iubente marmorum cessit rigor,
Saxisq. honor fulsit nouus;
Et Roma se mira maiorem, illius
Nomen sibi inscrisit libens.
At nunc honorat grata, quem verè gemit
Laudum suarum antistitem.
Caduca spes mortalium, fallax amor,
Breuis voluptas cordium.
Semper dolebis Roma, qui perijt semel;
Si grata promeritis eris.*


⁷⁸⁸ Ibid., 341.

becomes increasingly associated with Empire and the Emperor's status. After this, *Clementia* becomes the main denominator for Imperial leniency. For Seneca, *Clementia*, defined as the exercise of this leniency, comes to replace *Iustitia* as a symbol of absolute authority of the ruler.

Bernini’s *Clementia* (figure 33) wears a long hooded cloak. The fabric of her tunic has the same floral tracery of a tulip and acorn like design as *Magnificientia*. Her right hand supports a tall stave and her extended left hand opens to reveal bolts of thunder. A lion lies under her feet.

Roman depictions of *Clementia* typically illustrate a woman with a branch and a sceptre, leaning against a tree. The earliest representations show her holding a staff and olive branch, then a staff and patera, then and olive branch. She eventually becomes hard to distinguish from *Pax*. Agustin describes a coin of Hadrian which shows *Pax Augusta* holding a paten.

The lion is a traditional symbol of clemency and is listed as such by Ripa. The association between lions and clemency derives from Pliny’s *Natural History* and is echoed in

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791 Konstan, 342. As evidence Konstan points to the fact that it is one of the four virtues awarded to Augustus in the *Clipeus Virtutem* of 27 (*Res Gestae* 34) and is so prevalent that Augustine has to try to explain Cicero’s use of Misericordia as a substitute in *Contra Adimantum* 1.11.

792 Braund 2009, 42 and 95-96.

793 Possibly this is the source of Mansuetudo’s posture.


795 Agustin, 47. "in altre d’Adriano, nella quale è scritto CLEMENTIA AUG stà in piedi appoggiata a un bastone e hà nella man destra una patena, ò razza come potrete vedere in queste medaglie."

796 Ripa, 68-70.
medieval bestiaries. There is also a tradition in bestiaries that associates the lion with repentance, based on the first of the lion’s traits listed in the *Physiologus*: that it covers its tracks with its tail.

Donna sedendo sopra un leone, nella sinistra mano tiene un’asta, e nella destra una saetta, la quale mostri di non lanciarla: ma di gittarla via, così è scolpita in un medaglia di Severo Imperatore con queste lettere INDULGENTS AVG. INCAR.

Il leone è simbolo della clemenza, perché come raccontano i Naturali se egli per forza supera, & gitta à terra un’huomo, se non sia ferito da lui, non lo lacera nè l’offende se non con leggerissima scossa.

La saetta nel modo che dicemo è segno di Clemenza, non operandosi in persi in pregiudizio di quelli che sono degni di castigo; onde sopra di ciò Seneca el libro de Clemenza così dice: *Clementia est lenitas Superioris adversus innumerem poenis.*

Donna che calchi un monte d’armi, & con la destra mano porga un ramo d’olivo, appoggiandosi col braccio sinistro ad un tronco del medesimo albero, dal quale pendano i fasci consolari.

La Clemenza non è altro che un’ astinenza da correggere i rei col debito castigo, & essendo un temperamento della servitù, viene à comporre una perfetta maniera di Giustitia, & à quelli che governano, è molto necessaria.

Appoggiarsi al tronco dell’olivo, per mostrare, che non è altro la Clemenza, che inclinazione dell’animo alla misericordia.

Porge il ramo della medema pianta per dar segno di pace, e l’armi gitate per terra co’fasci consolari sospesi, nota il non volere contra i colpevoli essercitar la forza, secondo che si potrebbe, per rigor di giustitia, però si dice, che propriamente è Clemenza l’Indulgenza di Dio à nostri peccati però il Vida Poeta religioso in cambio di Mercurio, finge che Giove della Clemenza si serva nell’ambasciaria nel lib. 5. della Christiade. E Seneca in Ottavia ben’esprime quanto s’è detto di sopra della Clemenza, così dicendo:

**Pulchrum est eminere inter illustres piros**

Conj ure Patrias, parcere afflicitis, fer

Cede abstinere, tempus, atq;irae dare

Orbi quietem, Saeuco pacem suo

**Hanc summa virtus, petitur hac Coelum pia**

**Sic illae Patrias primus Augustus pares**

**Compleax astra est, colimur et templis Deus.**

**Clemenza.**

Donna che con la sinistra mano tenga un processo, & con la destra lo cassi con una penna, & sotto à piedi vi saranno alcuni libri.

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As with many other virtues there is also a Christological element. By the Middle Ages "Clementia Caesaris" had also come to be seen as the forerunner to Christ's forgiveness.\(^{799}\)

The inscription alludes to God's forgiveness, reading "deprecabilis super servos suos," an alteration of an appeal to God for Mercy in Psalm 89. This use suggests that Paul has heard the call and answered it.\(^{800}\)

However the main purpose Clemency's presence in the catafalque must remain the comparison of Paul to Caesar. This is certainly a common topos in the encomia by Guidiccioni and other poets in the Borghese sphere, where it is often extended to include Scipione as a new Augustus.\(^{801}\)

**Eleemosina**

*Eleemosina* (figure 34) wears a long tunic which covers one shoulder and arm while revealing her right shoulder and breast. Its diaphanous material clings to her stomach, revealing her navel and thighs. She pours liquid from a ewer in her right hand to a larger one in her left. Ripa describes her as a veiled woman, giving alms in secret with a lighted garland around her head.\(^{802}\) *Eleemosina*’s ewer refers to Paul's creation of the Aqua Paola, restoring

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\(^{800}\) A modification of Psalm 89: 13, "deprecabilis esto super servos tuos" ("and be entreated in favour of the servants").

\(^{801}\) See for example Guidiccioni 1637, 250. "Panegirico sopra il già Sig. Cardinal Borghese, Con le lodi di Papa Paolo V. All' Eminentiss. Sig. Card. SPADA."

\(^{802}\) Ripa, 120. Donna di bello aspetto, con habito lungo, & grave, con la faccia coperta d’un velo, perch’è quello, che fa eleemosina, deve veder à chi la fa, & quello che la riceve non deve spiar da chi venga, o donde. Habbia ambe le mani nascoste sotto alla veste, porgendo così danari à due fanciulli, che stiano aspettando dalle bande. Haverà in capo una lucerna accesa circondata da una ghirlanda di oliva con le sue foglie, & frutti.
the old Roman aqueduct and bring water to the quarter of Trastevere, as well as all of the
fountains he built all over Rome. 803

In the sixteenth century Eleemosina had a number of connotations, encompassing
good works, giving alms, prayer and even confession. 804 It even extended to the “spiritual
eleemosina” of prayer as an aid to attaining salvation thus placing it firmly in the middle of the
theological debates of the Counter Reformation. 805 The 1616 statutes of the Roman
archconfraternity of Natività Agonizzanti even defines eleemosina as a key element of post-
Tridentine reform. 806 This definition would both explain the inclusion of Eleemosina and
differentiate it from Misericordia. But this is clearly not the only meaning intended. The

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805 These debates incited a controversy about Michelangelo’s Last Judgment which was recorded by
Gilio da Fabriano who claims to have defended Michelangelo from critics by stating that the fresco
shows a “diversity of ways by which man can be saved; the rosary denotes that prayer are a means for
salvation, other than faith, for without prayers and other good works it is impossible to be saved.”
Gilio da Farbriano, Due Dialoghi (Camerino, 1564)101. See also Black, Italian Confraternities, 13.

806 Ibid, 13. Eleemosina, defined specifically as praying for souls in purgatory, became increasingly
important for seventeenth-century confraternities.
inscription with its reference to the needy and the poor, "intellexit super egenum et pauperem," clearly references a more tangible form of almsgiving.  

Mansuetudo

Mansuetudo (figure 35) wears a long hooded cloak. Her left arm supports her head and rests on a tall tree stump which is mostly enveloped in her cloak. Her ankles are crossed and a lamb rests under her cloak between her feet and the stump. Her right arm rests on what appears to be a yoke. None of this appears in Ripa's unillustrated description of Mansuetudine.

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807 This is a corruption of Psalm 40: 2. "intelligit super egenum et pauperem" or he "understandeth concerning the needy and the poor.

808 Ripa, 304.

Donna coronata d'olivo, con un Elefante accanto, sopra del quale posi la man destr.

La mansuetudine secondo Aristotele nell'Etica lib. 4. è una mediocrità determinata con vera ragione circa la passione dell’ira suggirla principalmente, & in seguirla ancora in quelle cose, con quelle persone come, & quando, & dove conviene per amore del buono, & bello, e pacifico vivere, l'elefante nelle lettere degli antichi Egitij, perché hà per natura di non combattere con le fiere meno possenti di esso, né con le più forti se non è grandemente provocato, da grande indizio mansuetudine, & ancora perché caminando in mezo d’un’armento di pecore, che le vengono incontro si tira da banda accioche imprudentemente no le venissero offese, & porta tanta osservanza, & à così deboli animali, che per la presenza loro, quando è addirato torna piacevole, & trattabile, oltre à ciò riferisce Plutarcho, che fe qualche Peregrino caminando per diserti, habbia perduta la strada, & s'incontri nell'Elefante, non solamente non è offeso, ma è ridotto alla via smarrita.

L'olivio è segno di pace, & di mansuetudine, e però i Sacerdoti de gl’Antichi ne’ primi tempi volevano, che tutti i simulachri de’ Dei loro fussero fabricati col legno dell’oliva interpretando che à Dio conviene esser largo donatore delle gratie sue à mortali, volgendosi con benignità, & mansuetudine à perdonar loro i commessi peccati, & dargli abondanza de tutti i beni, à questo bel Hierooglfico parve, che i Dei acconsentissero secondo che riferisce Herodato quando furno pregati da gli Spedauricensi à torre la sterilità del paese loro, alche fù risposto, che la gratia sarebbe seguita, quando havessero fabricato i simulachri di Damia, & di Aurelia, di legno d’oliva, & parve che da indi in poi fin’à certo tempo presso à Milisij ardesse senza opra di fuoco materiale un tronco de detto legno.

Si dice oltre di questo, che l’olio hà tanta forza contro il furore, che ancora spaso nel mare quando è turbato fà cesare la tempesta, e lo fà tornar quieto, e tranquillo.
Unlike many of her companions, Mansuetudo was a specifically Christian as opposed to classical virtue. The inscription reads "docuit mites vias suas." This is Psalm 24, verse 9: "docebit mites vias suas" ("he will teach the meek his ways"). The presence of the lamb reinforced the meaning, for the lamb is, of course, a symbol of Christ, the agnus dei.

Taken together, these sculptures deliberately construct multiple interlocking narratives. They emphasize Paul's virtues and strengths as pope and his official role as leader and protector of the Roman people. The use of the Four Daughters imagery suggests Paul's role in the salvation of man. But simultaneously the iconography, and in particular classical references to the individual virtues, also strengthens the Borghese claims to Romanitas. It also underscores Paul's extensive renovation of the city of Rome and the role those projects played in enhancing his family, and particularly his nephew's, status.

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810 The association derives from John 1:29. "Ecce agnus Dei, ecce qui tollit peccata mundi." Of course these words also form part both of the regular liturgy and of the requiem mass where the words "dona eis requiem sempiternem" are added at the end. For the development and use of the iconography of Christ as lamb, see Didron, 318-337.
Conclusion

Over the course of this dissertation we have set out arguments for interpreting Paul V's catafalque in multiple ways. The formal quotations of early Christian martyria indicate the resurgence of the newly purified Catholic Church, while echoes of Imperial mausolea equate Paul with Augustus and his reign with a new Golden Age. This duality extend to the sculptural program, where the virtues chosen to represent the pope show him both as a heroic Christian leader and ideal Roman emperor. What are we to make of this abundance of signs? Were all of these meanings really meant to coexist?

It certainly seems likely that different aspects of the iconography were intended to be read by different segments of the population. There is one official sacred program: the organization of the virtues around the Four Daughters of God. The presentation of these virtues shows Paul specifically as pope possessed of all the virtues necessary for the proper functioning of the Christian state, thus leading to the salvation of mankind and, not incidentally, himself.

Simultaneously there is an undercurrent of propaganda throughout the entire monument. Paul's massive building campaigns (and by association those of Scipione) are lauded as a display of magnificence worthy of a Christian prince and as symbolizing the rebirth of both the purified early church and of the Golden Age of ancient Rome. Finally on top of all of this are the subtler references to antique rulers, monuments and texts which underscore the carefully crafted Borghese narrative of Romanitas and ancient lineage.

While much of this meaning is imparted through sculptural and architectural form, words play an equally important role in informing meaning, something that would have held
equally true for a witness of the obsequies as a reader of the funeral book. For (most) of the virtues are glossed by both biblical and poetic texts. In fact, the iconography of the catafalque aligns with the messaging not only of the poems included in the funeral book, but with the entire corpus of encomiastic literature produced at the Borghese court.

As we have seen the sixteen virtues are arranged around the framework of the Parliament in Heaven and this exegetical conceit provides a patristic justification for a unusual grouping of virtues: Peace, Justice, Mercy, and Truth. This group, in turn, allows for the incorporation of virtues that could rightly be seen as princely or even Imperial rather than papal. But by forcing these Imperial virtues into a Christian framework, Guidiccioni echoes the absorption of pagan Rome into the Roman church. For while the early Church was initially hostile to the pagan cult of virtues, they gradually coopted the personified virtues to become elements of and intermediaries between God and the world. Thus the practice of virtues became the path to God and godliness.\(^{811}\)

All of these layers of meaning reinforce the image of the Borghese presented in numerous encomia throughout Paul's reign. Thus the visual and verbal evidence of Paul's catafalque is instrumental in reinforcing the work done by many scholars studying the patronage and status of the Borghese family in the early Seicento.

Furthermore, investigating the many facets, both historical and formal, of one single monument allows us to begin to see the mechanisms by which patronage functioned. By studying how one of the foremost patrons of the early Seicento used ritual and spectacle to mould history's record of his family, we see how status and meaning were carefully crafted

\(^{811}\) H. Mattingley, "The Roman Virtues," *Harvard Theological Review* 30 (1937): 103-117, 114-117. See also Panofsky, "Icones," 1948, 166 for the trajectory through which personifications travel by way of Lactantius, St. Gregory and Lomazzo to end up as figurable, the equivalent in the hierarchy of beings of angels.
out of architectural form, sculpture and poetry. But more than this, this investigation of how the Borghese presented Paul at this important juncture in their development has ramifications for how we interpret their other commissions.

In focusing on the catafalque's place in Borghese patronage and mythology, we have not devoted as much attention to other areas of seicento scholarship that can be supplemented by the information provided in the *Breve Racconto*. Establishing the catafalque's appearance adds to the corpus of knowledge about seicento ephemera and the evolution of the catafalque form, while also supplying much needed data for assessing the obscure careers of Sergio Venturi and Gian Battista Soria. But most importantly, it provides a wealth of information about the young Bernini, his style, his working practice and his relationship with Scipione Borghese.

Thus far we have not had occasion to investigate this aspect of the catafalque. But the ideas that have been the focus of this dissertation and the insight the catafalque provides into the Borghese mythology and into Bernini's early work for them adds substantially to our knowledge of the young artist, his style and his relationship with his first important patron. This knowledge, in turn, engenders a number of new lines of inquiry.

Let us just take one example: Bernini's *Pluto and Persephone*, commissioned by Scipione Borghese at exactly the same point as the catafalque. As we have seen, the catafalque stresses the importance of protecting of the grain supply to the stability of Paul's reign. This concern of his is exemplified in the statue of the personified *Annona*. *Annona* and the goddess Ceres are, of course, intimately related, prompting the question of whether

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812 The payment records range from June 1621- September 23, 1622 when it was delivered. Faldi 314. Also see D'Onofrio, *Roma Vista da Roma*, 277- 282.

813 On the relation between the two goddesses, particularly in the early Empire see Spaeth, *The Roman Goddess Ceres*, 24-26.
the abduction of Ceres' daughter is meant to relate to the end of Paul's papacy.\textsuperscript{814} There is not shortage of scholarship on this work, and some authors have even noted in passing the relation to Paul's death and mourning.\textsuperscript{815} But no one has drawn this precise parallel.

In this conceit, the sculpture would represent the winter that Rome suffered under the Ludovisi papacy, and the hope of rejuvenation by a future generation of Borghese. This would perhaps help explain the mystery of Scipione's gift of the sculpture to his erstwhile enemy Ludovico Ludovisi. It would be a poisonous gift; an inside joke comparing Gregory to Pluto. In this interpretation the distich written by Maffeo Barberini engraved on the sculpture's plinth also take on a double meaning, "Quisquis humi pronus flores legis, inspice, saevi/ me Ditis ad domum rapi."\textsuperscript{816} The abduction would refer not only to Proserpina's abduction to the underworld, but also the sculpture's move to the Ludovisi.

These connections could, of course, be made without the evidence of the catafalque. Ceres herself was often associated with death, being seen as a liminal goddess associated with all transitions.\textsuperscript{817} This theme is clearly present in Scipione Borghese's mind, for he

\textsuperscript{814} It is perhaps relevant that the earliest payment documents for the group mention both a "Plutone che rapisce Proserpina" and a memorial bust of Paul. Winner, 194 and Faldi 1953, 143.

\textsuperscript{815} See for example Matthias Winner, "Bernini the Sculptor and the Classical Heritage in His Early years: Praxiteles', Bernini's, and Lanfranco's Pluto and Proserpina," Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte 22 (1986): 193-207, 194 n. 8. Winner suggests that the Proserpina may have been intended for a subterranean room in the Palazzo Borghese "under the hanging garden of the Ripetta wing." He suggests that this would have been intended to echo the ancient Tarentum with an altar of Pluto and Persephone which was located near by. Winner suggests that the subject was chosen because of the proximity of the Tarentum, and mourning for Paul. He also notes that the vegetation is laurel. He connects this with Cerberus, as a sign of nature, and of regeneration of the Borghese family tree. Ibid., 196. Hibbard publishes a 1618 map of Rome which includes a statue of Ceres in the Palazzo. Hibbard, Palazzo Borghese, 74 pl. 63.

\textsuperscript{816} "oh you who stoop to pick the flowers of the earth, behold how I am abducted to the dwelling of wild Dis." Translation from Winner, 194.

\textsuperscript{817} See Spaeth, 26-27.
returns to it in the ceiling Lanfranco paints for the Villa Borghese. But the clear importance of \textit{Annona} to Paul's reign in the catafalque renders such an interpretation much more plausible.

But this is not the only work in Bernini's \textit{oeuvre} whose meaning can be suplemented by knowledge of his work on Paul's catafalque. The influence of the catafalque on Bernini's development as an artist and iconographer did not stop with his Borghese sculptures or even with the death of Scipione Borghese. In chapter six we grappled with the possibility that the young Bernini may have acted as architect, trying to untangle whether echoes of the catafalque's architecture in Bernini's more mature projects could be taken as evidence of his agency in the catafalque's design, or whether they merely reflected its influence upon a still young and impressionable, if preternaturally accomplished, artist. As noted in that discussion, it is difficult to accurately assess the style of sculptures seen only at third hand, rendering a formal analysis of the catafalque's place in the trajectory of Bernini's stylistic development a somewhat futile exercise. But it surely is significant that Bernini returns to the subject matter of Paul's catafalque repeatedly. The combination of the Four Daughters (or at least some of them) appears time and again throughout his entire career. In fact, these are practically the only virtues found in Bernini sepulchral monuments. Bernini explicitly references the Four Daughters in two later funerary projects: once in an early rejected plan for the tomb of Alexander VII and again in his memorial for the Silva family.  

\footnote{\textcopyright Rudolf Lanfranco, we must remember was involved if not in the production of the catafalque itself, at least in the creation of the funeral book.}  

Preimesberger has suggested that the overall theme of Innocent X's tomb is also derived from the Four Daughters.  

Alexander VII's tomb clearly derives from Psalm 84, but Modesty is substituted for Peace. In his investigation of the evolving stages of this tomb, Michael Koortbojian posits that Bernini was the impetus behind using the Four Daughters conceit and that Modesty was substituted for Peace at the pope's request, pointing to a note in Alexander's diary reading "Cav. Bernino = modestia et veritas obviaverunt, s'incontrino, iustitia et pax si abbraccino, e la pace volti più in qua e la morte in cambio del libbro habbia la falce," and a drawing which shows a hybrid Modestia/Pax. This clear corruption of the psalm shows not only that it was the starting point for the design, but that it was a common enough conceit that the viewer could be expected to notice the change and its lineage.

Koortbojian suggests that when Alexander altered Bernini's original proposal to use the Four Daughters, Bernini then uses the imagery for the de Silva Tomb. The de Silva Memorial is the only work which takes the grouping unaltered. The de Silva Chapel in S. Isidoro was dedicated in 1663. The left wall of the chapel contains a plaque depicting Roderigo and Beatrix Lopez de Silva flanked by Mercy and Truth. The right wall shows Francesco and Giovanna Niccolò de Silva flanked by Justice and Peace.

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820 Koortbojian, 272 and Preimesberger, "Bernini a San Agnese in Agone," Colloquio del Sodalizio iii (1973) 54 n. Preimesberger argues that and that the images of Justice in Gaulli's pendentives should be read as a reference to the Four Daughter's conceit.

821 Koortbojian, 270-272. He also suggests that it was Bernini who chose the Four Daughters as the subject of the Alexander VII's coin.

822 Ibid.

823 Wittkower attributes the sculpture to Giulio Cartari and Paolo Bernini. Wittkower, 267.

824 The original appearance of Mercy and Truth are hard to discern due to black metal dresses added at a later date, but a better idea can be gleaned by the preliminary sketches for the figures. See
While these are the only monuments explicitly derived from the Four Daughters, oblique references abound. An unexecuted tomb for the Tomb of Doge Giovanni Cornaro contained two of the four sisters. A preparatory drawing shows a two story structure with Mercy and Justice seated on the stepped cornice flanking a sarcophagus. The tomb of Urban VIII also builds on this pattern, with two of the sisters (Charity and Justice) flanking the sarcophagus.

While not a tomb, Bernini's later unfinished sculpture *Truth Unveiled by Time* should be included in this group. In 1647 he began working on this group, not as a commission but for his "studio e gusto." Truth, also nude, sits resting her left foot on a globe. The book is gone and the sun as migrated from her diadem to her right hand. According to Chantelou, Bernini intended Time to have been supported by columns, obelisks and mausolea, which he overturned and destroyed.

Bernini tackled the theme a third time in a mirror (now lost but known through preparatory drawings) for Queen Christina in which the figure of Father Time pulls drapery back from the face of the mirror to reveal the image of the viewer who stands in for Truth.

Whatever Bernini’s personal attachment to the Four Daughters theme may have been, it is not the only aspect of the catafalque’s sculpture he returns to. In addition to the continued exploration of the Four Daughters iconography Bernini also frequently falls back on the arrangement of virtues sitting on or leaning on a sarcophagus. Of course, as noted in chapter five, there is certainly a venerable tradition of reclining allegories on sarcophagi dating back to Michelangelo's Medici Chapel, but Bernini’s figures from the catafalque

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825 Wittkower suggests that this is a reworking without space constraints of the Pilmentel tomb. Wittkower, 267 and Blunt 1967.
onwards are somewhat unusual in that they either sit forward on the edges of their seats rather than reclining or even stand.

The earliest example is the memorial plaque to Carlo Barberini in S. Maria in Aracoeli. This simple memorial, a relief wall plaque, shows two figures sitting on either side of a sarcophagus shaped cartouche with the dedication. The two figures are almost always identified as *Ecclesia Militans* and *Ecclesia Triumphans*. A similar use of virtues sitting on a sarcophagus can be found in an early stage of the design for the tomb of Countess Matilda of Tuscany. A preparatory sketch shows a much more elaborate sarcophagus than that in the finished tomb with volutes resembling those in the catafalque. The putti in the finished tomb are here replaced with female virtues. And finally, in the tomb of Urban VIII the figures stand beside the sarcophagus, leaning on it for support.

The Nachleben of this type in Bernini's later work demonstrates how the thorough investigation of his early patronage can inform our reading of the mature artist. Paul's catafalque, then, is an invaluable source for supplementing our knowledge of all of the people involved in its genesis and construction. It confirms theories about the Borghese's self-representation, provides new data points for interpreting the work of Venturi and Soria and helps flesh out lacunae in Bernini's early career.

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826 Also, the meaning of the figures may contain a reference to Justice and Peace. In his work on the plaque, Irving Lavin writes that the best description of the two figures can be found in Giulio Cenci's oration, "defender of the public well-being and maker of Christian peace." Lavin 1983, 8.

827 In the Musée des Beaux-Arts Brussels published by Wittkower. The one on the right holds scales and is clearly identifiable as Justice. The only visible attribute of the virtue on the left is a cross. Wittkower identifies her as Faith. Wittkower 254.
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