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Re-thinking, Re-making, Re-living Christian Origins

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with the collaboration of Sabina Rosenbergová

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Fig. 5. *Madonna dello Spasimo*, engraving (from Samperi, *Iconologia* [n. 49]).

Fig. 6. Copy of the *Immagine dello Spasimo*, marble, beginning of the 17th century (?), unknown location (from Benini, *La basilica rinascimentale* [n. 30]).

Filip Malešević

«Honores Roma vetus debet quos nova Roma tibi».

Antonio Tempesta's Iconographic Program in the Loggia Gregoriana

The later elect *principe* of the Roman Accademia di San Luca, Giovanni Baglione, considered the frescoes on the third floor of the Vatican Loggias as being a significant step in Antonio Tempesta's artistic career, when the artist came to Rome. In fact, this decoration is even regarded as to be the principal reason, why the Tuscan painter arrived to the Eternal City. The theme of the social category of *forestieri*, or foreigners, in Rome is a recurrent subject in Baglione's *Lives*, primarily inspired by Federico Zuccaro's set of drawings of his brother's life Taddeo.¹ In the case of Antonio Tempesta the employment of Florentine artists in Rome had a long tradition, to which Michelangelo and Raphael pertained from the early *Cinquecento* onwards. It developed a particular dominance of Tuscan modes of pictorial production which would serve the purposes of the Roman Curia in decorating its private interiors as well as sponsored chapels in several churches. Upon Tempesta's arrival in Rome in 1570, the most prominent of such Florentine painters residing in the city was undoubtedly Vasari's pupil Jacopo Zucchi whose major employer had been the Florentine Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici.²

1. See Giovanni Baglione, *Le vite de' pittori scultori et architetti: dal pontificato di Gregorio XIII del 1572 in fino a' tempi di Papa Urbano Ottavo nel 1642*, Jacob Hess, Herwarth Röttgen eds, 3 vols, Città del Vaticano 1995, vol. I, p. 202. The Dutch Karel van Mander left Rome in 1577 and did not encounter Tempesta. However, the biographer's later sojourn in Florence might have enabled him to meet the artist nonetheless, as it was suggested by Helen Noe, *Carel van Mander en Italie: Beschouwelingen en notities naar aanleiding van zijn, Leven der dees-tijtsche doorluchtighe Italiaensche Schilders*, Den Haag 1954, p. 121. See also Sofia Pezzatti, "La Resurrezione di Antonio Tempesta in Santa Felicità a Firenze", *Proporzioni: Annali della Fondazione Roberto Longhi*, n.s., I (2000), pp. 98-106, sp. p. 103, n. 6.

2. Zucchi's employment for the Medici Cardinal, who later succeeded Cosimo I as Grand Duke of Tuscany, was majorly concentrated in decorating palace interiors, such as the Villa Medici or the Stanza degli Elementi in the Palazzo Firenze. His pictorial solutions presented a varied employment of allegorical-astrological elements that follow a very prominent artistic manner, but accessible only to an elite group. See especially for Zucchi's decorations in Florentine interiors in Rome Maria Giulia Aurigemma, *Palazzo Firenze in Campo Marzio*, Roma 2007, pp. 135-236; and Philippe Morel, "Jacopo Zucchi al servizio di Ferdinando de' Medici", in *Villa Medici. Il sogno di un cardinale, collezioni e artisti di Ferdinando de' Medici*, Michel Hochmann ed., Roma 1999, pp. 139-168. It is however unknown whether Tempesta was also employed by the same cardinal. See for this aspect most recently Eckhardt Leuschner, *Antonio Tempesta: Ein Bahnbrecher des römischen Barock und seine europäische Wirkung*, Petersberg 2005, p. 40, n. 6.

The papacy of Ugo Buoncompagni who ascended the throne of St Peter's in 1572 as Gregory XIII relied heavily on the Tuscan *maniera* in the commissions for the decoration of the newly erected Torre dei Venti as well as for church interiors that were intended for confraternal liturgical celebrations or instructions, such as the Jesuits' satellite churches of Santo Stefano Rotondo and Sant'Appollinare, or the oratory of the Compagnia di San Giovanni Decollato. A major figure in Pope Gregory's artistic commissions was the painter from Pomarance, Niccolò Circignani, who through his employment in the decoration of the Vatican Palace was regarded by contemporaries as having both a supervisory and creative role. Circignani, it is presumed, arrived to Rome shortly before 1577 in the company of the Florentine Santi di Tito, an artist who had been known to most for his decorations of the new apartments in the *nicchione* of the Belvedere courtyard and had thus been a painter who became closely associated with a new pictorial production in the wake of Catholic reform after the Council of Trent ended in 1564.³ The most concrete manifestation of such a transformation of painting in Rome was during Holy Year of 1575 when this traditional celebration, performed by various pilgrims arriving to the city, of visiting the seven major basilicas in order to obtain the full remission of their sins was proclaimed by Pope Gregory XIII as the official opening of the «Church's treasure» (*thesaurus Ecclesiae*) to Rome's visitors. As a leaflet by Giovanni Battista de' Cavalieri, now preserved at the British Museum in London, also presents Rome's four major basilicas in its corners being visited by a flowing crowd of pilgrims and thus constituting an interconnected entity (Fig. 1). They furthermore frame the central figure of the *Roma Sancta* and her works of charity.⁴ The Vatican Apostolic Palace with the building of New St Peter's, although yet remaining to be completed, became a prominent focal point of attention as another print by Stefano Du Pérac in Antonio Lafréry's *Speculum Romanae magnificentiae* from 1575 also shows (Fig. 2). In front of a colossal statue of Saint Peter holding his keys pilgrims are kneeling in prayer to worship one of Rome's primary apostles. Another incision from Lafréry's book also records the moment of papal benediction in 1567 before a

3. See Baglione, *Vite* (n. 1), p. 41 on the attribution of the decoration of the Belvedere courtyard as well as James S. Ackerman, *The Cortile del Belvedere*, Città del Vaticano 1954 (Studi e documenti per la storia del Palazzo Apostolico Vaticano, 3), pp. 90-93, 179 (document 158). The association between Santi di Tito and the art of reform was especially proposed by Federico Zeri, *Pittura e Controriforma: L'arte senza tempo di Scipione da Gaeta*, Torino 1957; Sidney J. Freedberg, *Painting in Italy 1500 to 1600*, Baltimore 1970, pp. 428-431, and Jack Spaldin, "Santi di Tito and the Reform of Florentine Mannerism", *Storia dell'arte*, 47 (1983), pp. 41-52.

4. For this print see especially Ludwig Freiherr von Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters*, 16 vols, Freiburg 1886-1933, vol. IX, pp. 154-155; Herbert Thurston, *The Holy Year of Jubilee: An Account of the History and the Ceremonial of the Roman Jubilee*, New York 1980, pp. 260ff., and *Roma Sancta. La città delle basiliche*, Marcello Fagiolo, Maria Luisa Madonna eds, Roma 1985, p. 266. The association between the *thesaurus Ecclesiae* and the Holy Year of 1575 had already been aspired by Pope Gregory XIII's bull of proclaiming the Jubilee Year. See for this *Bullarium Anni Sancti: textus et documenta theologiae*, Hermanus Schmidt SJ ed., Roma 1949, pp. 70-72.

large assembled mass of pilgrims that is gathered on the piazza in front of the structure of the old basilica's portico connected with the Apostolic Palace (Fig. 3).⁵ The concerns of the Buoncompagni Pope in respect to the interior decorations of the Apostolic Palace would bring to an end the outfitting of its most representative room, the Sala Regia, which underwent a series of interruptions since Antonio da Sangallo's architectural interventions during Pope Paul III's pontificate in the 1540s. By employing Giorgio Vasari, who had already obtained the commission by Gregory XIII's predecessor to complete the decoration of the Sala Regia, the iconographic program in this interior insinuated an interweaving between the triumphs of the papacy in the defence of Christianity and a *reformatio Romae*. The fresco of *Pope Gregory XI returning from Avignon* renders the triumphal recapturing of Rome by the papacy and the Curia after the Babylonian exile (Fig. 4). The women carrying the papal *sedia gestatoria* represent the three theological virtues of Faith, Hope and Charity, while the portrait of the pope is a contemporary likeness of Gregory XIII himself. The figures on the left of the picture field convey an allegorical meaning too with the seated figure representing the River Tiber, surrounded by seven little children representing the seven hills of Rome, and the group of three standing women who imply the dominion over temporal and spiritual matters. The patron saints of Rome, Saints Peter and Paul, in the sky protect the pope upon his arrival to the Eternal City from Avignon.⁶ The background of the fresco is dominated by the Apostolic Palace with the unfinished basilica of New St Peter's. Herwarth Röttgen argued that this fresco in the Sala Regia not only made a reference to the renovation of the Church as the Tridentine Council had imagined, but that it also alluded to Pope Gregory XIII's own politics of recuperating the lost territories of Poland, Germany and France that fell into the hands of the Protestants.⁷ While such an argument over the expression of the recovery of papal temporal as well as spiritual powers in the aftermath of the Tridentine Council has dominated also most recent scholarship, an appropriate interpretation of Gregory XIII's iconographic program in the Sala Regia with its alluded relationship to St Peter's basilica and the pope's

5. On these incisions see especially Simonetta Prosperi Valenti Rodinò, "L'immagine degli anni santi nelle stampe", in *La storia dei Giubilei*, 4 vols, Firenze 1997-2000, vol. II, pp. 283-293. For the use of the printed image in order to convey a specific message that not only yields patronage with ideology but also with the diffusion of sacred images in general see especially Evelina Borea, *Lo specchio dell'arte italiana: stampe in cinque secoli*, 4 vols, Pisa 2009.

6. For recent discussions on Vasari's decoration of the Sala Regia during Gregory XIII's pontificate see especially Loren Partridge and Randolph Starn, "Triumphalism and the Sala Regia in the Vatican", in *Art and Pageantry in the Renaissance and Baroque: "All the world's a stage..."*, Barbara Wisch, Susan S. Munshower eds, University Park 1990, pp. 22-81, sp. p. 26; Angela Böck, *Die Sala Regia im Vatikan als Beispiel der Selbstdarstellung des Papsttums in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Hildesheim 1997 (Studien zur Kunstgeschichte, 112), pp. 94-96; and Jan L. De Jong, *The Power and the Glorification: Papal Pretensions and the Art of Propaganda in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, University Park 2013, p. 143.

7. See particularly Herwarth Röttgen, "Zeitgeschichtliche Bildprogramme der katholischen Restauration unter Gregor XIII., 1572-1585", *Münchener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 26 (1975), pp. 86-122, pp. 94ff.

other decorative interventions in the Apostolic Palace have so far been neglected. In fact, the pope's greatest achievement would become manifest in the decoration of his private rooms and the loggias on the third floor of the palace above the Cortile di San Damaso, where he commissioned a group of select artists to embellish it with an iconographic program that combined Rome's topographical transformations with the importance of the pope's native city of Bologna.⁸ Within these major commissions, Gregory XIII's pontificate also achieved to install and decorate the corridor on the same third floor that connected the palace with the Cortile del Belvedere between 1579 and 1581 that would also be known as the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche and which combined cartography with scenes from the history of the Roman Church in order to convey the territorial as well as spiritual powers of the papacy as the inscription above the northern entrance also intones by proclaiming Italy as «regio totius orbis nobilissima».⁹ It was thus in this framework of art patronage pursued by the papacy and the Roman Curia as well as the urban transformations of Rome that Antonio Tempesta was employed when he obtained the commission to decorate the so called "Terza Loggia" above the court of San Damaso in the Vatican Apostolic Palace with a pictorial narrative that showed the translation of the relics of Saint Gregory of Nazianzus from Santa Maria in Campo Marzio to Pope Gregory XIII's private chapel, the Cappella Gregoriana, in New St Peter's in 1580.¹⁰

While a vast number of scholarly works were concerned with the outfitting of Gregory XIII's private apartments in the Apostolic Palace, few studies have taken into account his decisive contributions regarding the decoration of the palace's loggias.¹¹ Since Pope Julius II della Rovere had commissioned Bramante at the

8. For the architectural construction and the decoration of the Sala Bologna see most recently Maria Teresa Sambin de Norcen, "Il progetto della Sala Bologna: architettura e iconografia", in *La Sala Bologna nei Palazzi Vaticani. Architettura, cartografia e potere nell'età di Gregorio XIII*, Francesco Ceccarelli, Nadja Aksamija eds, Venezia 2011, pp. 25-34, as well as Filip Malešević, "The Visibility of the *Romana Ecclesia*: Cesare Baronio and the Disclosure of the Invisible", in *Scientiae: Disciplines of Knowing in the Early Modern World*, Proceedings of the conference, James Lancaster, Richard Raiswell eds, Leiden-Boston 2016, forthcoming.

9. On the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche see especially the most recent studies by Francesca Fiorani, *The Marvel of Maps: Art, Cartography and Politics in Renaissance Italy*, New Haven 2005, pp. 171-252.

10. Although the iconographic program of Gregory XIII's *loggia* on the third floor of the Apostolic Palace incorporates a larger campaign of design that would certainly go beyond the scopes of this study, this paper will primarily focus on the ten scenes painted by Tempesta and Brill.

11. See the studies by Jacob Hess, "Le logge di Gregorio XIII nel palazzo Vaticano: l'architettura ed i caratteri della decorazione", in *Kunstgeschichtliche Studien zu Renaissance und Barock*, Jacob Hess ed., 2 vols, Roma 1967, vol. I, pp. 117-122; Id., "Le logge di Gregorio XIII nel palazzo Vaticano: i pittori", *ibid.*, pp. 123-128; Guido Cornini, Anna Maria De Strobel, Maria Serlupi Crescenzi, "Il Palazzo di Gregorio XIII", in *Il Palazzo Apostolico Vaticano*, Carlo Pietrangeli ed., Firenze 1992, pp. 151-157; and most recently Gianni Pitiglio, "La traslazione di S. Gregorio di Nazianzo tra urbanistica e opere di misericordia", in *Unità e frammenti di modernità: arte e scienza nella Roma di Gregorio XIII Boncompagni (1572-1585)*, Claudia Cieri Via, Ingrid D. Rowland, Marco Ruffini eds, Pisa-Roma 2012, pp. 113-130.

beginning of the *Cinquecento* to modernize the Apostolic Palace, for which the architect suggested to erect three levels of open loggias on the inner construction of the Cortile del Belvedere that would continue on the south to become a facade for the palace and then to equally extend a facade for the Cortile degli Svizzeri and the atrium of New St Peter's. The *logge* would quickly become a place where new pictorial modes of artistic production were to be experimented with that provided a contrast to the decorations within the private rooms of the palace. Because most of the subjects treated in the decorations before Gregory XIII's commission comprised allegorical images, few of them would not have been recognized, were they not accompanied by labels. Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, for instance, had therefore already warned Giovanni da Udine and Giulio Romano to avoid subjects which would be difficult to identify and that it was necessary to supply them with explanations.¹² In Giorgio Vasari's own opinion, however, the frescoes by Giovanni da Udine exemplified the triumph of art over nature, when in his biography of the painter Giovanni da Udine he also praised the works in the Vatican *logge* as being superior to those of the ancients.¹³ Antonio Tempesta's and Matthias Brill's frescoes for Pope Gregory XIII's *logge* present in respect to the choice of scenes to be painted a sharp contrast to these earlier decorations in the sixteenth century, since their contents are derived from various stations the solemn procession passed through Rome on 11 June 1580 when the relics of Saint Gregory of Nazianzus were being transferred. They thus correspond directly to the stations also delineated in the diaries of the two papal masters of ceremonies, Francesco and Giovanni Paolo Mucanzio.¹⁴ While the interrelationship between the solemn procession of the relics' translation and the diaries of the masters of ceremonies have been recognized by scholarship, so far the iconographic program for Gregory XIII's Terza Loggia has lacked an interpretation in relation to the pope's own aspirations for the functions his Apostolic Palace would have to fulfil in order to convey an appropriate image of a renewed as well as reformed Church. The following study thus attempts at presenting how Antonio Tempesta's and Matthijs Brill's iconographic program in the Terza Loggia relates to the solemn festivities for the translation of the relics. Another concern this paper would also like to address is how this specific iconographic program within the Vatican Apostolic Palace influenced the Curia's intellectual occupation with how the Roman rite had to be reformed through a historiographical dimension that would in the end lead to a new edition of the *Martyrologium Romanum* in 1584, for which the Oratorian and author of the *Annales Ecclesiastici* (1588-1607), Cesare Baronio, was responsible for.

12. See for this especially Bernice F. Davidson, "Pius IV and Raphael's Logge", *The Art Bulletin*, 66 (1984), pp. 382-389, at p. 384.

13. Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, Gaston du C. De Vere ed., 2 vols, New York 1996, vol. II, p. 489.

14. These diaries are preserved in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (BAV), Ms. Vat. Lat. 12286. Another fascicule, containing witness accounts and sermons by Francesco Panigarola, is to be found in BAV, Barb. Lat. 2003.

In 1580 the Franciscan preacher Francesco Panigarola delivered in St Peter's a sermon Pope Gregory XIII himself attended together with the Curia. This sermon, dedicated to Saint Gregory of Nazianzus, was delivered upon papal order in St Peter's one week before the saint's relics would be transported in a solemn procession from Santa Maria in Campo Marzio to the newly erected Cappella Gregoriana. Panigarola portrayed the Byzantine saint as the embodiment of preaching itself in order to resolve the Tridentine issue whether rhetorical training was needed to be a preacher or if training in scholastic theology already sufficed. The Council of Trent implied by its teachings on grace, justification, and the sacraments that the "grace of office" should be sufficient for preaching, since the Holy Spirit did not necessarily require preachers to possess the art of eloquence. The example of Saint Gregory of Nazianzus thus proves for Panigarola that God does not need human eloquence, since a preacher is ordained by God's will, as were for instance the case of Amos and Isaiah:

And certainly the word of God does not have to be sustained by pillars of human eloquence; But God himself, who finds his instruments again, also uses them: He found Amos in a cruel state, and rudely made him preach. He found Isaiah eloquent, and thus eloquently made him preach [...].¹⁵

Panigarola's laudatory sermon in St Peter's basilica from 1580 primarily intended to convey an image of the ideal model of a preacher from the Eastern Church, who was also praised by various Church Fathers from the West such as Saint Augustine or Pope Gregory the Great and therefore had also to be regarded as a model for any Church prelate. In fact, Saint Gregory of Nazianzus' true virtue, as Panigarola explains in his sermon, lies in his «vas electionis» («vessel of election»), alluding to an epithet of Saint Paul recurring in the Book of Acts that designated him as an apostle through Christ's election.¹⁶ This close comparison between Christ's choice of one of his apostles and Saint Gregory's own appointment to the priesthood is furthermore divided according to Panigarola's reasoning into three modes that characterise the sanctification of priests according to justification, glorification and prelature which the Council of Trent included in its decrees upon the priesthood from 1563. In its twenty-third session, the Council affirmed the office of priesthood as an ordinance made by God. However, this office, as understood by Holy Scripture and especially by the New Testament, constituted an anointment in relationship to Christ's sacrifice which was signified by the Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist. Consequently, the office of priesthood represented the passage from the Old Testament to the New by understanding it as an appointment made by Christ himself. Since priesthood was also constituted in the «consecration, offering,

15. See Francesco Panigarola, *In laude di San Gregorio Nazianzeno*, in *Prediche di Monsig. Revermo Panigarola Vescovo d'Asti Fatte Da Lui Straordinariamente...*, Venezia 1592, pp. 263-277. See also Frederick J. McGinness, *Right Thinking and Sacred Oratory in Counter-Reformation Rome*, Princeton 1995, at pp. 53ff.

16. Acts, 9,15; and Panigarola, *In laude* (n. 15), p. 253.

and administration of Christ's Body and Blood», the Tridentine Council assigned it in this function an external, visible dimension.¹⁷ Panigarola's *laudatio* of Saint Gregory Nazianzus successfully conveyed this semblance with Christ by furthermore associating the saint with the *os Christi* (bone of Christ). This configuration would finally render the translation of the relics from Santa Maria in Campo Marzio to the Cappella Gregoriana in St Peter's as a solemn festivity that culminated in the liturgical celebration of the Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist for which the Cappella Gregoriana was constructed. The solemn procession of transferring the relic remains of Saint Gregory of Nazianzus that took place on 11 June 1580 had in fact already been intended to take place two years before, when Pope Gregory XIII ordered the translation of an image of the Virgin, also known as the *Madonna del Soccorso*, for his newly constructed chapel in St Peter's, which Pope Julius II had previously retrieved from the old oratory of Leo I and was afterwards installed behind the organ of the church.¹⁸ Originally, Pope Gregory XIII sought to transfer the relic remains of John Chrysostomos when a certain Statius, the Portuguese humanist Aquiles Estação who was also an admirer of the Greek Church Fathers, reported that the remains of Saint Gregory of Nazianzus were located at the monastery of Santa Maria in Campo Marzio, being unfortunately preserved in poor condition. It was also Estação who then convinced the pope that instead of his original intention the remains of his namesake should be relocated to his new chapel.¹⁹ Unfortunately the planned translation of the saint's relics was cancelled due to the rainy weather. But, as an eyewitness account by Tiberio

17. See for this decree especially *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, Norman Tanner ed., 2 vols, London-New York 1990, vol. II, p. 472; as well as *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta*, Giuseppe Alberigo ed., Freiburg 1962, p. 742.

18. This is recounted by one of the writers, Fortunio Lelio, who recorded the translation of Saint Gregory of Nazianzus in 1585. See Fortunio Lelio, *Pompa et Apparato fatto in Roma nel giorno della Traslatione del Como di San Gregorio Nazianzeno da Santa Maria in Campo Marzio nella Cappella Gregoriana*, Venezia 1585, fol. 4r. Another source, which this study will also recur to, is Giovanni Rastelli, *Descrittione della Pompa et del Apparato fatto in Roma per la traslatione del Corpo di S. Gregorio Nazianzeno dal Monistero di S. Maria in Campo Marzo nella Chiesa di S. Pietro nella Cappella Gregoriana*, Perugia 1580. For the translation of the *Madonna del Soccorso* see Johanna Weissenberger, *Römische Mariengnadenbilder 1473-1590: Neue Altäre für alte Bilder. Zur Vorgeschichte der barocken Inszenierungen*, PhD diss., Universität Heidelberg 2007, pp. 140-157; as well as the *avviso* from 22 February 1578 in Rome, BAV, Urb. Lat. 1046, fol. 56r. The translation of the image to Pope Gregory's private chapel in St. Peter's was certainly not a ceremonial occasion of inauguration as Pastor believed it to be, for which see Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste* (n. 4), vol. IX, p. 795. However, the work on the Cappella Gregoriana was by far not yet completed as also the financial reports from Gregory XIII's personal treasurer record from Rome, Archivio di Stato (ASR), Camerale I, 1306 (1578-1579) and 1307 (1579-1580). See for this also Pierre Hurtubise, "Une procession à nulle autre pareille", *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae*, 39 (2001), pp. 129-149, sp. p. 131.

19. See Giovanni Paolo Mucanzio's dedication to Cardinal Odoardo Farnese in BAV, Barb. Lat. 2803, *De origine Translat(io)nis Corporis B(eati) Greg(o)rij*, fol. 322v. See also the account in Lelio, *Pompa et Apparato* (n. 18), fol. 5v, where he mentions Estação's poem to the origin of the translation of the saint's relics, which the master of papal ceremonies, Giovanni Paolo Mucanzio, then included in his diary. See BAV, Vat. Lat., 12286, fols 322v-324r.

Alfarano from 16 March 1578 also reports, a large crowd was to be seen between Santa Maria in Campo Marzio and the Ponte Sant'Angelo despite of the bad weather conditions. Even the master of papal ceremonies, Giovanni Paolo Mucanzio, made a note in his diary that the Buoncompagni Pope nonetheless granted a plenary indulgence for everybody who visited both churches.²⁰ Pope Gregory XIII's interest in Saint Gregory of Nazianzus is however not self-evident. As Louise Rice has rightly remarked, there is no evidence that the Pontiff was paying veneration to this Cappadocian Father before the translation of his relics in 1580.²¹ The solemn procession for which the Franciscan Francesco Panigarola delivered a sermon has therefore to be regarded in relationship towards the pope's ambitions of reuniting the Eastern with the Western Church that he pursued by installing a Greek Congregation for which he appointed the Cardinal Guglielmo Sirleto to be one of its most important members. Since his membership from 1573, Sirleto was ambitiously attempting at reforming the monasteries of the Basilian monks in Italy.²² According to the *Liber rerum memorabilium* from the chapter of St Peter's basilica, Sirleto was also present when Pope Gregory XIII ordered to examine the relics beneath the altar of Pope Leo the Great.²³ Sirleto's work during Gregory XIII's pontificate was in this respect related to the translation of the works of Saint Basil from Greek into Latin, which also attests for his instrumental role in giving a new edition of Saint Gregory of Nazianzus' *Opera omnia* to print in 1583, one year before the Oratorian Cesare Baronio would publish a new edition of the *Martyrologium Romanum* and adopt Ado de Vienne's date of 9 May as Saint Gregory of Nazianzus' birthday.²⁴

20. See for the cancellation of the translation from 1578 BAV, Barb. Lat. 2802, fol. 424v; and Tiberio Alfarano, *De Basilicae Vaticanae antiquissima et nova structura*, in BAV, Archivio Capitolare di S. Pietro, H85, 136. See also most recently on the Cappella Gregoriana the detailed monography by Kaspar Zollikofer, *Die Cappella Gregoriana: Der erste Innenraum von Neu-Sankt-Peter in Rom und seine Ereignisse*, Basel 2016 (Bibliotheca Helvetica Romana, 36), pp. 114-132.

21. See Louise Rice, *The Altars and Altarpieces of New St. Peter's: Outfitting the Basilica*, Cambridge 1998, p. 24; as contrary to Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste* (n. 4), vol. IX, p. 797, who unreasonably claimed that Gregory XIII had especially venerated the saint.

22. See especially Giulio Antonio Santori, *Diario Concistoriale*, Pietro Tacchi-Venturi ed., Roma 1902-1903 (Studi e documenti di storia e diritto, 23-24), p. 356. Sirleto attached to Gregory XIII's new edition of the decrees from the Council of Florence an accompanying writing, which addressed the schismatic Greeks, that found a wide diffusion in the Greek provinces of Southern Italy. His *Exhortatio ad Graecos* is to be found in BAV, Vat. Lat. 6792. See for this Georg Denzler, *Kardinal Guglielmo Sirleto (1514-1585): Leben und Werk. Ein Beitrag zur nachtridentinischen Reform*, München 1964, pp. 61-62; and also Felicia Lacava Ziparo, *Dominazione bizantina e civiltà basiliana nella Calabria prenormanna*, Reggio Calabria 1977, p. 145.

23. See for this Giacomo Grimaldi, *Descrizione della Basilica Antica di S. Pietro in Vaticano: Codice Barberino latino 2733*, Reto Niggli ed., Città del Vaticano 1972 (Codices e Vaticanis selecti, 32), p. 234.

24. See *Martyrologium Romanum: Editio Princeps (1584)*, Manlio Sodi, Roberto Fusco eds, Città del Vaticano 2005 (Monumenta Liturgica Concilii Tridentini, 6), p. 166 (9 May), henceforth cited as *Mart. Rom.* (1584). It was also Cardinal Sirleto who commissioned Baronio to draw up a new edition of the *Martyrologium*, since its previous publication in 1578 lacked historical accuracy. For Baronio's work on the *Martyrologium* see most recently Giuseppe Antonio Guazzelli, "Baronio

Baronio also composed a *Vita* of Saint Gregory of Nazianzus that he dedicated to Pope Gregory XIII, which remains however undated. In a letter to the pope, also without a date, he is recurring to Gregory XIII's solemn procession of the saint's relics from 11 June 1580 and explains that his intentions of writing a biography originated in many believers, amongst which some of his friends wished to know more about Saint Gregory's life and deeds, following the translation of his relics.²⁵ Furthermore, his letter to the pope not only testifies that he was himself attending the transfer of the relics to New St Peter's, but that he must have been influenced by Francesco Panigarola when he composed his hagiographic account of the saint. Baronio regards Saint Gregory of Nazianzus as being «truthfully» («vero») a priest, not because of his life, but because of the many panegyrics that were written in his name.²⁶ Baronio's letter also reveals that he had already been present at the consecration of the Cappella Gregoriana before the solemn procession began on that same day, since a passage also gives an accurate description of the chapel's mosaic decoration in the four pendentives, which the master of papal ceremonies, Francesco Mucanzio, also included in his diary. Baronio namely praises the execution of the four Church Fathers, and especially notes that Saint Gregory of Nazianzus was accurately depicted in presenting him in the instance of writing. The pendentive mosaics in the Cappella Gregoriana thus do not constitute for Baronio «admirable men» («viri admirabilis») because of their remains, but rather for their thoughts expressed in their writings.²⁷

The mosaic decoration of the pendentives in the Cappella Gregoriana presented an ensemble of four Church Fathers, two from the Western and the other two from the Eastern Church. Except for Gregory the Great, who is the Buoncompagni's papal namesake, the three others – Saint Jerome, Saint Basil, and Saint Gregory of Nazianzus – constitute themselves an already well known group, which also occupies in Cesare Baronio's *Vita* of Saint Gregory of Nazianzus an important place.²⁸ Furthermore, Baronio's treatment of these three saints in his *Vita*

attraverso il *Martyrologium Romanum*", in *Cesare Baronio tra santità e scrittura storica*, Giuseppe Antonio Guazzelli, Raimondo Michetti, Francesco Scorza Barcellona eds, Roma 2012, pp. 67-110 with further references.

25. The letter is reprinted in Raimondo Alberici, *Venerabilis Caesaris Baronii S.R.E. Cardinalis Bibliothecarii Epistolae et Opuscula pleraque nunc primum ex archetypis in lucem eruta*, 3 vols, Roma 1759-1770, vol. I, pp. 165-167, sp. p. 166, henceforth cited as Alberici, *Ep. et Opusc.* A handwritten manuscript is preserved in BAV, Buoncompagni B3, fols 1r-107v, and was later reprinted in *Acta Sanctorum Maii collecta, digesta, illustrata, a Godefrido Henschenio et Daniele Papebrochio e Societate Iuesu*, Antwerp 1680, pp. 373-429. The following remarks will rely on Cesare Baronio, *De Vita S. Gregorii Nazianzeni*, in Alberici, *Ep. et Opusc.*, vol. II, pp. 241-396, henceforth cited as Baronius, *Vita Greg. Naz.*

26. Alberici, *Ep. et Opusc.* (n. 25), vol. I, p. 166.

27. *Ibid.* See also Mucanzio's description of the Cappella Gregoriana in his *diarium*, which does not have a festive apparatus as its decorations are to be admired, in BAV, Vat. Lat. 12286, fol. 357.

28. The mosaics of the pendentives in Gregory XIII's chapel are however inventions dating from the eighteenth century as it was also pointed out most recently by Zollikofer, *Cappella Gre-*

of Gregory of Nazianzus reveals his close collaboration with Cardinal Sirleto that also played an important part for the newly to be edited *Martyrologium Romanum*. The friendship between Basil of Caesarea and Gregory of Nazianzus, a clear indication for Baronio's knowledge of Sirleto's ambitions within Gregory XIII's Congregazione dei Greci, is founded in the latter's funerary speech (*Oratio* 43) as well as his autobiographical poem, *Carmen de vita sua*, which Baronio must have also known through his own relationship with Cardinal Sirleto. His knowledge of Gregory of Nazianzus' poem is also mentioned in the letter to Pope Gregory XIII, where he expresses his hopes about editing the collection of Gregory's *Opera omnia* and giving it to print.²⁹ In his editorial work on the *Martyrologium Romanum*, Baronio also mentioned the monastery of the Benedictine nuns at Santa Maria in Campo Marzio in Rome and thus emphasised the relics' importance for the city Rome. Additionally, Baronio also assumed that the monastery of the Benedictines had originally been founded by some basilian nuns who had fled from Constantinople to Rome and who had brought with them the saint's relics.³⁰ Although this assumption remains undocumented, it nonetheless suggests that for his integration of Saint Gregory in the *Martyrologium*, Baronio not only drew upon his personal exchanges with Cardinal Sirleto, but must have also considered the written accounts of the solemn procession of the translation of the relics.³¹

While the relationship between the two Cappadochian Fathers is thus treated in Baronio's *Vita* as a historiographical issue, Saint Gregory's relation to Saint Jerome described in the eleventh chapter of the biography is however recounted by reference to Jerome's own writings about the saint, who considers the Greek Church Father as his teacher (*praeceptor*) concerning theological matters. This is the case when Baronio refers to Jerome's account of Saint Gregory's attitude towards Arian theology in the eleventh chapter of the *Vita*.³² Such an account about the relationship

goriana (n. 20), p. 90. For the original mosaics of the sixteenth century see especially Ascanio Valentino, *Sacelli Gregoriani Descriptio...*, Firenze 1583, pp. 22-34.

29. Alberici, *Ep. et Opusc.* (n. 25), vol. I, p. 167. On the friendship between Basil and Gregory see also Baronius, *Vita* (n. 25), pp. 380-386, sp. pp. 391 and 398.

30. See *Mart. Rom.* (1584) (n. 24), pp. 166-167. This hagiography regarding the relics' translation from Constantinople to Rome, which would also be integrated into the Bollandist's *Acta Sanctorum* in 1680, constituted a major issue regarding the historical contextualisation of Saint Gregory of Nazianzus within the Roman topography. As Joseph-Marie Sauget also concluded that the relics' presence in Rome had an important relationship with the benedictine nuns. See for this especially Joseph-Marie Sauget, "Gregorio di Nazianzo", in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, 16 vols, Roma 1961-2000, vol. VII, pp. 194-204, sp. pp. 199-200 and 202. See for this also Baronio's annotations to the 1586 edition of the *Martyrologium Romanum* (1586), p. 258 (e); and Enrico Carusi, *Cartario di S. Maria in Campo Marzio (986-1199)*, Roma 1948 (Miscellanea della Società Romana di Storia Patria, 17), pp. XII-XIV.

31. See for instance Rastelli's similar account about the presumed basilian foundations of Santa Maria in Campo Marzio in Rastelli, *Descrittione* (n. 18), p. 3.

32. Baronio in fact traces Jerome's own theological thoughts that were expressed in his *Apologetica adversus libros Rufini* to Saint Gregory's condemnation of the Arian heresy in Constantinople which spread quickly amongst his disciples. This chapter on Jerome's relationship towards Saint Gregory of Nazianzus had thus to be read in respect to the Western Church's adaptation of By-

between the Latin and the Byzantine Church through the analogy of Saint Jerome's appropriation of Saint Gregory's theology also reveals Baronio's perception of the figure next to Saint Gregory the Great in the Cappella Gregoriana, where Saint Jerome does not appear as a Church prelate like the other figures, but as an erudite theologian, for he is shown not wearing liturgical garments. Jerome is the only one of the four figures in the pendentives of the Cappella Gregoriana, who was not a candidate to the appointment of bishop. Alonso Chacón, however, attempted to sustain in a treatise dedicated to Pope Gregory XIII that Saint Jerome might have in fact obtained the title of cardinal, although this attribution was only made in a *Vita* from the twelfth century.³³ In this framework, Baronio's biography of Saint Gregory of Nazianzus not only offers an account how historiographical erudition is interwoven with theological thought, but that his hagiographical portrayal must have been highly influenced by the decoration of the Cappella Gregoriana. So far, most recent scholarship has only marginally considered Baronio's *Vita*, thus still lacking an appropriate contextual embedding within Curial interests of adopting a Greek theologian into the Roman rite. It is therefore plausible to see in Baronio's statement about some of his friends desiring to know more about this saint's life, not only an increased interest in Saint Gregory of Nazianzus expressed by the Roman Curia itself after the solemn procession from July 1580, but that such a brisk interest in fact must have, to some degree at least, lead to decorate Gregory XIII's Terza Loggia by ten select scenes recording the various stations of that same procession. In this sense, the decoration of the Cappella Gregoriana marks a decisive contribution to Antonio Tempesta's and Matthijs Brill's frescoes in the *loggia* of the Apostolic Palace.

In his sermon from 1580, Francesco Panigarola does not venture to describe the Cappella Gregoriana and its mosaic decoration according to pictorial criteria like Baronio did in his letter to Pope Gregory XIII, but rather attempts at conveying the material richness of the interior and its overwhelming impression that it casts upon each beholder. Saint Gregory's main theological virtue as *vas electionis* that renders him a truthful prototype of a preacher is in Panigarola's sermon immediately imagined by the Cappella Gregoriana as it is described as «that wonderful vessel» («si bel vaso».)³⁴ Apart from attracting the Roman

zantine theology, for which Saint Jerome's writings enabled a transmission of Greek theological doctrine. See Baronius, *Vita* (n. 25), p. 402. Such is the case when Baronio ascribes to Saint Jerome, through the reference «in obscuris Scripturae locis interpretandi», his own attempts of interpreting the hardly graspable vision of Isaiah and the Seraph in Jerome's third book of his *Commentaria in Isaiam libri XXII*.

33. For Chacón's attribution in his *Tractatus quod divus Hieronimus, Stridonensis S.R.E. presbiter fuerit cardinalis*, first printed in 1581, see especially Silvia Grassi Fiorentino, "Chacón (Ciaconius), Alonso (Alfonso)", in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 24, Roma 1980, pp. 352-356, sp. p. 354. See also Valentino's description of the mosaic of Saint Jerome in his *Descriptio* (n. 28) pp. 24-25. See also regarding this particular instance Zollikofer, *Cappella Gregoriana* (n. 20), pp. 92-93.

34. Panigarola, *In Laude* (n. 15), fols 261v-262r: «Si sì, non si può negare: questa, questa Gregoriana in così poco tempo cresciuta, e stabilita, così santamente superba, questi pretiosissimi

population to a devotion of a saint and his relics that originally pertained to the Byzantine rite, but that the Roman Church had transferred into its own ritual tradition, Panigarola's sermon to Saint Gregory of Nazianzus also had in mind to present how Pope Gregory XIII's private chapel was orchestrated within St Peter's basilica, which at that time had still been regarded as a constituent part of the Vatican Apostolic Palace where Gregory XIII and the Roman Curia were residing. By emphasising that it did not suffice for the basilica to possess the relics of Saints Peter and Paul as well as those of other saints, and that the remains of John Chrysostomos did equally not constitute a sufficient treasure, Panigarola suggests through the phrase «non bastava» the necessity of Saint Gregory of Nazianzus' relics to be transferred from its hidden place at Campo Marzio to New St Peter's by conferring upon the city of Rome the Curial administration of sacred oratory in respect to the Roman rite. It has been assumed that the ten scenes in the *Terza Loggia* are a manifest to Pope Gregory XIII's transformations of Rome's urban topography, even going so far to assume that the «vedute extrapolate Rome's role as exemplar and mediator of disciplined Tridentine devotion, Paleochristian simplicity, and charitable order».³⁵ While at some point such a dimension might be regarded as to have played a vital role in the design and selection of the ten scenes, however only at a later stage of the execution, the progression of narrative in the frescoes suggests far more a remarkable closeness of the translation to the festivities of the *Corpus Domini* procession. This is also due to the fact that upon the decision to postpone the transferring of Saint Gregory's relic remains by two years, Pope Gregory XIII issued one mandate for the *Corpus Domini* as well as for the translation.³⁶ The celebrations of the *Corpus Domini* must thus have also devised the processional route for the translation to pass, since instead of taking the nearest connection between Santa Maria in Campo Marzio to the Vatican by passing the Via dei Coronari, the solemn procession from 11 June 1580 moved through the *Via papalis*, therefore taking the same directions of the papal *posse*. The sequence of frescoes in Gregory XIII's Terza Loggia evinces an effort by the two artists who divided their work between the portrayal of the scenic urban stations of the procession and the disposition of figures that also corresponds to the accounts given in the ceremonial diaries as well as in Rastelli's description from 1580. As the first of the ten scenes shows the *piazza* in front of Santa Maria in

Mosaici, che fan più caro il vetro, che non l'oro; e che mai non si veggono usati, se non a cose sacre, questi finissimi marmi, questi vaghissimi, e richissimi mischi, queste colonne, anzi queste gioie, che non cedono ponto alle famose antiche, questa fabrica tutta, così vasta, così ricca, e così ornata, che fa scorno all'antichità, che ci fa spregiar le ruine di Roma, questa, questa, Romani, mostra quale sia il Santo per ricever l'osse del quale, è stato preparato sì bel vaso».

35. See Robert Denton Meadows-Rogers, *The Vatican Logge and their culminating decorations under Pius IV and Gregory XIII: Decorative innovation and urban planning before Sixtus V*, Phd diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill 1997, p. 331; and Leuschner, *Antonio Tempesta* (n. 2), p. 45.

36. See BAV, Vat. Lat. 12286, fol. 314r, where the master of papal ceremonies, Francesco Mucanzio, was commissioned to prepare the processions for both festivities.

Campo Marzio, on the corner between Via Stelletta and Via degli Spagnoli, with passing members of different confraternities, which Fortunio Lelio also identifies with members of the Compagnia delle Stimate di San Francesco. What has been omitted in this scene, however, is the lamentation of the nuns of Santa Maria in Campo Marzio from whom the relics have now been taken (Fig. 5).³⁷ Obviously Tempesta and Brill paid close attention to detail in their frescoes by also showing hanging tapestries from the balconies of the palaces as the participants of the procession were passing them on their stations to St Peter's, although the festive apparatus had been much more elaborate as contemporary accounts also record.³⁸ The most extensive execution of the festivity for the translation of Saint Gregory's relics was therefore reserved for the last scene, showing the large crowd in front of St Peter's basilica and the Apostolic Palace (Fig. 6). Pope Gregory XIII is now also presented in the center of the crowd being carried on his *sedie* beneath a canopy. The composition of the architectural complex in the background is similarly rendered as Vasari's composition of the Vatican Palace together with St Peter's in the Sala Regia. This seemingly pictorial continuity of painting the Vatican architectural complex suggests a yet unnoticed influence the administrative changes Gregory XIII had introduced immediately when he assumed the papal throne in 1572 and which were also specifically concerned with sacred oratory. One year after his election, the pope issued a commission, presided by the Master of the Sacred Palace, then also entitled *haereticae pravitatis inquisitor*, that was ordered to issue an edict containing a number of measures concerned with the selection of clerics, who were to be allowed to preach at the papal court.³⁹ These preachers, who were selected by the Master of the Sacred Palace and a select cardinal, were then to deliver sermons designated to be presented at the papal court *coram papa*. While before the construction of the Cappella Gregoriana this type of sermon was traditionally being held principally in the Sistine Chapel or the papal chapel on the Quirinal Hill when the pope was residing there, also referred to as the Cappella Pontificia or Cappella Palatina, Pope Gregory XIII now had provided with his private chapel in St Peter's basilica a place where

37. Lelio, *Pompa et Apparato* (n. 18), p. 22; Rastelli, *Descrittione* (n. 18), p. 5. See also Meadows-Rogers, *Vatican Logge* (n. 35), p. 478; as well as Leuschner, *Antonio Tempesta* (n. 2), p. 42, who pointed out that the translation of the relics to the Cappella Gregoriana might also be read as a papal retrenchment of the old Roman nobility, for the convent of the nuns at Santa Maria in Campo Marzio belonged to the powerful Colonna family.

38. Meadows-Rogers, *Vatican Logge* (n. 35), p. 329; Grimaldi, *Descrizione* (n. 23), p. 404; Rastelli, *Descrittione* (n. 18), pp. 32-34. See also on this Zollikofer, *Cappella Gregoriana* (n. 20), pp. 120-122.

39. For this edict see especially BAV, Barb. Lat. 2802, fols 125v-29v, as well as McGinnes, *Right Thinking and Sacred Oratory* (n. 15), pp. 65-69. On the culture and importance of preaching during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries see especially John O'Malley, *Praise and Blame in Renaissance Rome: Rhetoric, Doctrine, and Reform in the Sacred Orators of the Papal Court, c. 1450-1521*, Durham 1979, pp. 77-122. Eventually, this commission would then expand during Sixtus V's papacy to the Congregazione dei Riti e Cerimonie, which was inaugurated by a papal bull in 1586.

this sermon could also be delivered. The English pilgrim Gregory Martin furthermore explains in his *Roma Sancta* that such liturgical ceremonies were also called *cappella*, at which the pope as well as the Roman Curia were present.⁴⁰ Usually these chosen preachers were initially being selected as either from the procurators general of the mendicant orders or indeed by the discretion of the Master of the Sacred Palace. This second group of preachers at which the edict issued by Gregory XIII's commission was addressed at generally come from, as McGinness was able to derive, the priest-instructors of Sapienza and from Jesuit's headquarters (Casa Professa) and the Collegio Romano.⁴¹ It was also that from this group there emerged many of exquisite eloquence and prominence, many of whom were indeed Baronio's friends, such as the Jesuit Roberto Bellarmino or the antiquarian and writer Pompeo Ugonio, who had visited together with Baronio the rediscovered cemeteries from Early Christianity in 1578.

In this respect, Baronio's ambitions of writing a *Vita* of Saint Gregory of Nazianzus that he expressed in his letter to Pope Gregory XIII can be located within a defined space of Curial administration which was specifically concerned with an appropriate delivery of sermons *coram papam*. His biography of the saint was thus designated for such priests selected *ad hoc* by the Master of the Sacred Palace to preach at the papal court on Saint Gregory of Nazianzus' feast day in the Cappella Gregoriana that was also determined by the *Martyrologium Romanum* for 9 May each year. Baronio's hagiographical account, which he would consequently also integrate in his *Annales Ecclesiastici*, have to be regarded as having been shaped by specific Curial interests for the Roman rite that Pope Gregory XIII himself had initiated on the one hand by the construction of the Cappella Gregoriana in New St Peter's as well as the decoration campaign of the Terza Loggia in the Apostolic Palace on the other.

40. *Roma Sancta* (n. 4), p. 99.

41. See McGinness, *Right Thinking and Sacred Oratory* (n. 15), p. 64. Regarding procurators general from the mendicant orders see especially G. Van den Broeck, "Le Procureur général dans les instituts religieux", *Revue de droit canonique*, 17 (1967), pp. 235-260.

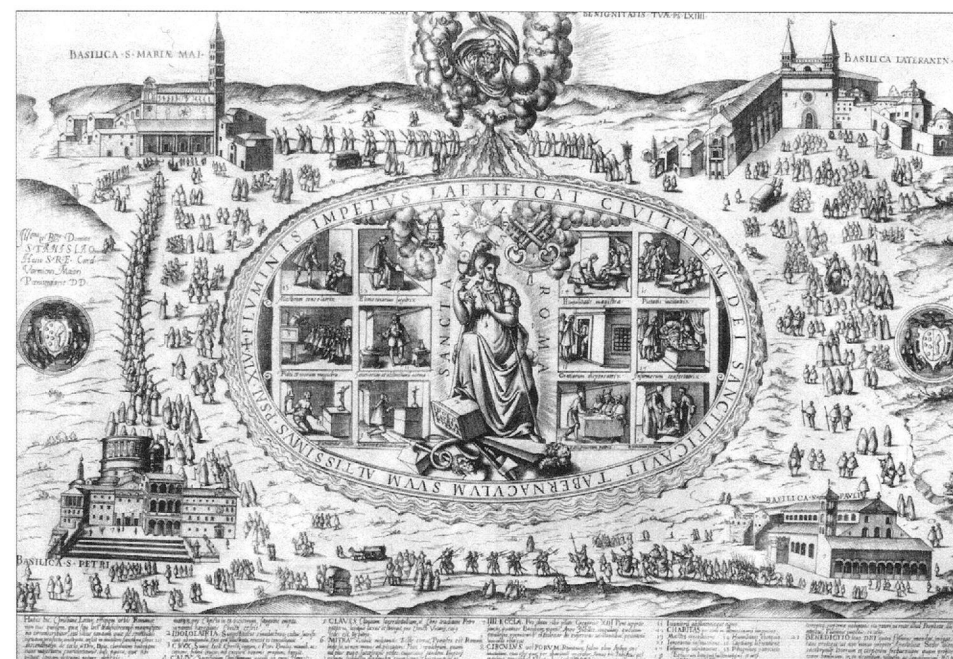


Fig. 1. Giovanni Battista de' Cavalieri, *Benedices coronae anni benignitatis tua PS LXVII*, etching, 1575, British Museum, Department of Prints & Drawings, London (© British Museum, London).

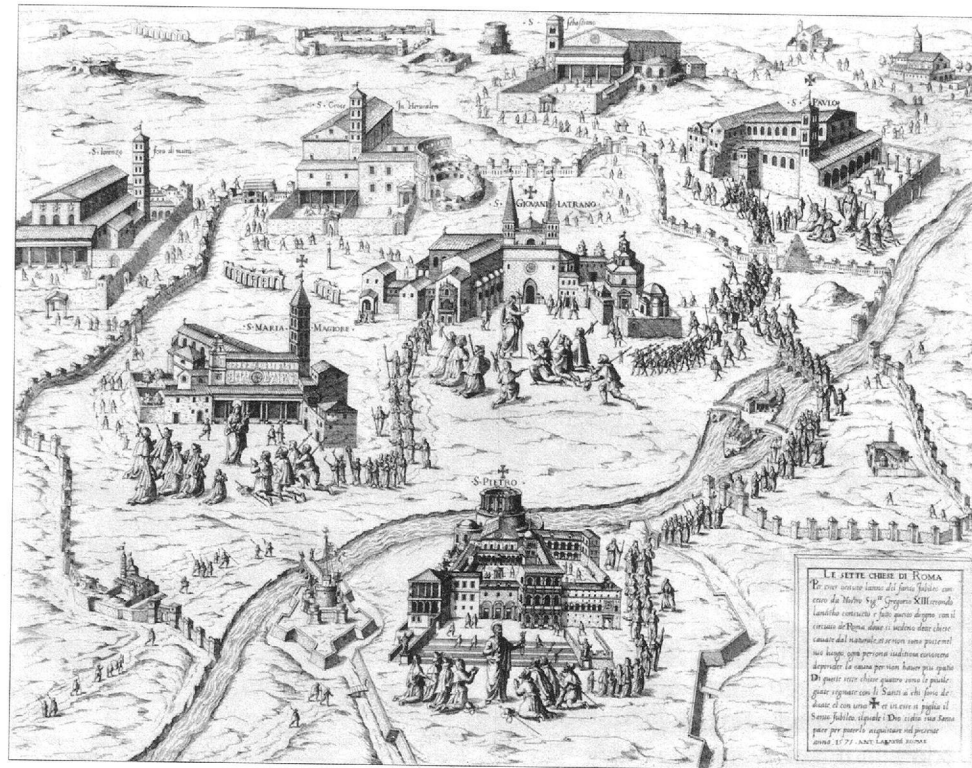


Fig. 2. Ambrogio Brambilla, *Le sette chiese di Roma per esser venuto l'anno del santo Jubileo concesso da Nostro Sire Gregorio XIII secondo l'antico consueto e fatto questo disegno...* (*Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae* series), etching, published by Antoine Lafréry, 1575, British Museum, Department of Prints & Drawings, London (© British Museum, London).

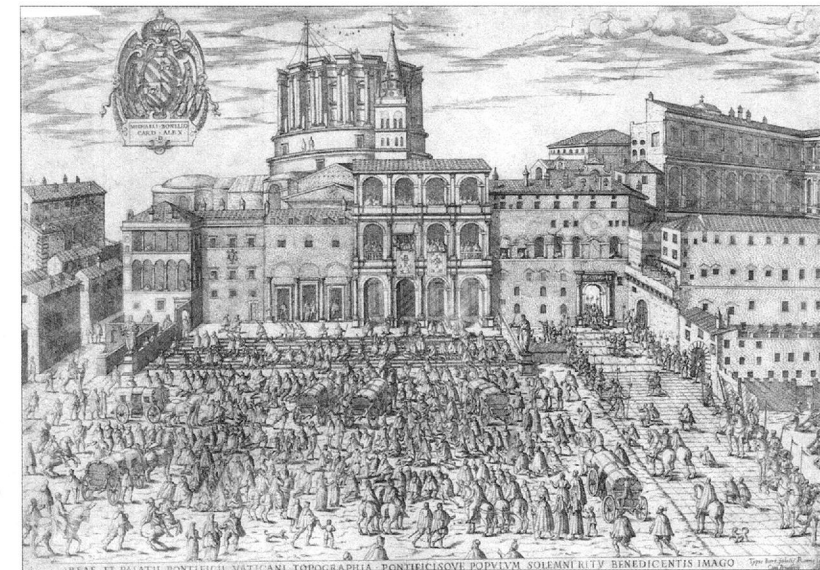


Fig. 3. Anonymous, *An unidentified pope blessing a crowd gathered in St Peter Square with the Basilica of St Peter's dome under construction* (*Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae* series), etching, 1575, published by Bartolomeo Faleti, British Museum, Department of Prints & Drawings, London (© British Museum, London).

Fig. 4. Giorgio Vasari, *Pope Gregory XI returning the papal seat from Avignon to Rome*, fresco, 1573, Palazzo Apostolico Vaticano, Sala Regia (© Alinari Archives).

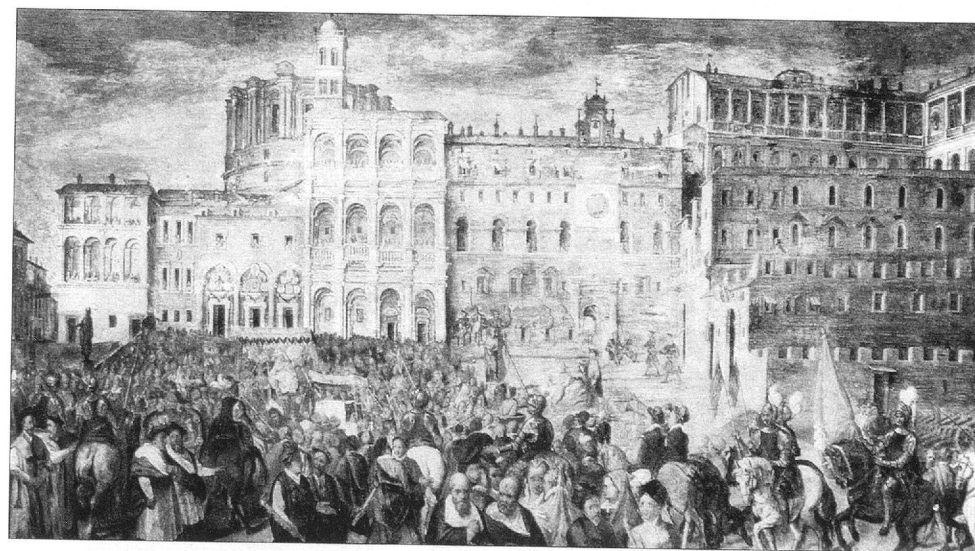
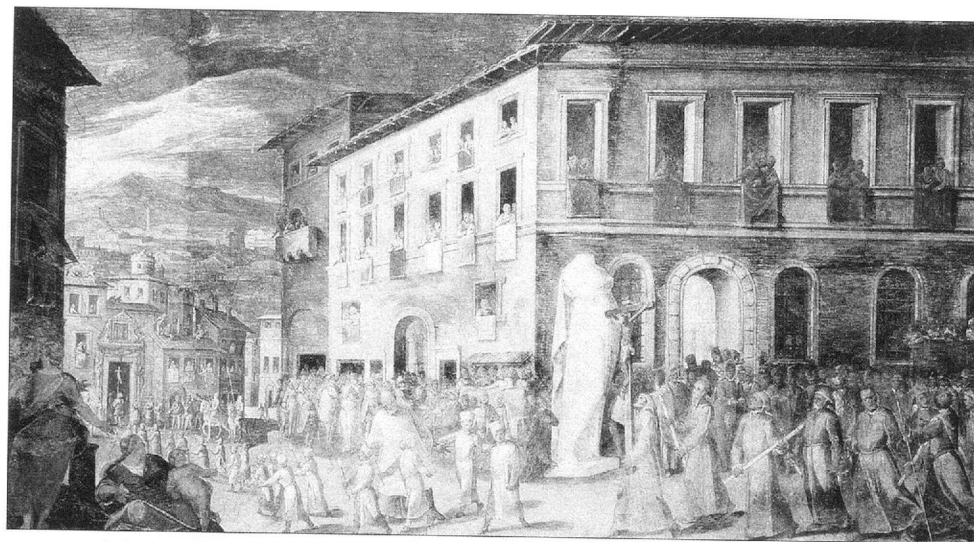


Fig. 5. Antonio Tempesta (in collaboration with Matthijs Brill), *Traslation of relics of Saint Gregory Nazianzus: Santa Maria in Campo Marzio*, fresco, 1581-1583, Palazzo Apostolico Vaticano, Terza Loggia (© Musei Vaticani, Archivio Fotografico).

Fig. 6. Antonio Tempesta (in collaboration with Matthijs Brill), *Traslation of relics of Saint Gregory Nazianzus: Saint Peter's Square*, fresco, 1581-1583, Palazzo Apostolico Vaticano, Terza Loggia (© Musei Vaticani, Archivio Fotografico).

Stefano D'Ovidio

La trasformazione dello spazio liturgico nelle chiese medievali di Napoli durante il XVI secolo: alcuni casi di studio

Nella seconda metà del Cinquecento, a Napoli come in molte altre città italiane si assiste a una profonda trasformazione dello spazio ecclesiale. Per conferire massimo risalto all'altare maggiore e al tabernacolo eucaristico, sempre più di frequente li esposto, quasi ovunque si decise di liberare la navata dall'ingombro del coro, fino allora posto comunemente davanti al santuario e delimitato da barriere di diversa dimensione e fattura, che ne precludevano la vista ai laici.¹ La soluzione più comune fu il trasferimento degli stalli del coro dietro l'altare maggiore, opportunamente avanzato.

Tale sostanziale modifica, che nel pensiero teologico post-tridentino è stata ricondotta al principio dell'unicità dell'altare nelle prime chiese cristiane,² è stata a lungo ritenuta il frutto di norme stabilite nel Concilio di Trento. Le disposizioni conciliari tuttavia non entrarono mai nel merito di cambiamenti riguardanti l'edificio, ma intesero sancire la validità della dottrina della transustanziazione contro le posizioni dei protestanti, prescrivendo la custodia e la venerazione costanti dell'Eucarestia.³ Studi recenti dimostrano piuttosto che la liberazione della navata e lo spostamento del coro, in qualche caso attestati già nel XIV secolo, furono l'esito di un lungo processo, favorito, almeno dalla fine del Quattrocento, tanto dalla diffusione del culto eucaristico, quanto dagli ideali di ordine e armonia dell'architettura rinascimentale.⁴

1. In questo articolo presento i primi risultati di una ricerca dal titolo *Napoli medievale nel Cinquecento: chiese e allestimenti scomparsi della città nelle visite pastorali e nelle fonti letterarie*, avviata grazie a una borsa di studio post-dottorato presso la Bibliotheca Hertziana di Roma. Per l'aiuto e i consigli desidero ringraziare: Francesco Aceto, Daria Battista, Maria Teresa Como, Sabina De Cavi, Bianca De Divitiis, Andrea De Marchi, Alessandra Guiglia, Alessandra Rullo, Simona Salmieri, Elisabetta Scirocco e Antonino Tranchina. Sull'argomento mi limito a segnalare: *Lo spazio e il culto. Relazioni tra edificio ecclesiale e uso liturgico dal XV al XVI secolo*, Atti delle giornate di studio (Firenze, 2003), a cura di Jörg Stabenow, Venezia 2006, con bibliografia. In riferimento al tema trattato in questo intervento: Claire Guinomet, *Das italienische Sakramentsabernakel im 16. Jahrhundert. Tempel- und Architekturen in miniature zur Aufbewahrung der Eucharistie*, München 2017.

2. Christoph Jobst, "Liturgia e culto dell'Eucarestia nel programma spaziale della Chiesa", in *Lo spazio e il culto* (n. 1), pp. 91-126, sp. pp. 109-114.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 109.

4. Francesco Caglioti, "Altari eucaristici scolpiti del primo Rinascimento: qualche caso maggiore", in *Lo spazio e il culto* (n. 1), pp. 53-89.