January 2013

The Choir Books of Santa Maria in Aracoeli and Patronage Strategies of Pope Alexander VI

Maureen Elizabeth Cox
University of South Florida, mecox@mail.usf.edu

The Choir Books of Santa Maria in Aracoeli and Patronage Strategies of Pope Alexander

VI

by

Maureen Cox-Brown

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
School of Art and Art History
College of The Arts
University of South Florida

Major Professor: Helena K. Szépe Ph.D.
Elisabeth Fraser Ph.D.
Mary Fournier Ph.D.

Date of Approval:
June 28, 2013

Keywords: Humanism, Antonio da Monza, illuminated manuscripts, numismatics, Aesculapius, Pinturicchio, Borgia

DEDICATION

This is lovingly dedicated to the memory of my mother and her parents.

Et benedictio Dei omnipotentis, Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti descendat super vos et

maneat semper

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

ABSTRACT

This study examines painted leaves and fragments that were extracted from a set of choir books created in the last decade of the fifteenth century for the basilica of Santa Maria in Aracoeli in Rome. These remnants are currently housed within various library and museum collections throughout Europe and the United States. The set is agreed upon generally by scholars to have been commissioned by Alexander VI (Rodrigo Borgia, 1431-1503), who was pope from 1492 to 1503, as a gift to the church during his time as pontiff. The choir books for Santa Maria in Aracoeli contain the bulk of the known body of work by the enigmatic illuminator Fra Antonio da Monza. The best known items from this set of choir books are a complete gradual (or book of chants for the Mass) currently housed in the Getty Museum, called the Ludwig Aracoeli Manuscript, and a montage of cuttings in the Albertina Museum, Vienna, that features a miniature of the *Pentecost*. These are studied in the context of the artistic patronage of Alexander VI, and political and diplomatic gift cultures in papal Rome during the last decade of the Quattrocento.

Alexander VI's gift to Santa Maria in Aracoeli served multiple functions. It advanced church music, but is also an example of a pontiff using custom luxury books for cultural diplomacy. The intent of the choir books was to build social relationships and augment the prestige of Alexander VI's regime with a local audience. Alexander VI sought to acknowledge the symbolic resonance of Santa Maria in Aracoeli and attempted to recuperate the site's importance for his reign through the gift. This study argues that

the choir books were commissioned by the pontiff to promote his cultural and religious authority through *abbellimento* or "embellishment", the practice of commissioning ostentatious liturgical objects and additions to religious ceremonies for the purpose of developing esteem for an ecclesiastical office. This thesis argues that another purpose of the bestowment was to appease the Observant Franciscans in charge of the basilica in anticipation of Alexander VI's reforms of the Franciscan order.

INTRODUCTION

"…the only two types of memorials capable of preserving memory, namely, books and buildings…"
-Pier Paolo Vergerio[1]

This study concentrates on painted leaves and fragments that were extracted from

a set of choir books created in the last decade of the fifteenth century for the basilica of

Santa Maria in Aracoeli in Rome. These remnants are currently housed within various

library and museum collections throughout Europe and the United States. It is agreed

upon by scholars that the set was commissioned by Alexander VI (Rodrigo Borgia, 1431-

1503), who was pope from 1492 to 1503, as a gift to the church during his time as

pontiff.[2] The remains of the choir books for Santa Maria in Aracoeli also represent the

bulk of the known body of work by the enigmatic illuminator Fra Antonio da Monza

(active circa 1480-1505). The earliest known documentation regarding the set dates from

1736, suggesting that the volumes were still intact at that time.[3] The manuscripts were

subsequently dispersed and some robbed of their fine illuminations. The best known

items from the intact volumes are a complete gradual (or book of chants for the Mass)

---

[1] Kathleen Wren Christian, *Empire Without End: Antiquities Collections in Renaissance Rome, c.1350-1527* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 1. This sentence fragment was contained in a letter written by Piero Paolo Vergerio in 1398 to an unknown recipient. In the correspondence, Vergerio reports the unfortunate decline of Rome in the midst of the Great Schism, and bemoans how the local population was destroying the physical remnants of the city's great past. The original text read: "Duo sint quibus extare rerum memoria soleat, libris scilicet atque edificiis…"

[2] Jonathan J.G. Alexander, *The Painted Page: Italian Renaissance Illumination 1450-1550* (New York: Prestel Publishers, 1994), 234.

[3] Casimiro Romano, *Memorie istoriche della chiesa e del convent di Santa Maria in Aracoeli in Roma* (Rome: Stamperia della Rev. Cam. Apost, 1845), 224. Originally published in 1736, this edition is a reprint of the original text from 1845.

1

currently housed in the J. Paul Getty Museum, sometimes referred to as the Ludwig

Aracoeli Manuscript, and a montage of cuttings in the Albertina Museum, Vienna, that

contains illuminations taken from various volumes of the set. This montage includes a

miniature of the *Pentecost* (Figure 1 and Figure 2). Due to their function in communal

worship, the choir books are in large format; the Ludwig Aracoeli Manuscript measures

over two feet tall, nearly eighteen inches wide. The set was the culmination of a vast

process involving valuable raw resources and specialized labor. The instigation of such a

project must have occurred under significant circumstances since its underwriting

represented a huge investment.

 This study examines the Getty volume and the Albertina Pentecost Montage as

examples where the artistic patronage of Alexander VI was used for diplomatic ends,

particularly as a means to support and augment his political and religious authority within

a contentious set of circumstances. This will be demonstrated by exploring the social

relationships Alexander VI attempted to build through the use of gifts, including

abbellimento, or "embellishment", the practice of commissioning ostentatious liturgical

objects and special services to religious ceremonies for the purpose of developing esteem

for an ecclesiastical office.[4] Ostensibly, Alexander VI's gift of the set of choir books to

---

[4] James Hankins, "The Popes and Humanism," in *Rome Reborn: The Vatican Library and Renaissance Culture*, ed. Anthony Grafton. (Washington D.C.: Library of Congress, 1993), 67-69. Although Hankins uses the term specifically in reference to the process of enhancing the papal liturgy, I prefer to use the inclusive but sharper interpretation of the term delineated by the *Dizinario della Lingua Italiana* (1865), which refers to *abbellimento* as the embellishment or beautification of a church through art and decorative objects. Under this broader definition of *abbellimento*, the manuscripts commissioned by Alexander VI can be situated with other donations he made to Roman churches prior to and during his papacy. Accordingly, *abbellimento* could be characterized as a form of diplomatic gift-giving, especially since diplomatic gifts convey knowledge of a given community's attitudes or needs. Therefore, *abbellimento* is a practice with which papal diplomatic gift-giving can be viewed on a local or transnational level. It is important to note that Hankins also usefully emphasized the importance of Roman humanists as "image-makers and propagandists" within the program of papal *abbellimento*.

Santa Maria in Aracoeli was part of his longtime effort to improve the musical quality of church services. But it was also an instance of a pontiff using custom luxury books for cultural diplomacy. The primary motive for the bestowment was to appease the Observant Franciscans in charge of the basilica and their supporters in anticipation of Alexander VI's reforms for the Franciscan order. The choir books and their remnants also offer a view into the endeavors taken by Alexander VI and his administration to memorialize his reign and ingratiate the regime with members of the social network that encompassed Santa Maria in Aracoeli. Alexander VI's enthusiasm for using visual allusions to the classical past in papal propaganda was one method of manipulating cultural memory. The multiple diplomatic overtures to the basilica by Alexander VI were also specifically intended to enhance his image through public association with an institution that had a highly commemorated history.

The Use of Cultural Memory as a Diplomatic Tactic

Cultural memory as strategy is an important topic to discuss when pondering the motives for commissioning the manuscripts and the images contained within. By discussing cultural memory from the historical perspective of the fifteenth century, it can then be viewed as a catalyst and influence on the visual arts during that era. Memory studies scholar Astrid Erll stated, "…culture can be seen as a three-dimensional framework, comprising social (people, social relations, institutions), material (artifacts and media), and mental aspects (culturally defined ways of thinking, mentalities) (cf. Posner)."[5] As Erll argues, all three dimensions are necessary components when

---

[5] Astrid Erll, "Cultural Memories: An Introduction," in *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, ed. by Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning (New York: de Gruyter, 2008), 4.

discussing how cultural memories are made.[6] This model will be applied to the patronage of Alexander VI by examining the role of cultural memory in his schema of propaganda.

To fully appreciate the message of the choir books for Santa Maria in Aracoeli, their production and presentation must be set within a larger frame of reference. Alexander VI's bequest of the codices to Santa Maria in Aracoeli brings attention to the value placed on antiquarianism and books, and their importance as modes of diplomatic gift-giving in Renaissance Europe. The influence of humanist scholars during this time was pervasive and classical erudition, or the appearance of it, was greatly prized. Just as the possession of objects that recalled the classical past transmitted messages of their owner's prestige, the gifting of antiquarian-themed items, especially books, was an especially high form of reciprocal recognition and establishing social bonds between secular and religious rulers. The material opulence of the choir books and their classically-inspired imagery referencing the basilica's ancient history indicates that they were vessels for a particularly interested act of giving.

Historical and Cultural Context of the Choir Books for Santa Maria in Aracoeli

The commission of the set of choir books for Santa Maria in Aracoeli occurred during the last decade of the fifteenth century, when Rome was in the midst of its cultural ascendency after several centuries of upheaval and neglect. Recognizing the need for a pontiff who was a capable administrator rather than a pious figurehead, church elders had selected Cardinal Rodrigo Borgia to helm the Roman Church as Pope Alexander VI in 1492. The new pontiff was an erudite lover of the arts and had been an avid collector for several decades. His rivals, including some members of Roman nobility, regarded

---

[6] Ibid.

Alexander VI as a Spanish interloper. Fortunately, Alexander VI was sagacious enough to cultivate the goodwill of several prominent and learned groups in Rome, including humanists affiliated with the papal Curia. After a few decades of fluctuating fortunes the influence of humanists in Rome was again on the upswing. Cognizant of Roman humanists' increasing clout, Alexander VI's reciprocal relationship with them involved a collective interest in the restoration of the former glory of the Eternal City, including the *renovatio*, or restoration, of monuments believed to memorialize classical or early Christian values. Alexander VI could rely upon his primarily humanist administration to advise him regarding historical and literary references that enriched his campaign to improve areas of Rome considered culturally significant, such as the Castel Sant'Angelo and the University of Rome campus, known as the Sapienza. In contrast, the structure of the Basilica of Santa Maria in Aracoeli was not the recipient of any rich restorative endowments from Alexander VI.[7] Instead, the church garnered a gift that would be

---

[7] Casimiro Romano, *Memorie istoriche della chiesa e del convent di Santa Maria in Aracoeli in Roma* (Rome: Stamperia della Rev. Cam. Apost, 1845), 63; Walther Buchowiecki, *Handbuch der Kirchen Roms, Volume 2* (Vienna: Verlag Bruder Hollinek, 1970), 483; Johanna Elfriede Heideman, *The Cinquento Chapel Decorations of the Santa Maria in Aracoeli in Rome* (Amsterdam: Academische Pers, 1982), 3; Ronald E. Malmstrom, *Santa Maria in Aracoeli at Rome*, PhD dissertation (New York University, 1973), 100; Holly Marguerite Rarick, *Pinturicchio's San Bernandino of Siena Frescoes in the Bufalini Chapel, S. Maria in Aracoeli, Rome: An Observant Commentary of the Late Fifteenth Century*, PhD dissertation (Case Western University, 1990), 101-3, 134. During his time as pontiff, Paul II helped to fund architectural restoration for Santa Maria in Aracoeli. The remodeling project carried out from 1467-1472, under the direction of Cardinal Olivier Carafa. Cardinal Carafa may have also partially bankrolled the endeavor, which involved retrofitting the aisles with vaults.

There has been some scholarly debate regarding whether further additions in the form of side chapels were done after the completion of the project overseen by Cardinal Carafa. Much of this discussion has centered on the Bufalini Chapel (and the dating of its frescoes by Pinturicchio), which is believed to have been constructed either in the fifteenth century prior to 1480 or sometime during the early 1480s. As a result, it is unlikely that Santa Maria in Aracoeli needed any architectural endowments to the basilica from Alexander VI during his reign.

visible primarily during the liturgy of that esteemed institution - a multi-volume set of large-scale choir books. [8]

No direct evidence regarding the role of Alexander VI in the commission still exists, but the medallion bearing a portrait of Alexander VI in the Albertina Pentecost Montage is considered by researchers as sufficient circumstantial evidence regarding the patron (Figure 3). [9] It was not uncommon for churches in Rome to share a commission with papal agents and to affix papal arms or inscriptions as acknowledgement. Objects commissioned by religious institutions or orders were often attributed to a pontiff publicly as a way of currying papal favor and lending prestige to their organization. Additionally, the pope's patronage of Fra Antonio da Monza for his personal Christmas Missal indicates papal knowledge of, and partiality to, the illuminator's work. [10] The presence of Alexander VI's portrait and the choice of artist suggest that the pope and his administration wielded a great deal of financial and artistic control over the development of the choir books for Santa Maria in Aracoeli. Despite of the range of recent scholarship regarding the varied practices and intents of diplomatic gift-giving during the Renaissance, most literature about Quattrocento gift culture concentrates on such exchanges in the context of fostering ties between various courts.

Alexander VI's skills at diplomacy, particularly his talent for circumspection and persuasion, were noted with grudging admiration by historians Francesco Guicciardini

---

[8] Alexander, 234.

[9] The comparative manuscript that bears the identification of both Alexander VI and Fra Antonio da Monza is Graphische Sammlung Albertina Inv. 1764: 33, cat. 119.

[10] Alexander, 234.

The fact that one large miniature in the Christmas Missal of Alexander VI (MS Borg. Lat. 425) has been attributed to Fra Antonio lends further credence to the assertion that the pontiff and his administration had substantial input, if not outright patronage, into the creation of the choir books for the Santa Maria in Aracoeli.

and Niccolò Machiavelli.[11] Despite the lack of official regulation in Rome regarding what constituted appropriate diplomatic gift-giving practices during that time, common conventions did exist, suggesting that political presents were ubiquitous and institutionalized. In fact, the practice was so widespread that several social commentators, the most well known being Baldassare Castiglione, urged potential recipients to be wary because "…those who give are not all generous…"[12] The pontiff and his administration took some pains to avoid the appearance of questionable intent by following socially-acceptable etiquette regarding diplomatic gifts.[13]

Art historians have attempted to piece together the oeuvre of Fra Antonio da Monza or cited individual works as successful examples of hybrid compositions integrating *all'antica* decoration with Christian symbols. The intent of this study is to interpret the set commissioned for Santa Maria in Aracoeli as the result of a collaborative network whose central message and images were to simultaneously acknowledge the cultural cachet of Santa Maria in Aracoeli and annex it to the papacy of Alexander VI.

---

[11] Paolo Prodo, *The Papal Prince: One Body, Two Souls: The Papal Monarchy in Early Modern Europe*, trans. Susan Haskins (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 203. Francesco Guicciardini is known for having written extremely critical assessments of Alexander VI's papacy and his family, which often contained information later discovered to be false. However, Guicciardini also made statements in his *Storie fiorentine* acceding that despite certain vices Alexander VI possessed, he also had certain attributes which made him a capable leader who transformed the papacy and Rome into feared and admired powers.

[12] Baldassare Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, trans. Leonard Eckstein Opdycke (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, Inc, 2003), 273.

[13] Catherine Fletcher, *"Those who give are not all generous": Tips and Bribes at the Sixteenth-Century Papal Court* (San Domenico, IT: European University Institute, 2011), 3, 13. The literature during this period was fairly coy about the highly intricate social rituals involved with diplomatic gifts. Additionally, what regulation that did exist for diplomatic practices varied according to region. Despite the lack of official regulation in Rome regarding what constituted appropriate diplomatic gift-giving practices during that time, common conventions did exist, suggesting that political presents were ubiquitous and institutionalized. To offset any reservations, the tailor-made largesse was often conspicuously offered as munificence that required nothing more than good will in return. Munificence, also known as "liberality" was a desirable rhetorical quality meant to indicate generosity of spirit.

The increasing acceptance of pairing antiquarian motifs with Christian subjects reflects the greater cooperation between humanists and the Renaissance church.

Scholarship regarding the donation of manuscripts by private citizens to churches during the late Middle Ages and Renaissance reveals that such bequests to religious institutions accompanied endowments for personal chapels or other special occasions.[14] However, no contemporary registration of the choir books for Santa Maria in Aracoeli exists and the commission of the manuscripts for Santa Maria in Aracoeli seems not to have coincided with a documented event such as a consecration or renovation within the basilica. This unusual set of circumstances and the comparatively extravagant visual program of the volumes suggest that the books were created in consideration of a different set of motives than usual for a religious institution.[15] Although Alexander VI was known to engage in *abbellimento* on multiple occasions prior to and during his papacy, especially in the form of liturgical objects and pipe organs, Santa Maria in Aracoeli appears to be the only church that received luxurious choir books as a gift from the pontiff. As pope, Alexander VI was known to commission customized books containing neo-Latinist panegyric verses and *all'antica* imagery as diplomatic gifts for

---

[14] Jonathan K. Nelson and Richard J. Zeckhauser, "A Renaissance Instrument to Support Nonprofits: The Sale of Private Chapels in Florentine Churches," in *The Governance of Not-for-Profit Organizations*, ed. Edward L. Glaeser (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 27. Manuscripts were donations to churches that often accompanied endowments for private chapels. However, such an exchange was rarely philanthropic. Instead, private chapels were discrete spaces offered for sale in order to produce funds for the maintenance or expansion of an institution.

[15] Robert P. Bergman and Diane De Grazia, *Vatican Treasures: Early Christian, Renaissance, and Baroque Art from the Papal Collections* (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1998), 51. At this juncture there was still some artistic conservatism regarding the decoration of service books for liturgy. For example, in the case of Missals, they were often unadorned, the only exception being a single miniature reserved for the folio that began the Canon.

foreign dignitaries to foster alliances.[16] Considering Alexander VI's strong support of

liturgical music, it is appropriate to conclude that the illustrated volumes created for

Santa Maria in Aracoeli were a decidedly decorous, but essential donation that

acknowledged the significance of the basilica.[17] Made from the finest and most costly

materials, crafted by a network of artisans, the codices were a diplomatic gift from

Alexander VI that acknowledged the significance of Santa Maria in Aracoeli and its

brethren.

The Plan and Scope of this Study

The first chapter of this thesis briefly discusses the innovations in the *all'antica*

style after the rediscovery of Nero's *Domus Aurea* and the socio-political uses of these

new motifs by Alexander VI. Alexander VI's hiring of Pinturicchio to paint the

classically-inspired frescoes for his *Appartamenti Borgia,* or Borgia Apartments, as well

as illustrative work on manuscripts for him and members of his extended family, signifies

that the pontiff was intent on developing a signature aesthetic for his reign. Alexander VI

also commissioned Fra Antonio da Monza to illuminate multiple manuscripts during this

time. Through stylistic and iconographic analysis, correspondences between the work of

Fra Antonio and Pinturicchio created on behalf of Alexander VI will demonstrate that the

pontiff desired a strong sense of continuity for artistic commissions created under his

regime.

The second chapter will be dedicated to the patron of the manuscripts, Alexander

VI, and his multiple motives for manipulating his public image. From the beginning of

---

[16] Paul Gwynne, *Poets and Princes: The Panegyric Poetry of Johannes Michael Nagonius* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2012), 75.
[17] Reynolds, 75.

his ecclesiastical career, Alexander VI was a target for nativist antagonism and his response was to become a particularly discerning and ostentatious patron. His noted social skills and casual interest in collecting antique sculpture brought him into contact with humanist scholars affiliated with the Roman Academy, many of whom would prove to be advantageous allies during his time as pontiff.[18] This chapter will demonstrate that the complex iconography found within the donated manuscripts was emblematic of the long-held patronage and social patterns of Alexander VI.

The third chapter addresses the civic and sacred history of Santa Maria in Aracoeli that imbued it with so much symbolic resonance. The reverberations of Rome's Golden Age and later transformation into the capital of Christianity made the church a tantalizing location to scholars and status-seeking entrepreneurs. After examining the events that distinguished Santa Maria in Aracoeli from other institutions in Rome, the set of political circumstances involving the basilica's custodians in the late fifteenth century, the Observant Franciscans, will be discussed. This chapter will demonstrate how Alexander VI and his advisers embraced the history of the church, which influenced several visual representations found within the manuscripts donated by the pontiff.

This thesis examines the context of the overall production of a set of fifteenth-century choir books illuminated by Fra Antonio da Monza for Santa Maria in Aracoeli. In order to better understand the motives that instigated the project, the use of cultural

---

[18] Susanna de Beer, "The Roman 'Academy' of Pomponio Leto," in *The Reach of the Republic of Letters: Literary and Learned Societies in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, edited by Arjan Van Dixhoorn and Susie Speakman Sutch (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 189-193. One of the topics de Beer discusses in this essay is the issue of how the Roman Academy should be classified. This issue is further complicated by the absence of any official membership records. Rather than being a regulated institution; the *academia* lead by Pomponio Leto was an informal network of Latinist scholars and associates that had Pomponio Leto at its center.

memory and gift-giving within the diplomatic strategies of Alexander VI's regime will be

investigated. By reevaluating Alexander VI as a patron, this study will demonstrate that

how the pontiff considered illuminated manuscripts to be just as influential a medium for

church propaganda as monumental works of art and architecture.

CHAPTER ONE: FRA ANTONIO DA MONZA AND ARTISTIC INVENTION IN THE CHOIR BOOKS FOR SANTA MARIA IN ARACOELI

> "Fra Antonio da Monza, the illuminator of this large gradual made for the Franciscan church of Santa Maria in Aracoeli, was one of the many Italian Renaissance artists who were profoundly influenced by the remains of classical art."
> - Thomas Kren [19]

The *all'antica* style of ornamentation in the latter fifteenth century took on fresh nuances of meaning with the introduction of the highly flexible motifs of the candelabra and grotesque. In the case of the choir books created for Santa Maria in Aracoeli, the unique mode of *all'antica* found on their pages emerged from several mutually related events. The first of these circumstances was the recent rediscovery of Nero's *Domus Aurea* by history enthusiasts and artists. Among the many visitors who ventured into the *grotta* to view the frescoes that featured colorful grotesques was Pinturicchio, who quickly grasped the motif's didactic flexibility. Pinturicchio went on to develop his conspicuous style based on classical sources for several years over the course of multiple commissions. In 1492 Alexander VI commissioned Pinturicchio to paint a series of frescoes intended to memorialize the purportedly divine and ancient lineage of the Borgia family for his six-room personal quarters in the Vatican. During this same juncture Alexander VI and members of his family commissioned a series of illuminated manuscripts for their personal use that were decorated by Pinturicchio and Fra Antonio

---

[19] Thomas Kren, *Masterpieces of the J. Paul Getty Museum: Illuminated Manuscripts*. (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 1997), 112.

da Monza. These manuscripts contained illustrations designed and rendered by both artists, indicating that Fra Antonio was at least aware of Pinturicchio's pictorial innovations and the feasibility of the artists even collaborating on those works. They also lend credence to the position that Alexander VI commissioned the choir books for Santa Maria in Aracoeli and hired Fra Antonio to illuminate them. As a patron, Alexander VI had a taste for the *all'antica* style and displayed a pattern of repeatedly using artists who specialized in antiquarian design. It is highly plausible that the employment of Fra Antonio and Pinturicchio was part of a concerted effort to develop a coherent style that embodied their patron's fascination with antiquity and drive for self-promotion as well as Alexander VI's use of art for diplomacy. The commission by Alexander VI for the set of choir books for Santa Maria in Aracoeli likely occurred after the completion of the manuscripts for the pontiff and his family and the Borgia Apartments. The influences of those preceding works are manifest in Fra Antonio's miniatures for the Ludwig Aracoeli Frontispiece and Albertina Pentecost Montage.

State of the scholarship on Fra Antonio and the choir books of Santa Maria in Aracoeli

The work and identity of Fra Antonio da Monza was recovered by researchers in the late nineteenth century, but little is known about his life or career, a common circumstance for many formerly-prominent artists of the Renaissance. The lack of period documentation regarding the miniaturist makes it difficult to discern the reasons why he was selected for this project, or the process involved in Fra Antonio's artistic choices. Nevertheless, scholars agree that Fra Antonio was a Franciscan brother who traveled to Rome from his native Lombardy with the specific purpose of completing illuminations

for several manuscripts, including the set for Santa Maria in Aracoeli and a Christmas Missal for Alexander VI.[20] Research regarding his body of work has been erratic since the late nineteenth century, when a great number of works were enthusiastically attributed to Fra Antonio's hand, only for the bulk of those ascriptions to be refuted by the early-to-mid-twentieth century.[21] Among the many items previously credited to Fra Antonio is the Sforza Hours, a sumptuously illuminated book of hours initiated in Milan around 1490. [22] Although Fra Antonio was disproved as the primary artist of the Sforza Hours, several illuminations within that manuscript have been ascribed to him, placing Fra Antonio as an artist working for the Milanese court during the latter part of the fifteenth century. Due to the dwindling attributions to Fra Antonio, active interest in the illuminator and his work became increasingly sporadic until the purchase of the private Ludwig Collection, which contained the Ludwig Aracoeli Manuscript, by the J. Paul Getty Museum in 1983.[23]

---

[20] Jonathan J. G. Alexander, *The Painted Page: Italian Renaissance Illumination 1450-1550* (New York: Prestel Publishers, 1994), 234.

[21] Francesco Malaguzzi-Valeri, "*Sul miniatore frate Antonio da Monza*", in *Rassegna d'arte XVI* (1916): 28-37; Mirella Levi D'Ancona, *The Wildenstein Collection of Illuminations: The Lombard School*. (Firenze: L.S. Olschki, 1970), 7. Through careful connoisseurship, Malaguzzi-Valeri discredited the attribution of many artworks previously believed to have been made by Fra Antonio da Monza. He claimed that the bulk of the miniatures lacked the delicacy and refinement found in Fra Antonio's signed illumination for the Albertina Pentecost Montage and concluded that they were done by another artist. Malaguzzi-Valeri gave the unknown artist and the works associated with them the epithet of "Pseudo-Antonio da Monza".

[22] Elizabeth Miller, *16th Century Ornament Prints in the Victoria and Albert Museum* (London: Victoria & Albert Museum, 1999), 69; Bogdan Horodyski, "Birago: Miniaturiste des Sforza." *Scriptorium* 10 (1956), 251-5. Debate over the identity of the main artist of the Sforza Hour went on for several decades following initial scholarship about the Albertina Pentecost Montage in the 1860s.The initial attempt to identify Fra Antonio da Monza as the artist of the Sforza Hours appears to have begun in the 1890s, but in 1901 Paul Kristeller tried to definitively assert Fra Antonio's role as the chief illuminator. However, later scholars, including Arthur Mayger Hind, continued to express skepticism based on the difference in style and quality of the two sets of illumination. In 1956 Bogdan Horodyski identified the artist who was alternately known as the "Master of the Sforza Hours" or "Pseudo-Antonio da Monza" as Giovanni Pietro Birago (c.1471-1513).

[23] Christopher De Hamel, *The Rothschilds and Their Collections of Illuminated Manuscripts* (London: The British Library, 2005), 50-1; François Avril, "The Bibliophile and the Scholar: Count Paul

Several years prior to the purchase of the Ludwig Aracoeli Manuscript by the

Getty Museum, researchers had begun to consider the relationship between Fra Antonio

and Alexander VI through the study of the Albertina Pentecost Montage, an assemblage

of manuscript cuttings now in Vienna that contained a representation of Alexander VI,

along with the only known artistic signature of Fra Antonio.[24] Scholars Anton Von Euw

and Joachim M. Plotzek determined that the codex was created expressly for Santa Maria

in Aracoeli based on the saints included in the Litany.[25] By the mid-1990s art historian

Anna Melograni connected several cuttings (including the Albertina Pentecost Montage)

with a couple of recently discovered choir books that bore a strong visual relationship to

Durrieu's List of Manuscripts Belonging to Baron Edmond de Rothschild," In *The Medieval Book: Essays in Honour of Christopher de Hamel*, edited by James H. Marrow, Richard A. Linenthal, and William Noel (Houten, Netherlands: Hes & De Graaf, 2010), 367, 374; John Russell, "Getty Museum Acquires Manuscript Collection," *The New York Times* (New York, NY), March 10, 1983; Sue Luftschein, "Guide to the J. Paul Getty Museum, Department of Manuscripts, Photographs of Unpacking the Ludwig Collection, 1983," *Online Archive of California*, April 21, 2005, http://www.oac.cdlib.org/data/13030/mk/kt1j49r2mk/files/kt1j49r2mk.pdf.

     Although the inventory listing that was done for the estate of Baron Edmond de Rothschild in 1936 by Maurice Ettinghausen attributed the artist of the Ludwig Aracoeli Manuscript as Giulio Clovio, it is likely that ascription was voided (and the artist unknown) when the choir book later came up for auction in 1968. One of twelve individual lots, the final bidding price received for the gradual indicated how comparatively low it was regarded in comparison to the other books up for sale. For example, the Ludwig Aracoeli Manuscript was purchased for only 20,000 francs, while the Rothschild Canticles was listed for 100,000 francs and purchased for 600,000. At the same auction, the bidding became extremely elevated and colorful for the manuscript that is now known as the Cloisters Apocalypse. Ultimately, that work, originally estimated to go for 150,000 francs, was sold for 1,000,000, the highest price ever paid for a manuscript up until that time.

     The purchaser of both the Ludwig Aracoeli Manuscript and the Cloisters Apocalypse, antiquarian book dealer H.P. Kraus, sold the former book to his longtime clients, Dr. Peter Ludwig and his wife Irene. The Ludwigs developed a renowned collection of 144 illuminated manuscripts, the bulk of which were cataloged and researched by the Schnütgen Museum in Cologne, Germany. However, they sold the entirety of their collection to the Getty Museum in 1983 for an undisclosed sum. With the purchase of the Ludwig Collection, the Getty Museum Department of Manuscripts became established.

    [24] The comparative manuscript that bears the identification of both Alexander VI and Fra Antonio da Monza is Graphische Sammlung Albertina Inv. 1764: 33, cat. 119.

    [25] Anton Von Euw and Joachim M. Plotzek, *Die Handschriften der Sammlung Ludwig, Vol.1* (Cologne, Germany: Schnütgen-Museum der Stadt Koln, 1979), 270-5; Jonathan J.G. Alexander, *The Painted Page: Italian Renaissance Illumination 1450-1550* (New York: Prestel Publishers, 1994), 234. The saints listed in the Litany that indicated the original provenance of the Ludwig Aracoeli Manuscript were Francis, Anthony of Padua, Bernard, and Dominic (all four were located on folio 8*r*) and Louis of Toulouse.

the miniatures of the Ludwig Aracoeli Manuscript. Melograni concluded that these items were in fact remnants from a single set of choir books created for the basilica of Santa Maria in Aracoeli, with Alexander VI as the donor.[26] Since this revelation, scholars have attempted to reconstruct the liturgical manuscripts created for the church, as well as reigniting interest in establishing a credible oeuvre for Fra Antonio.

Reconstructing the Set of Choir Books

The earliest known documentation regarding the set is found in Casimiro Romano's *Memorie istoriche della chiesa e del convent di Santa Maria in Aracoeli in Roma* from 1736.[27] In this work, Romano (a onetime guardian of Santa Maria in Aracoeli) described a choir book featuring a frontispiece dedicated to Pope Alexander VI. According to Romano, this page also incorporated a portrait of the pontiff, along with the signature of Fra Antonio. This description strikingly corresponds to the miniature portrait and text found in the Albertina Pentecost Montage in Vienna (Figure 3):

> Preserved in the choir are many books written in parchment containing psalms that are sung, arranged by our rites that in other times were commendably practiced. Indeed, in one manual of these works the frontispiece is written during the reign of Pope Alexander VI, and adorned with various miniatures, reads: F. Antonii de Modoetia mino-ristae opus. G. Ve. And inside the effigy of the Pope: Alexander, Valeniinus. Borgia. fonti/ex. Alex. VI.[28]

---

[26] Anna Melograni. "Un corale ritrovato di Antonio da Monza." *Paragone* XLVII (1996), 167-74.

[27] Romano, 224.

[28] Ibid., 224. The original text authored by Romano (translated by Maureen Cox-Brown): Si conservano in questo coro molti libri scritti in carta pecora così per salmeggiare, conte per cantare, fatti già dai nostri religiosi che in altri tempi lodevolmente si esercitavano, eziandio in que ste opere manuali, onde nel frontespizio di uno, scrit to nel pontificato di Alessandro VI., e ornato con varie miniature si legge: F. Antonii de Modoetia mino-ristae opus. G. Ve. , e interno l'effigie del papa: Alexander, Valeniinus. Borgia. fonti/ex. Alex. VI.

This entry points to the high esteem that the choir book was held in for nearly 150 years after its original donation. Such subsequent recognition hints at the probable admiration the manuscripts drew from a contemporary audience during its time of regular use in ritual. Unfortunately, there are no notices of this set for over a century after the first record by Romano, and other codices and cuttings that originated from the set did not re-emerge for nearly two centuries or more. The manuscripts were probably collateral damage of Napoleon and the French army's occupation of the peninsula from 1796 to 1799. Santa Maria in Aracoeli shared a fate experienced by many churches in Rome during this period – the church was deconsecrated, and most of its collection of choir books were confiscated, taken apart, sold, or relocated.[29]

Previous scholarship has connected the work of Fra Antonio to the developments in *all'antica* ornament and its influence on Italian manuscript illumination during late fifteenth century. In particular, the Ludwig Aracoeli Frontispiece is singled out by art historians such as Jonathan J.G. Alexander and Alessandra Zamperini as an excellent example of the developments in the *all'antica* style within miniature painting after the rediscovery of the *Domus Aurea*, or the Golden House of Nero, during the latter part of the fifteenth century.[30] Both the Ludwig Aracoeli Frontispiece and Albertina Pentecost

---

[29] Elena De Laurentiis and Emilia Anna Talamo, *The Lost Manuscripts from the Sistine Chapel: An Epic Journey from Rome to Toledo* (Dallas: Meadows Museum, Southern Methodist University, 2010), XXXVII.

[30] Nicole Dacos, *La découverte de la Domus Aurea et la formation des grotesques à la Renaissance: Studies of the Warburg Institute, Volume 31.* (London: The Warburg Institute, 1969); Mirella Levi D'Ancona, *The Wildenstein Collection of Illuminations: The Lombard School.* (Firenze: L.S. Olschki, 1970), 5. Art historians began to consider this aspect after the publication of Nicole Dacos' groundbreaking work regarding the influence of the-then newly rediscovered *Domus Aurea* on the visual arts during the Renaissance. Prior to her scholarship and its widespread impact, researchers discussed Fra Antonio as an important contributor to Renaissance-era Lombard book arts commensurate to Girolamo da Cremona, Cristoforo De Predis, and Giovan Pietro Birago in importance.

Montage are discussed in regards to the quotations of the work of other contemporary artists, most notably Leonardo da Vinci, Andrea Mantegna, and Pinturicchio.

The most recent exhaustive visual analysis of the oeuvre of Fra Antonio was in 1994 by art historian Raffaele Casciaro in his article "Note su Antonio da Monza miniature".[31] Casciaro commented that some of Fra Antonio's illuminations display a distinct development in style that could be attributed to coming into contact with artists in Rome that were influenced by motifs from the *Domus Aurea*.[32] In the essay Casciaro proceeded to catalog the works then-attributed to Fra Antonio and scrutinized the stylistic affinities between the miniaturist and Pinturicchio. Casciaro's decision to juxtapose the work of Fra Antonio with Pinturicchio was unequivocal. Due to Pinturicchio's standing as the first of many Renaissance artists whose work was inspired by the wall decoration found in the long-lost *Domus Aurea*, as well as his pervasive artistic presence in Alexander VI's papal court, he would be the foremost candidate in Rome to have

---

[31] Raffaele Casciaro, "Note su Antonio da Monza miniature," *Prospettiva* 75-76, (1994), 109-123.

[32] Lawrence Richardson Jr., *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 118-20. The *Domus Aurea* ("Golden House") was a colossal and extravagant imperial residence commissioned by the Emperor Nero (37-68 C.E., reign: 54-68 C.E.) shortly after the disastrous fire that destroyed Rome in 64 C.E. Constructed by legendary architects Severus and Celer, the expansive structure was decorated with numerous frescoes by Famulus, marble paneling, mosaics, and gilded stucco reliefs. The lavishness of the property was chronicled by ancient writers such as Suetonius and Pliny the Elder. Only decades after Nero's death the *Domus Aurea* was partially dismantled and a parcel of the property was converted into public baths, known as the *Thermae Titi*, by the Emperor Titus (39-81 C.E., reign: 79-81 C.E.). The remaining land adjacent to the *Thermae Titi* was taken over by the massive bathing and leisure complex commissioned by Emperor Trajan (53-117 C.E., reign: 98-117 C.E.)

The site was rediscovered accidentally in the 1470s or 1480s. Soon after the uncovering of the *Domus Aurea*, artists made excursions into the artificial grotto and were inspired by the ornate wall decorations that were still extant. Among the artists that were stimulated by the contents of Nero's former villa were Pinturicchio and Raphael.

interacted with Fra Antonio and become an influence on the illuminator's artistic development .[33]

Fra Antonio da Monza and Pinturicchio: Shared Patron and Imagery

The lack of records regarding Fra Antonio da Monza and his small, fragmented body of work presents difficulty about why the artist traveled to Rome to work on commissions for Alexander VI, or the workings of Fra Antonio's artistic process.[34] Scholars argue that both Pinturicchio and Fra Antonio made illuminations for the same two manuscripts, perhaps in collaboration, on the Christmas Missal of Pope Alexander VI and the Missal of Cardinal Juan de Borja.[35] The first manuscript, believed to have been

---

[33] Francis Ames-Lewis, *The Intellectual Life of the Early Renaissance Artist* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 130.

[34] Kenneth Joseph Sheehan, *Iberian Asia: The Strategies of Spanish and Portuguese Empire Building* (University of California, Berkeley, 2008), 13; Heideman, VIII; Levi D'Ancona, 7. The reasons for why Fra Antonio received the assignment of the choir books for Santa Maria in Aracoeli from Alexander VI may be similar to the professional traits Pinturicchio exemplified – being an efficient and fashionable painter who possessed *ingenium* ("natural ability) for antiquarian themes. It has also been suggested that Fra Antonio's status as a member of the Observant Franciscan order played a role in his being selected as the artist of the set for the Franciscan Santa Maria in Aracoeli.

The absence of an extant contract regarding the choir books by Fra Antonio is similar to the difficulty posed by the lack of an explicit agreement between Alexander VI, his administrators, and Pinturicchio for the commissions the painter and his workshop completed for the Borgia Apartments and Castel Sant'Angelo. Information about the circumstances under which the commission for Santa Maria in Aracoeli is further obfuscated due to two fires that destroyed the archives of the basilica's convent. The first occurred just prior to 1736, and the second happened over six decades later during Napoleon's Italian Campaign. In the latter catastrophe, the contents of the archive were used as fuel by French soldiers during their occupation of Rome.

[35] Robert P. Bergman, Diane De Grazia, and Stephen N. Fliegel, *Vatican Treasures: Early Christian, Renaissance, and Baroque Art from the Papal Collections: An Exhibition in Honor of the Sesquicentenary of the Diocese of Cleveland* (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1998), 51-3; Ibid., 145; David Sanderson Chambers. *Popes, Cardinals, and War: The Military Church in Renaissance and Early Modern Europe* (New York: I.B. Taurus & Co., Ltd., 2006), 94-5; Kenneth Meyer Setton, *Fifteenth Century* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1978), 443-444. The Christmas Missal of Pope Alexander VI was commissioned by the pontiff for his own personal use and is considered unusual due to its use as a Missal exclusively for a Mass that was held only once a year.

Cardinal Juan de Borja Llançol de Romaní, Senior (1446-1503) was a nephew of Pope Alexander VI who was elevated to the position of cardinal shortly after the pontiff ascended to the papacy. In addition to the benefices Cardinal Juan de Borja received from his papal relative, he was assigned to be a papal legate (*legatus a latere*, or a trusted intimate of the Pope) to Alfonso II of Naples during the Aragonese royal's brief reign and as a peace negotiator to Charles VIII of France during the Italian War of 1494-

commissioned by Alexander VI shortly after his coronation, contains several decorated and historiated initials and a miniature of *The Crucifixion*, all of which have been attributed to Fra Antonio (Figure 4).[36] Another version of *The Crucifixion* is convincingly assigned to Pinturicchio by scholars as a folio that was removed from the Missal of Cardinal Juan de Borja (Figure 5).[37] Both versions of *The Crucifixion* are much the same in the composition of the narrative scene. However, Pinturicchio features his characteristic grotesques and candelabras against a yellow background in the flanking borders, foreshadowing the labyrinthine border later created by Fra Antonio for the Ludwig Aracoeli Frontispiece. Art historians Maria Grazia Ciardi Dupré Dal Poggetto also recently speculated that two of the historiated initials found in the Christmas Missal of Pope Alexander VI (the initial P on folio 8*v* and the initial T on folio 39*r*) bear signs of an artist that may have even collaborated with Pinturicchio on their design (Figure 6 and

---

98.Several months prior to his death (and the death of Alexander VI), Cardinal Juan de Borja was installed as the Latin Patriarch of Constantinople.

[36] Giovanni Morello and Adalbert Roth, *Liturgia in figura: Codici liturgici rinascementali della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, edited by Giovanni Morello and Silvia Maddalo (Rome: DeLuca, 1995), 251-6; Maria Grazia Ciardi Dupré Dal Poggetto, "Messale di Alessandro VI per la messa di Natale." *Rivista di Storia Della Miniatura* 9-10 (2005-2006): 210; Eugène Müntz and Paul Fabre, *La Bibliothèque du Vatican au XV Siècle: D'après Des Documents Inédits* (Paris: Ernest Thorin, 1887), 312. Morello and Roth have dated The Christmas Missal of Pope Alexander VI (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Borg. Lat. 425) from 1492-1494.

According to Müntz and Fabre, the registry of the Holy See contains an entry indicating Alexander VI ordered three Missals in 1492 which were to be used exclusively for the papal chapel. Each of the Missals was designated for a specific Mass: Christmas, Easter, and the feast of Sts. Peter and Paul (June 29). The registry later contained two listings mentioning that the completed Missals were delivered in May of 1494 (May 6 and May 31) by a Camillus Alcarris of Bologna. This would confirm the dating suggested by Morello and Roth.

[37] Ibid., 144; Corrado Ricci, *Pinturicchio* (London: William Heinemann, 1912) 13; Jonathan J.G. Alexander, *The Painted Page: Italian Renaissance Illumination 1450-1550* (New York: Prestel Publishers, 1994), 60. Previously attributed to Pietro Vannucci, also known as "Perugino" (1446-1526) *Crucifixion* was later ascribed to Pinturicchio by Corrado Ricci in 1912, which was later supported by Maria Grazia Ciardi Dupré Dal Poggetto in 2005. The Missal of Cardinal Juan de Borja (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. Lat. 614) had been identified as the Pontifical of Cardinal Pietro Barbo until recently.

Figure 7).[38] These discoveries, suggest that Fra Antonio worked in Rome for a longer

span of time than previously suggested by art historians and that the imprint of

Pinturicchio on his style of book decoration, including for the choir books of Santa Maria

in Aracoeli, was direct.[39] Visual analysis of the miniatures of the Christmas Missal of

Pope Alexander VI and the Missal of Cardinal Juan de Borja suggest that Pinturicchio

and Fra Antonio were colleagues who worked on manuscript projects created for, or on

behalf of, members of the Borgia family.

 Fra Antonio created a decorative program for the choir books of Santa Maria in

Aracoeli that shows similarities to the paintings for the Borgia Apartments by

Pinturicchio. The miniaturist Fra Antonio emulated several of the same aesthetic

components previously favored by Pinturicchio. The most striking parallels shared by

both the frescoes and the Ludwig Aracoeli Frontispiece are borders of colorful *trompe

l'oeil* Fourth-style Roman wall motifs against a golden background, as well as tableaus

---

[38] Fausta Gualdi, "Il 'Missale Pontificis in Nativitate Domini' Borg. Lat. 425 della Biblioteca Vaticana," In *La miniatura italiana tra Gotico e Rinascimento: atti del II Congresso di storia della miniatura italiana, Cortona 24-26 settembre 1982,* edited by Emanuela Sesti (Firenze: L.S. Olschki, 1985), 719-750; Bergman, De Grazia, and Fliegel, 51-3 ; Maria Grazia Ciardi Dupré Dal Poggetto, "Messale di Alessandro VI per la messa di Natale," *Rivista di Storia Della Miniatura* 9-10 (2005-2006), 210; De Laurentiis and Talamo, 144-5. While other scholars have identified the artist of the Christmas Missal of Pope Alexander VI as Fra Antonio, Fausta Gualdi, Maria Grazia Ciardi Dupré Dal Poggetto, Elena De Laurentiis, and Emilia Anna Talamo all refrained from naming a single miniaturist that may have collaborated with Pinturicchio on the manuscripts. Gualdi asserted that the portrait of Pope Alexander VI found in the *bas-de-page* of folio 8*v* of his Christmas Missal was rendered by Pinturicchio or a Lombard artist following his direction. However, Gualdi did advance that *The Crucifixion* found in the Christmas Missal was painted by Fra Antonio.

 Other scholars have speculated that the artist who created the portrait was Matteo da Milano, despite the lack of evidence that he was active in Rome at the time. As will be shown later in this paper, it is more likely that Fra Antonio was the artist and used a common resource for the pontiff's likeness, accounting for its close resemblance to representations of the pope created by Pinturicchio.

[39] Some debate has occurred between scholars regarding whether Fra Antonio had worked on the choir books for Santa Maria in Aracoeli in North Italy or Rome. Considering the multiple commissions Fra Antonio worked on for Alexander VI and their parallels to Pinturicchio's artwork and employment for the Borgia family, the question may now be whether the illuminator labored within the scriptorium of Santa Maria in Aracoeli, the papal scriptorium, or both during his time in Rome. The Christmas Missal of Pope Alexander VI has been dated to 1492-1494, while the remnants of the choir books for Santa Maria in Aracoeli have been given the broader window of 1492-1503, the entire length of Alexander VI's reign.

that integrated recontextualized pagan figures and symbols with Christian iconography. As complex as Pinturicchio's innovations of the grotesque were, Fra Antonio was quick to adapt the flexible genre and build onto it with his own unique elaborations. Within the framed margins of the Ludwig Aracoeli Frontispiece is a set of flanking candelabra that share a visible kinship with the reticulation found in the Sala del Credo (Figure 8). The repetitive yet fantastical decoration that resides between the ribbing of the vault, particularly within the ogival arches that hover over the lunettes and pendentives is complementary in format to the grotesques designed by Fra Antonio. The same form of adornment can also be found within the peripheries of the Sala delle Arti Liberali (Figure 9).[40] Amongst the monstrous creatures, *armilustri* (representations of ancient weapons and armor), and other classical motifs gleaned from ancient Roman frescoes, Fra Antonio inserted reproductions of cameos and set gems, appropriating from an exuberant style popularized by other illuminators from Northern Italy only a couple of decades before (Figure 10, Figure 11 and Figure 12).[41]

Another recurring motif shared between the Borgia Apartments and the Ludwig Aracoeli Frontispiece is the insertion of the letters "SPQR". The literal meaning of this initialism was *Senatus Populesque Romanus*; the ancient Latin phrase revived by the medieval Roman Senate meant to indicate that the government and power of Rome comes from the people.[42] However, the use of "SPQR" by both Pinturicchio and Fra Antonio displays its flexibility in meaning in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. In

---

[40] Christopher De Hamel, *Scribes and Illuminators* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 57.

[41] Jonathan J.G. Alexander, *The Painted Page: Italian Renaissance Illumination 1450-1550* (New York: Prestel Publishers, 1994), 186.

[42] Carrie Beneš, "Whose SPQR? Sovereignty and Semiotics in Medieval Rome," *Speculum* 84, 4 (October 2009), 878.

some circumstances it designated an object or personage as having a Roman identity, while in others it apparently merely alluded to the glory of ancient Rome.[43] As seen in this fresco by Pinturicchio from the Sala dei Santi ("Hall of the Saints"), *Osiris Teaching the Use of the Plow*, the initialism is placed within a small panel at the feet for the figure of Judith of Bethulia (Figure 13). The same style of placard bearing an identical abbreviation is hidden behind an image of Saint Sebastian in the historiated capital and then in both candelabras within the side borders for the Ludwig Aracoeli Frontispiece (Figure 14 and Figure 15).

Also prominent throughout the Borgia Apartments are images of the bull, the emblem of the Borgia family, which was a symbol that also found its way into the Ludwig Aracoeli Frontispiece. The narrative of the Sala dei Misteri in the Borgia Apartments intended to show the ancients roots of the Borgia family, chiefly to illustrate that there was a direct lineage between the Borgia bull and Apis, an aspect of the ancient Egyptian god Osiris.[44] The bull was depicted in a variety of ways in the halls decorated by Pinturicchio and members of his workshop - as a central figure in multiple frescoes, and as a repeated motif within the gilded stucco decoration, painted borders, and the marble frieze that lines the Sala dei Santi. The iconography of Alexander VI continued within the complex scheme of the Ludwig Aracoeli Frontispiece. Found within a *trompe l'oeil* cameo located at the base of the stem for the historiated letter "R" of the

---

[43] Ibid., 899.

[44] Brian A. Curran, "Love, Triumph, Tragedy: Cleopatra and Egypt in Renaissance Rome," In *Cleopatra: A Sphinx Revisited*, edited by Margaret M. Miles (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 106. In the Borgia lineage that was likely devised by Annius of Viterbo, Osiris was the grandson of Noah, husband of Isis, and father of Hercules. After Osiris was murdered and dismembered by his brother Typhon, he was resurrected as the bull Apis. After a series of adventures, Hercules became ruler of Spain and established the ancient line of Spanish kings. Because the Borgia family believed themselves to be the rightful heirs to the Spanish throne, this genealogy was particularly appealing.

Resurrection is the figure of the Roman god Aesculapius standing alongside a bull's head on a short pedestal (Figure 16).[45] The choice to insert this image served manifold purposes – as an oblique homage to Alexander VI, the patron of the choir books, in the form of miniscule bull imagery within the Ludwig Aracoeli Frontispiece, as well as to accompany and augment the symbolic meaning of the *Resurrection*.[46]

The Role of Numismatics

The Albertina Pentecost Montage also has imagery closely connected to Pinturicchio's frescoes for Alexander VI. Much like its companion frontispiece in the Ludwig Aracoeli Manuscript, the Albertina Pentecost Montage contains a placard bearing the full Latin phrase *Senatus Populusque Romanus* (Figure 17). However, the most compelling connection among the choir books of Santa Maria in Aracoeli, the Christmas Missal of Pope Alexander VI, and the Borgia Apartments can be located in the profile portrait and depictions of ancient coins located in the central tableau of the Albertina Pentecost Montage (Figure 18). Within the fictive lunette of the Albertina Pentecost Montage is a portrait medallion of Alexander VI. This medallion emulates the reproductions of ancient coins Fra Antonio embedded in the faux pendentives, as well as the marble benches where four of Christ's disciples are seated. The depiction of ancient

---

[45] Jonathan J.G. Alexander, *The Painted Page: Italian Renaissance Book Illumination, 1450-1550* (New York: Prestel Publishers, 1994), 212; Laurie Fusco and Gino Corti, *Lorenzo de'Medici: Collector and Antiquarian* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 102-6. The maquette is located in the Staatliche Museen Zu Berlin (Berlin, Germany, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett MS 612).

[46] For more information regarding the symbolism of the lost gem of *Aesculapius* and its use within the Ludwig Aracoeli Frontispiece, see Appendix E.

coins within close proximity of the pontiff's portrait suggests the possibility that the model for the pope's image also came from a numismatic source (Figure 19).[47]

During his time as pontiff, Alexander VI issued four papal portrait medals. All of these medals bore near-identical portraits of Alexander VI on the obverse, while the reverse of each version had images commemorating significant events of his papacy, including his coronation (1492), the restoration of the Castel Sant'Angelo (1497), and two separate medals for the opening and closing of the Holy Door for the Jubilee of 1500 (1500).[48] The strong likeness between the portraits of Alexander VI found in the work of Pinturicchio and Fra Antonio, and their analogy with the obverse of papal medals from his reign further demonstrates that the pontiff and his administration desired coherence between the diverse projects they commissioned. The use of coins and portrait medals as easily portable models for artists working on commissions reliant on the extensive replication of a patron's image or arms was a common practice during this period and it would be apt that Alexander VI continued this practice.

The multiple profile portraits of Alexander VI created by Pinturicchio and Fra Antonio demonstrate that portrait medals were used by Alexander VI and his papal iconographers as a method of controlling and disseminating his image. The representation of Alexander VI on the bronze medals issued by his regime followed the pictorial conventions set by papal predecessors. The image of Alexander VI on his papal medals is a profile portrait, with the pontiff clad in a *zucchetto* and embellished mantum (Figure

---

[47] These coins appear to be reproductions of ancient Roman coins, including one of the Emperor Nero located in the base of the left-side marble bench.

[48] Arnold H. Mathew, *The Life and Times of Rodrigo Borgia* (London: Stanley Paul & Co, Ltd., 1910), 352.

20).[49] This likeness is duplicated repeatedly by Fra Antonio and Pinturicchio, and their profile portraits of Alexander VI share strong visual affinities between them. Within his depiction of the *Resurrection* in the Sala dei Misteri of the Borgia Apartments, Pinturicchio created a full-scale portrait of a kneeling Alexander VI wearing a golden damask cope edged with jeweled trim on the mantum (Figure 21). This distinct bust is also found in the carved medallion featuring the pontiff in the marble cornice of the Sala dei Santi (Figure 22). Fra Antonio followed the style established by Pinturicchio and the papal medals for his medallion depicting Alexander VI in the Albertina Pentecost Montage (Figure 3).[50]

The Christmas Missal of Pope Alexander VI also contains images that were shaped by the papal medals distributed by Alexander VI. Located at the *bas-de-page* for the Introit of Christmas Mass is an image of the pontiff, alongside a miniature of the papal arms (Figure 23).[51] This image of Alexander VI is similar in format to the other replicas by Fra Antonio and Pinturicchio, except the papal tiara, instead of a *zucchetto*, is placed on the head of the pontiff and the mantum is similar in design to the obverse portrait found on the medal cast to memorialize the Jubilee of 1500 (Figure 24 and Figure 25). The visual source of the heraldic pendant to the portrait found in the Christmas Missal of Pope Alexander VI was also a papal medal. The papal arms of Alexander VI

---

[49] Joseph Braun, "Zucchetto," In *Catholic Encyclopedia, Volume 15* (New York: Robert Appleton, 1911), 765; Joseph Braun, "Cope," In *Catholic Encyclopedia, Volume 4* (New York: Robert Appleton, 1908), 351. Also known as a *pileolus*, a *zucchetto* is a small skullcap worn by ecclesiastics. According to the religious sumptuary laws of the Catholic Church, only popes have the exclusive right to wear a white *zucchetto*. The papal mantum is a liturgical vestment that is bestowed during the investiture ceremony of a new pope. The mantum is a full-length semi-circular cope that is often fastened at the breast by a morse, or large brooch.

[50] Gualdi, 719-750; Dal Poggetto, 2005-2006, 210.

[51] Bergman, De Grazia, and Fliegel, 51-3; Morello and Roth, 251-6; Debra Cashion, "New Acquisition in the Vatican Film Library," Saint Louis University Library, last modified March 1, 2013, http://www.slu.edu/an-new-text-acquired-by-university-libraries-228.

are also situated on the reverse of the medal intended to commemorate his coronation in 1492 (Figure 26). This same heraldic device was reproduced throughout the Borgia Apartments by Pinturicchio, showing definitively how important the practices of duplication and continuity were to the campaign of propaganda devised by the regime of Alexander VI (Figure 27 and Figure 28).

The manuscripts created for Alexander VI and members of his family by Pinturicchio and Fra Antonio, as well as the Borgia Apartments and choir books for Santa Maria in Aracoeli reveal the tastes and intentions of their mutual patrons. The imagery in this body of work regularly converged, demonstrating that the regime of Alexander VI exerted a strong level of control over the projected image of the pontiff through a variety of media. As will be revealed in the next chapter, the attitude Alexander VI had towards the use of the arts as a means of self-promotion developed over the course of his cardinalate, and these patterns of patronage continued through his papal reign.

CHAPTER TWO: OF WORTHY MEMORY: ALEXANDER VI AS DIPLOMAT AND PATRON

"For Alexander VI (as the new Pontiff wished to be called) possessed singular cunning and sagacity, excellent judgment, a marvelous efficacy in persuading, and an excellent dexterity and attentiveness in dealing with weighty matters."

-Francesco Guicciardini[52]

Not above exploiting alliances and objects in order to build a dynasty intended to supersede those of his native Italian rivals, Alexander VI manipulated his public image. Like many other popes of the Renaissance eager to create an immortal earthly legacy, Alexander VI fostered the restoration, fortification, and renovation of Rome and its monuments. The undertaking of such ambitious plans was reliant upon a complex set of social relationships. Among the coalitions Alexander VI managed to develop over several decades previous to his papacy were those with humanists affiliated with the Roman Academy, including its founder, Pomponio Leto. Alexander VI sought to reinvent his image and had humanist papal iconographers collaborate with classicizing artists such as Fra Antonio and Pinturicchio on the visual programs devised for works commissioned by him. As the only fifteenth century pope to embrace and follow the diplomatic procedures of his secular contemporaries, including the practice of dispatching provisional ambassadors to other European courts, Alexander VI also developed a custom of cultivating alliances through the assiduous use of gifts.[53] Therefore, the manuscripts Alexander VI commissioned for the basilica will be appraised in relation to his history

---

[52] Francesco Guicciardini, *The History of Italy*, trans. Sidney Alexander (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 10.
[53] Garrett Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy* (New York: Dover Publications, 1988), 154.

regarding *abbellimenti* and secular diplomatic gifts. By contextualizing the choir books of Santa Maria in Aracoeli from impartial largesse to an interested act of giving, the motives behind their inception will be revealed.

Early Patronage Practices of Cardinal Borgia and Collaborations with Humanists

Until recently, Alexander VI's artistic patronage has been neglected by scholars in favor of the salacious and lurid tales involving him and his family, the Borgia. This oversight was further compounded by a lack of discussion regarding the patronage and collecting practices Alexander VI engaged in as cardinal and how those practices may have persisted after he became pope. The function and decorative program of the choir books for Santa Maria in Aracoeli reveals important, but largely unrecognized aspects of Alexander VI's patronage – his appreciation of books, antiquarianism, and music. These three features contribute heavily to the creation of the choir books for Santa Maria in Aracoeli.

From his earliest days as a cleric, the future Pope Alexander VI displayed a taste for conspicuous consumption that signaled his awareness of the inherent social value of magnificence. While still a doctoral student of canon law at the University of Bologna, Rodrigo Borgia was made a cardinal deacon *in absentia* of San Nicola in Carcere by his uncle, who as pope had taken the name of Calixtus III. A shrewd and well-educated young man in his twenties, Cardinal Rodrigo Borgia could partly attribute his rapid rise in ecclesiastical rank to the elevation of his uncle, Alfonso de Borgia, to the pontificate in April of 1455. However, Rodrigo's ability to effectively handle the difficult missions he was assigned validated his uncle's confidence in him. Rodrigo quickly moved up in rank and was placed in the office of Vice-Chancellor, an administrative post that was second

only to the Pope. It was this post, in addition to the many other benefices Rodrigo had possession of in Italy and Spain that made him a very wealthy man.[54] The affluence he developed from these offices enabled Cardinal Rodrigo Borgia to embark on a campaign of patronage and collecting intended to establish him, and his family, into the firmament of Roman society, despite the prevalent anti-Catalan sentiment that existed in Rome at the time.[55]

The first major commission Rodrigo initiated was the building of a resplendent palazzo in Rome that was to serve as his primary residence until his election to the papacy in 1492. The construction of the palazzo was briefly interrupted by the terminal illness of Calixtus III in July and August of 1458 and the subsequent chaos that occurred after the pontiff's death. The Palazzo Borgia drew awestruck commentary from several contemporaries, including Pope Pius II, Bindo Donati, and Gaspare da Verona.[56] The most extensive and often-cited description of the ostentatious exterior and interior decoration of the Palazzo Borgia was provided by Cardinal Ascanio Sforza in a letter he sent to his brother Ludovico il Moro on October 22, 1484:

---

[54] The many appointments Rodrigo received from his uncle either directly or via his intervention were the following: dean of the church of Santa Maria de Xátiva (June 3, 1455), Sacristan of the cathedral of Valencia (July 11, 1447), dean of the Cardinal-Deacon of San Nicola in Carcere (February 20, 1456, publicly confirmed November 17, 1456), *legate a latere* and vicar general of the pope (December 31, 1456), Vice-Chancellor of the Holy See (May 1, 1457), *auditor* of Sacred Roman Rota (1457), administrator of the diocese of Valencia (June 30, 1458), and general-in-chief of the pontifical army (December 11, 1457-March 9, 1459).

[55] Ludwig Pastor, *The History of the Popes: From the Close of the Middle Ages/Drawn from the Secret Archives of the Vatican and Other Original Sources, from the German of Ludwig Pastor, Volume II*. Edited by Frederick Ignatius Antrobus (St. Louis: B. Herder, 1906), 463. According to Pastor, use of the pejorative "Catalan" during this period was not reserved exclusively for Spanish émigrés; it was also applied to Neapolitans and others who were perceived as allies of the Spanish.

[56] Carol M. Richardson. *Reclaiming Rome: Cardinals in the Fifteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 312. See Appendix C for entry authored by Pope Pius II in his *Commentarii* describing the luxury he witnessed of the Palazzo Borgia on Palm Sunday 1462.

The palace is splendidly decorated; the walls of the great entrance hall are hung with tapestries depicting various historical scenes. A small drawing room leads off this, which was also decorated with fine tapestries; the carpets on the floor harmonized with the furnishings which included a sumptuous day bed upholstered in red satin with a canopy over it, and a chest on which was laid out a vast and beautiful collection of gold and silver plate. Beyond this there were two more rooms, one hung with fine satin, carpeted, and with another canopied bed covered with Alexandrine velvet; the other even more ornate with a couch covered in cloth of gold. In this room the central table was covered with a cloth of Alexandrine velvet and surrounded by finely carved chairs.[57]

While the description by Ascanio Sforza offers a glimpse into the magnificence and range of the furnishings in the Palazzo Borgia, other precious objects known to be present at the residence that are integral to this study were not mentioned – antiquities and books. Among the alternate sources that describe these items are the writings of Paolo Spinoso and Jacopo Gherardi da Volterra. The latter referred to the home of the Vice-Chancellor in his diary, taking care to mention that among the rich silver vessels and jeweled vestments emblazoned with royal and pontifical arms were, "… all the greatest books you wish for of many doctrines are his…" [58] Rodrigo's appreciation of texts was also noticed early on by his uncle, who had conferred four manuscripts and four items of jewelry from the papal holdings to him.[59] These descriptions of the discriminating and high quality of Rodrigo's taste display a pattern of patronage that

---

[57] Michael Mallett, *The Borgias: The Rise and Fall of a Renaissance Dynasty* (New York: Granada Publishing, 1972), 88.

[58] Kathleen Wren Christian, *Empire Without End: Antiquities Collections in Renaissance Rome, c. 1350-1527* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 276-7. For the full original entry, see Appendix C.

[59] Michael Mallett, *The Borgias: The Rise and Fall of a Renaissance Dynasty* (New York: Granada Publishing, 1972), 79. Calixtus III allocated these gifts while in the midst of culling resources from the papal treasury to finance a crusade. While Rodrigo received the manuscripts and jewels, his brother, Pedro Luis, was the recipient of eight silver and gold cups and a decorated bed cover.

would extend to his papacy. This level of magnificence would be applied to all objects he commissioned, from architecture to books.

The Use of Antiquarianism by Cardinal Rodrigo Borgia

Apart from his duties as the cardinal Vice-Chancellor, Rodrigo had an avocation as a patron and host to neo-Latinist poets, which put him in constant contact with Roman humanists, many of whom were associates of Pomponio Leto and his Roman Academy. Although Rodrigo Borgia had some previous exposure to humanism during his education in Rome and Bologna, the influence of the movement on him appears to be a superficial one and only begins to emerge within his patronage practices as cardinal. [60] The Palazzo Borgia also alternately served as the *de facto* Chancellery headquarters, thereby shifting a great deal of curial staff from the Vatican to the residence of Rodrigo Borgia, making it a social and administrative hub.[61]

Like many other Roman collectors of the day, Rodrigo fell into the humanist-inspired vogue for amassing ancient architectural fragments, which consisted mostly of epigrams and inscriptions, as well as antique sculpture. The most conspicuous item within his collection of antique objects was a statue of a sleeping nymph, a subject that was highly popular at the time in Rome and a motif generally associated with patrons of

---

[60] Paolo Viti, "Gaspare da Verona" in *Dizinario Biografico degli Italiani – Volume 52* (Rome: Instituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1999), 466-470. A well known humanist tutor, scholar, collector of classical literature and author, Gaspare da Verona was acquainted with Poggio Bracciolini and Ambrosio Traversari early in his career. For a brief period during 1445-1455 in Rome, Gaspare da Verona ran an exclusive private school that catered to the socially elite families of the city and relatives of influential prelates in the papal Curia. In Gaspare's work, the gossipy *Le Vite di Paolo II,* he remarked on several key members of the papal court at the time, including his former pupil Rodrigo Borgia, "He is handsome; with a most cheerful countenance and genial bearing. He is gifted with a honeyed and choice eloquence. Beautiful women are attracted to him in a quite remarkable way, more powerfully than iron is attracted to a magnet."

[61] Charles L. Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1998), 124.

Pomponio Leto and his academy. [62] For Rodrigo, antiquarianism and luxury goods were more than general interests, they were also means of gaining social and political acceptance.

Highly literate, Rodrigo was keenly aware of the power of the spoken and written word and encouraged the panegyric odes written and publicly performed in his honor by the members of Leto's Roman Academy.[63] Although he also heeded their learned advice regarding how to entertain and decorate in the most advantageous manner, the cardinal's interest in humanist ideals was circumstantial.[64] However, the alliance between the cardinal Vice-Chancellor and the Roman Academy was mutually beneficial. In exchange for their counsel, humanists who either aspired to a curial position or already had one, being incorporated into a cardinal's *familia* could give them an advantage in the competitive environment of the Curia due to the networks created by kinship and patronage.[65]

---

[62] Kathleen Wren Christian, *Empire Without End: Antiquities Collections in Renaissance Rome, c. 1350-1527* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010), 136.

[63] Ugo Rozzo, "Italian Literature on the Index," in *Church, Censorship and Culture in Early Modern Italy*, ed. Gigliola Fragnito (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 15, 195; Christopher L.C.E. Witcombe, *Copyright in the Renaissance: Prints and Privilegio in the Sixteenth-Century Venice and Rome* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 61. Rodrigo's perceptiveness regarding the power of literature upon the public-at-large continued into his papacy. In 1501, Alexander VI renewed and expanded the *Inter Multiplices* created by his predecessor, Innocent VIII in 1487. The bull initiated by Innocent VIII sought to give power to local ordinaries and the Master of the Sacred Palace in Rome to exercise preventative censorship of the press. The later bull dispatched by Alexander VI shared the same Incipit and was nearly identical in content, except the writ specifically addressed the German cities of Magdeburg, Cologne, Mainz, and Trier.

[64] Luke Syson and Dora Thornton, *Objects of Virtue: Art in Renaissance Italy* (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2001), 83. Despite Rodrigo's prominent collection that transmitted his scholarship, his lack of sexual continence was at odds with the humanist belief that virtues learned from study should permeate other aspects of a learned person's life. The lack of documentation regarding the existence of a *studiolo* or a collection of smaller scale antique items such as coins or carved gems suggest that he did not set aside a space to privately contemplate items that could serve as ancient models of virtue to emulate.

[65] Jane Fair Bestor, "Ideas about Procreation and Their Influence on Ancient and Medieval Views of Kinship," in *The Family in Italy: From Antiquity to the Present*, ed. David I. Kertzner and Richard P. Saller (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 156. The medieval and Renaissance concept of *familia* is

The symbiotic relationship between Rodrigo and Roman humanists continued throughout the rest of his cardinalate, pausing only briefly when the first Roman Academy was dissolved in 1468.[66] If anything, the scandal made Pomponio Leto and members of the resuscitated Roman Academy more eager to collaborate with members of the Church than ever before, along with the need to increase the visibility of the their commissions.[67] This push for prominence was attractive to enterprising patrons, including Spanish outsiders such as Rodrigo. [68] Over time, formally staged classical plays and poetic competitions replaced poetic recitations in intimate garden parties. Rodrigo's

---

an iteration of the ancient Roman concept of *familia* or *paterfamilia*. A *familia* is a social unit of extended kinship that is not necessarily connected by blood ties, but united under a father figure.

[66] Charles L. Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1998), 78. The Roman humanist community's interests in pagan authors, indulgence in mock rituals and banquets, and expeditions through the former Catacombs of St. Calixtus fed growing suspicions about their motives. Several other humanists, including Leto, were accused of a conspiracy to remove Pope Paul II as pontiff and install a pagan republic in the Vatican's stead. Most of the accused were incarcerated at the Castel Sant'Angelo, but eventually Paul II's successor, Sixtus IV, released them after his ascension to the papal throne in 1471 and allowed Leto to reinstate his Roman Academy.

[67] Susanna de Beer, "The 'Roman' Academy of Pomponio Leto: From an Informal Humanist Network to the Institution of a Literary Society," in *The Reach of the Republic of Letters: Literary and Learned Societies in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe, Volume 2*, ed. Arjan van Dixhoorn and Susan Speakman Sutch (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 217. This type of legitimacy was especially important to Pomponio Leto and his affiliates in the aftermath of the scandal that rocked Rome in 1468. When Leto reframed his Second Roman Academy, it was fully incorporated as a Christian literary sodality, or *Sodalitas litteratorum*, by Pope Sixtus IV. The official confirmation of Leto's sodality occurred in 1478 and was placed under the protection of Cardinal Diomede della Rovere. This rehabilitation of Roman humanism was an attempt by Leto and members of his sodality to create a more public profile and work in greater cooperation with the Church.

[68] Hartmut Beyer, "Carlo and Marcellino Verardi's *Fernandus Servatus* and the Poem *Supra Casum Hispani Regis* by Petrus Martyr: *Drama in Diplomacy in Papal Rome under Alexander VI*," in *Drama, Performance, and Debate: Theater and Public Opinion in the Early Modern Era*, ed. by Jan Bloemendal, Peter Eversmann, and Elsa Streetman. (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 35; Kenneth M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant, 1204-1571, Volume II: The Fifteenth Century* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1978), 423-424. Select works from this body of literature, as well as extant correspondence, also point to cozy relations between Spanish prelates, including Rodrigo and members of his family, and affiliates of the Roman Academy. Pomponio Leto was not native born to Rome and aspired to be more authentic and allegiant to the city than the indigenous population. As a fellow outsider, Leto expressed empathy with Spanish individuals who were trying to integrate into Roman society.
Leto went on to develop a friendship with a member of the Borgia family, Francesco Borgia. Francesco Borgia was a cousin to Alexander VI and a prefect to the papal exchequer, as well as Bishop of Teano. In the course of his correspondence with the Borgia relative, Leto mentioned his admiration for the Spanish crown's efforts against Islam. Later, in 1499, Leto's *Romanae historiae compendium from interitu Gordiani Iuniorus usque ad Iustinum tertium* (also known as the *Compendium of Roman History*) was published posthumously in Venice and contained a preface authored by Francesco Borgia.

continued literary patronage of Leto and cohorts just prior to his papacy is recorded in the

dedicatory letter for the publication of the neo-Latinist drama *Historia Baetica*, which

was performed in April of 1492, but not published until 1493.[69]

Patronage of Ecclesiastical Music

During his time as cardinal, Rodrigo also began to engage in *abbellimento*,

beginning with commissions for the decoration of churches in Rome and Valencia.[70]

Eventually his *abbellimento* focused on the fostering and improvement of ecclesiastical

music. In 1483, the then-Cardinal Borgia was made the arch-priest of the basilica of

Santa Maria Maggiore. Shortly after this appointment, he secured a bull from Innocent

---

[69] Beyer, 35-47. Performed by members of the Academy two months after the official festivities that announced the Christian *reconquista* of Granada, the *Historia Baetica* was a neo-Latinist drama written and performed in April of 1492, shortly before the death of Innocent VIII and the elevation of Rodrigo as pontiff. The dedicatory letter commends the Vice-Chancellor Rodrigo and other Spanish dignitaries for their commitment to the production of the play, which was the concluding entertainment for the season that commemorated the Spanish victory over the Muslims. The festivities in Rome officially commenced on the evening of February 4th, 1492, but the regalement did not start taking place until the next day. After the official papal procession and Mass ended, Rodrigo staged what may have been the first *tauromachia*, or bullfight, seen in Rome since ancient times. The spectacle was held in a makeshift arena that encompassed the courtyard of the Palazzo Borgia and the interconnecting street.

[70] Antonello Gerbi, *Nature in the New World*, (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1985), 138. In 1473, then-Cardinal Rodrigo Borgia commissioned sculptor Andrea Bregno to create a marble tabernacle for the high altar of the basilica of Santa Maria in Popolo. This tabernacle, now relocated in the sacristy of the church, depicted four saints encircling an image of the Virgin Mary and the Christ child. Bregno was the most popular sculptor in Rome at the time, especially amongst members of the papal court. Formerly from Lombardy, Bregno's style of sculpture was a highly refined classical style that was influenced by his association with fellow sculptor Mina da Fiesole and Roman humanists, especially Platina.

One year prior to the project for Santa Maria in Popolo, during a rare visit to Valencia, Rodrigo commissioned several frescoes for the vaulted ceiling of the presbytery of the city's cathedral. Accompanying the cardinal on his trip was two artists from Italy, Francisco Pagano of Naples and Pablo de San Leocadio from Reggio, in Lombardy. The resulting frescoes, rediscovered in 2004, were uncovered and restored after they had been concealed by a newer ceiling that was part of a Baroque makeover of the cathedral's chapel that was done from1674 through 1682. The revealed frescoes consisted of four angels with musical instruments against a blue background. Rendered with copious amounts of gold leaf, the frescoes were largely done in the early Renaissance style and displayed signs of the burgeoning classical mode.

VIII to establish a school intended to teach music and chant to boys.[71] This level of personal interest from Rodrigo Borgia regarding liturgical music continued into his papacy. Among the first orders of business the new pope addressed was to issue overly past-due payments to members of the college of the papal chapel.[72] However, it was the first of several steps Alexander VI took to overhaul the quality of musical performances within the Vatican, as well as churches in Rome.

Alexander VI launched multiple campaigns to improve the musical quality of church services. One of the most well known of these was the installation or replacement of pipe organs in several churches. The elaborate pipe organ, which was a shared commission between Alexander VI and St. Peter's in 1495, is the best documented example of this variety of *abbellimento*, but the pontiff is believed to have also sponsored pipe organs for two other churches in Rome, San Salvatore in Lauro and Santa Maria in Popolo.[73]Another effort Alexander VI spearheaded was to raise the standard of musical performance for the papal chapel, especially in comparison to other court chapels in Italy and abroad.[74] The size of the papal choir had grown dramatically after the construction of the Sistine Chapel, with the number of performers reaching a high of approximately

---

[71] Peter de Roo, *Material for a History of Pope Alexander VI, His Relatives and His Time: Volume II, Roderic de Borgia, From the Cradle to the Throne* (Bruges: Desclèe, de Brouwer, and Co., 1924), 451-3. The papal bull issued by Innocent VIII is Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 746 f. 372.
    Another example of magnificent patronage on the part of Alexander VI is the spectacular gilded ceiling he commissioned for Santa Maria Maggiore, where he had been installed as an arch-priest in 1483. The traditional story claims that the ceiling created by Giuliano da Sangallo was finished with gold from the New World that had been donated to the church by Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain.

[72] Adalbert Roth, "Liturgical Music in the Papal Chapel," in *Papal Music and Musicians in Late Medieval and Renaissance Rome*, edited by Richard Sherr, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 130. When Alexander VI ascended to the *cathedra*, he discovered that members of the college not only received funds sporadically, but that often years elapsed between payments. At one juncture during his predecessor's regime, from July 1487 through August 1491, no money was received by the college. Once Alexander VI corrected the matter, the musicians received prompt and steady payments for the rest of his reign.

[73] Ibid., 7.

[74] Ibid.

twenty-four during Sixtus VI's reign.[75] Due to its spaciousness and subsequent need for a

larger musical ensemble, the Sistine Chapel displaced the formerly-favored performance

spaces of the chapel of Nicholas V and St. Peter's.[76] Unfortunately, membership of the

choir plummeted under Innocent VIII, due to neglect. With Alexander VI, the papal choir

enjoyed a period of stability, support, and diversity. [77]

While most of the known examples of Alexander VI's liturgical music

abbellimenti involved pipe organs, the choir books commissioned by the pontiff for Santa

Maria in Aracoeli emulated his program of organizing the musical repertoire for the papal

choir. What differentiated the choir books for the basilica from other instances of

musical patronage by Alexander VI is that they also exemplified the use of manuscripts

as both *abbellimento* and secular diplomatic gifts under his regime.

The Panegyrics by Nagonius and the Use of the Antique and Books in Diplomacy

Alexander VI demonstrated a love of books that can be documented back to his

early days as cardinal and was typical of members of the wealthy elite in the fifteenth

century. Unfortunately, no known catalogue exists for the personal library that resided at

---

[75] Stuart James Robb, *To Begin, Continue and Complete: Music in the Wider Context of Artistic Patronage by Pope Alexander VI (1492-1503) and the Hymn Cycle of CS 15*, (University of Manchester, 2011), 101.

[76] Ibid., 112-4. The choir for the basilica of St. Peter's was a separate group from the papal choir and considered less prestigious, as indicated by the disparity of pay between the two entities.

[77] Jessie Rodin, *Josquin's Rome: Hearing and Composing in the Sistine Chapel,* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 100; Jeffrey J. Dean, *The Scribes of the Sistine Chapel: 1501-1527* (University of Chicago, 1984), 3. Among the most meaningful advances made by Alexander VI was the dedicated creation of an organized musical repertoire for the papal performers. Alexander VI and his administration were the first to centralize the scribal duties for the copying of music by creating a position of principal scribe for the papal chapel in 1497 and then establishing a permanent music scriptorium in 1501. The scribe Johannes Orceau was hired for the job of principal scribe and held it until 1512. Although the bulk of the music transcribed for the papal choir at the time was polyphonic, traditional plain chant was still used on occasion and necessitated the use of choir books.

the Palazzo Borgia, and its ultimate fate is obscure.[78] Presumably the pontiff exercised his appreciation much like other bibliomaniacs of the period by collecting and commissioning manuscripts, both for his personal use and as diplomatic gifts. The creation of lavish manuscripts expressly for the purpose as diplomatic gifts during the late Middle Ages and Renaissance is currently a growing subject of inquiry for historians. Until recently, however, little research was devoted to the role that books (and their contents) played in Alexander VI's diplomatic strategies domestically or abroad. During his cardinalate, Alexander VI was renowned for his friendly contacts with foreign dignitaries and was often called upon to serve as a papal legate and diplomatic escort.[79] The experience would serve him well as pope. His decision to initiate relations with foreign powers, rather than following the traditional papal role of functioning as a recipient of was momentous. Alexander VI undertook the task of modernizing papal diplomacy with his usual vigor and ostentation. Among the practices his diplomatic corps adopted and refined was the use of presentation books.

---

[78] While individual volumes bearing the arms of Cardinal Rodrigo Borgia have occasionally been found in various collections, it is unknown whether the library was retained at the Palazzo Borgia and subsequently claimed by Ascanio Sforza when he took over the residence as Vice-Chancellor in the aftermath of the 1492 Conclave, or was moved to the Vatican and absorbed into the Vatican library holdings. So far, the only item formerly owned by Alexander VI housed in the Vatican Library is the Christmas Missal (one of three) commissioned by the pontiff for his personal use that was illuminated by Fra Antonio da Monza.

[79] E.R. Chamberlin, *The Fall of the House of Borgia* (New York: The Dial Press, 1974), 32; Fusero, 128; de Roo, 176, 265-6. Jacopo Gherardi da Volterra touches on Rodrigo Borgia's political connections abroad in the beginning of his description about the cardinal: "Intellectually he is capable of everything. He is a fluent speaker, writes well-though not in a literary style-is extremely astute and very energetic and skillful in business matters. He is enormously wealthy, and through his connection with kings and princes, commands great influence." While Cardinal Borgia often entertained and served as an escort of honor for important guests and accompanied multiple popes on various missions, his trip to Spain in 1472-3 was more than a homecoming. The trip was also an extended diplomatic assignment where he was to serve as *legatus a latere* for Pope Sixtus IV. After returning from his journey abroad, Rodrigo's duties as an envoy to Spain were extended to also serving as a legate to the Kingdom of Naples. Peter de Roo confirms Jacopo Gherardi da Volterra's description by specifically mentioning the Cardinal's amicable dealings with Holy Roman Emperor Frederic III, Matthias Corvinus and Vladislaus II of Bohemia and Hungary, and Grand Duke Casimir IV Jagiellon of Lithuania.

Presentation books served multiple gift-giving functions in diplomacy. As artistically structured works for communication, books were instruments of rhetorical strategy. They often played a role in diplomatic ceremonies as a gift that accompanied an encomium oration, or as a substitution for a diplomatic oration. Such presents were considered to be highly flattering sophisticated gifts and indicated the prevalence of humanists in Renaissance diplomacy.[80] Presentation books came into greater use and prominence in the latter part of the fifteenth century. The most well documented example of the use of deluxe manuscripts being used for diplomacy by Alexander VI is a series of illuminated manuscripts containing neo-Latinist panegyric poetry which were commissioned for several European rulers, including King Henry VII of England, Holy Roman Emperor Maximillian I, Vladislaus II of Bohemia and Hungary, and Louis XII of France. Johannes Michael Nagonius (c. 1450-c. 1510), a member of Pomponio Leto's social circle who served as an *ad hoc* papal diplomat for several popes, including Alexander VI, composed the texts of these manuscripts. The existence of these volumes and their humanist content throws into relief the use of antiquarianism and books as modes of diplomatic gift-giving by the pontiff.

The consistently extravagant quality of the manuscripts authored by Nagonius suggests that the pope subsidized all of them, and that the workmanship on all but one was done by professionals in Italy.[81] Several volumes were awarded simultaneously to

---

[80] Brian Maxson, *Costumed Words: Humanism, Diplomacy, and the Cultural Gift in Fifteenth Century Florence* (Northwestern University, 2008), 195.

[81] Paul Gareth Gwynne, *The Life and Works of Johannes Michael Nagonius, poeta laureatus c. 1450- c. 1510*, PhD dissertation (Warburg Institute, University of London, 1990), 71, 107-108. The illuminations for all but one set of the diplomatic manuscripts were created by several anonymous Italian artists. Scholars have suggested that the diverse repertoire of classical imagery found in these manuscripts was typical of illuminators working in Rome at the time.

39

each recipient, and at least two of the sets were produced within the same 12-to-18 month period.[82] Although these manuscripts were much more modest in size in comparison to the Ludwig Aracoeli Manuscript, this suggests the existence of Roman workshops capable of doing quality high-end commissions in compressed time frames.[83]

All of these presentation volumes contained spectacular frontispieces and title pages decorated in different interpretations of *all'antica* ornament. This mode of ornamentation served as an appropriate companion to the neo-Latinist panegyric texts of the manuscripts. The finest examples of this are the frontispieces for the manuscripts created for Henry VII and Maximilian I. In the illustration for Henry VII, the portrait of the monarch is highly stylized as an epic hero in a triumphal chariot, surrounded by a border containing foliate decoration (Figure 29). The image of Maximilian I features the

---

The exception was the set of books for Maximilian I. The set has been dated to 1494 and the gothic script and Flemish-style illusionistic border for the title-page indicate that the artist was Northern European. The date would coincide with Maximilian I's time in Antwerp, when he was making preparations to be coronated in Rome. Therefore, the possibility that the manuscript was created on location is strong, and that the artisans involved may have been affiliated with the workshop of Gerard Horenbout.

[82] Ibid., 106, 253-5; De Laurentiis and Talamo, 331. The set for Henry VII and one for Vladislaus II of Bohemia and Hungary were written, bound, and delivered in approximately 1496. The script and bindings indicate that they were both done in the same workshop in Rome. Another indicator of Alexander VI's intervention, as well the likeliness that several of these presentation books were at least bound in the same workshop is their unusual and rich textile bindings. The manuscripts for Henry VII and Vladislaus II were covered in cut velvet faced with cloth of gold, while another book given to Louis XII was clad in cloth of gold. Within the Sistine Sacristy Inventory of 1714, the Christmas Missal of Pope Alexander VI is described as: *coperto di damasco bianco à fioron d'oro; con tre scuti d'argento indorato* (covered in white damask with broom flowers of gold and gilded with three silver shields), suggesting that the pontiff employed the same workshop for additions to his personal library as well as presentation books for royalty.

[83] Ibid., 106. The dimensions of the original boards for the manuscripts for Henry VII is 9.25 by 6.2 inches, decidedly smaller in comparison to the leaves for the Ludwig Aracoeli Manuscript, which measures approximately 25.3 by 17 inches. Admittedly, the production of most manuscript sets, particularly large-scale choir books, have been known to take several years, even multiple generations, to be completed. In the case of the choir books for the Santa Maria in Aracoeli, the pope may have been motivated to assign the commission to a workshop capable of doing quality layout, transcription, and binding within a set time period, while various contracted illuminators worked on completing the painted decorations.

Holy Roman Emperor enthroned under a green baldachin adorned with the gold letters

"SPQR", wearing an imperial crown and bearing a sword and royal orb (Figure 30).[84]

Just like the profile portraits of Alexander VI in the works he commissioned from

Pinturicchio and Fra Antonio, numismatics and medals played an important role in the

frontispieces for Henry VII and Maximilian I. The motif of a seated monarch with an

imperial crown located is found in both frontispieces is interchangeable with images that

can be found on the obverse of sovereign coinage issued by both respective rulers (Figure

31 and Figure 32).[85] Furthermore, the fleur-de-lis featured in the frontispiece for Henry

VII corresponds to the ones found on coins distributed by the British monarch to

commemorate his siege of Boulogne in 1492, while the Tudor roses located in the leaf's

border have counterparts on the reverse of the same coin (Figure 33).[86] The frontispiece

of the manuscript for Maximilian I featured an imperial double-headed eagle shield of the

Holy Roman Empire, a heraldic device that is located on the reverse of a silver *guldiner*

---

[84] Paul Gwynne, *Poets and Princes: The Panegyric Poetry Of Johannes Michael Nagonius* (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2012), 265.

[85] Dale Hoak, *Tudor Political Culture* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 69-70; Gwynne, 267-9. The sovereign issued by Henry VII was first struck in 1489. Also referred to as a double-gold ryal, the value of the coin was twenty shillings. The obverse of the sovereign is similar to the *rèal d'or* (also known as *gouden reaal*), or gold double noble, that Holy Roman Emperor Maximillian I had minted in Bruges in 1487. However, both sets of coins were inspired by the large Spanish gold *enrique* that was created during the reign of Henry IV of Castile.

The reason for Henry VII creating a coin that emulated the prestigious *enrique* was political. The commissioning of the gold sovereign by Henry VII coincided with the ratification of the Treaty of Medina del Campo, a betrothal contract negotiated on behalf of his son Arthur and Catherine, the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain.

[86] Paul Gwynne, "The Frontispiece to an Illuminated Panegyric of Henry VII: A Note on the Sources," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 55 (1992): 268; Christopher Edgar Challis, *The Tudor Coinage* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1978), 52. According Challis, the gold coin worth ten shillings (known as "The Ryal", or "Rose-Rial") was presumably struck in honor of Henry VII's victory of Boulogne and to replace a preceding form of coin known as a Noble that was of lesser value (six shillings and eight pence). The Ryal featured an image of the king wearing an imperial crown on the obverse, while the reverse had the arms of France set within a Tudor rose. Unfortunately, the coin was produced in small quantities and proved unpopular. It was soon replaced by another gold coin that became known as "The Angel".

issued in 1493 (Figure 34). These highly personalized representations indicate that a great deal of attentiveness was involved for the artwork of these manuscripts, and likely necessitated consultation from papal iconographers who were familiar with numismatics and royal heraldry.

The imagery in the choir books of Santa Maria in Aracoeli also demonstrate that considerable thought went into ensuring the set would be unique to the basilica. Within the asymmetrical side borders of the Albertina Pentecost Montage is a bifurcated depiction of the seminal event that defined the identity of Santa Maria in Aracoeli. Known as the "miracle of Aracoeli", the circumstance involved a vision of the Virgin Mary and the infant Jesus materializing before the Tiburtine Sibyl and the Emperor Augustus, which heralded the decline of paganism and the impending ascendency of Christianity. Allusions to the vision could be found throughout the Basilica of Santa Maria in Aracoeli, and the seal for the convent adjacent to the church also featured the image of an airborne Virgin and child.[87] The roundels are a split scene of the phenomenon. To the left is the Tiburtine Sibyl in classicized dress, elegantly brandishing an identifying banderole (Figure 35). The roundel on the right is the half-length figure of the Virgin Mary adoring the infant Christ, surrounded by cherubim (Figure 36). Decorated or historiated initials personalized for the institutions they were commissioned for were common, but the exceedingly opulent borders of the Albertina Pentecost Montage and Ludwig Aracoeli Frontispiece suggests Alexander VI wanted a set of particularly impressive liturgical manuscripts for Santa Maria in Aracoeli.

---

[87] Rosemary Muir Wright, *Sacred Distance: Representing the Virgin Mary in Italian Altarpieces, 1300-1630* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), 121.

***Abbellimento* as a Mode of Diplomacy: Alexander VI and Santa Maria in Aracoeli**

Alexander VI's gifts of encomia to European monarchs, such as Henry VII and Maximilian I, make his methods and motives of diplomatic gift-giving more apparent. Through the presentation books he commissioned from Nagonius, the pope both acknowledged the recipient's right to rule and sought their participation in the Holy League and a crusade.[88] The tone of these manuscripts is indicative of the tact Alexander VI preferred to take with his diplomatic gifts, whether it was with a foreign ruler or a venerated local institution. In the case of the choir books for Santa Maria in Aracoeli, despite the long set precedent regarding the custom of *abbellimento* as a manifestation of power, the context of Alexander VI's gift suggests something more ingenious.

The use of classically-inspired panegyrics and images for presentation books was the most recent development of an aristocratic language of diplomacy used in gifts to appeal to the aspirations of a sovereign recipient. One of the intentions of diplomatic gifts, including presentation books, was to enhance the reputation of the beneficiary as well as the donor. Likewise, *abbellimento* was a decorous manner of paying tribute to a religious institution designed to also bring honor and recognition to the giver. Although the *all'antica* style had insinuated itself into the decoration of liturgical manuscripts for several decades, its use augmented the composition that referenced the unique history of Santa Maria in Aracoeli. While the motivations for other instances of *abbellimento* by

---

[88] Halil Inalcik, "The Ottoman Turks and the Crusades, 1451-1522," in *A History of the Crusades, Volume VI: The Impact of the Crusades on Europe*, edited by Kenneth Meyer Setton, (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), 347. Founded in 1495, the Holy League was a confederacy of European powers that pledged primarily to defend Christendom against Islam, more specifically the Ottoman Turks. The other purposes of the group was to protect the Church, the Holy Roman Empire, the lands of other constituents of the Holy League, and to help expel foreign invaders from Italy. Members of the Holy League included Pope Alexander VI, Maximillian I, Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, the duchy of Milan and the republic of Venice. Henry VII later joined the Holy League in 1497.

Alexander VI can be easily identified, the reasons for the pontiff's interest in the basilica are obscure. The next chapter will examine the bases for Alexander VI's attentiveness towards Santa Maria in Aracoeli.

CHAPTER THREE: THE ALTAR OF HEAVEN: SANTA MARIA IN ARACOELI AND ITS SYMBOLIC RESONANCE

"You who climb to this palace of the Mother of Light,
First of all to be built in the world, know then that Caesar Octavianus
Erected this Altar of Heaven at the time when her Divine Child was revealed to him." [89]

Located on the Capitoline, and reframed as the civic center of Rome during the Middle Ages through a series of well-orchestrated events, the site of the Basilica of Santa Maria in Aracoeli was a place of veneration for the Roman people for nearly a millennium, due to its fortuitous location and possession of several revered relics. This symbolic resonance made the church a potent institution to those who wished to appropriate its cultural prestige for their own ends throughout the centuries. The choir books were commissioned by Alexander VI as *abbellimento* intended to appease the Franciscans of Santa Maria in Aracoeli and their supporters, as well as to secure the stature of the basilica to his regime.

The reasons for why Santa Maria in Aracoeli was important to Alexander VI are complicated. The usual bonds associated with papal patronage towards an institution were not present for Alexander VI in this case – he was not a member of the Franciscan order, nor was Santa Maria in Aracoeli a former cardinalate of his.[90] The ostentatiousness of the choir books, including the extravagant use of shell gold, was at odds with the

---

[89] Paul L. Burke, "Augustus and Christianity in Myth and Legend," *New England Classical Journal*, Vol. 32, No. 3 (2005), 215.

[90] Kenneth Meyer Setton, *Fifteenth Century* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1978), 432; Pastor, 326. Like his uncle, Calixtus III, Alexander VI was a member of the Dominican order. Among the many benefices Calixtus III conferred to the young Rodrigo Borgia during his papacy was the position of Cardinal-Deacon for *San Nicola in Carcere* in Rome.

recipients' strict commitment to austerity.[91] The provenance for this enigma can be partially discerned within borders of the Albertina Pentecost Montage. Scholars have asserted that the Ludwig Aracoeli Manuscript and Albertina Pentecost Montage were components of a set of choir books created for Santa Maria in Aracoeli. Part of what contributed to this belief was the listing of saints in the Litany of the Ludwig Aracoeli Manuscript and their connection to Santa Maria in Aracoeli.[92] Yet, other imagery which substantiates that the choir books were commissioned for the basilica is located in the Albertina Pentecost Montage. [93]

The Symbolic Resonance of Santa Maria in Aracoeli

The site for Santa Maria in Aracoeli had roots in ancient Rome, which provided one of many layers of meaning that made it attractive to later generations. According to the twelfth century text, *Mirabilia Urbis Romae,* Santa Maria in Aracoeli was built upon the foundation of a pagan temple sacred to Juno Moneta and was also the former location of the *auguraculum* where prophecies regarding the fate of the city frequently emerged.[94]

---

[91] Francis Ames Lewis, "Matteo de' Pasti and the Use of Powdered Gold," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 84 (1984): 352. Shell gold was a highly popular and expensive form of gilding during the second half of the fifteenth century. Previously, Italian illuminators used ochres and other yellow pigments to simulate a golden surface, often alongside burnished gold leaf. The use of gold paint for three-dimensional effect was only beginning to become prevalent in Italian manuscript illumination and was a technique borrowed from contemporary Flemish manuscript painting.

[92] Levi D'Ancona, 7. Levi D'Ancona also made a statement that the connection between the Albertina Pentecost Montage and Santa Maria in Aracoeli was discerned from the knowledge that Fra Antonio was a member of the Franciscan order. The inevitable conclusion was that he created the work for a Franciscan monastery, and that the most likely candidate was Santa Maria in Aracoeli.

[93] Also, as mentioned in the Introduction, Fra Antonio da Monza was identified as the illuminator and Alexander VI the patron of the choirs books for Santa Maria in Aracoeli due to the signed portrait medallion located within the cartouche of the Albertina Pentecost Montage.

[94] Adam Ziolkowski, "Between Geese and the Auguraculum: The Origin of the Cult of Juno on the Arx" *Classical Philology*, Vol. 88, No. 3 (July 1993), 206. Juno Moneta was the Roman goddess of good counsel and considered a protectress of the Roman people. There are several theories regarding the origins of her epithet, including that the name is derived from *mons*, which means "hill" or "mountain" (referring to the Capitoline where her temple was located), or the Latin word for "warn" *monere*.

The most well-known event in the early history of the site is the tale by Livy regarding the sacred geese from the temple of Juno and their role in saving Rome from the Gauls.[95] This legend was the first of several that helped to develop the reputation of the Capitoline as a place that hosted mythic figures protective of Rome's populace.

Several centuries after the early Romans' altercation with the Gauls the aforementioned miracle of Aracoeli occurred. The event would define the Capitoline's (and later, more specifically Santa Maria in Aracoeli's) significance as a Christian holy site. The most prevalent version of the tale is offered by the *Legenda Aurea*, or *The Golden Legend* by cleric Jacobus de Voragine.[96] According to the popular text, the marvel was initiated when the Emperor Augustus consulted the Tiburtine Sibyl after hearing rumors that the Roman Senate wished to pass legislation that would deify him.[97]

In 273 B.C.E. the primary mint for the Republic was established at the temple site as well, with all Roman silver coinage created at that location for the next several years; a tradition that continued until the reign of Emperor Augustus.

The *auguraculum* was a sacred ritual space where *augurs*, or official religious fortunetellers, would practice their divine interpretations. After 300 B.C.E. ordinary citizens were allowed entry to become *augurs*.

[95] Titus Livius, *The Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Books of Livy's History*, (Cambridge: J. Hall & Son, 1879), 103. The incident involving Juno's geese was chronicled by several ancient historians, including Livy, and occurred shortly after the disastrous Battle of Allia in 390 B.C.E. After fending off invaders from Gaul the remaining Roman forces and a few citizens took refuge on the nearly insurmountable Capitoline. Ultimately, they were able to fend off a surprise nighttime attack by the Gauls on their stronghold due to the sacred flock of geese affiliated with the temple of Juno. Alerted by the gaggles' timely honking, the Romans kept the Gallic invaders at bay, and were able to arrange a conference with the Gauls to settle terms of surrender. The negotiation disintegrated into a melee that finally led to the expulsion of Rome's brief conquerors. After this incident the Romans were determined never to be vulnerable to invasion again and overhauled their military.

[96] Sherry L. Reames, *The Legenda Aurea: A Re-examination of Its Paradoxical History*, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985) 3-5. The *Golden Legend* was a popular hagiography from the thirteenth century by Jacobus de Voragine, a Dominican brother and prolific author who went on to become archbishop of Genoa. Hagiographies were compendiums of saints' biographies and were a genre that mixed factual material with fables in order to create compelling and didactic narratives. The *Golden Legend* continued to be an often-copied and best selling religious text throughout the rest of the Middle Ages, and retained its ubiquity for nearly two centuries after the advent of print.

[97] C. Suetonius Tranquillus, *The Lives of the Twelve Caesars*, trans. by Alexander Thomson, (London: George Bell and Sons, 1893), 111. This element of the miracle of Aracoeli has some basis in historical fact. According to Book 52 of Suetonius' *Life of Augustus*:

Augustus inquired of the sibyl if there would ever be a man who was as great as he. The

initial response from the sibyl was that the "King of the Ages" would descend from the

sky. Shortly afterwards, the emperor paid another visit to the sibyl, coincidentally on the

day of Christ's birth. Suddenly, a vision of the Virgin Mary appeared, surrounded by a

nimbus of golden light and holding the infant Jesus against her breast. The sight was

accompanied by a disembodied voice that said, "This woman is the altar of Heaven."

The sibyl then announced, "The child will be greater than thou." After this revelation,

Augustus erected an altar on the Capitoline with the inscription *Ara Primogeniti Dei*

("Altar of the Firstborn of God") in commemoration of the miracle he had witnessed.[98]

However, the church built over the site did not take on its current appellation reflecting

this venerable status until the early fourteenth century, several decades after the

Franciscan order received custodianship of it.[99]

Although well aware that it was usual to vote temples even to proconsuls, he
would not accept one even in a province save jointly in his own name and that of
Rome. In the city itself he refused this honor most emphatically, even melting
down the silver statues which had been set up in his honor in former times and
with the money coined from them dedicating golden tripods to Apollo of the
Palatine. When the people did their best to force the dictatorship upon him, he
knelt down, threw off his toga from his shoulders and with bare breast begged
them not to insist.

[98] Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend of Jacobus de Voragine*, trans. and adapted by
William Granger Ryan and Helmut Ripperger (New York: Longmans, Green, & Co., 1941), 46-51. This
tale is part of the section known as *The Nativity of Our Lord Jesus Christ*.

[99] Ferdinand Gregorovius, *History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages, Volume 5, Part 1*, trans.
by Annie Hamilton (London: George Bell and Sons, 1906), 111; Paolo Lombardo and Gaetano Passarelli,
*Ara Coeli: La Basilica e Il Convento: Dal XVI al XX Secolo Attraverso le Stampe del Fondo della
Postulazione della Provincia Romanadei Frati Minori* (Rome: Roma Tiellemedia, 2003), 23; Charles
Isidore Hemans, *A History of Mediaeval Christianity and Sacred Art in Italy: A.D. 900-1350.* (Florence: M.
Cellini and Co., 1869), 412. Previously known as the Santa Maria in Capitolo, the location became a
property that was heavily contested over in the thirteenth century. The first settlement by the Franciscans in
Rome was in the convent of Sant Blasio (now known as Sant Francesco) located in the Trastevere district
in 1229. Nearly two decades later the building was in desperate need of extensive and costly repairs. The
Franciscans appealed to Pope Innocent IV for assistance. The pontiff instructed the Franciscans to select
any site they wished to relocate to. Cognizant of the-then Santa Maria in Capitolo's prestige, the brothers
wittingly chose that locale, even though it had been occupied by members of the Benedictine order for over
three centuries. The Benedictines had also been granted exclusive property rights for the Capitoline mount

Santa Maria in Aracoeli contained several other alleged relics and memorials of this seminal event, which is reflected in the visual program of the choir books commissioned by Alexander VI. The outer border of the Albertina Pentecost Montage contains roundels that offer a partial representation of the miracle of Aracoeli. The representation of a youthful Tiburtine Sibyl juxtaposed with an airborne Virgin Mary adoring the infant Jesus indicates the continued awareness of the reputation of the basilica as the site of origin for the transition of Rome from the seat of a pagan empire to a Christian one (Figure 35 and Figure 36). The presence of the roundels offer further authentication that the Albertina Pentecost Montage and related works were created for Santa Maria in Aracoeli.

The importance of Santa Maria in Aracoeli was further augmented by the reestablishment of the Roman Senate during the 12th century. The relocation of the Senate transformed the Campidoglio into the civic center of Rome, and the already-admirable Santa Maria in Aracoeli became further involved in other momentous religious and political events. For a time, the Senate convened in the cloisters adjacent to Santa Maria in Aracoeli before the construction of the Palazzo del Senatore in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. [100] Due to this proximity, Santa Maria in Aracoeli became the patron

---

by Antipope Anacletus II over a century before. Innocent IV then began what became nearly a two year process to evict the Benedictines from their home. The Franciscans were fully installed in Santa Maria in Popolo in 1249-50.

At the end of the thirteenth century, the Franciscans received a number of endowments from Pope Nicholas IV for the extensive remodeling of the basilica. The Franciscans completely restructured the building, self-consciously giving it a more-modest Romanesque façade and using a great deal of ancient Roman spolia to furnish the interior. By 1323, the name of the site was documented as being Santa Maria in Aracoeli, fully demonstrating the Franciscans' success with reinventing the image of the basilica and their order in Rome.

[100] Serena De Leonardis and Stefano Masi, *Art and History: Rome and the Vatican* (Florence: Casa Editrice Bonechi, 1999), 70; John Hendrix, *History and Culture in Italy* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2003), 63. The identification of the Santa Maria in Aracoeli with the civic government of

church of the Roman Senate and the two institutions were seen as representatives of the dual identities of the Capitoline and its ties to ancient Rome. According to this revision, Santa Maria in Aracoeli served as the reminder of Augustus' Imperial Rome and the city's roots in Christianity, and the new incarnation of the Senate functioned as a memorial of the Roman Republic.

Repeated attempts to recuperate the material and symbolic power of Santa Maria in Aracoeli began in the 13th century and continued throughout the rest of the Middle Ages. Among the parties who recognized the advantage of publicly affiliating themselves with the basilica was the Antipope Anacletus II, early members of the Franciscan order in Rome, Cola di Rienzo, and in the mid-fifteenth century, San Bernardino of Siena and members of the Observant branch of the Franciscan order. Later in the same century, the location received renewed recognition from members of the municipal notarial college and Pomponio Leto's Roman Academy; many of whom were also members of the Curia. In all likelihood the attention devoted to Santa Maria in Aracoeli by these two influential groups in Rome, particularly the Roman Academy did not go unnoticed by Alexander VI.

Santa Maria in Aracoeli and Its Relationship with the Roman Academy

Due to its place on the Capitoline, Santa Maria in Aracoeli became a ritual center for the literary sodality of *Societas Literatorum S. Victoris in Esquiliis*, the religious façade of the Roman Academy of Pomponio Leto.[101] In 1483, Pomponio Leto and

---

Rome was likely further advanced by the fact that the Roman Curia was held in the convent of Santa Maria in Aracoeli until a new building was built for their meetings on the ruins of the Tabularium. The convent that served as the meeting place for the Senate and other organizations stood until it was demolished to make way for the Monumento Vittorio Emmanuel II.

[101] Laurie Nussdorfer, *Brokers of Public Trust: Notaries in Early Modern Rome* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), 45. Leto's sodality was not the first group to use Santa Maria in

members of his Christian literary confraternity inaugurated their own annual gathering

known as Palilia, which was an event intended to commemorate the *dies natalis*, or

birthday, of Rome.[102] The group's commitment to cooperate with the Church was

demonstrated by the Roman Academy's attempts to downplay the pagan aspects of the

celebration. The name chosen for the sodality and the emphasis on the Christian

overtones of the event, which happened to fortuitously coincide with the feast day of

obscure saints Victor, Fortunatus, and Genesius, helped to deemphasize the irreverence

that some members of the church formerly found distasteful.[103] The first Palilia was off to

---

Aracoeli as the centerpiece for annual rites. The notarial college for the municipal government in Rome was the first organization of the two to conduct high-profile ceremonies at Santa Maria in Aracoeli, largely due to the basilica's association with the Senate and the populace of Rome. Starting in 1446, officers of the notarial college, under the guidance of an *advocatus consistorialis* (or consistorial lawyer) named Andrea Santacroce, established official standards for notaries in the city. Chief among the mandates was the announcement that all notaries, former students of law, and members of the legal profession in Rome were to convene annually for Mass on October 18 in Santa Maria in Aracoeli in order to observe the feast of Saint Luke, the patron saint of notaries. By making the event compulsory for all members of the judicial infrastructure of Rome and affiliates and setting it within Santa Maria in Aracoeli, the intent was for the notaries to build a relationship, materially and symbolically, with the Senate. This legislation, along with other professional reforms, was an attempt to elevate the public profile and esteem of the notarial profession, which was previously unregulated.

      The resulting annual event for the notarial college was a staid affair, involving the special Mass and a series of organizational meetings and elections. These administrative routines were conducted in the convent for Santa Maria in Aracoeli and decided the officers for the notarial college, who served to oversee certification exams, appointing individuals to key judicial positions, and interacting with papal representatives. Several decades later there was overlap in regards to membership between *Societas Literatorum S. Victoris in Esquiliis* and the notarial college, which was reflected in the structure of the solemnities for Palilia. Chief among the similarities was the use of Santa Maria in Aracoeli and the Palace of the Conservators as focal points for the yearly ceremonies.

      [102] James L. Butrica. "Propertius on the Parilia (4.4.73-8)," *Classical Quarterly* 50, no.2 (2000): 472-8; Emily Kearns. "Parilia," In *The Oxford Dictionary of Classical Myth and Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 406; Graham Anderson. *Greek and Roman Folklore: A Handbook* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2006), 140-1. The Palilia (also known as Parilia or *Ab Urbe Condita*) allegedly began as a festival in honor of Pales, the deity of shepherds that predated the existence of Rome. Traditionally celebrated on April 21, the largely rural event also coincided with the date Romulus first established the foundation of Rome in 753 B.C.E. Several ancient writers, including Propertius, Virgil, Ovid, Cicero, Varro, and Tibullus, documented the history of the festival, as well as revealing details of its specific ceremonies. One of the most extensive descriptions was given in Ovid's "Fasti, Book IV", which offered insight into the urban version of the celebration.

      [103] Angela Fritsen, "Ludovico Lazzarelli's *Fasti Christrianae Religionis*: Recipient and Context of an Ovidian Poem," in *Myricae: Essays on Neo-Latin Literature in Memory of Josef Ijsewijn*, ed. by Dirk Sacré and Gilbert Tournoy (Leuven, Belgium: Leuven University Press, 2000), 122; Rodolfo Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1896), 360. Lanciani believed that the saints were

a prestigious start by the bestowment of a *privilegium*, or privilege, from Holy Roman

Emperor Frederick III. [104] The *privilegium* from Frederick III endowed the sodality with

the right to award a poet laureate on his behalf.[105] Such a concession from the monarch

indicates the high regard with which Pomponio Leto and his resurgent Roman Academy

were appraised as a force of classical erudition, as well as the perceived value of ancient

literature to courts outside of Rome.[106]

Within two decades after the inception of the celebration, the scale of the Palilia

had grown dramatically. The attendance of the festival expanded from a relatively

humble gathering of the Roman Academy to an inclusive spectacle that hosted members

of the Papal Curia and members of the civic government. The service recorded by

Johannes Burchardus states that Santa Maria in Aracoeli, the official church of the Senate

for Rome, was the venue where the Mass for Palilia was held and that the banquet was

---

selected due to the auspiciousness of their names: Genesius for the "genesis" or birthday of Rome, and the belief that Victory (Victor) and Fortune (Fortunatus) guided the fate of the Eternal City.

[104] Fritsen, 218; Lanciani, 361. The writings of diarist and curial insider Jacopo Gherardi da Volterra offer a glimpse into the itinerary of the first Palilia. Gherardi was also in attendance at the wake for Roman Academy member Platina the previous year. The passages written by him regarding the respective events reveal that the set of rituals performed for both were remarkably congruent. The obsequies in honor of Platina's death in the fall of 1481 occurred on April 18, 1482. The service for Platina included a mass at Santa Maria Maggiore, with a funerary oration by Pomponio Leto that included verses of elegiac poetry. After the service, a banquet was held near Leto's residence on the Esquiline, where the memory of the deceased was honored by more recitation of ancient and neo-Latinist poetry.

The ceremonies for the Palillia of 1483 started off on the Esquiline, under the guidance of Platina's successor as Prefect of the Vatican Library, Demetrio da Lucca, with an oration given by Pietro Marsi. The formal dinner was held at the church of San Salvatore in Lauro, where the festivities were opened by the reading of the *privilegium* from Holy Roman Emperor Frederick III. After the announcement, the recitation of poetry and debate regarding who should be the recipient of the poet laureate ensued.

[105] Ibid., 217.

[106] Nicholas Terpstra, "Piccolomini, Enea Silvia [Pope Pius II] (1405-1464)," In *A Global Encyclopedia of Historical Writing: K-Z*, ed. Daniel R. Woolf (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1998), 713. A previous recipient of an imperial poet laureate from Holy Roman Emperor Frederick III was the future Pope Pius II, then known as Enea Silvia Piccolomini. The event of Piccolomini being crowned with the laurel wreath by Frederick is the subject of a fresco painted by Pinturicchio in the Piccolomini Library of the Duomo in Siena.

hosted in the nearby Palace of the Conservators.[107] The relocation of Palilia from the

Esquiline Hill to the more prominent Capitoline signified that Leto's Academy had

successfully insinuated themselves into the Church and civic government of Rome.

Moreover, the switch from San Salvatore in Lauro to Santa Maria in Aracoeli as the

church used for Palilia demonstrated that the humanists in Rome were aware of the need

to recuperate the symbolic resonance of the basilica for their own ends.

The Recuperation of the Legacy of Pomponio Leto and Santa Maria in Aracoeli by

Alexander VI

The wish of Alexander VI to be compared favorably with Augustus and other

momentous personages from the city's illustrious history is explicit in the literature and

art he commissioned.[108] Even as early as his papal coronation, Alexander VI and his

entourage, the majority of whom were affiliates with the Roman Academy, attempted to

infuse the works they commissioned with this powerful new identity. Among the many

lavish and ephemeral decorations that lined the streets for his inaugural procession was a

---

[107] Charles L. Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1998), 72; Robert W. Berger, *Public Access to Art in Paris: A Documentary History from the Middle Ages to 1800* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), 221. The use of the Palace of the Conservators for Palilia was significant. The collection of antiquities that were relocated there in 1471 by Pope Sixtus IV from the Lateran Palace added another layer of veneration for the antique to the proceedings.

Pope Sixtus IV moved a number of antiquities from the collection housed in the Lateran Palace due to the shift in perception of how the objects were regarded. Previously seen in the Middle Ages as tokens of papal power, in the aftermath of Pope Paul II's reign they were viewed as pagan souvenirs and therefore inappropriate to keep within the official ecclesiastical seat of the pope. Among the works transferred to the Palace of the Conservators were the bronze She-Wolf and the gargantuan marble head and hand fragments of Constantine.

[108] Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus, *Lives of the Twelve Caesars*, trans. by Alexander Thomson and edited by T. Forester (London: G. Bell & Sons, 1893), 91; Cassius Dio, *Roman History, Volume VII*, trans. by Earnest Cary (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1924), 69. In Suetonius XXIX, Augustus claimed that in regards to Rome he literally, "found it of brick, but left it of marble." Dio also attributed a similar statement in h LVI.30 of his *Roman History* to Augustus ("I found Rome of clay, I leave it to you as marble."), but believed that it was not a comment on the radically altered architecture of the city, but a metaphor regarding the emperor's comprehensive revamp of Rome's infrastructure.

sculpture of a golden bull that had an inscription at its base that translated to, "Rome had discovered the ox when she was founded by the ploughshare. Now in decay she is reborn through her ox."[109] This was the first of many allusions to Romulus, the founding father of Rome, during the reign of Alexander VI and was intended to articulate that the ascendancy of the Borgia family was the culmination of a superior and ancient bloodline.[110]

This image of Pope Alexander VI as a *Renovator urbis*, or renovator of the city, was promulgated outside of Rome to European rulers via the diplomatic gift manuscripts he commissioned from Nagonius in the mid-1490s. In the second book (out of a set of three) created expressly for Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian, Nagonius envisioned the monarch's consecration in a Rome magnificently restored to its former glory by the pontiff.[111] The poet referred to Alexander VI as, "The restorer of our age…" and that the pontiff, "restores Roman ruins and renews with a better structure Rome…" The latter statement is clearly analogous to Augustus' famous quote about transforming Rome from a city of clay or brick into a city of marble. However, according to Nagonius, Alexander VI was seeking to reinstate Rome back to the grandeur it had under Augustus.

---

[109] Brian Curran, *The Egyptian Renaissance in Rome*, 112; Fritz Saxl. "The Appartamento Borgia," In *Lectures, Volume One*, ed. by Gertrud Bing (London: Warburg Institute, University of London, 1957), 181. The original inscription read - "ROMA BOVEM INVENIT TUNC CUM FUNDATUR AR ATRO. ET NUNC LAPSA SUO EST RENATA BOVE."

[110] Clemente Fusero, *The Borgias*, trans. by Peter Green (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1972), 154. Other inscriptions were reported by Bernardino Corio in his *Story of Milan*, among some of the triumphal arches that were erected for Alexander VI's coronation. The translation for one of the more notorious captions recorded read-

"Rome was great under Caesar: now she is greatest:
Alexander VI. reigns: the former was a man; this, a God."

[111] Paul Gwynne, *Poets and Princes: The Panegyric Poetry of Johannes Michael Nagonius*. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 98. See Appendix D for this segment of the poem and its translation.

The death of Pomponio Leto in 1498 provided Alexander VI an opportunity to publicly affiliate his reign with the humanist's prominent and well respected legacy. According to correspondence written by Jacopo Antiquario, a member of the Roman Academy, Leto's originally modest plans for his funeral and burial changed when former students intervened.[112] Instead, it was insisted that a grand funeral was more befitting a man of Leto's stature. Despite the mostly-indirect working relationship Alexander VI had with Leto, the pontiff was convinced to take over the renowned humanist's obsequies.[113] Presumably the outstanding scholarly reputation the humanist had outside of Rome and the contacts Alexander VI enjoyed with several of Leto's protégés convinced the pope to intercede. Alexander IV arranged a grand memorial service for the scholar at Santa Maria in Aracoeli, which was attended by members of the papal entourage, as well as forty bishops and several ambassadors. [114] This intervention on the part of Alexander VI regarding Leto's solemnities demonstrates how collaborative the humanist movement in Rome had become with the Church, as well as the extensive social clout the Roman Academy and its far-flung members gained from the partnership. It was this type of pervasive prestige that Alexander VI hoped to appropriate for his regime.

---

[112] Johann Albert Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Latina Mediae et Infimae Aetatis, Volumes V-VI.* (Florence: Baracchi, 1859), 633. According to the letter Jacopo Antiquario sent Michele Ferno on July 18, 1498, "He had once wished to be buried on the Via Appia, but his pupils have found him a better place."

[113] Müntz and Fabre, 312. The only anecdote indicating any contiguous transaction between Pomponio Leto and Alexander VI regards a mission that the pontiff sent the humanist on to find and purchase manuscripts that were copies of ancient texts (by authors such as Strabo and Festus) in Germany. Alexander VI's decision to dispatch Leto on the assignment further signifies the pope's interest in books and that he was knowledgeable of the scholar's previous travels outside of Italy and friendly relations with German royalty.

[114] Susanna de Beer, "The 'Roman' Academy of Pomponio Leto: From an Informal Humanist Network to the Institution of a Literary Society," In *The Reach of the Republic of Letters: Literary and Learned Societies in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe, Volume 2*, ed. Arjan van Dixhoorn (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2008), 218. The obsequies organized for Pomponio Leto were similar in structure to the wake of Platina in 1482 and the program for the early Palillia ceremonies. While the service was held at Santa Maria in Aracoeli, the main funerary oration was by Pietro Marsi, who had sermonized at the first Palilia and Leto was interred in San Salvatore in Lauro, where the remains of Platina were also kept.

Alexander VI continued to enjoy the assistance of Roman humanists in his efforts to assert papal authority.[115] In return, the pontiff offered supportive resources for the Palilia of 1501, centered at Santa Maria in Aracoeli. Johannes Burchardus recorded that the papal choir performed at the Mass for the celebration, a sign of Alexander VI's goodwill towards the proceedings, and those associated with it. What also made the pope's gesture particularly intriguing was the Palilia that year was held just a few weeks after he approved a set of statutes that had the potential to fundamentally alter the stability of Santa Maria in Aracoeli.[116]

Santa Maria in Aracoeli in the Fifteenth Century - A Site of Contention

The fifteenth century was a time of great activity for Santa Maria in Aracoeli, reflective of the changes and power struggles that were occurring within the basilica's custodial order and the city. The status of Santa Maria in Aracoeli as the Roman headquarters for the Franciscan order and its relationship with the civic government of Rome contributed to how the church became enmeshed in so much upheaval during this period. The schism that had existed in the Franciscan order since the mid-fourteenth century had a huge impact on Santa Maria in Aracoeli.

An aggressive movement within the Franciscan order known as Observant reform was responsible for many of the changes that occurred to Santa Maria in Aracoeli. Unhappy with the increasingly comfortable lifestyle that crept into the formerly ascetic Franciscan order, the Observant Franciscans, or Observants, wished to return the order to

---

[115] Historical reports regarding the antiquarian-influenced decorations and entertainments for the Jubilee of 1500 and Lucrezia Borgia's various weddings hint at Roman humanist intervention as well.

[116] Stinger, 72. In 1501, the Palilia festivities were postponed to May 2 from their usual date of April 21. The reason given for the delay was that more preparation time was necessary for the dramatic portion of the celebration, connoting that the celebration itself had supplanted the original reason for it.

its more humble beginnings. The Observants quickly gained momentum and soon rivaled

the main family of the Franciscans, the Conventuals, in number of members, as well as

property. Despite the challenges presented by this ascendant movement, the Conventuals

chose not to embrace radical reform, and Pope Eugenius IV formalized the division

between the two groups. [117] One of the results of this breach was the displacement of the

Conventual brothers from Santa Maria in Aracoeli in January of 1445, which was taken

over by the Observants.[118] This loss for the Conventuals was a huge boon to the

Observant movement due to the prestige of Santa Maria in Aracoeli. This shift was

indicative of evictions that were occurring in other areas of Italy and Europe, where the

Observants were considered preferable residents to the comparatively lax Conventuals.[119]

The two families functioned as parallel communities for several decades but Conventual

resentment over their dwindling material holdings and declining prestige continued to

build. The zeal for reform within the order and the dispossession of Conventuals from

their holdings continued.

This issue came to a critical mass in Spain after Alexander VI initially gave

Cardinal Ximénes de Cisneros, a member of the Observant order and the eventual

---

[117] Michael Robson, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages* (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2006), 201.

[118] Ibid., 209; Francis Mormando, *The Preacher's Demons: Bernardino of Siena and the Social Underworld of Early Renaissance Italy* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1999), 267; Marilyn Lavin Aronberg, *The Place of Narrative: Mural Decoration in Italian Churches, 431-1600* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 215; Emmanuel Rodocanachi, *The Roman Capitol in Ancient and Modern Times*, trans. by Frederick Lawton (New York, NY: E.P. Dutton & Company, 1906), 245. After performing a series of sermons on the steps of Santa Maria in Aracoeli in March of 1442, San Bernandino of Siena (then the leader of Observant reform, as well as vicar general of the Franciscan order) attempted to give control over the basilica to the Observants. Due to growing numbers of the Observant order and the increasing popularity of the movement's philosophy, Pope Eugenius IV turned over the monastery for Santa Maria in Aracoeli to the Observants in 1443. Two years later, Pope Eugenius IV asserted the citizens of Rome's rights' over the church and its property. The Observants fully took over Santa Maria in Aracoeli in 1445 and Pope Eugenius IV issued a papal bull that commanded Rome's senators, conservators, and *caprioni* (local district heads) to be the protectors of the basilica, its surrounding property, and the friars.

[119] Ibid., 206.

Archbishop of Toledo, permission to promulgate reform in Spain in 1494. The provisions

Alexander VI imparted to Cardinal de Cisneros were intended to instigate cooperation

between the two organizations. Instead, with the full support of Ferdinand II and Isabella

I of Spain, the cardinal embarked on a campaign of forced conversion against members

of the Conventual order. Essentially Conventuals were given the choice to convert and

transfer their assets over to the Observants, or leave Spain without their assets.[120] Other

crowns in Europe, including Maximilian I and Charles VII, followed suit with similar

efforts at proselytizing. Initially Alexander VI hesitated, except to state that due to certain

technicalities the Conventual order was the pre-eminent Franciscan organization.

However, the problems between the Conventual and Observant families did not resolve

on their own. In 1498, members of the Conventual order began to fight back via legal

means by investigating the titles of Observant properties and questioning their rights of

possession.[121] The situation was further exacerbated when Ferdinand II and Isabella I

started exceeding the limited authorities they were given by Alexander VI to deal with

the matter.[122] After several complaints from members of both orders over this state of

affairs, Alexander VI finally decided to intervene. At first, Alexander VI issued a series

of bulls forbidding the confiscation of Conventual property in 1498 and 1499. When

those edicts failed to stem further abuses, Alexander VI was reluctantly persuaded by the

---

[120] Henry Kamen, *Spain, 1469-1714: A Society in Conflict*, (New York: Longman, 1991), 47-8. The persecution of the Conventuals mirrored many of the same efforts that occurred against Muslims and Jews in 1492. As a result, a large number of Conventuals fled to North Africa and Italy rather than stay under the oppressive regime in Spain.

[121] Raphael Huber, *A Documented History of the Franciscan Order* (Milwaukee: The Nowiny Pub. apostolate, Inc., 1944), 456.

[122] Tarsicio de Azcona, *Isabel la Católica* (Madrid: Editorial Católica, 1964), 591. This incident illustrates the complicated and contentious relationship between Alexander VI and the monarchs of Spain, and the latter's constant attempts to exceed their designated religious authority for the sake of zealotry.

new Minister General of the Franciscan order, Egidio Delfini, to resort to reuniting the two groups through the passage of a set of laws known as the *Statuta Alexandrina* in 1501.[123]

The *Statuta Alexandrina* officially designated the Conventuals as the main branch of the Franciscan order, while dubbing the Observants and other attendant branches as subordinate reform groups.[124] Immediately after the *Statuta Alexandrina* was ratified, its author, Egidio Delfini, received a document from Alexander VI granting him the right to enter Observant properties at will and remove their Superiors in an effort to coerce a détente between them and the Conventual branch.[125] Such a state of events would certainly be cause for concern for the Observant Franciscans who had been the custodians of Santa Maria in Aracoeli.

The problem of how to enforce the *Statuta Alexandrina* without upsetting the balance of power at Santa Maria in Aracoeli was further complicated by the familiar relationship between members of the Roman Academy and the Observants that occupied the basilica. Members of the early Franciscan order demonstrated awareness of the site's prestige through their usurpation of the Benedictine residents from the locale in the thirteenth century. The Observants exhibited the same astuteness when they ousted the

---

[123] John Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Movement: From Its Origins to the Year 1517* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1968), 570. Also known as the *Constitutiones Alexandrinae*, the new set of statutes drafted by Egidio Delfini was signed by Alexander VI on April 7, 1501.

[124] Raphael Huber, *A Documented History of the Franciscan Order* (Milwaukee: The Nowiny Pub. apostolate, Inc., 1944), 460.

[125] Ibid., *A Documented History of the Franciscan Order*. (Milwaukee: The Nowiny Pub. apostolate, Inc., 1944), 460. Strangely enough, upon receiving the writ from the pope, Delfini chose to start this initiative in Florence rather than Rome. Delfini also made a trip to Spain in an unsuccessful attempt to interfere with the close relationship between Cardinal de Cisneros and Isabella I. Ultimately, Delfini's duplicity and strong arm tactics worked against his efforts to reunite the two branches and made him a despised figure among both parties. In 1506, Delfini was deposed from his position after the general chapter convened in Rome and voted to oust him.

Conventuals from Santa Maria in Aracoeli in1445. Over the course of the Middle Ages the Franciscans became an increasingly learned and diverse order that included a number of humanists. Inevitably, there were Franciscans that developed a fascination with Rome's ancient past. Graffiti from the fifteenth century found in the Catacombs of St. Calixtus is evidence of members of the Franciscan order in Rome and the Roman Academy sharing enthusiasm for the antique and interaction between the two groups. [126] The willingness of the Observants to host the Roman Academy's Palilia in Santa Maria in Aracoeli is in part a continuation of the mutual interests shared by members from each organization.

Alexander VI, presumably aware that the Observant Franciscans in Santa Maria in Aracoeli had an excellent working relationship with members of the Roman Academy and members of the civic government in Rome, attempted to assure the brothers that their place in the basilica was secure. The popularity of the Observant Franciscans among several European monarchs, as well as the recognition that the Roman Academy had outside of Rome, would be further incentive for the pope to make a public display of his benevolence. The choir books Alexander VI commissioned for the basilica was a prominent and durable gift that would regularly remind the Observants and their supporters of his generosity and connection to Santa Maria in Aracoeli.

---

[126] Charles L. Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome* (Bloomington, IN: University of Indiana Press, 1998) 78.

CONCLUSION

The remnants of the choir books of Santa Maria in Aracoeli offer a valuable opportunity to investigate the role of cultural memory in diplomatic gift-giving in Renaissance papal Rome under Alexander VI. In keeping with the pontiff's reputation as an astute political strategist, the set he commissioned for the basilica was conceived to serve multiple purposes. For all intents and purposes they were presented as practical *abbellimento* that advanced Alexander VI's longtime push to improve the quality of music for sacred liturgies. The encompassing circumstances that involved the pope and the Observant Franciscans of Santa Maria in Aracoeli indicate that the manuscripts were commissioned to serve as a highly visible diplomatic gesture to the brothers. The conspicuousness of the gift was also intended for another, perhaps even larger audience - the many influential and powerful supporters of the Observant Franciscans, both in Rome and abroad. The personalized and syncretic artwork referencing the venerable history of Santa Maria in Aracoeli, painted by Fra Antonio da Monza, was characteristic of some of the emerging visual lexicon being employed for diplomatic presentation books by Alexander VI.

Throughout his many years as a patron Alexander VI regularly employed poets and artists who favored antiquarian themes. After careful analysis of several artistic projects commissioned by the pontiff, a distinctive and coherent aesthetic can be attributed to the papal regime of Alexander VI. The visual characteristics of Alexander VI's papacy are embodied by his repeated patronage of Fra Antonio and Pinturicchio and

the stylistic and iconographic parallels between the compositions they created under the pontiff's employ. These correlations demonstrate that Fra Antonio was acquainted with the work of Pinturicchio. That the sets of Missals were decorated by both artists for Alexander VI and members of his family suggests that these artists also collaborated. Furthermore, the manuscripts and their inclusion of illuminations by Fra Antonio support previous scholarly assertions that Alexander VI was the patron who commissioned the choir books for Santa Maria in Aracoeli.

During his time as cardinal, Alexander VI began to engage in *abbellimento*, focusing on the improvement of ecclesiastical music. As pope, Alexander VI also began an agenda of papal diplomacy to other European courts, which included gifts of encomia such as presentation books that were authored by Nagonius. The artwork within these gift manuscripts, although created by other anonymous illuminators, make evident that the conventions established for detailed *all'antica* representations by artists such as Fra Antonio and Pinturicchio persisted in items used for diplomatic endeavors. The common source that aided the visual continuity between these presentation books, as well as the works by Fra Antonio and Pinturicchio for the pontiff was identified to be numismatics. The narrative cohesiveness of the images found within the presentation books for Henry VII and Maximilian I and the roundels of the Albertina Pentecost Montage by Fra Antonio, focused on flattering the classically-inspired ambitions of their dedicatees. When this pattern of reification is considered, along with the state of affairs between Alexander VI and the Observant Franciscans, it becomes clear that the choir books of Santa Maria in Aracoeli were more than perfunctory *abbellimento*.

Certainly the choir books for Santa Maria in Aracoeli were intended to advance the efforts of Alexander VI to raise the standards of liturgical music. But as shown by this study the gift from Alexander VI fulfilled several other compelling functions. The need to reassure the Observant Franciscans and their local supporters that the brothers' standing with the Church was secure despite the pope's attempts to reunify the Franciscan order was also a strong motive. The popularity of the Observant Franciscans among several European monarchs, as well as the recognition that the Roman Academy had outside of Rome, would be further incentive for the pope to make a public display of his benevolence. Alexander VI's desire to co-opt the symbolic resonance of the culturally significant Basilica of Santa Maria in Aracoeli so that he could be compared favorably with Augustus and other momentous personages from the city's illustrious history was another determinant.

Because of the lack of period documentation about the choir books of Santa Maria in Aracoeli, the full story about the inception of the set and its intended political function may never be revealed. This thesis provided several theories regarding Alexander VI's motivations for commissioning the manuscripts, as well as exploring new avenues of inquiry based on reading the choir books as both *abbellimento* and as a diplomatic gift. Hopefully, other studies such as this will emerge in order to develop a more integrated assessment of the manuscripts and provide opportunities for scholars to reevaluate the contributions of Alexander VI to Renaissance diplomacy and the arts.

REFERENCES CITED

Alexander, Jonathan J.G. *The Painted Page: Italian Renaissance Illumination 1450-1550*. New York: Prestel Publishers, 1994.

Ames-Lewis, Francis. "Matteo de' Pasti and the Use of Powdered Gold," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 84 (1984): 351-61.

Ames-Lewis, Francis. *The Intellectual Life of the Early Renaissance Artist*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000.

Anderson, Graham. *Greek and Roman Folklore: A Handbook*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2006.

Arnold, Jonathan. *The Great Humanists: An Introduction*. New York: I.B. Tauris, 2011.

Avril, François. "The Bibliophile and the Scholar: Count Paul Durrieu's List of Manuscripts Belonging to Baron Edmond de Rothschild," In *The Medieval Book: Essays in Honour of Christopher de Hamel*, edited by James H. Marrow, Richard A. Linenthal, and William Noel,366-376, Houten, Netherlands: Hes & De Graaf, 2010.

Azcona, Tarsicio de. *Isabel la Católica*. Madrid: Editorial Católica, 1964.

Balas, Edith. *Michelangelo's Medici Chapel: A New Interpretation, Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, Volume 216*. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1995.

Barcellona, Maria Donati. "The Borgia Apartments." In *Art Treasures of the Vatican: Architecture, Painting, Sculpture*, edited by D Redig de Campos, 69-70. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1975.

Beer, Susanna de. "The 'Roman' Academy of Pomponio Leto: From an Informal Humanist Network to the Institution of a Literary Society," In *The Reach of the Republic of Letters: Literary and Learned Societies in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe, Volume 2*, edited by Arjan van Dixhoorn and Susan Speakman Sutch, 181-218. Leiden: Brill, 2008.

Begnini, Umberto. "Sacra Romana Rota," In *Catholic Encyclopedia*, edited by Charles Herbermann, 245. New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1913.

Belting, Hans. "Icons and Roman Society in the Twelfth Century." In *Italian Church Decoration of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance: Functions, Forms, and Regional Tradition: Ten Contributions to a Colloquium Held at the Villa Selman, Florence,* edited by William Tronzo, 27-42. Bologna : Nuova Alfa Editoriale, 1989.

Belting, Hans and Jephcott, Edmund. *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image Before the Era of Art*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.

Benes, Carrie. "Whose SPQR? Sovereignty and Semiotics in Medieval Rome." *Speculum* 84 (2009): 874–904.

Bestor, Jane Fair. "Ideas about Procreation and Their Influence on Ancient and Medieval Views of Kinship." In *The Family in Italy: From Antiquity to the Present*, edited by David I. Kertzner and Richard P. Saller, 150-167. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993.

Beyer, Hartmut. "Carlo and Marcellino Verardi's *Fernandus Servatus* and the Poem *Supra Casum Hispani Regis* by Petrus Martyr: Drama in Diplomacy in Papal Rome under Alexander VI." In *Drama, Performance, and Debate: Theater and Public Opinion in the Early Modern Era*, edited by Jan Bloemendal, Peter Eversmann, and Elsa Streetman, 35-56. Leiden: Brill, 2012.

Bolgia, Claudia. "The Felici Icon Tabernacle (1372) at S. Maria in Aracoeli, Reconstructed: Lay Patronage, Sculpture and Marian Devotion in Trecento Rome." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 68 (2005): 27-72.

Borsook, Eve. *The Mural Painters of Tuscany: From Cimabue to Andrea del Sarto*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979.

Brooke, Rosalind B. *The Image of St. Francis: Responses to Sainthood in the Thirteenth Century*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Bryan, Michael. *Bryan's Dictionary of Painters and Engravers, Volume 5, S-Z*. London: G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., 1921.

Buchowiecki, Walther. *Handbuch der Kirchen Roms, Volume 2*. Vienna: Verlag Bruder Hollinek, 1970.

Buckingham, C. "The Borgia Apartments of the Vatican Palace." *American Architect and Architecture* 62 (January 1898): 111-112.

Bull, George. *Michelangelo: A Biography*. New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 1998.

Burchardus, Johannes. *Pope Alexander VI and His Court: Extracts from the Latin Diary of Johannes Burchardus*, edited by F.L. Glaser. New York: N.L. Brown, 1921.

Burgess, Richard. *The Topography and Antiquities of Rome: Including Recent Discoveries Made About the Forum and Via Sacra, Volume One*. London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1831.

Burke, Paul L. "Augustus and Christianity in Myth and Legend." *New England Classical Journal* 32, no. 3 (2005): 213-20.

Butrica, James L. "Propertius on the Parilia (4.4.73-8)." *Classical Quarterly* 50, no.2 (2000): 472-8.

Calmeta, Vincenzo. "From Life of Fertile Vernacular Poet Serafino Aquilano (1504)." In *Source Readings in Music History*, edited by William Oliver Strunk. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1998: 321-325.

Cashion, Debra. "New Acquisition in the Vatican Film Library." *Saint Louis University Library*, last modified March 1, 2013, http://www.slu.edu/an-new-text-acquired-by-university-libraries-228.

Challis, Christopher Edgar. *The Tudor Coinage*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1978.

Chambers, David Sanderson. *Patrons and Artists in the Italian Renaissance*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1971.

Charles, Victoria. *Renaissance Art*. New York: Parkstone Press International, 2007.

Christian, Kathleen Wren. *Empire Without End: Antiquities Collections in Renaissance Rome, c. 1350-1527*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010.

Clark, John Willis. "On the Vatican Library of Sixtus IV." In *The Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society; with Communications Made to the Society, 1898-1899* (1899): 1-59.

Collins, Amanda. *Greater than Emperor: Cola Di Rienzo (ca. 1313-1354) and the World of Fourteenth Century Rome*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002.

Crowe, Joseph Archer and Cavalcaselle, Giovanni Battista. *History of Painting in Italy: Umbrian and Sienese Masters of the Fifteenth Century*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1914.

Curran, Brian A. "Love, Triumph, Tragedy: Cleopatra and Egypt in Renaissance Rome." In *Cleopatra: A Sphinx Revisited*, edited by Margaret M. Miles, 96-131. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011.

Curran, Brian. *The Egyptian Renaissance: The Afterlife of Ancient Egypt in Early Modern Italy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007.

Dacos, Nicole. *La découverte de la Domus Aurea et la formation des grotesques à la Renaissance: Studies of the Warburg Institute, Volume 31*. London: The Warburg Institute, 1969.

Damian-Grint, Peter. *The New Historians of the Twelfth Century*. Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1999.

D'Amico, John. "Paolo Cortesi's Rehabilitation of Giovanni Pico Della Mirandola." *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 44, no. 1(1982): 37-51.

Davis, Natalie Zemon. "Beyond the Market: Books as Gifts in Sixteenth- Century France: The Prothero Lecture." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* Fifth Series, 33 (1983): 69-88.

Dempsey, Charles. *The Early Renaissance and Vernacular Culture*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012.

Drijvers, Jan Willem. *Helena Augusta: The Mother of Constantine the Great and the Legend of Her Finding of the True Cross*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1991.

Eberling, Florian. *The Secret History of Hermes Trismegestus: Hermeticism from Ancient to Modern Times*, translated by David Lorton. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2007.

Edwards, Catherine. *Writing Rome: Textual Approaches to the City*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Fabricius, Johann Albert. *Bibliotheca Latina Mediae et Infimae Aetatis, Volumes V-VI*. Florence: Baracchi, 1859.

Franklin, Carmela Vircillo. "'Pro communi doctorum virorum comodo': The Vatican Library and its Service to Scholarship." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 146, no. 4 (December 2002): 363-384.

Fritsen, Angela. "Ludovico Lazzarelli's *Fasti Christrianae Religionis*: Recipient and Context of an Ovidian Poem." In *Myricae: Essays on Neo-Latin Literature in Memory of Josef Ijsewijn*, edited by Dirk Sacré and Gilbert Tournoy, 115-132. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2000.

Fusco, Laurie and Corti, Gino. *Lorenzo de'Medici: Collector and Antiquarian* .Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Gamrath, Helga. *Farnese: Pomp, Power, and Politics in Renaissance Italy*, Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 2007.

Gardner, Julian. "Conclusion: Santa Maria Donna Regina in Its European Context." In *The Church of Santa Maria Donna Regina: Art, Iconography, Patronage in Fourteenth Century Naples*, edited by Janis Elliot and Cordelia Warr, 195-207. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2004.

Gardner, Julian. "Patterns of Papal Patronage circa 1260-circa 1300." In *The Religious Roles of the Papacy: Ideals and Realities, 1150-1300*, edited by C. Ryan, 439-56. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Papers of Mediaeval Studies 8, 1989.

Gennaro, Clara. "Bufalini, Niccolò dei (Nicolaus de Castello, Niccolò di Castello)." in *Dizinario Biografico degli Italiani, Volume 14*, edited by Alberto Maria Ghisalberti, 802-3. Milan: Treccani, 1972.

Gerbi, Antonello. *Nature in the New World*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1985.

Godman, Peter. *From Poliziano to Machiavelli: Florentine Humanism in the Renaissance*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998.

Godwin, Joscelyn. *The Pagan Dream of the Renaissance*. Grand Rapids: Phanes Press, Inc., 2002.

Goodich, Michael. "The Politics of Canonization in the Thirteenth Century: Lay and Mendicant Saints." In *Church History* 44, no.3 (1975): 294-307.

Gregorovius, Ferdinand. *History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages, Volume 5, Part 1*, translated by Annie Hamilton. London: George Bell and Sons, 1906.

Gwynne, Paul. "The Frontispiece to an Illuminated Panegyric of Henry VII: A Note on the Sources." In *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 55 (1992): 266-270.

Gwynne, Paul Gareth. "The Life and Works of Johannes Michael Nagonius, poeta laureatus c. 1450- c. 1510." PhD diss., Warburg Institute, University of London, 1990.

Hamel, Christopher De. *Scribes and Illuminators*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992.

Hemans, Charles Isidore. *A History of Ancient Christianity and Sacred Art in Italy*. Florence: M. Cellini and C., 1866.

Hemans, Charles Isidore. *A History of Mediaeval Christianity and Sacred Art in Italy: A.D. 900-1350*. Florence, IT: M. Cellini and Co., 1869.

Hendrix, John. *History and Culture in Italy*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2003.

Hoak, Dale. *Tudor Political Culture*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Horodyski, Bogdan. "Birago: Miniaturiste des Sforza." *Scriptorium* 10 (1956): 251-5.

Huber, Raphael. *A Documented History of the Franciscan Order*. Milwaukee: The Nowiny Pub. apostolate, Inc., 1944.

Inalcik, Halil. "The Ottoman Turks and the Crusades, 1451-1522." In *A History of the Crusades, Volume VI: The Impact of the Crusades on Europe*, edited by Kenneth Meyer Setton, Harry V. Hazard, and Norman P. Sacour, 311-53. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989.

Kamen, Henry. *Spain, 1469-1714: A Society in Conflict*. New York: Longman, 1991.

Emily Kearns. "Parilia." In *The Oxford Dictionary of Classical Myth and Religion*, edited by Simon R.F. Price and Emily Kearns, 406. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Kolbaba, Tina M. "Byzantine Perceptions of Latin Religious 'Errors: Themes and Changes from 850-1350.'" In *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, edited by Angeliki E. Laiou and Roy Parviz Mottahedeh, 117-43. Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2001.

La Malfa, Claudia. "Dating Pinturicchio's Frescoes and the Creation of a New *All'Antica* Style." In *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 70 (2007): 119-141.

Lavin, Marilyn Aronberg. *The Place of Narrative: Mural Decoration in Italian Churches, 431-1600*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990.

Leonardis, Serena de, and Masi, Stefano. *Art and History: Rome and the Vatican*. Florence: Casa Editrice Bonechi, 1999.

Lightbown, R.W. *Carlo Crivelli*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004.

Livius, Titus. *The Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Books of Livy's History*. Cambridge: J. Hall & Son, 1879.

Lombardo, Paolo and Passarelli, Gaetano. *Ara Coeli: La Basilica e Il Convento: Dal XVI al XX Secolo Attraverso le Stampe del Fondo della Postulazione della Provincia Romanadei Frati Minori*. Rome: Roma Tiellemedia, 2003.

Macchiavelli, Niccolò. *The Prince and Other Writings by Niccolo Macchiavelli*, translated by Luigi Ricci and J. Scott Byerley. Lawrence, KS: Digireads.com Publishing, 2012.

Mäkinen, Virpi. *Property Rights in the Late Medieval Discussion on Franciscan Poverty*. Leuven: Peeters, 2001.

Mallett, Michael. *The Borgias: The Rise and Fall of a Renaissance Dynasty*. New York: Granada Publishing, 1972.

Malmstrom, Ronald E. "Santa Maria in Aracoeli at Rome." PhD diss., New York University, 1973.

Mathew, Arnold Harris. *The Life and Times of Rodrigo Borgia*. New York: Brentano's, 1912.

Maxson, Brian. "Costumed Words: Humanism, Diplomacy, and the Cultural Gift in Fifteenth Century Florence." PhD diss., Northwestern University, 2008.

Meier, C.A. *Healing Dreams and Ritual*. Einsiedeln, Switzerland: Daimon Verlag, 2009.

Meiss, Millard. *The Great Age of Fresco: Discoveries, Recoveries and Survivals.* New York: George Braziller in association with the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1970.

Mormando, Francis. *The Preacher's Demons: Bernardino of Siena and the Social Underworld of Early Renaissance Italy*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1999.

Moorman, John. *A History of the Franciscan Movement: From Its Origins to the Year 1517*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968.

Müntz, Eugène and Fabre, Paul. *La Bibliothèque du Vatican au XV Siècle: D'après Des Documents Inédits*. Paris: Ernest Thorin, 1887.

Murphy, Stephen. *The Gift of Immortality: Myths of Power and Humanist Poetics*. Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1997.

Musto, Ronald G. *Apocalypse in Rome: Cola di Rienzo and the Politics of the New Age*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.

Noreen, Kirstin. "The High Altar of Santa Maria in Aracoeli." In *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 53 (2008): 99-114.

Nussdorfer, Laurie. *Brokers of Public Trust: Notaries in Early Modern Rome*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009.

O'Callaghan, Daniel. *Augenspiegel*. Leiden: Brill, 2012.

O'Malley, Michael. *The Business of Art: Contracts and the Commissioning Process in Renaissance Italy*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005.

Os, Hendrik van. *Sienese Altarpieces, 1215-1460: Form, Content, Function, Volume 1*. Groningen: Bouma's Boekhuis, 1984.

Os, Hendrik van. *Studies in Early Tuscan Painting*. London: Pindar Press, 1992.

Pastor, Ludwig. *The History of the Popes: From the Close of the Middle Ages/Drawn from the Secret Archives of the Vatican and Other Original Sources, from the German of Ludwig Pastor, Volume II*, edited by Frederick Ignatius Antrobus. St. Louis: B. Herder, 1906.

Poeschel, Sabina. "A Hitherto Unknown Portrait of a Well-Known Roman Humanist." *Renaissance Quarterly* 43, no. 1 (Spring 1990): 146-54.

Rarick, Holly Marguerite. "Pinturicchio's San Bernandino of Siena Frescoes in the Bufalini Chapel, S. Maria in Aracoeli, Rome: An Observant Commentary of the Late Fifteenth Century." PhD diss., Case Western University, 1990.

Reames, Sherry L. *The Legenda Aurea: A Re-examination of Its Paradoxical History*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985.

Reynolds, Christopher A. *Papal Patronage and the Music of St. Peter's: 1380-1513*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.

Ricci, Corrado. *Pinturicchio*. Perugia: Bartelli, 1912.

Richardson, Carol M. *Reclaiming Rome: Cardinals in the Fifteenth Century*. Leiden: Brill, 2009.

Ridley, Ronald. *The Eagle and the Spade: Archaeology in Rome during the Napoleonic Era (1809-1814)*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Rita, Andreina. "For the History of the Vatican in the Early Renaissance." In *Le Origini della Biblioteca Vaticana tra Umanesimo e Rinascimento, 1447-1534, Volume I*, edited by Antonio Manfredi, 237-307. Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2010.

Robb, Stuart James. "To Begin, Continue and Complete: Music in the Wider Context of Artistic Patronage by Pope Alexander VI (1492-1503) and the Hymn Cycle of CS 15." PhD diss., University of Manchester, 2011.

Robson, Michael. "A Ministry of Preachers and Confessors: The Pastoral Impact of the Friars." In *A History of Pastoral Care*, edited by Gillian Rosemary Evans, 126-147. New York: Cassell, 2000.

Robson, Michael. *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages*. Rochester: Boydell Press, 2006.

Rodin, Jessie. *Josquin's Rome: Hearing and Composing in the Sistine Chapel*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Rodocanachi, Emmanuel. *The Roman Capitol in Ancient and Modern Times*, translated by Frederick Lawton. New York, NY: E.P. Dutton & Company, 1906.

Romano, Casimiro. *Memorie istoriche della chiesa e del convent di Santa Maria in Aracoeli in Roma*. Rome: Stamperia della Rev. Cam. Apost, 1845.

Roo, Peter De. *Material for a History of Pope Alexander VI, His Relatives and His Time, Volume II: Roderic de Borgia, From the Cradle to the Throne*. Bruges: Desclèe, De Brouwer and Co., 1924.

Roth, Adalbert. "Liturgical (and Paraliturgical) Music in the Papal Chapel towards the End of the Fifteenth Century: A Repertory in Embryo." In *Papal Music and Musicians in late Medieval and Renaissance Rome*, edited by Richard Scherr, 125-37. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Roullet, Anne. *The Egyptian and Egyptianizing Monuments of Imperial Rome.* Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1972.

Rozzo, Ugo. "Italian Literature on the Index." In *Church, Censorship and Culture in Early Modern Italy*, edited by Gigliola Fragnito, 194-223. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Russell, John. "Getty Museum Acquires Manuscript Collection." *The New York Times* (New York, NY), March 10, 1983.

Schmitz, Leonhard. "Palilia." In *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, edited by William Smith, 849-850. London: John Murray, 1875.

Schulz, Jurgen. "Pinturicchio and the Revival of Antiquity." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 25, no.1 (January-June, 1962): 35-55.

Schwarz, Amy. "Eternal Rome and Cola di Rienzo's Show of Power Acts." In *Acts and Texts: Performance and Ritual in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, edited by Laurie Postlewate and Wim Hüsken, 63-75. Amsterdam: Rodopoi B.V., 2007.

Setton, Kenneth M. *The Papacy and the Levant, 1204-1571, Volume II: The Fifteenth Century*. Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1978.

Shell, Marc. *Art & Money*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.

Stamper, John W. *The Architecture of Roman Temples: The Republic to the Middle Empire*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Stinger, Charles. *The Renaissance in Rome*. Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1998: p. 73-74.

Stroll, Mary. *Symbols as Power: The Papacy Following the Investiture Contest*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1991.

Terpstra, Nicholas. "Piccolomini, Enea Silvia [Pope Pius II] (1405-1464)." In *A Global Encyclopedia of Historical Writing: K-Z*, edited by Daniel R. Woolf, 713. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1998.

Tranquillus, Gaius Suetonius. *The Lives of the Twelve Caesars*, translated by Alexander Thomson. London: George Bell and Sons, 1893.

Vasari, Giorgio. *The Lives of the Artists*, translated by Julia Conway Bondanella and Peter Bondanella. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Verona, Gaspare da. *Le Vite di Paolo II di Gaspare da Verona e Michele Canensi*, edited by Giuseppe Zippel. Citta da Castello: Coi Tipi dell'Editore S. Lapi, 1904.

Viti, Paolo. "Gaspare da Verona." In *Dizinario Biografico degli Italiani – Volume 52*, edited by Mario Caravale, 466-70. Rome: Instituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1999.

Voragine, Jacobus de. *The Golden Legend of Jacobus de Voragine*, translated and adapted by William Granger Ryan and Helmut Ripperger. New York: Longmans, Green, & Co., 1941.

Weil-Garris, Kathleen and D'Amico, John. "The Renaissance Cardinal's Ideal Palace: A Chapter from Cortesi's *De cardinalatu.*" *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome, Studies in Italian Art History 1: Studies in Italian Art and Architecture 15th through 18th Centuries* 35 (1980): 45-119, 121-23.

White, Cynthia. "The Vision of Augustus: Pilgrims' Guide or Papal Pulpit?" In *Classica Et Mediaevalia: Revue Danoise De Philologie Et D'Histoire*, edited by Ole Thomsen, 247-77. Copenhagen: Museum Tuscalanum Press, 2005.

Witcombe, Christopher L.C.E. *Copyright in the Renaissance: Prints and Privilegio in the Sixteenth-Century Venice and Rome*. Leiden: Brill, 2004.

Wright, Rosemary Muir. *Sacred Distance: Representing the Virgin in Italian Altarpieces, 1300-1630*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006.

Zamperini, Alessandra. *Ornament and the Grotesque: Fantastical Decoration from Antiquity to Art Nouveau*. London: Thames and Hudson, 2008.

Ziolkowski, Adam. "Between Geese and the Auguraculum: The Origin of the Cult of Juno on the Arx" *Classical Philology* 88, no. 3 (July 1993): 206-219.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alberti, Leon Battista. *On Painting*, translated by Cecil Grayson. New York: Penguin Books, 1991.

Alexander, Jonathan J.G. *The Painted Page: Italian Renaissance Illumination 1450-1550*. New York: Prestel Publishers, 1994.

Alexander, Jonathan J.G. "Illuminations by Matteo da Milano in the Fitzwilliam Museum." *The Burlington Magazine* 133, no. 1063 (Oct, 1991): 686-690.

Ames-Lewis, Francis. "Matteo De' Pasti and the Use of Powdered Gold." *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 28. Bd., H. 3 (1984): 351-362.

Ames-Lewis, Francis. *The Intellectual Life of the Early Renaissance Artist*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000.

Anderson, Graham. *Greek and Roman Folklore: A Handbook*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2006.

Apulieus. *Metamorphoses: Books I – VI*, edited and translated by J. Arthur Hanson. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989.

Armstrong, Lilian. *Renaissance Miniature Painters and Classical Imagery: The Master of the Putti and his Venetian Workshop*. London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1981.

Armstrong, Lilian. *Studies of Renaissance Miniaturists in Venice*. London: Pindar, 2006.

Armstrong, Lilian. "The Flagellation by Antonio da Monza from the Norton Simon Foundation." *Wellesley College Friends Newsletter*, (February 3, 1967).

Arnade, Peter J. *Realms of Ritual: Burgundian Ceremonial and Civic Life in Late Medieval Ghent*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996.

Arnold, Jonathan. *The Great Humanists: An Introduction*. New York: I.B. Tauris, 2011.

Avril, François. "The Bibliophile and the Scholar: Count Paul Durrieu's List of Manuscripts Belonging to Baron Edmond de Rothschild," In *The Medieval Book: Essays in Honour of Christopher de Hamel*, edited by James H. Marrow, Richard A. Linenthal, and William Noel,366-376, Houten, Netherlands: Hes & De Graaf, 2010.

Azcona, Tarsicio de. *Isabel la Católica*. Madrid: Editorial Católica, 1964.

Bacchi, Andrea, and De Marchi, Andrea. "La pala di San Quintino," In *Francesco Marmitta*, edited by Andrea Bacchi, et al., 253-88. Turin: Allemandi per Parmalat, 1995.

Baedeker, Karl. *Italy: Handbook for Travelers by K. Baedeker, Second Part: Central Italy and Rome*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1904.

Bagatti, B. "Nuove osservazioni su fra Antonio da Monza." *La Bibliofilia* XXXVII (1935): 145-154.

Balas, Edith. *Michelangelo's Medici Chapel: A New Interpretation, Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, Volume 216*. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1995.

Ball, Larry F. "A Reappraisal of Nero's *Domus Aurea*." In *Rome Papers: the Baths of Trajan Decius, Iside e Serapide nel Palazzo, a late Domus on the Palatine, and Nero's Golden House*, edited by J.H. Humphrey, 183-254. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994.

Ball, Larry F. *The Domus Aurea and the Roman Architectural Revolution*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Barcellona, Maria Donati. "The Borgia Apartments." In *Art Treasures of the Vatican: Architecture, Painting, Sculpture*, edited by D Redig de Campos, 69-70. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1975.

Barkan, Leonard. *Unearthing the Past: Archaeology and Aesthetics in the Making of Renaissance Culture*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.

Baron, Hans. "Franciscan Poverty and Civic Wealth as Factors in the Rise of Humanistic Thought." *Speculum* 13, no. 1 (Jan, 1938): 1-37.

Barstow, Kurt. *The Gualenghi - d'Este Hours: Art and Devotion in Renaissance Ferrara*. Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Trust, 2000.

Barstow, Kurt, and Kren, Thomas. *Italian Illuminated Manuscripts in the J. Paul Getty Museum*. Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2005.

Benes, Carrie. "Whose SPQR? Sovereignty and Semiotics in Medieval Rome." *Speculum* 84 (2009): 874–904.

Beer, Susanna de. "The Roman 'Academy' of Pomponio Leto: From an Informal
Humanist Network to the Institution of a Literary Society." In *The Reach of the
Republic of Letters: Literary and Learned Societies in Late Medieval and Early
Modern Europe, Volume 2*, edited by Arjan van Dixhoorn and Susie Speakman
Sutch, 181-218. Leiden: Brill, 2008.

Beer, Susanna de. *Poetry and Patronage: Literary Strategies in the Poems of
Giannantonio Campano*. Amsterdam: F&N Boekservice, 2007.

Begnini, Umberto. "Sacra Romana Rota." In *Catholic Encyclopedia*, edited by Charles
Herbermann, 245. New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1913.

Belting, Hans. "Icons and Roman Society in the Twelfth Century." In *Italian Church
Decoration of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance: Functions, Forms, and
Regional Tradition, Villa Spelman Colloquia Volume One*, edited by William
Tronzo, 27-42. Bologna: Nuova Alfa Editoriale, 1989.

Belting, Hans and Jephcott, Edmund. *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image
Before the Era of Art*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.

Benes, Carrie. "Roman Foundations: Constructing Civic Identity in Late Medieval Italy."
PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2004.

Benes, Carrie E. *Urban Legends: Civic Identity and the Classical Past in Northern Italy,
1250-1350*. University Park, PA: Penn State Press, 2011.

Bestor, Jane Fair. "Ideas about Procreation and Their Influence on Ancient and Medieval
Views of Kinship." In *The Family in Italy: From Antiquity to the Present*, edited
by David I. Kertzner and Richard P. Saller, 150-167. New Haven: Yale University
Press, 1993.

Beyer, Hartmut. "Carlo and Marcellino Verardi's *Fernandus Servatus* and the Poem
Supra Casum Hispani Regis by Petrus Martyr: Drama in Diplomacy in Papal
Rome under Alexander VI." In *Drama, Performance, and Debate: Theater and
Public Opinion in the Early Modern Era*, edited by Jan Bloemendal, Peter
Eversmann, and Elsa Streetman, 35-56. Leiden: Brill, 2012.

Bober, Phyllis Pray, Rubinstein, Ruth and Woodford, Susan. *Renaissance Artists and
Antique Sculpture: A Handbook of Sources*. Oxford: Oxford University Press,
1986.

Boëthius, Axel. *The Golden House of Nero; Some Aspects of Roman Architecture*. Ann
Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1960.

Bolgia, Claudia. "An Engraved Architectural Drawing at Santa Maria in Aracoeli,
Rome." *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 62, no. 4,
(December 2003): 436-447.

Bolgia, Claudia. "The Church of Santa Maria in Aracoeli, Rome: From the Earliest Times to Circa 1400." PhD thesis, University of Warwick.

Bolgia, Claudia. "The Felici Icon Tabernacle (1372) at Santa Maria in Aracoeli, Reconstructed: Lay Patronage, Sculpture and Marian Devotion in Trecento Rome." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 68 (2005): 27-72.

Borsook, Eve. *The Mural Painters of Tuscany: From Cimabue to Andrea del Sarto*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979.

Boskovitz, M. "Mostre di miniature italiana a New York – II." *Arte christiana* LXXXIII, (1995):461-462.

Bretano, Robert. *Rome Before Avignon: A Social History of Thirteenth-Century Rome*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990.

Brooke, Rosalind B. *The Image of St. Francis: Responses to Sainthood in the Thirteenth Century*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Brown, Alison. "Rethinking the Renaissance in the Aftermath of Italy's Crisis." In *Italy in the Age of the Renaissance, 1300-1550,* edited by John M. Najemy, 246-65. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Brown, David A. "The London Madonna of the Rocks in Light of Two Milanese Adaptations." In *Collaboration in Italian Renaissance Art*, edited by Wendy Stedman Sheard and John T. Paoletti, 167-177. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978.

Bryan, Michael. *Bryan's Dictionary of Painters and Engravers, Volume 5, S-Z*. London: G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., 1921.

Buchowiecki, Walther. *Handbuch der Kirchen Roms, Volume 2*. Vienna: Verlag Bruder Hollinek, 1970.

Buckingham, C. "The Borgia Apartments of the Vatican Palace." *American Architect and Architecture* 62 (January 1898): 111-112.

Bull, George. *Michelangelo: A Biography*. New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 1998.

Burchardus, Johannes. *Pope Alexander VI and His Court: Extracts from the Latin Diary of Johannes Burchardus*, edited by Dr. F.L. Glaser. New York: N.L. Brown, 1921.

Burckhardt, Jacob. *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*. London: Phaidon Press Limited, 1995.

Burgess, Richard. *The Topography and Antiquities of Rome: Including Recent Discoveries Made About the Forum and Via Sacra, Volume One*. London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1831.

Burke, Paul L. "Augustus and Christianity in Myth and Legend," *New England Classical Journal* 32, no. 3 (2005): 213-20.

Burke, Peter. *Culture and Society in Renaissance Italy*. New York: Scribner, 1972.

Butrica, James L. "Propertius on the Parilia (4.4.73-8)." *Classical Quarterly* 50, no.2 (2000): 472-8.

Cafà, Valeria. "The via Papalis in early cinquecento Rome: a contested space between Roman families and curials." *Urban History* 37 (2010): 434-451.

Calmeta, Vincenzo. "From Life of Fertile Vernacular Poet Serafino Aquilano (1504)." In *Source Readings in Music History*, edited by William Oliver Strunk. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1998: 321-325.

Campbell, Marian. *Medieval Jewellery in Europe, 1100-1500*. London: V & A Publishing, 2009.

Campbell, Stephen. *The Cabinet of Eros: Renaissance Mythological Painting and the Studiolo of Isabella d'Este*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004.

Campbell, Stephen J. "Leonardo and Leonardism in Sforza Milan Artistic." In *Exchange and Cultural Translation in the Italian Renaissance City*, edited by Stephen J. Campbell and Stephen J. Milner, 106-23. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Casciaro, R. "Note su Antonio da Monza miniature." *Prospettiva* 75-76 (1994): 109-123.

Casciaro, R. and Rossi, M. "Miniature rinascimentali inedited all Biblioteca Braidense." *Quaderni di Brera* 6 (1990): 15-40.

Cashion, Debra. "New Acquisition in the Vatican Film Library." *Saint Louis University Library*, last modified March 1, 2013, http://www.slu.edu/an-new-text-acquired-by-university-libraries-228.

Challis, Christopher Edgar. *The Tudor Coinage*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1978.

Chambers, David Sanderson. *Patrons and Artists in the Italian Renaissance.* Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1971.

Charles, Victoria. *Renaissance Art*. New York: Parkstone Press International, 2007.

Christian, Kathleen Wren. *Empire Without End: Antiquities Collections in Renaissance Rome, c. 1350-1527*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010.

Christiansen, Keith. *Andrea Mantegna: Padua and Mantua*. New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1994.

Clark, John Willis. "On the Vatican Library of Sixtus IV." In *The Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society; with Communications Made to the Society, 1898-1899* (1899): 1-59.

Cloulas, Ivan. *The Borgias*, translated by Gilda Roberts. New York: Franklin Watts, 1989.

Collins, Amanda. *Greater than Emperor: Cola Di Rienzo (ca. 1313-1354) and the World of Fourteenth Century Rome*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002.

Corvo, Frederick B. *A History of the Borgias*. New York: The Modern Library, 1931.

Crowe, Joseph Archer and Cavalcaselle, Giovanni Battista. *History of Painting in Italy: Umbrian and Sienese Masters of the Fifteenth Century*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1914.

Curl, James Stevens. *The Egyptian Revival: Ancient Egypt as the Inspiration for Design Motifs in the West*. London: Routledge, 2005.

Curran, Brian A. "Love, Triumph, Tragedy: Cleopatra and Egypt in Renaissance Rome." In *Cleopatra: A Sphinx Revisited*, edited by Margaret M. Miles, 96-131. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011.

Curran, Brian Anthony. *The Egyptian Renaissance: The Afterlife of Ancient Egypt in Early Modern Italy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007.

Dacos, Nicole. *La découverte de la Domus Aurea et la formation des grotesques à la Renaissance: Studies of the Warburg Institute, Volume 31*. London: The Warburg Institute, 1969.

Dacos, Nicole, Giuliano, Antonio, and Pannuti, Ulrico. *Il Tesoro di Lorenzo Il Magnifico: Le Gemme*. Florence: G.C. Sansoni S. p. A., 1971.

Damian-Grint, Peter. *The New Historians of the Twelfth Century*. Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1999.

D'Amico, John. *Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome: Humanists and Churchmen on the Eve of the Reformation*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983.

Dandelet, Thomas James. *Spanish Rome, 1500-1700*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001.

Davis, Natalie Zemon. "Beyond the Market: Books as Gifts in Sixteenth- Century France: The Prothero Lecture." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* Fifth Series, 33 (1983): 69-88.

Deines, Katrina. "The Arx and the Aracoeli: Preserving the Archaic, Presenting the Feminine." *Proceedings of the ACSA Annual Meeting* 87, (1999): 90-100.

Dempsey, Charles. *Inventing the Renaissance Putto*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001.

Dempsey, Charles. *The Early Renaissance and Vernacular Culture*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012.

Desmond, Marilyn Robin, and Sheingorn, Pamela. *Myth, Montage, and Visuality in Late Medieval Manuscript Culture: Christine de Pizan's Opistre Othea*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006.

DeSilva, Jennifer Mara. "Appropriating Sacred Space: Private-Chapel Patronage and Institutional Identity in Sixteenth-Century Rome—The Case of the Office of Ceremonies." *The Catholic Historical Review* 97, no. 4 (2011): 653-678.

DeSilva, Jennifer Mara. "Official and Unofficial Diplomacy Between Rome and Bologna: The de'Grassi Family Under Pope Julius II, 1503-1513." *Journal of Early Modern History* 14 (2010): 535-557.

Drijvers, Jan Willem. *Helena Augusta: The Mother of Constantine the Great and the Legend of Her Finding of the True Cross*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1991.

Duffy, Eamon. *Saints and Sinners: A History of the Popes*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002.

Eberling, Florian. *The Secret History of Hermes Trismegestus: Hermeticism from Ancient to Modern Times*, translated by David Lorton. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2007.

Ebert-Schifferer, Sybille. *Deceptions and Illusions: Five Centuries of Trompe L'oeil Painting*. Washington D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2002.

Edwards, Catherine. *Writing Rome: Textual Approaches to the City*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1996

Eliade, Mircea. "The Quest for the 'Origins' of Religion." *History of Religions* 4, no. 1 (Summer 1964): 154-169.

Evans, Mark. *The Sforza Hours*. London: The British Library Board, 1992.

Fabricius, Johann Albert. *Bibliotheca Latina Mediae et Infimae Aetatis, Volumes V-VI*. Florence: Baracchi, 1859.

Faietti, M. and Nesselrath, A. "'Bizar più che reverse di medaglia.' Un codex avec grotesques, monsters et ornements du jeune Amico Aspertini." *Revue de l'Arte* 107 (1995):44-88.

Findlen, Paula. *Possessing Nature: Museums, Collecting and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.

Font, Pere Lluís. *Approach to Catalonia*, edited by Manuel Parés i Maicas. Barcelona: Servei de Publicacions de la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 1985.

Fosi, Irene. "*Roma patria comune*? Foreigners in Early Modern Rome." In *Art and Identity in Early Modern Rome*, edited by Jill Burke and Michael Bury, 27-44. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2008.

Franklin, Carmela Vircillo. "'Pro communi doctorum virorum comodo': The Vatican Library and its Service to Scholarship." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 146, no. 4 (December 2002): 363-384.

Fritsen, Angela. "Ludovico Lazzarelli's *Fasti Christrianae Religionis*: Recipient and Context of an Ovidian Poem." In *Myricae: Essays on Neo-Latin Literature in Memory of Josef Ijsewijn*, edited by Dirk Sacré and Gilbert Tournoy, 115-132. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2000.

Frommel, Christoph L. "Papal Policy: The Planning of Rome During the Renaissance." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* XVII, no. I (Summer 1986): 39-65.

Fusco, Laurie and Corti, Gino. *Lorenzo De'Medici, Collector and Antiquarian*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Fusero, Clemente. *The Borgias*, translated by Peter Green. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1972.

Gamrath, Helga. *Farnese: Pomp, Power, and Politics in Renaissance Italy*, Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 2007.

Gardiner, Eileen. *The Marvels of Rome: Mirabilia Urbis Romae*, translated and edited by Francis Morgan Nichols. New York: Italica Press, 2008.

Gardner, Julian. "Conclusion: Santa Maria Donna Regina in Its European Context." In *The Church of Santa Maria Donna Regina: Art, Iconography, Patronage in Fourteenth Century Naples*, edited by Janis Elliot and Cordelia Warr, 195-207. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2004.

Gardner, Julian. "Patterns of Papal Patronage circa 1260-circa 1300." In *The Religious Roles of the Papacy: Ideals and Realities, 1150-1300*, edited by C. Ryan, 439-56. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Papers of Mediaeval Studies 8, 1989.

Gargano, Maurizio. "La Rocca di Civita Castellano e Un Cortile All'Antica: Alessandro VI e Antonio da Sangallo il Vecchio." In *Le Rocche Alessandrine E La Rocca di Civita Castellana*, edited by Myriam Chiabò and Maurizio Gargano, 67-87. Roma: Ministero Per I Beni E Le Attività Culturali Direzione Generale Per Gli Archivi, 2003.

Gatti, Hilary. *Giordano Bruno and Renaissance Science*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999.

Geiger, Gail L. "Filippino Lippi's Carafa 'Annunciation': Theology, Artistic Conventions and Patronage." *The Art Bulletin* 63, no. 1 (March 1981): 62-75.

Gennaro, Clara. "Bufalini, Niccolò dei (Nicolaus de Castello, Niccolò di Castello)." in *Dizinario Biografico degli Italiani, Volume 14*, edited by Alberto Maria Ghisalberti, 802-3. Milan: Treccani, 1972.

Gerbi, Antonello. *Nature in the New World*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1985.

Giononi-Visani, Maria. *Clovio, Miniaturist of the Renaissance*. London: Alpine Fine Arts Collection, 1993.

Godwin, Joscelyn. *The Pagan Dream of the Renaissance*. Grand Rapids: Phanes Press, Inc., 2002.

Goff, Jacque le. *History and Memory*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996.

Goodich, Michael. "The Politics of Canonization in the Thirteenth Century: Lay and Mendicant Saints." In *Church History* 44, no.3 (1975): 294-307.

Grebe, Anja. "Frames and Illusion: The Function of Borders in Late Medieval Book Illumination." In *Framing borders in literature and other media*, edited by Werner Wolf and Walter Bernhart, 43-66. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2006.

Gregorovius, Ferdinand. *History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages, Volume 5, Part 1*, translated by Annie Hamilton. London: George Bell and Sons, 1906.

Gundersheimer, G.L. "Patronage in the Renaissance: An Exploratory Approach," In *Patronage in the Renaissance*, edited by Guy Fitch Lytle and Stephen Orgel. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981.

Gwynne, Paul. "The Frontispiece to an Illuminated Panegyric of Henry VII: A Note on the Sources." In *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 55 (1992): 266-70.

Gwynne, Paul Gareth. "The Life and Works of Johannes Michael Nagonius, poeta laureatus c. 1450- c. 1510." PhD diss., Warburg Institute, University of London, 1990.

Hall, Marcia B. "The Tramezzo in the Italian Renaissance, Revisited." In *Thresholds of the Sacred: Architectural, Art Historical, Liturgical and Theological Perspectives on Religious Screens, East and West*, edited by Sharon E.J. Gerstel, 215-32. Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 2006.

Hamel, Christopher De. *Scribes and Illuminators*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992.

Hankins, James. "The Popes and Humanism," in *Rome Reborn: the Vatican Library and Renaissance Culture*, edited by Anthony Grafton, 47-85. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993.

Hansen, Maria Fabricius. *The Eloquence of Appropriation: Prolegomena to an Understanding of Spolia in Early Christian Rome*. Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2003.

Havely, Nick. Dante and the Franciscans: Poverty and the Papacy in the "Commedia". Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Hefferman, Thomas J. and Matter, E. Ann, eds. *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*. Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 2001.

Heideman, Johanna Elfriede Louise. *The Cinquento Chapel Decorations in Santa Maria in Aracoeli in Rome*. Amsterdam: Academische Pers, 1982.

Hemans, Charles Isidore. *A History of Ancient Christianity and Sacred Art in Italy*. Florence: M. Cellini and C., 1866.

Hemans, Charles Isidore. *A History of Mediaeval Christianity and Sacred Art in Italy: A.D. 900-1350*. Florence, IT: M. Cellini and Co., 1869.

Hendrix, John. *History and Culture in Italy*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2003.

Herodotus. *The Histories*, translated by Aubrey de Sélincourt and revised by John Marincola. New York: Penguin Putnam Inc., 2003.

Hetherington, Paul. *Medieval Rome: A Portrait of the City and its Life*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994.

Hillgarth, J.N. "The Image of Alexander VI and Cesar Borgia in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 59 (1996): 119-129.

Hind, Arthur M. *Andrea Mantegna and the Italian Pre-Raphaelite Engravers*. London: William Heinemann, 1911.

Hoak, Dale. *Tudor Political Culture*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Hollingsworth, Mary. *Patronage in Renaissance Italy: From 1400 to the Early Sixteenth Century*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995.

Hollingsworth, Mary. *The Possessions of a Cardinal: Art, Piety and Politics, 1450-1700*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009.

Holstein, Alizah. "Rome During Avignon: Myth, Memory, and Civic Identity in Fourteenth-Century Roman Politics." PhD diss. Cornell University, 2006.

Hope, Charles. "Artists, Patrons, and Advisers in the Italian Renaissance." In *Patronage in the Renaissance*, edited by Guy Fitch Lytle and Stephen Orgel, 293-343. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981.

Horodyski, Bogdan. "Birago: Miniaturiste des Sforza." *Scriptorium* 10 (1956): 251-5.

Huber, Raphael. *A Documented History of the Franciscan Order*. Milwaukee: The Nowiny Pub. apostolate, Inc., 1944.

Hughes, Andrew. *Late Medieval Liturgical Office: Resources for Electronic Research: Texts*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute for Medieval Studies, 1994.

Hughes, Andrew. *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide for Organization and Terminology*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995.

Hughes, Andrew. *Medieval Music: The Sixth Liberal Art*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980.

Ianziti, Gary. *Humanistic Historiography under the Sforzas*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988.

Inalcik, Halil. "The Ottoman Turks and the Crusades, 1451-1522." In *A History of the Crusades, Volume VI: The Impact of the Crusades on Europe*, edited by Kenneth Meyer Setton, Harry V. Hazard, and Norman P. Sacour, 311-53. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989.

Jong, Jan L. de. "The Successes of Pinturicchio and the Problems of Vasari. Fortune and Reputation of an Umbrian Painter in Rome on the Threshold of the High Renaissance." *Fragmenta* 1 (2007): 173-196.

Jungmann, Joseph A. *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development (Missarum Sollemnia)*, translated by Francis A. Brunner. Westminster, MD: Christian Classics, 1986.

Kamen, Henry. *Spain, 1469-1714: A Society in Conflict*. New York: Longman, 1991.

Kaufmann, Thomas DaCosta. *The Mastery of Nature: Aspects of Art, Science and Humanism in the Renaissance*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.

Emily Kearns. "Parilia." In *The Oxford Dictionary of Classical Myth and Religion*, edited by Simon R.F. Price and Emily Kearns, 406. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Keblusek, Marika. "The Embassy of Art: Diplomats as Cultural Brokers." In *Double Agents: Cultural and Political Brokerage in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Marika Keblusek and Badeloch Vera Noldus, 11-25. Leiden: Brill, 2011.

Kolbaba, Tina M. "Byzantine Perceptions of Latin Religious 'Errors: Themes and Changes from 850-1350.'" In *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, edited by Angeliki E. Laiou and Roy Parviz Mottahedeh, 117-43. Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2001.

Kommerell, Victor and Naso, Publius Ovidius. *Metamorphosed Margins: The Case for a Visual Rhetoric of the Renaissance Grottesche Under the Influence of Ovid's Metamorphoses*. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2008.

La Malfa, Claudia. "Dating Pinturicchio's Frescoes and the Creation of a New *All'Antica* Style." In *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 70 (2007): 119-141.

Lavin, Marilyn Aronberg. *The Place of Narrative: Mural Decoration in Italian Churches, 431-1600*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990.

Leonardis, Serena de, and Masi, Stefano. *Art and History: Rome and the Vatican*. Florence: Casa Editrice Bonechi, 1999.

Lesley, Parker. *Renaissance Jewels and Jeweled Objects from the Melvin Gutman Collection*. Baltimore: The Baltimore Museum of Art, 1968.

Levine-Dunkelman, Martha. "Donatello's Influence on Mantegna's Early Narrative Scenes." In *The Art Bulletin* 62, no. 2 (June 1980): 226-235.

Lightbown, R.W. *Carlo Crivelli*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004.

Lincoln, Evelyn. *The Invention of the Italian Renaissance Printmaker*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000.

Livius, Titus. *The Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Books of Livy's History*. Cambridge: J. Hall & Son, 1879.

Lombardo, Paolo and Passarelli, Gaetano. *Ara Coeli: La Basilica e Il Convento: Dal XVI al XX Secolo Attraverso le Stampe del Fondo della Postulazione della Provincia Romanadei Frati Minori*. Rome: Roma Tiellemedia, 2003.

Lucas-Dubreton, J. *The Borgias*, translated by Philip John Stead. New York: Staples Press, 1954.

Macchiavelli, Niccolò. *The Prince and Other Writings by Niccolo Macchiavelli*, translated by Luigi Ricci and J. Scott Byerley. Lawrence, KS: Digireads.com Publishing, 2012.

Mäkinen, Virpi. *Property Rights in the Late Medieval Discussion on Franciscan Poverty*. Leuven: Peeters, 2001.

Mallett, Michael. *The Borgias: The Rise and Fall of a Renaissance Dynasty*. New York: Granada Publishing, 1972.

Malmstrom, Ronald E. "Santa Maria in Aracoeli at Rome." PhD diss., New York University, 1973.

Marchard, Jean, and Rovedis, Guichard de. "Clerical Patrons and Their Manuscripts in Lyons Around 1500." *Viator* 27 (1996): 189-214.

Mathew, Arnold Harris. *The Life and Times of Rodrigo Borgia*. New York: Brentano's, 1912.

Maxson, Brian. "Costumed Words: Humanism, Diplomacy, and the Cultural Gift in Fifteenth Century Florence." PhD diss., Northwestern University, 2008.

Mazzoleni, Donatella. *Domus: Wall Painting in the Roman House*. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2004.

McLean, Paul D. *The Art of the Network: Strategic Interaction and Patronage in Renaissance Florence.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007.

Meier, C.A. *Healing Dreams and Ritual*. Einsiedeln, Switzerland: Daimon Verlag, 2009.

Meiss, Millard. *The Great Age of Fresco: Discoveries, Recoveries and Survivals.* New York: George Braziller in association with the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1970.

Melograni, Anna. "Un corale ritrovato di Antonio da Monza." *Paragone* XLVII (1996): 167-174.

Melograni, Anna. "Miniature di Fra' Antonio da Monza (e altri) in Terra Santa." *Arte Christiana* LXXXIII (1995):135-138.

Mitchell, Bonner. "The S.P.Q.R. in Two Roman Festivals in the Early and Mid-Cinquecento." *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 9, no. 4 (Winter 1978): 95-102.

Mitchell, Charles. "Archaeology and Romance in Renaissance Italy." In *Italian Renaissance Studies; a Tribute to the late Cecilia M. Ady*, edited by E.F. Jacob, 455-83. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1960.

Morello, Giovanni and Maddalo, Silvia. *Liturgia in figura: Codici liturgici rinascementali della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*. Rome: DeLuca, 1995.

Mormando, Francis. *The Preacher's Demons: Bernardino of Siena and the Social Underworld of Early Renaissance Italy*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1999.

Moorman, John. *A History of the Franciscan Movement: From Its Origins to the Year 1517*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968.

Muecke, Francis. "Humanists in the Forum." *Papers of the British School at Rome* 71 (2003): 207-233.

Muir, Edward. "Representations of Power. " In *Italy in the Age of the Renaissance, 1300-1550*, edited by John M. Najemy, 226-44. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Müntz, Eugène. *Les Arts a' La Cour des Papes Innocent VIII, Alexander VI, Pie III (1484-1503) Recueil de Documents Inédits Ou Peu Connus*. Charleston, SC: Nabu Press, 2010.

Müntz, Eugène and Fabre, Paul. *La Bibliothèque du Vatican au XV Siècle: D'après Des Documents Inédits*. Paris: Ernest Thorin, 1887.

Murphy, Stephen. *The Gift of Immortality: Myths of Power and Humanist Poetics*. Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1997.

Musto, Ronald G. *Apocalypse in Rome: Cola di Rienzo and the Politics of the New Age*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.

Nelson, Jonathan K. and Zeckhauser, Richard J. *The Patron's Payoff: Conspicuous Commissions in Italian Renaissance Art*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008.

Noreen, Kirstin. "The High Altar of Santa Maria in Aracoeli."*Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 53 (2008): 104.

Nussdorfer, Laurie. *Brokers of Public Trust: Notaries in Early Modern Rome*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009.

Nussdorfer, Laurie. "The Vacant See: Ritual and Protest in Early Modern Rome." *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 18, no. 2 (Summer 1987): 173-189.

O'Callaghan, Daniel. *Augenspiegel*. Leiden: Brill, 2012.

O'Malley, Michael. *The Business of Art: Contracts and the Commissioning Process in Renaissance Italy*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005.

Os, Hendrik van. *Sienese Altarpieces, 1215-1460: Form, Content, Function, Volume 1*. Groningen: Bouma's Boekhuis, 1984.

Os, Hendrik van. *Studies in Early Tuscan Painting*. London: Pindar Press, 1992.

Palladino, Pia, ed. *Treasures of a Lost Art: Italian Manuscript Painting of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003.

Palladio, Andrea. *The Churches of Rome by Andrea Palladio*, translated and edited by Eunice D. Howe. Binghamton, NY: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1991.

Paoletti, John T. and Radke, Gary. *Art in Renaissance Italy*. London: Laurence King Publishing, Ltd., 2005.

Partner, Peter. "The 'Budget' of the Roman Church in the Renaissance Period." In *Italian Renaissance Studies; a Tribute to the late Cecilia M. Ady*, edited by Ernest F. Jacob, 256-78. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1960.

Patterson, Catherine F. *Urban Patronage in Early Modern England: Corporate Boroughs, the Landed Elite, and the Crown, 1580-1640*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999.

Pastor, Ludwig. *The History of the Popes: From the Close of the Middle Ages/Drawn from the Secret Archives of the Vatican and Other Original Sources, from the German of Ludwig Pastor, Volume II*, edited by Frederick Ignatius Antrobus. St. Louis: B. Herder, 1906.

Pellegrini, Marco. "A Turning-Point in the History of the Factional System in the Sacred College: The Power of the Pope and Cardinals in the Age of Alexander VI." In *Court and Politics in Papal Rome, 1492-1700*, edited by Gianvittorio Signorotto and Maria Antonietta Visceglia, 1-30. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Peterson, David S. "Religion and the Church." In *Italy in the Age of the Renaissance, 1300-1550*, edited by John M. Najemy, 59-80. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Petruccelli della Gattina, Ferndinando. *Histoire Diplomatique des Conclaves par F. Petruccelli della Gattina, Vol. 1*. Paris, Imprimerie Poupart-Davyl et Cie, 1864.

Poeschel, Sabina. "A Hitherto Unknown Portrait of a Well-Known Roman Humanist." *Renaissance Quarterly* 43, no. 1 (Spring 1990): 146-154.

Pohdradsky, Gerhard. *New Dictionary of the Liturgy*, edited by Lancelot Sheppard. Staten Island: Alba House, 1966.

Quattrini, Cristina. "Fra' Antonio da Monza e il suo influsso in alcuni corali francescani Lombardi, Part II." *Arte cristiana* LXXXVIII (2000): 201-209.

Quattrini, Cristina."Foppa e i miniatori," in *Vincenzo Foppa, Techniche d'esecuzione, indagini e restauri*, edited by M. Capella, I. Gianfraceschi, and E. Lucchesi Ragni, 249-57. Milan: Skira International, 2002.

Quillen, Carol Everhart. "Humanism and the Lure of Antiquity." In *Italy in the Age of the Renaissance, 1300-1550*, edited by John M. Najemy, 37-58. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Rarick, Holly Marguerite. "Pinturicchio's San Bernandino of Siena Frescoes in the Bufalini Chapel, S. Maria in Aracoeli, Rome: An Observant Commentary of the Late Fifteenth Century." PhD diss., Case Western University, 1990.

Reames, Sherry L. *The Legenda Aurea: A Re-examination of Its Paradoxical History*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985.

Reinhard, Wolfgang. "Papal Power and Family Strategy in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries." In *Princes, Patronage and Nobility: The Court at the Beginning of the Modern Age c. 1450-1650*, edited by Ronald G. Asch and Adolf M. Birke, 329-56. London: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Reynolds, Christopher A. *Papal Patronage and the Music of St. Peter's, 1380-1513*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.

Ricci, Corrado. *Pinturicchio*. London: William Heinemann, 1902.

Richardson, Brian. *Manuscript Culture in Renaissance Italy*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Richardson, Carol M. *Reclaiming Rome: Cardinals in the Fifteenth Century*. Leiden: Brill, 2009.

Richardson, Carol M. "The Allure of Rome." In *Locating Renaissance Art*, edited by Carol M. Richardson, 25-61. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007.

Ridley, Ronald. *The Eagle and the Spade: Archaeology in Rome during the Napoleonic Era*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Rita, Andreina. "For the History of the Vatican in the Early Renaissance." In *Le Origini della Biblioteca Vaticana tra Umanesimo e Rinascimento, 1447-1534, Volume I*, edited by Antonio Manfredi, 237-307. Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2010.

Robb, Stuart James. "To Begin, Continue and Complete: Music in the Wider Context of Artistic Patronage by Pope Alexander VI (1492-1503) and the Hymn Cycle of CS 15." PhD diss., University of Manchester, 2011.

Robson, Michael. "A Ministry of Preachers and Confessors." In *A History of Pastoral Care*, edited by Gillian Rosemary Evans, 126-47. New York: Cassell, 2000.

Robson, Michael. *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages*. Rochester: Boydell, 2006.

Rodin, Jessie. *Josquin's Rome: Hearing and Composing in the Sistine Chapel*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Rodocanachi, Emmanuel. *The Roman Capitol in Ancient and Modern Times*, translated by Frederick Lawton. New York: E.P. Dutton & Company, 1906.

Romano, Casimiro. *Memorie istoriche della chiesa e del convent di Santa Maria in Aracoeli in Roma*. Rome: Stamperia della Rev. Cam. Apost, 1845.

Roo, Peter De. *Material for a History of Pope Alexander VI, His Relatives and His Time, Volume II: Roderic de Borgia, From the Cradle to the Throne*. Bruges: Desclèe, De Brouwer and Co., 1924.

Roth, Adalbert. "Liturgical (and Paraliturgical) Music in the Papal Chapel towards the End of the Fifteenth Century: A Repertory in Embryo." In *Papal Music and Musicians in late Medieval and Renaissance Rome*, edited by Richard Scherr, 125-37. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Roullet, Anne. *The Egyptian and Egyptianizing Monuments of Imperial Rome.* Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1972.

Rowland, Ingrid D. *From Heaven to Arcadia: The Sacred and Profane in the Renaissance*. New York: New York Review Books, 2008.

Rowland, Ingrid D. *The Culture of the High Renaissance: Ancients and Moderns in Sixteenth Century Rome*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Russell, John. "Getty Museum Acquires Manuscript Collection." *The New York Times* (New York, NY), March 10, 1983.

Sabatini, Fausta Gualdi. "Il 'Missale Pontificis in Nativitate Domini' Borg. Lat. 425 della Biblioteca Vatiacana." *La miniature italianatra Gotico e Rinascimento: atti del II Congresso di storia della miniatura italiana, Cortona 24-26 settembre 1982, Volume 2*, edited by Emanuela Sesti, 719-49. Florence: L.S. Olschki, 1985.

Schmitz, Leonhard. "Palilia." In *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, edited by William Smith, 849-850. London: John Murray, 1875.

Schulz, Jurgen. "Pinturicchio and the Revival of Antiquity." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 25, no.1 (January-June, 1962): 35-55.

Schwarz, Amy. "Eternal Rome and Cola di Rienzo's Show of Power Acts." In *Acts and Texts: Performance and Ritual in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, edited by Laurie Postlewate and Wim Hüsken, 63-75. Amsterdam: Rodopoi B.V., 2007.

Setton, Kenneth M. *The Papacy and the Levant, 1204-1571, Volume II: The Fifteenth Century*. Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1978.

Sheard, Wendy S. *Antiquities in the Renaissance*. Northampton, MA: Smith College Museum of Art, 1979.

Shell, Marc. *Art & Money*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.

Sherr, Richard. "Music and the Renaissance Papacy: the papal choir and the Fondo capella Sistina." In *Rome Reborn: the Vatican Library and Renaissance Culture*, edited by Anthony Grafton, 199-223. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993.

Short, Kathleen Swann. "The Collection: Giulio Clovio and the Stuart de Rothesay Hours." M.A. Thesis, University of South Florida, 1998.

Signorotto, Gianvittorio, and Visceglia, Maria A. *Court and Politics in Papal Rome: 1492-1700*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Smith, E. Baldwin. *Architectural Symbolism of Imperial Rome and the Middle Ages*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956.

Stamper, John W. *The Architecture of Roman Temples: The Republic to the Middle Empire*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Starr, Pamela F. "Rome as the Centre of the Universe." *Early Music History: Medieval and Early Modern Music* II (1992): 223-262.

Stinger, Charles L. "The Campidoglio as the Locus of *Renovatio Imperii* in Renaissance Rome," in *Art and Politics in Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Italy, 1250-1500*, edited by Charles M. Rosenberg, 135-156. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1990.

Stinger, Charles L. *The Renaissance in Rome*. Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1998.

Stroll, Mary. *Symbols as Power: The Papacy Following the Investiture Contest*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1991.

Sullivan, George H. *Not Built in a Day: Exploring the Architecture of Rome*. Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 2006.

Summit, Jennifer. "Topography as Historiography: Petrarch, Chaucer and the Making of Medieval Rome." *Journal of Medieval & Early Modern Studies* 20, 2 (Spring 2000): 211-247.

Syson, Luke and Thornton, Dora. *Objects of Virtue: Art in Renaissance Italy*. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2001.

Tafuri, Manfredo. *Interpreting the Renaissance: Princes, Cities, Architects*, translated by Daniel Sherer. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006.

Terpstra, Nicholas. "Piccolomini, Enea Silvia [Pope Pius II] (1405-1464)." In *A Global Encyclopedia of Historical Writing: K-Z*, edited by Daniel R. Woolf, 713. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1998.

Testa, Laura. "1500: The Jubilee of Alexander." In *Rejoice! 700 Years of Art for the Papal Jubilee*, edited by Maurizio Calvesi and Lorenzo Canova, 57-69. New York: Rizzoli International Publishing Inc., 1999.

Tranquillus, Gaius Suetonius. *The Lives of the Twelve Caesars*, translated by Alexander Thomson. London: George Bell and Sons, 1893.

Trippe, Rosemary. "Art of Memory: Recollecting Rome in Giovanni Marcanova's Collectio antiquitatum Diana Norman." *Art History* 33, 5 (2010):766-799.

Tuker, Mildred Anne Rosalie and Malleson, Hope. *Handbook to Christian and Ecclesiastical Rome: The Christian Monuments of Rome*. London: Adam and Charles Black, 1900.

Vasari, Giorgio. *The Lives of the Artists*, translated by Julia Conway Bondanella and Peter Bondanella. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Verona, Gaspare da. *Le Vite di Paolo II di Gaspare da Verona e Michele Canensi*, edited by Giuseppe Zippel. Citta da Castello: Coi Tipi dell'Editore S. Lapi, 1904.

Viti, Paolo. "Gaspare da Verona." In *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani – Volume 52*, edited by Mario Caravale, 466-7. Rome: Instituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1999.

Von Euw Anton and Plotzek, Joachim M. *Die Handschriften der Sammlung Ludwig*. Köln: Schnütgen-Museum der Stadt Köln, 1979.

Voragine, Jacobus de. *The Golden Legend of Jacobus de Voragine*, translated and adapted by William Granger Ryan and Helmut Ripperger. New York: Longmans, Green, & Co., 1941.

Weil-Garris, Kathleen and D'Amico, John. "The Renaissance Cardinal's Ideal Palace: A Chapter from Cortesi's *De cardinalatu.*" *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome, Studies in Italian Art History 1: Studies in Italian Art and Architecture 15th through 18th Centuries* 35 (1980): 45-119, 121-23.

Weissman, Ronald. "Taking Patronage Seriously: Mediterranean Values and Renaissance Society." In *Patronage. Art and Society in Renaissance Italy*, edited by Francis William Kent and Patricia Simons, 25-45. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987.

Wesselow, Thomas de. "The Date of the St. Francis Cycle in the Upper Church of San Francesco in Assisi: The Evidence of Copies and Consideration of Method." In *The Art of the Franciscan Order in Italy*, edited by William Robert Cook, 113-67. Leiden: Brill, 2005.

White, Cynthia. "The Vision of Augustus: Pilgrims' Guide or Papal Pulpit?" In *Classica Et Mediaevalia: Revue Danoise De Philologie Et D'Histoire*, edited by Ole Thomsen, 247-77. Copenhagen: Museum Tuscalanum Press, 2005.

Whitford, David M. *The Curse of Ham in the Early Modern Era: The Bible and Justifications for Slavery*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2009.

Whitley, Kathleen P. *The Gilded Page: The History and Technique of Manuscript Gilding*. New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 2010.

Wohl, Hellmut. *The Aesthetics of Italian Renaissance Art: A Reconsideration of Style*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Woods, Joseph. *Letters of an Architect, from France, Italy, and Greece: In Two Volumes, Volume One*. Cornhill, UK: John and Arthur Arch, 1828.

Wren Christian, Kathleen. *Empire Without End: Antiquities Collections in Renaissance Rome, c. 1350-1527*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010.

Wright, Rosemary Muir. *Sacred Distance: Representing the Virgin in Italian Altarpieces, 1300-1630*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006.

Zamperini, Alessandra. *Ornament and the Grotesque: Fantastical Decoration from Antiquity to Art Nouveau*. London: Thames & Hudson, 2008.

Ziolkowski, Adam. "Between Geese and the Auguraculum: The Origin of the Cult of Juno on the Arx" *Classical Philology* 88, no. 3 (July 1993): 206.

Zirpolo, Lillian H. *The A to Z of Renaissance Art*. Lanham MD: Scarecrow Press, 2009.

APPENDIX A: LIST OF EXTANT WORKS ATTRIBUTED TO ANTONIO DA MONZA FOR SANTA MARIA IN ARACOELI

Manuscripts:

1. Corali A – Santa Maria in Aracoeli (in private collection) Melograni, 1996 CHORALE

2. Corali R – Santa Maria in Aracoeli (in private collection) Melograni, 1996 CHORALE

3. Antiphonal (Los Angeles, CA, J. Paul Getty Museum, ms. Ludwig VI. 3) Alexander ANTIPHONAL (from Easter Saturday to Pentecost) 635 x 435 mm

4. *San Bernandino da Siena* (Jerusalem, Israel, private collection)

5. *Salterio diurno del Museo Civico di Varallo Sesia* (Varallo, Italy, Chiesa di Santa Maria della Grazie) DIURNAL/PSALTER

Cuttings:

1. Initial "O" with *Ecce Homo* (Oakland, CA, Mills College)

2. *Nativity with Virgin in Adoration of the Christ Child* (private collection) 145 x 97 mm

3. The initial "R" with the *Resurrection* (London, UK, British Library, ms. Add. 35254 f. D) 305 mm x 265 mm

4. The initial "D" with the *Adoration of the Magi* (London, UK, British Library, ms. Add. 35254 f. E) 190 mm x 190 mm

5. The initial "N" with the *Last Supper* (London, UK, British Library, ms. Add. 35254 f. F) 180 mm x 180 mm

6. Montage of the *Pentecost* (Vienna, Austria, Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Inv. 1764: 33, cat. 119) 336 x 260 mm

7. Montage of *Adoration of the Magi* pasted within a decorated initial "C" (Cambridge, UK, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 2-1998 [Manuscripts and Printed Books]) Parchment, 102 x 101 mm overall, scene inserted within 80 x 55 mm

8. *Flagellation of Christ* (Pasadena, CA, Norton Simon Museum, F.1965.1.101.P) 44.5 x 34.3 cm Armstrong

Drawing: 1. Drawing for an initial "R", *Resurrection* (Berlin, Germany, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett MS 612) 185 x 185 mm

APPENDIX B: SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR EXTANT WORKS ATTRIBUTED TO ANTONIO DA MONZA FOR SANTA MARIA IN ARACOELI

Alexander, Jonathan J.G. *The Painted Page: Italian Renaissance Illumination, 1450-1550*. New York: Prestel Publishers, 1994.

Armstrong, Lilian. "The Flagellation by Antonio da Monza from the Norton Simon Foundation." *Wellesley College Friends Newsletter*, (February 3, 1967).

Bagatti, B. *Nuove Osservazioni su Fra Antonio da Monza*. Firenze: L.S. Olschki, 1935.

Brown, David A. *"The London Madonna on the Rocks in Light of Two Milanese Adaptations,"* In *Collaboration in Italian Renaissance Art*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978.

Casciaro, Raffaelle. "Note su Antonio da Monza miniature," *Prospettiva* 75-76, (1994): 109-123.

Casciaro, Raffaelle, and Rossi, M. "Miniature rinascimentali inedited alla Biblioteca Braidense," *Quaderni di Brera*, VI, 1990: 13-19.

D'Ancona, Paolo: *La miniature Italienne du Xe au XVIe siecle,* Paris-Bruxelles, 1925: 56.

D'Ancona, Paolo, and Aeschlimann, Erardo. *Dictionaire des miniatures du moyen âge et de la renaissance dans les differéntes contrées de l'Europe*. Nendeln, Lichtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1969.

Gualdi Sabatini, Fausta. "Il 'Messale Pontificis in Nativitate Domini' Borg. Lat. 425 della Biblioteca Vaticana," in *La miniature tra gotico e rinascimento:Atti del II Congresso di storia della miniaura italiana, Cortona, 1982*. Edited by E. Sesti. Florence, Italy: L.S. Olschki, 1985.

Holtman, M. ed. *Masterpieces of the J. Paul Getty Museum: Illuminated Manuscripts*. Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 1997.

Koschatzky, Walter, and Strobl, Alice. *Die Albertina in Wien*. Salzburg: Residenz Verlag, 1969.

Kraus, Hans Peter. *In Retrospect: 100 Outstanding Manuscripts Sold in the Last Four Decades*. New York: H.P. Kraus, 1978.

Kren, Thomas, and Barstow, Kurt. *Italian Illuminated Manuscripts in the J. Paul Getty Museum*. Malibu, CA: Getty Publications, 2005.

Kristeller, Paul. "Fra Antonio da Monza incisore." *Rassegna d'Arte*, I, 1901:161-4.

Levi D'Ancona, Mirella. *The Wildenstein Collection of Illuminations: The Lombard School*. Firenze: L.S. Olschki, 1970.

Malaguzzi-Valeri, Francesco. "*Sul miniatore frate Antonio da Monza,*" In *Rassegna d'arte XVI* (1916): 28-37.

Mattingly, Garrett. *Renaissance Diplomacy*. New York, NY: Dover Publications, 1988.

Maxson, Brian. "Costumed Words: Humanism, Diplomacy, and the Cultural Gift in Fifteenth Century Florence." PhD diss., Northwestern University.

Mediaeval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts: A Loan Exhibition, November 25, 1953- January 9, 1954. Los Angeles, CA: Los Angeles County Museum, 1953.

Melograni, Anna. "Un corale ritrovato di Antonio da Monza." *Paragone* XLVII, (1996): 167-174.

Melograni, Anna. "Miniature di Fra' Antonio da Monza (e altri) in Terra Santa." *Arte Christiana* LXXXIII, (1995):135-138.

Müntz, Eugène, and d'Albert de Luynes Chaulnes (duc de), Paul. *La Renaissance en Italie et en France à l'époque de Charles VIII*. Paris, France: Librarie de Firmin-Didot et Cie, 1885.

Quattrini, Cristina. "Antonio da Monza." In *Dizinario Biografico dei Miniatori Italiani*. Edited by M. Bollati. Milano, Italy: Edizioni Sylvestre Bonnard, 2004.

Quattrini, Cristina. "Fra' Antonio da Monza e il suo influsso in alcuni corali francescani Lombardi, Part II." *Arte cristiana* LXXXVIII, (2000):201-209.

Quattrini, Cristina. "Foppa e i miniatori." In *Vincenzo Foppa, Techniche d'esecuzione, indagini e restauri*. Edited by M. Capella, I Gianfraceschi and E. Lucchesi Ragni. Milan: Skira, 2002.

Romano, Casimiro. *Memorie istoriche della chiesa e del convent di Santa Maria in Aracoeli in Roma*. Rome: Nella Tipografia della R.C.A., 1845.

Salmi, Mario. *Italian Miniatures.* Translated by Elisabeth Borgese-Mann. London: Collins, 1957.

Stix, Alfred, and Spitzmüller, Anna. *Beschreibender Katalog der Handzeichnungen in der Staatlichen Grapischen Sammlung Albertina, Band VI: Die Schulen von Ferrara, Bologna, Parma und Modena, der Lombardei, Genuas, Neapels und Siziliens. Mit einem Nachtrag zu allen italienischen Schulen*. Vienna, Austria: Anton Schroll & Co, 1941.

Wescher, Paul. *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Miniaturen Handschriften und Einzelblätter des Kupferstichkabinetts der staatlichen Museen Berlin*. Leipzig, Germany: J.J. Weber, 1931.

Venturi, Adolfo. "Il Pontificale di Antonio da Monza: nella Biblioteca Vaticana." *L'Arte* I, (1898): 154-164.

Venturi, Adolfo. "Il Pontificale di Antonio da Monza: nella Biblioteca Vaticana." *L'Arte* II, (1899): 114.

Verdier, Philippe. "Die Handschriften der Sammlung Ludwig, 1-3 by Anton Von Euw; Joachim M. Plotzek." *Speculum*, Vol. 60, No. 1 (Jan. 1985): 203-207.

Von Euw, Anton, and Plotzek, Joachim M. *Die Handschriften der Sammlung Ludwig, Vol.1*. Cologne, Germany: Schnütgen-Museum der Stadt Koln, 1979.

Zamperini, Alessandra. *Ornament and the Grotesque: Fantastical Decoration from Antiquity to Art Nouveau*. London: Thames & Hudson, 2008.

APPENDIX C: CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNTS REGARDING THE VICE-CHANCELLERY OF CARDINAL RODRIGO BORGIA

Item 1. Description by Pope Pius II from his *Commentarii* of the luxury he witnessed from Cardinal Rodrigo Borgia's residence during a procession on Palm Sunday 1462:

> But all were far outstripped in expense and effort and ingenuity by
> Rodrigo, the vice-chancellor. His huge towering house which he built on
> the site of the ancient mint was covered in rich and wonderful tapestries,
> and besides this he had raised a lofty canopy from which were suspended
> many and various marvels. He had decorated not only his own house but
> those nearby, so that the square all about them seemed a kind of park full
> of sweet songs and sounds, or a great palace gleaming with gold such as
> they say Nero's palace was. Furthermore on the walls were hung many
> poems recently composed by great geniuses which set forth in large letters
> praises of the Divine Apostle and eulogies of Pope Pius. [127]

Item 2. An account by Giovanni Gobellino, the papal secretary for Pope Pius II describing the entertainments provided by Cardinal Rodrigo Borgia for the pontiff's procession to Viterbo just prior to the Feast of *Corpus Domini* in 1462:

> The space which Rodrigo undertook to arrange contained seventy-four
> paces. A purple curtain screened statues, reliefs of historical
> representations, and a richly decorated stanza containing a costly throne
> and a fountain, from which flowed not merely water, but choice wine. At
> the Pope's approach two young maidens advanced towards him. They
> sang sweetly as angels, and when they had, with deference, saluted the
> Blessed Sacrament and the Pope, they retired towards the curtain and sang
> in their clear and beautiful voices, "Open your gates, O Princes, and there

---

[127] Carol M. Richardson. *Reclaiming Rome: Cardinals in the Fifteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 312.

shall enter King Pius, the Lord of the world." Then stepped forward five kings and a band of armed men, magnificently attired, in order to protect the entrance. At the angel's words they exclaimed, "And who is this King Pius?" The angels, pointing to the Holy Sacrament which Pius bore in his hands, cried, "The mighty Lord of the Universe." Thereupon the curtain was drawn aside, the entry made free, and the sound of trombones, organs, and many other instruments arose. The kings, amid much applause, intoned a harmonious chant of heroic verses in praise of the Pope. In the procession was a savage, leading a fettered lion with whom he often wrestled. Over the whole space was spread a canopy of rich material, from which hung banners covered with mottoes and symbols of Pope Calixtus and Pedro Luis Borgia, Prefect of Rome. On both sides hung carpets [*arazzi*], valuable from both their material and artistic execution. The populace and the cultured alike admired them and feasted their eyes upon their beauty. At the exit were armed men arranged in a triumphal arch in the form of a castello. By means of metal machines they contrived to imitate thunder, so that the passers-by were greatly alarmed. [128]

Item 3. Statement from Jacopo Gherardi da Volterra on the richness of Cardinal Rodrigo Borgia's home:

His silver plate, his pearls, his clothes embroidered with silk and gold, and his books in every department of learning are very numerous, and all are magnificent. I need not mention the innumerable bed hangings, the silver, gold, and silk trappings of his horses, the gold embroideries, the richness of his beds, his tapestries in sliver and silk, nor his magnificent clothes, nor the immense amount of gold he possesses. Of all the church fathers, except Rothomagnesi (Guillaume d'Estouteville), his money and wealth is beyond belief. [129]

---

[128] Arnold H. Mathew, *The Life and Times of Rodrigo Borgia* (London: Stanley Paul & Co, Ltd., 1910), 38-9. Corpus Domini is celebrated sixty days after Easter. In 1462 the feast would have been celebrated in mid-June.

Mathew also states that, "According to Gobellino, Cardinal Borgia far outshone the other Cardinals in the brilliance and taste he displayed. He covered the whole of his own house with rich and rare materials, and also superintended the decoration of the neighboring dwellings, so that the surrounding space appeared a veritable paradise, full of beauty, music, and song. His palace shone like gold, and the walls were adorned with verses and inscriptions proclaiming in large letters the praise of the Apostle and of Pope Pius II."

[129] Stephen R. Bown, *1494: How a Family Feud in Medieval Spain Divided the World in Half* (New York: Thomas Dunne Books, 2012), 136. Kathleen Wren Christian, *Empire Without End: Antiquities Collections in Renaissance Rome, c. 1350-1527* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 277.

Item 4. Praise from Paolo Cortese, in his *De cardinalatu* (1510), regarding the thoughtful choice of locale for the residence of the Vice-Chancellor:[130]

> When, however, we bear in mind the importance of the Vatican, it becomes clear that the cardinal's palace should not be so far from it that time will be wasted in coming and going when the College of Cardinals meets for ecclesiastical ceremonies…However, cardinals also have public functions of their own to perform appertaining to their office and for this reason, too, their palaces should be built in the center of Rome in order to make them more accessible to the many people who have business with the cardinal. Such houses belong to Sisto Della Rovere the Papal Vice-Chancellor or Raffaele Riario, the Papal Chamberlin. The palace of the former is located on the Via Florida, that of the latter in the Theater of Pompey, both parts of town where there is great activity.

---

[130] Kathleen Weil-Garris and John D'Amico, "The Renaissance Cardinal's Ideal Palace: A Chapter from Cortesi's *De cardinalatu*," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome, Vol. 35, Studies in Italian Art History 1*: *Studies in Italian Art and Architecture 15th through 18th Centuries* (1980): p. 71.

APPENDIX D: SAPPHIC POETIC PASSAGE BY JOHANNES MICHAEL NAGONIUS REGARDING ALEXANDER VI

Hunc amat nostri reparatory aevi
hunc Alexander data cura mundi
cui fuit servat, renovans priora
    dum nova condit.

Innovat Sextus Phrygiam ruinam
Pastor, et Romam veteresque muros
porticus, vicos, meliore forma
    atria, turres.

Hic vias duro solidat lapillo,
strata coenosa regravata sorde
reddidit genti, patriaesque nostrae
    evacuata.

Flavium iactent opus inquieti,
Iuppiter, Ianus, for a, rostra, colles,
sanctiant leges domini micantes
    igne corusco.

Hic Alexander diadema fulvum
Cesaris pulchro capiti sacravit
et comas pressit nitida corona
    undique gemmis.

Caesar armatus stetit ante Sextum
et genu flexo pedibus remissit
osculum sanctis. Amat iste templa
    castraque Caesar.

Translation (by Paul Gwynne):

The restorer of our age, Alexander, to whom the care of the world has been given, loves and preserves this man, renewing ancient buildings while he builds new ones. Pope Alexander VI restores Roman ruins and renews with a better structure Rome and the ancient walls, the porticoes, the streets, the halls, and towers. Here he strengthens roads

with a hard stone and he has given back to the people and to our fatherland empty, muddy streets which were weighted down with filth. Let restless Jupiter and Janus boast of the works of the Flavians, the fora, the rostra, the hills, let these glittering lords sanctify laws with a flashing fire. Here Alexander has consecrated the golden diadem to the handsome head of Caesar and has pressed his hair with a crown gleaming all around with jewels. Caesar in full armor stands before Pope Alexander VI and on bended knee gives a kiss to the holy foot. This Caesar loves the temples and camps.[131]

---

[131] Gwynne, 2012, 98. This particular passage is in the second diplomatic gift book (out of a series of three) created expressly for Maximilian I (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, MS 12.750, folios 61v-62r). The intent of the poem by Nagonius was to share his romantic vision of the Holy Roman Emperor's arrival in Rome and the coronation that would be conducted by Alexander VI.

APPENDIX E: REGARDING THE LOST GEM OF AESCULAPIUS AND THE LUDWIG ARACOELI FRONTISPIECE

The cameo located at the bottom half of the stem of the historiated initial "R" of the Ludwig Aracoeli Frontispiece reproduces the lost gem of *Aesculapius* believed to have been owned by Lorenzo de'Medici (1449-1492) (Figure 16). The image was previously misidentified by researchers as a figure of the god Mercury. Scholars have had difficulty discerning whether the model for this facsimile was the actual jewel from the famous antiquity collection, illustrated replicas of the gem found in contemporary Florentine manuscripts, or a fifteenth century bronze plaquette copy (Figure 37). This uncertainty is due in part to the lack of biographical information regarding Fra Antonio, which contributes to the enigma of when or how the illuminator came into contact with the subject. The difficulty of determining the provenance of *Aesculapius* is complicated by additional factors: the irregular and incomplete inventories of the de'Medici collection (exacerbated by Lorenzo de'Medici's steady practice of exchanging items with other collectors), and the confiscation and dispersal of the collection after the expulsion of the de'Medici family from Florence in 1494.

Lorenzo de'Medici was an extremely supportive patron of the arts and was known to allow access to his home and personal collection to artists for educational purposes. The speculative dating of when Lorenzo de'Medici had possession of the original gem is based on painted representations of the jewel that appear in four other manuscripts created in Florence during the last quarter of the fifteenth century that have been located

by Laurie Fusco and Gino Corti. Two of these illuminations, which range from 1479 to the 1490s, are generally ascribed to a pair of Florentine brothers known as Gherardo (1444/5-1497) and Monte di Giovanni del Fora (1448-1532/3). The earliest manuscript, a copy of Pliny's *Historia Naturalis*, dated from 1479-1483, is located in the Bodleian Library (Figure 38).[132] The second manuscript is a copy of Petrarch's *Trionfi* located in the Walters Art Museum that is dated from the 1490s (Figure 39).[133] In both of these manuscripts, the artists chose to depict two other gems owned by Lorenzo de'Medici, *Marsyas* and *Dionysus*, alongside *Aesculapius*. The third manuscript has been attributed to Attavente degli Attavanti (1452-1525) and is a copy of St. Gregory Magno's *Dialoghi di vita et miraculis partum italicorum* (Figure 40).[134] Located in the Biblioteca Estense and dated from 1489, the manuscript also contains depictions of the *Aesculapius* and *Marsyas* gems. The fourth manuscript, a copy of Livy's *Roman History* assigned to Gherardo di Giovanni del Fora is located in the Biblioteca General de la Universidad in Valencia. This final work is also described as having an image of *Aesculapius*, as well as a duplicate of *Marsyas* and two additional gems that belonged to Lorenzo de'Medici, *Psychai Leading the Chariot* and *Bacchus and Ariadne*.[135] Due to the dates of these manuscripts, it is believed that the *Aesculapius* was owned by Lorenzo de'Medici as early as 1479-80. Notably, out of all the manuscript reproductions of *Aesculapius*, the duplicate painted by Fra Antonio is the most faithful interpretation of the composition found on the bronze plaquette copy housed in the National Gallery (Figure 16).

---

[132] Fusco and Corti, 105. This image of *Aesculapius* is a detail within the incipit of the preface for Pliny's *Historia naturalis*, which is registered as Arch. Gb. 6 [formerly Douce 310].

[133] Fusco and Corti, 105. This item is listed as Ms. 10.755, 30.

[134] Ibid., 105. This object is cataloged as Cod. Lat. 449A, 2.

[135] Ibid., 105; Alexander, 160. This manuscript is recorded as MS 384 (G. 1314).

The finished image within the Ludwig Aracoeli Frontispiece differs from the one found in a maquette located in the Staatliche Museen Zu Berlin that is believed to have been drafted by Fra Antonio (Figure 41). In the preliminary sketch of the historiated initial "R", Aesculapius is centrally located and a small human figure standing atop a pedestal is situated to the god's left while the faint outline of the bull head figurine is in the background to the right (Figure 42).[136] Within the Ludwig Aracoeli Frontispiece Aesculapius has been moved further to the right, and the tiny effigy has been removed entirely and replaced by the bull's head. This alteration is actually more in keeping with the design on the extant bronze plaquette. The choice to reproduce the composition found on the gem and do an about-face from the version in the maquette, suggests a conscious decision to insert an oblique homage to Alexander VI, the patron of the choir books, in the form of miniscule bull imagery within the Ludwig Aracoeli Frontispiece.

The grouping of the lost gem of *Aesculapius* in tandem with the image of St. Sebastian in a crystal reliquary within the stem of the historiated letter "R" is an example of the interplay between the Christian and the antique that was popular in the visual arts. However, when these auxiliary subjects are considered in relation to the depiction of the *Resurrection* featured in the same space, their placement takes on a heightened symbolic

---

[136] C.A. Meier, *Healing Dreams and Ritual* (Einsiedeln, Switzerland: Daimon Verlag, 2009), 37; Patricia Cox Miller, *Dreams in Late Antiquity: Studies in the Imagination of a Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 31; Edith Balas, *Michelangelo's Medici Chapel: A New Interpretation, Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, Volume 216* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1995), 36. Whether this figure is a representation of Telesphorus, the son of Aesculapius, or a figure that may be intended for use in a sympathetic magic healing ritual is difficult to discern. Telesphorus was traditionally shown as a dwarf clad in a *bardocucullus*, or hooded cloak. However, Late Antique writers such as Callistratus remarked on the use of statues by the god Aesculapius. Later, within the dialogue of the *Aesculapius* Hermes Trismegestus explains to Aesculapius the use of animated statues for a variety of uses, including in healing rituals. Despite condemnation from St. Augustine (in his *City of God*) towards that particular exchange from the *Aesculapius*, it still became a source of fascination for Renaissance humanist scholars such as Marsilio Ficino and Giordano Bruno.

meaning. *Aesculapius* was known as a resurrected and deified ancient Greco-Roman mythic figure of medicine and healing who was considered a foreshadowing of Christ. Aesculapius' legendary ability to restore the dead back to life further reinforced this perception. Additionally, Aesculapius was known by humanists as an associate of Hermes Trismegestus through a famous text in the *Corpus Hermeticum* that was named after him. The dialogue of the *Aesculapius* was interpreted by Renaissance scholars as containing references to the Holy Trinity and a prophecy that foretold the coming of Christ. Accordingly, St. Sebastian was also regarded as a Christ-like figure due to his tale of revival and double martyrdom and was frequently referenced in liturgical text for Easter services.[137] The insertion of this diminutive triumvirate into the Ludwig Aracoeli Frontispiece is clearly intended to invite close contemplation from a learned viewer.

---

[137] Louise Marshall, "Manipulating the Sacred: Image and Plague in Renaissance Italy," *Renaissance Quarterly* 47, no. 3 (Autumn, 1994), 495; Sarah Ann Long, *The Chanted Mass in Parisian Ecclesiastical and Civic Communities, 1480--1540: Local Liturgical Practices in Manuscripts and Early Printed Service Books*, PhD dissertation (Urbana: University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2008), 233-4.

Figure 1. *Initial R: The Resurrection folio (MS. Ludwig VI 3, folio 16r)*. Antonio da Monza, 1492-1503. Gouache, ink, and gold on vellum, 63.5 x 43.5 cm. Getty Museum, Malibu.
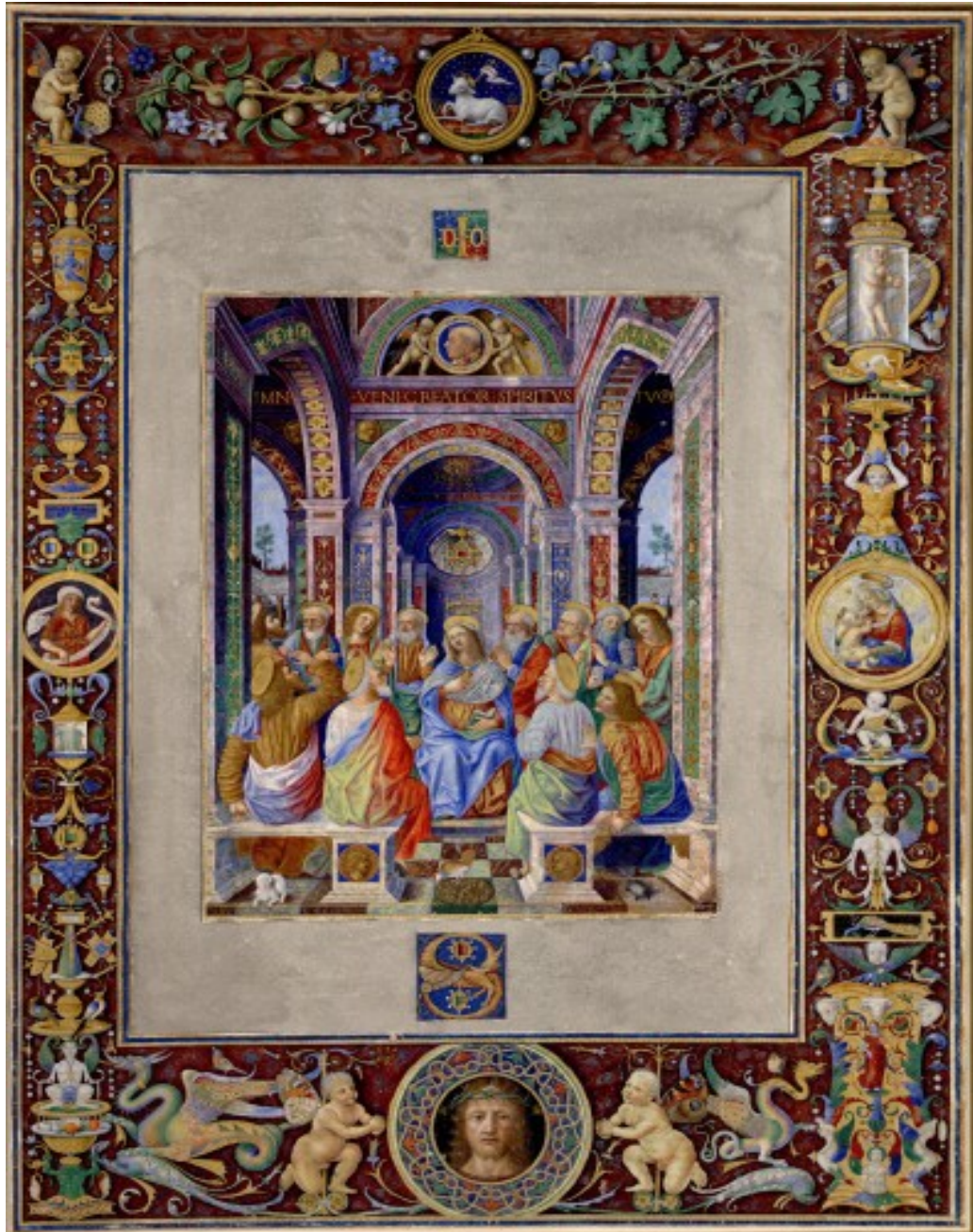
Figure 2. *Albertina Pentecost Montage (Graphische Sammlung Albertina Inv. 1764: 33, cat. 119).* Antonio da Monza, 1492-1503. Gouache and ink on vellum, 67 x 47 cm. Albertina Museum, Vienna.

Figure 3. *Albertina Pentecost Montage (Graphische Sammlung Albertina Inv. 1764: 33, cat. 119): Portrait of Alexander VI*. Gouache and ink on vellum. Antonio da Monza, 1492-1503. Albertina Museum, Vienna.

Figure 4. *The Christmas Missal of Pope Alexander VI
(Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Borg. Lat. 425, folio
38v): The Crucifixion.* Gouache, ink, and gold on vellum,
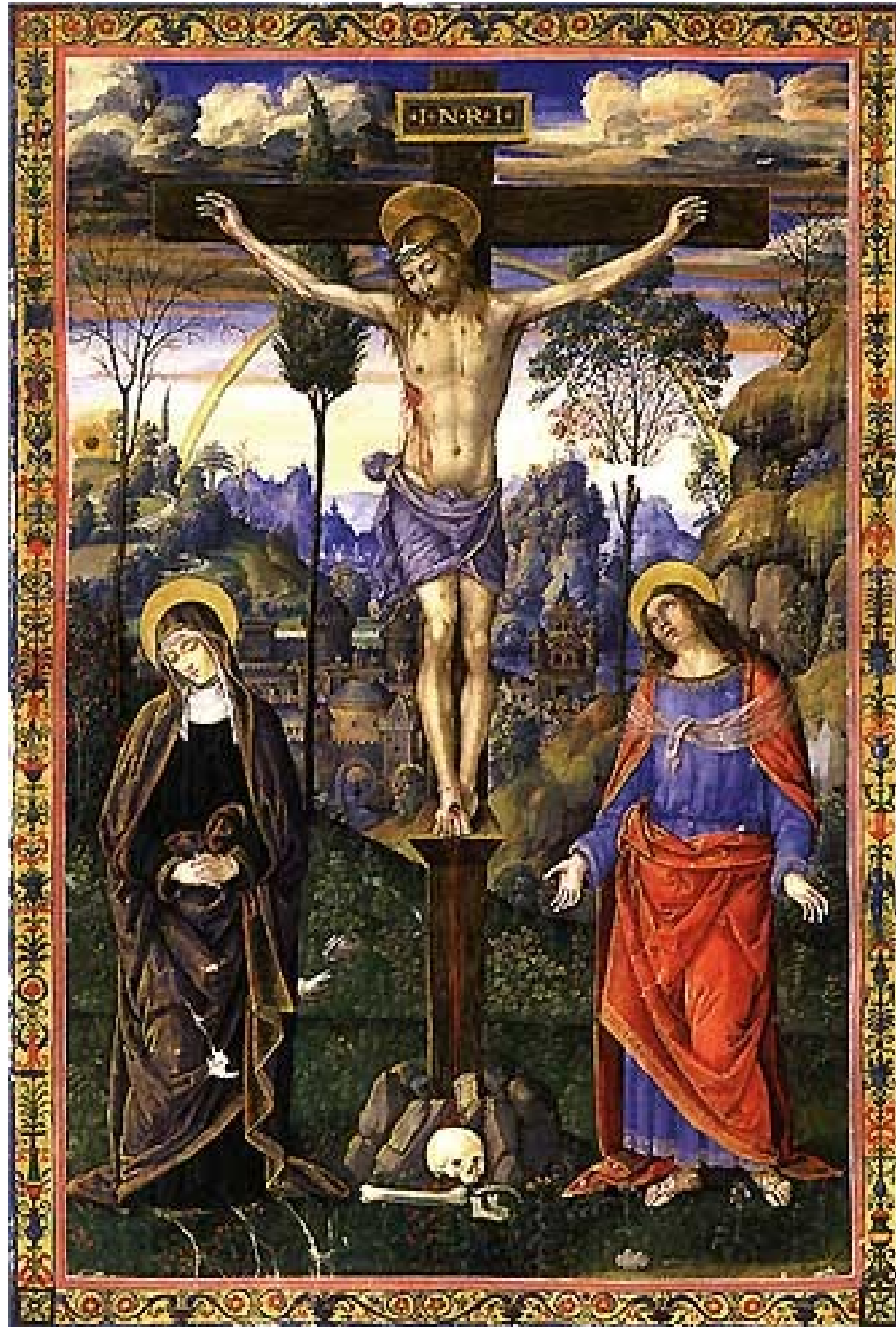46.5 x 32.4 cm. Fra Antonio da Monza, 1492-94. Vatican
Library, Vatican.

Figure 5. *The Missal of Cardinal Juan de Borja (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. Lat.614, folio 219v): The Crucifixion.* Gouache and ink on vellum, 39.4 x 27.9 cm. Bernardino di Betto ("Il Pinturicchio"), 1492-94. Vatican Library, Vatican.

Figure 6. *The Christmas Missal of Pope Alexander VI
(Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Borg. Lat.425, folio 8v):
Historiated Letter P "Puer Natus".* Gouache and ink on
vellum, 46.5 x 32.4 cm. Fra Antonio da Monza, 1492-94.
Vatican Library, Vatican.

Figure 7. *The Christmas Missal of Pope Alexander VI (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Borg. Lat.425, folio 39r): Historiated Letter T "Te igitur".* Gouache and ink on vellum, 46.5 x 32.4 cm. Fra Antonio da Monza, 1492-94. Vatican Library, Vatican.

Figure 8. *Detail of vault: Sala del Credo.* Bernardino di Betto (Il Pinturicchio), 1492-5. Fresco, stucco, and marble. Borgia Apartments, Vatican.
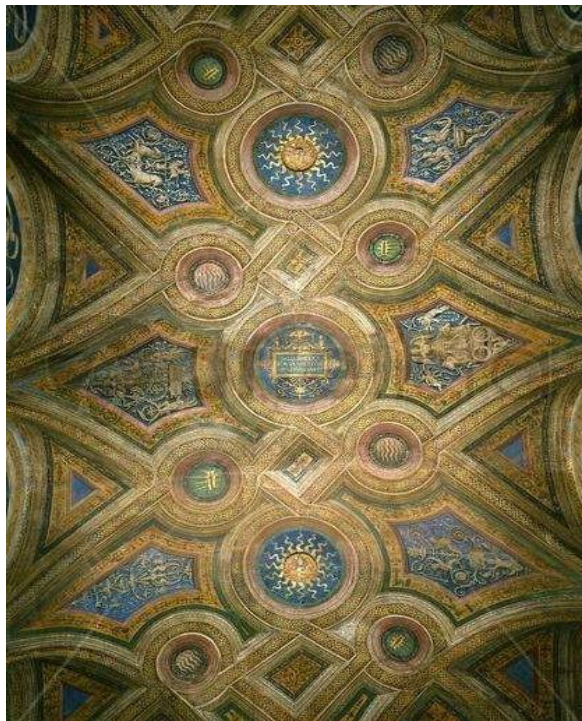

Figure 9. *Detail of vault: Sala delle Arti Liberali.* Bernardino di Betto (Il Pinturicchio), 1492-5. Fresco, stucco, gold, and marble. Borgia Apartments, Vatican.

Figure 10. *Ludwig Aracoeli Frontispiece, detail of candelabra in lower right corner (MS. Ludwig VI 3, fol.16)*. Gouache, ink, and gold on vellum. Antonio da Monza, 1492-1503. Getty Museum, Malibu.

Figure 11. *Ludwig Aracoeli Frontispiece, detail of upper border (MS. Ludwig VI 3, fol.16)*. Antonio da Monza, 1492-1503. Gouache, ink, and gold on vellum. Getty Museum, Malibu.

Figure 12. *Ludwig Aracoeli Frontispiece: Initial R: The Resurrection (MS. Ludwig VI 3, fol.16)*. Antonio da Monza, 1492-1503. Gouache, ink, and gold on vellum. Getty Museum, Malibu.

Figure 13. *Judith of Bethulia with the Head of Holofernes atop "SPQR" Placard: Osiris Teaching the Use of the Plow (Sala dei Santi, Borgia Apartments, Vatican)*. Fresco, stucco, and marble. Bernardino di Betto (Il Pinturicchio), 1492-1495.

Figure 14. *Ludwig Aracoeli Frontispiece: Initial R: The Resurrection: St. Sebastian with "SPQR" Placard (MS. Ludwig VI 3, fol.16)*. Antonio da Monza, 1492-1503. Gouache, ink, and gold on vellum. Getty Museum, Malibu.

Figure 15. *Ludwig Aracoeli Frontispiece, detail of left border: Pair of satyrs atop "SPQR" placard (MS. Ludwig VI 3, fol.16)*. Antonio da Monza, 1492-1503. Gouache, ink, and gold on vellum. Getty Museum, Malibu.

Figure 16. *Ludwig Aracoeli Frontispiece, detail of Initial R: The Resurrection: Aesculapius with Bull's Head (MS. Ludwig VI 3, fol.16)*. Antonio da Monza, 1492-1503. Gouache, ink, and gold on vellum. Getty Museum, Malibu.

Figure 17. *Albertina Pentecost Montage, detail of left border: "Senatus Populusque Romanus" placard (Graphische Sammlung Albertina Inv. 1764: 33, cat. 119)*. Antonio da Monza, 1492-1503. Gouache and ink on vellum. Albertina Museum, Vienna.

Figure 18. *Albertina Pentecost Montage: Cartouche with Pentecost (Graphische Sammlung Albertina Inv. 1764: 33, cat. 119).* Antonio da Monza, 1492-1503. Gouache and ink on vellum. Albertina Museum, Vienna.

Figure 19. *Albertina Pentecost Montage, detail in cartouche: Reproduction of coin of Emperor Nero (Graphische Sammlung Albertina Inv. 1764: 33, cat. 119).* Antonio da Monza, 1492-1503. Gouache and ink on vellum. Albertina Museum, Vienna.

Figure 20. *Medallion for the restoration of the Castel Sant'Angelo: (obverse) Profile portrait of Pope Alexander VI (Roberto Weiss Collection, CM21-1981).* Unknown, 1497. Bronze. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, U.K.

Figure 21. *The Resurrection, detail of portrait of Pope Alexander VI: Sala dei Misteri*. Bernandino di Betto ("Il Pinturicchio"), 1492-1495. Fresco, stucco, and marble. Borgia Apartments, Vatican.

Figure 22. *Marble Frieze Medallion of Pope Alexander VI: Sala dei Santi*. Bernandino di Betto ("Il Pinturicchio"), 1492-1495. Marble. Borgia Apartments, Vatican.

Figure 23. *The Christmas Missal of Pope Alexander VI: Introit, detail of bas-de-page (MS Borg. hat. 425)*. Antonio da Monza, 1492-1503. Gouache, ink, and gold on vellum. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican.

Figure 24. *Medallion for the Jubilee of 1500: (obverse) Profile portrait of Pope Alexander VI*. Giovanni Paladino, 1500. Bronze. Private collection.

Figure 25. *The Christmas Missal of Pope Alexander VI: Introit, detail of portrait miniature of Pope Alexander VI (MS Borg. hat. 425)*. Antonio da Monza, 1492-1503. Gouache, ink, and gold on vellum. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican.

Figure 26. *Coronation Medallion of Pope Alexander VI: (reverse) Papal arms of Pope Alexander VI*. Unknown, 1492. Bronze. Private collection.

Figure 27. *Ceiling Medallion: Papal arms of Pope Alexander VI: Sala delle Arti Liberali*. Bernandino di Betto, ("Il Pinturicchio"), 1492-1495. Fresco, stucco, gold, and marble. Borgia Apartments, Vatican.

Figure 28. *Painted wall crest of papal arms of Pope Alexander VI: Sala de Misteri*. Bernandino di Betto, ("Il Pinturicchio"), 1492-1495. Fresco and gold. Borgia Apartments, Vatican.

Figure 29. Cartouche, *Frontispiece of Manuscript for
Henry VII (MS XVI, folio 5)*. Unknown Italian artist, 1497.
Gouache and ink on vellum. York Minster Library, York.

Figure 30. *Frontispiece of Sic ego su[m]Cesar Maxi[ilianus] orbis herus (Cod. 12750, fol. 4v).* Unknown Flemish artist, 1494-5. Gouache and ink on vellum. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna.

Figure 31. *Gouden Reaal of Maximilian I (obverse)*.
Unknown, 1487. Gold. Private collection.

Figure 32. *Sovereign of Henry VII (obverse)*. Unknown,
1489. Gold. Private collection.

Figure 33. *Print of the 1492 Rose-Rial of Henry VII (*From
"Old England": A Pictorial Museum of Regal,
Ecclesiastical, Baronial, Municipal, and Popular
Antiquities, Volume 2, London: Charles Knight and Co.).
Unknown, 1845.

Figure 34. *Guldiner of Maximilian I (reverse)*. Unknown,
1493. Silver. Private collection.

Figure 35. *Albertina Pentecost Montage, detail of left border: The Miracle of Aracoeli: Tiburtine Sibyl Medallion (Graphische Sammlung Albertina Inv. 1764: 33, cat. 119)*. Antonio da Monza, 1492-1503. Gouache and ink on vellum. Albertina Museum, Vienna.

Figure 36. *Albertina Pentecost Montage, detail of right border: The Miracle of Aracoeli: Vision of Virgin Mary and Infant Christ Medallion (Graphische Sammlung Albertina Inv. 1764: 33, cat. 119)*. Antonio da Monza, 1492-1503. Gouache and ink on vellum. Albertina Museum, Vienna.
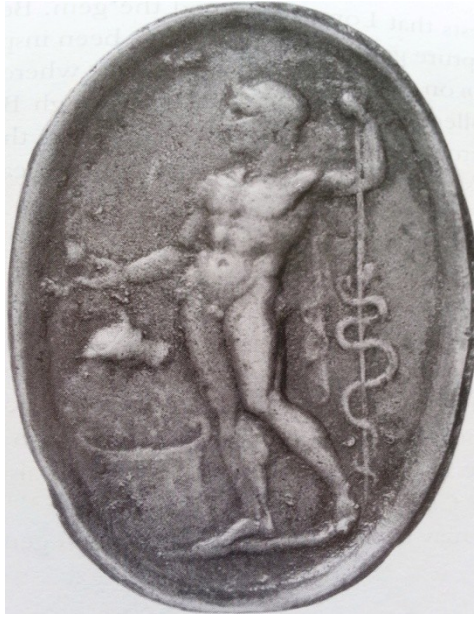
Figure 37. *Bronze plaquette copy of Aesculapius (Samuel H. Kress Collection A.310.33B.).* Unknown, fifteenth-century. Bronze. National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.

Figure 38. *Pliny's "Historia Naturalis", detail of Aesculapius (Arch. Gb. 6 [formerly Douce 310]).* Gherardo and Monte di Giovanni del Fora, 1479-83. Gouache and ink on vellum. Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Figure 39. *Petrarch's "Trionfi", detail of Aesculapius (Ms. 10.755, 30).* Gherardo and Monte di Giovanni del Fora, circa 1490-1500. Gouache and ink on vellum. Walters Art Museum, Baltimore.

Figure 40. *St. Gregory Magno's "Dialoghi di vita et miraculis partum italicorum", detail of Aesculapius (Cod. Lat. 449A, 2)*. Attavante degli Attavanti, 1489. Gouache and ink on vellum. Biblioteca Estense, Modena.

Figure 41. *Maquette: The Resurrection (MS 612, Staatliche)*. Antonio da Monza, 1492-1503. Paper, 18.5 x 18.5 cm. Museen zu Berlin, Berlin.

Figure 42. *Maquette: detail from The Resurrection,*
Aesculapius with Bull's Head (MS 612, Staatliche).
Antonio da Monza, 1492-1503. Paper, 18.5 x 18.5 cm.
Museen zu Berlin, Berlin.