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The Roman Papal- and Cardinal Tombs of the Early Modern Age. Introductory remarks on research project[*]

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"Death is a great power" - as Thomas Mann´s protagonist Hans Castorp contemplates in the death-loving Zauberberg. Wherelse could one find a more convincing corroboration of this utterance than in Rome? Where the quantity and artistic quality of the preserved, upper class member tombs, remnants of the Early Modern Age, continue to remain globally unique. This can be denoted from the twofold characteristic of Rome, which acted as both an ecclesiastical and electoral monarchy, which gave Rome a dinstinct political and social structure, setting the Papal state apart from the rest. Furthermore, the prevention of dynastical-monarchical traditions, which took place elsewhere in Europe, had decisive consequences on Rome's social reality. In Rome, there existed an unusal mobile and highly competetive social atmosphere. Given that the continual successions occured within the reigning families, who, as relatives of the ruling pope, not only considered themselves appropriate for the position, but were also considered by the public as a sovereign body until the 18th century. Different to most of the Italian cities, the registration of the nobility, which was used to fix permanent membership for the exclusive circle of nobility, did not pertain to Rome. [1] In Rome, the familial stature could not only be achieved much easier than elsewhere, but it also went much further—these were factors which led to severe disputes. Rome's uniqueness, its distinct structure, and, likewise, the lack of observation in this area makes it an ideal case study of the Early Modern Age in Europe. One is almost tempted to call it a " sociological paradigm" , an exemplary modus that can be used to analyze the method and manner, in which societal advancement and self-recognition function or even how they fall apart.

Within this Roman community, which best reflected the extensiveness of social mobility, the perpetuation of *memoria* amongst family members became an essential element of cultural establishment strategies. Sepulchres not only kept the memory of important ancestors alive, they were used to a certain extent in a traditional fashion to claim present and future leadership. The possibility to make direct propaganda for one's own family by means of sepulchral art was distinctly present in Rome. In fact, while sepulchral arts were used extensively in Rome as 'family propaganda', they have to this date not been used in this functional aspect for research.

The joint project "REQUIEM" is prompted by art-historians and historians dedicated to the research of the Roman papal and cardinal tombs of the Early Modern Age.[2] They have come to set the major focus of their work to unravel the historical testimonies of the sepulchres, which defines less so the past as more so the present, and above all, the future of those ambitioned social elites. The presentation of a deceased person, whose norm-conformed life crafted by a lifespan of regulations, became a vehicle of a comprehensive legitimation, foundation and not least an enlargement of status, prestige, which meant the sociopolitical " bargaining" chances for the survivors. That is the family is seen as the perpetuation of the qualities of the deceased and respectively the deceased themselves.[3]

The swift change, in which families not only ascended and descended from their stature, but likewise of families taking over another or that of newly established families engulfed the Ro-

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man society in a pronounced state of political competition. This unstable political constellation further demanded high innovative potentials in the field of art patronage, and especially in the ambit of sepulchral culture. During the investigated period between 1417-1799 there were altogether 1268 cardinals appointed[4], of which a more conservative guess would claim that two thirds of the cardinal burials were found in Rome and its periphery. While not all burials were sepulchres, and many of the tombs were later altered or destroyed, an amount of around 400 still remains. This figure is even more impressive, when one considers that the monuments provided a precise outline of the social and (ecclesiastical-) elite. Taking into account the 45 sepulchrals, which had been erected for the deceased popes[5], it can therefore be claimed that the detection of long-term trends especially in the study of the history of mentality as well as that of art history can be provided.

This new interdisciplinary perspective has already led to a few results, which will be briefly introduced in the following. From the series of papal sepulchres, the monument of Paul III. Farnese is one of the most exemplary sample of the future-oriented manifestation of unprecedented political contents, that further served for family propaganda as well.

At the end of the 15th century the type of tomb with a seated honour statue appeared for the first time in the papal sepulchre art.[6] Guglielmo della Porta was to take up this innovation again in the sepulchral monument of Paul III. (1534-1549) (Fig. 1). He placed the bronze honour statue of the pontifex on a pedestal, which was originally planned for a freestanding statue to be placed in front of the crossing of New-St.Peter.[7] This staged status of exclusiveness in sepulchral arrangement was once adapted by Michelangelo for his plans on Julius II. della Rovere's sepulchre, however, in latter's case the sacrilegious exaggeration ultimately failed.[8] The innovation in the funereal statue of honour was itself in a formal sense very subtle, yet it expressed in its contents a decisive turn in papal self-reflection through the medium of the statue: the Farnese pope appears without tiara and without pontifical shoes, which up to then represented the only distinctly identifiable pontificial insignia. In comparison to other sculptural representations, the head of Paul III. remains bare and his feet are clothed with modest sandals, on which no crucifix insignia specified for the pope can be seen. Apart from that, he wears the usual liturgical robes: the *albe* braced with the *cingulum*, the stole and *pluviale*, in which the pope was clothed in during all of his ecclesiastical functions, except for when he celebrated the mass himself. Apart from the insignificant coloring of the monochrone sculpture, without the insignia the liturgical robe loses its hierarchical significance. The dresscode of the statue of Paul III. is unprecedently reduced to the conventional priest robe, which was worn by all ordination grades at different liturgies prescribed by the Missale Romanum.[9] In particular is the notion of bear skin uncostumary, a practice that would have been unthinkable for a pope. In every occasion the pope wore a headgear: during his daily routine the *camauro*, during the liturgy different models of the *mitra*, for festive of non-liturgical occasions the tiara.[10] He would only take off his headgear during prayer and when he knelt down.[11]

This gesture of self-restraint of Paul III. undoubtedly refrains from emperor-dynastical like allusions. He does not present himself in the extravagant splendour of his predecessors, but instead, faces the observer in sandals, without a tiara and with a humbly inclined head. Along with the salutation gesture of his right hand, which alludes to Marc Aurel on the Capitol, and the *faldistorium* as faldstool which was an emperor´s travelling chair as well as a liturgical seat for priests, the whole statue of honour assumes the ambivalent meaning of a 'priest-emperor'.[12] With this sepulchre depicting the Farnese pope, Guglielmo della Porta presents the pope as a type that could be called the 'humilitas-hybrid-type'. On the one hand, the self-restraint topoi of the counter-reformation as shown in the depiction of the humble pastor, on the other hand, the references on the statue of Marc Aurel on the Capitol (Fig. 2) reveal that the adoption of antique emperors as predecessors of the *Vicarii Christi* a pattern, which was typical in the Renaissance

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Fig.1. Guglielmo della Porta: tomb of Paul III., S. Peter's/Rome

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Fig. 2. Marc Aurel, Campidoglio/ Rome

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were still extremely vital even in the spirit of the Farnese-pope.[13]

The funereal honour statue of Paul III. remained unique. Furthermore, considering both the ingenious as well as contradictory mixture of the style, which emphasizes equally pride as well as humility, it is not surprising that such a style was not revived or further developed in the following period. The Farnese sepulchre is therefore an excellent example for the possibilities of form inherent in sepulchres, to contrast with social and political rivals not just formally but also, and especially in its contents by new symbolical gestures. By creating a new system of values and by leaving the conventional tradition of papal sepulchres aside, Paul III. secured for himself and his family a special place in the collective memory of Rome and the catholic Christendom. This is only one example from many that can be drawn from the study of self-representation of the popes and their families in the medium of sepulchral art with regard to the aspects of significant changes in early modern norm of competitions and congruencies amongst the Roman power elites.

Besides that, aspects of day-to-day political motives of the sepulchres can also be detected in the case of Alessandro Algardi's sepulchre creation for Leo XI. de`Medici (1605) (Fig. 3). The monument, however, was only first comissioned by his grand-nephew, Roberto Ubaldini, in 1634, about 30 years after the pope´s death.[14] Ubaldini was at that time *persona non grata* at the Curia. Two years earlier in spring 1632 he had a leading role in a provocative attempt to convince the reigning pope, Urban VIII., and his *entourage* to give up their friendly foreign policy towards France.[15] The curial opposition led by the cardinals Ludovisi, Borgia and Ubaldini argued that given Gustav Adolf of Sweden´s success in the battle against the Catholics and the House of Habsburg, supporting France, which favoured Sweden would have been nothing more than a treason to the catholic matter. Being brought to serious distress by these severe accusations, the retaliation of the Barberini immediately followed suit. Ludovisi and Ubaldini were banished from Rome to their dioceses. Ubaldini narrowly escaped his incarceration in the Castel Sant'Angelo and felt compelled to revoke his accusations in writing.[16]

Given the background of these events the commencement of Pope Leo XI. in St. Peter further gained important political beacon. Two outstanding events of the legation to France are depicted in the relief of the sarcophagus (Fig. 4). These events were undertaken by Alessandro de´Medici in the years between 1596 and 1598. On the right hand side of the bipartite picture, King Henry IV. of France can be seen as signing a papal letter delivered by the legate. Through this act he renounced Protestantism and professed Catholicism. The left part of the relief shows the ceremonious confirmation of the Peace of Vervins between France and Spain, which was mediated by the legate Alessandro de´Medici.[17]

Conclusive evidences show that the message of relief must have been felt by the contemporaries, who witnessed the escalating tensions that were growing between the catholic great powers of France and Spain in Rome - where both powers were struggling to gain influence of the Curia. Not only had the traditionally francophile Barbarini shown that their opponents had summoned good and reliable contacts with France, furthermore, the impressive presentation made during the peace treaty of Vervins was another provocation for the pope and his family. Implicitly, the observer were driven to compare, which of the two actually lived up to the traditional role of papacy that is as the conciliatory *padre comune* of the catholic sovereign in Europe, and which one harmed the church and the papacy through irresponsible partiality.[18]

Besides the retraceable conclusions concerning the political circumstances behind the origin of the sepulchre of Leo XI., another matter of reflection can be made in the potentially tense ménage à trois between the three main human factors, which, as the *memoria* displays, act together. They include: the immortalized person on the sepulchre (who took care of his *memoria* already at his own lifetimes), the patron/s and the artist. This instrumentalization of the past is even more evident in cases such as the tomb of Gregor XIII. Boncompagni (1572-1585), which was made by Camillo Rus-

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Fig.3. Alessandro Algardi: tomb of Leo XI. De'Medici, S. Peter's/Rome

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Fig. 4. Alessandro Algardi: tomb of Leo XI. De'Medici, S. Peter's/Rome (detail)

coni in the second decade of the 18th century (Fig. 5): So how are biographies reinterpreted and rearranged in accordance with the new *zeitgeist*?[19] The stages of development of these processes of adaption stand out more clearly than usual on sepulchres that had conformed to the prevailing norm of the time. Therefore, it can be argued that the replacement of predominating system of values of the Early Modern Age can be traced through the changing form of presentation of prestigious motives, which depicts a given pope's life. At the same time it makes distinct the synchronic competition of norms during that time. So far, studies of social and cultural history on the Curia and the Papal States have brought out the polyphony and simultaneousness of concepts of function and *dignitas*.[20] The knowledge of the polyphony of rules and status is further deepened and made sophisticated by means of elaborated investigation through the examination of the forms of the tombs. Through this means one is able to unravel the different rivalries of oppositional norms and further categorize them into structurally Janus-faced polar extremes to indicate the secular-mundane elite function, such as: spiritual vs. mundane, christian vs. classical, individual vs. collective, resigned vs. forward-looking and other ideal-typical contrasting contents of representation.

Moreover the representation of *sub specie aeternitatis* informs about the rules of the socio-political system. On that score the Roman sepulchres can be interpreted as pictorial representations of the codex of reputational and career values, which was generally qualified by the ruling elite but also new defined in continual processes. As integral part of the complex canon of ritual and symbolical gestures which determined the social and functional relationships of the Curia in the Early Modern Age, the papal and cardinal tombs

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Fig.5. Camillo Rusconi: tomb of Gregor XIII, S. Peter's/Rome

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symbolized hierarchical and political claims of different elites. For its decipherment, however, the question is which elements are used in words or visualized symbolically and which priorities are established in these apologetical biographies. What is left out, touched up, euphemized or made a travestie of for an effective propaganda?

In this sense, there is no need to emphasize the representational functions of papal and cardinal sepulchres - not just in their content, but also in their form. The artistic importance of the tombs ought to be ascertained in order to identify specific formal features, congruencies and rivalries of the roman sepultures. Apart from being textual sources they should be read as unrenouncable visual sources. This interdisciplinary project pursues to include the work of art in its analysis, and which is not to merely regard it as an illustration - as often misunderstood by the historical sciences. The entire study, close examination and systematic inquiry of the roman papal and cardinal tombs is a promising chance to unravel the network of form and function of the entombments. Registering the variety of different sepulchre-types, it should be possible to show diverse

memoria strategies of the Roman elites. Position, size, expense and authorship of the tombs are as important as stylistical and formal specificities or traditions. Among the cardinal tombs several new results are to be expected, because the majority remained largely unnoted. At a first stocktaking a large number of monuments were 'discovered' which are impressive in size, artistic extravagance and innovation. In many cases the place of erection is extraordinary as well.

If there can be ascertained significant changes of social standards in the Roman tomb culture, as well as a sometimes confusing simultaneousness of non-simultaneity, this interesting aspect in the history of mentality needs to be embedded into the context of self-assertiveness of Roman families by means of places of memory. In her pioneer study on Michelangelo´s *Christ* in S. Maria sopra Minerva and its patron Metello Vari, Gerda S. Panofsky has shown that in the first half of the 16th century patrician elites attached great significance to this reference to their own family.[21] Yet in the case of Metello Vari this reference to one or several famous ancestors was not as significant as the sculptor´s reputation.

Further examples shall demonstrate this 'autonomy' of the art work: for instance when in 1604 cardinal Maffeo Barberini, later Pope Urban VIII. (1623-1644), prepared a contract on the installation of a family-chapel in the prominent Theatiner church Sant´Andrea della Valle, laying down explicitly that the chapel's design should not be second to the entombments of the (pope´s!) family Aldobrandini in Santa Maria sopra Minerva, the Caetani, a Roman baronial family of old nobility, in Santa Pudenziana and the family Ruccelai in Sant´Andrea della Valle who also were from Florence like the Barberini.[22]

The concrete reference to historical ancestors remained of decisive significance, even if it was not obvious at all - as in the case of the Spada family: When in 1654 the order of the knights of Malta refused the incorporation of Alviano Spada, referring to his disputed family roots from old nobility, the influential great-uncle of the knight manqué cardinal Bernardino Spada reacted with extensive genealogical studies which later found their material expression in the splendid design of a chapel (Fig. 6). On the sidewalls of the family chapel in S. Girolamo della Carità medaillons were put up representing slightly blurred portraits of half-legendary ancestors (Fig. 7). They should proof the solid roots in the past, which the family actually was lacking.[23]

Considering the mobile social climate in early modern Rome there were several families in the social ascendance like the Spada family, using different tactics - artistically often very interesting - in order to give their public image the neccessary glory or patina. That was different in families of old nobility. It is remarkable that the high-ranking baronial families like the Colonna, Orsini, Caetani and Savelli, dispensed themselves from a constant *memoria* presence for their numerous family-cardinals. This was possibly a form of clerical-hierarchical snobism because these families could refer to at least one papal ancestor. Different to the elites of the first rank, the families of the 'second

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Fig.6. Cappella Spada, S. Girolamo della Carità, Rome

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Fig. 7. Cappella Spada, S. Girolamo della Carità, Rome (detail)

rank' like Santacroce or Mellini were nobilities who in the course of the centuries had had a few members of the holy college but ultimately were barred from receiving the pope stature, which was considered the greatest achievement.

Among the great number of funeral chapels which were created during the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age, the chapel of the Mellini family in S. Maria del Popolo was one of the most prominent ones. This family, traceable in Rome to the 14th century, held a leading position among the urban patriciate. During the 15th and the 17th century several of the family members succeeded to cap their ecclesiastical carreer with an integration into the cardinal's college.[24] But also profane careerists emerged from this family. Ecclesiastical as well as secular family members, who earned the greatest fame for the Mellini family, regarding their political and social success, have their tombs in the same chapel (Fig. 8-9). It is noteworthy yet, that greater importance is attached to the cardinals in comparison to the profane relatives.

The tomb created by Alessandro Algardi in the Capella Mellini, which is artistically most striking and important, was not by accident dedicated to cardinal Giovanni Garzia Mellini (1563-1629). In the first third of the 17th century the same Mellini worked his way up as a papal nuncio in Madrid, Prague and Vienna and also as a member of several cardinal congregations which in the conclave of 1623 nearly led him on St. Peter´s throne.[25] A voluminous epitaph informs the viewer in great detail about his eventful and successful career (Fig. 10).[26]

The research project REQUIEM strives for an entire interpretation of the papal- and cardinal tombs in the Early Modern Age. From this perspective the objects of research can be regarded as, so to speak, 'serial source corpora'. Their common phenomenology

shall be more characterizing than the particular. Taking into consideration the strained relations between

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Fig. 8. Cappella Mellini, S. Maria del Popolo, Rome (left)

Fig.9. Cappella Mellini, S. Maria del Popolo, Rome (right)

Fig. 10 Alessandro Algardi: tomb of Giovanni Garzia Mellini, Cappella Mellini, S. Maria del Popolo, Rome

constants and variations or standards and variants, this perspective of global inquiry should evade the dispersion into innumerable single themes. The cardinalate signified the affiliation with Rome`s sharply outlined power- and functioning elite. Furthermore it granted a new identity in this rank of leadership which was distinguished by the length of service and historically founded 'quasi-sacredness'. Therefore the attainment of a cardinal´s function has always been alpha and omega of all curial careers, even during periods (e.g. the 18th century), when mental transsubstantiation - which was bound up with the incorporation into the senate of the church - was radically questioned. Undoubtedly the impressive quality of an affiliation with the college, no matter of which dignity and standard, decreased gradually in the course of the Modern Age. Rome has often made these traumatic experiences with non-italian cardinals, forced from the

outside - like 'political' cardinals as Richelieu and Mazarin in the 17th century or the cardinal-ministers of the Enlightenment.

Demand and reality on the cardinal´s loyalty to the church differ extremely in the Early Modern Age, whereas the significance of ideological-propagandistical withdrawal action proliferated. Thus in Rome one was trying to avoid alterations of time through manifesting the ideals in words and above all in colours and (marble) forms. For instance since 1535 the new cardinals of the reformist age used to be neophytes who, altogether with the cardinal´s office, received a kind of *dignitas*-baptism.

In his fresco of the 'Reward of Virtue' in the Cancelleria of 1546 Vasari expressed with incomparable preciseness the new creation of the cardinal-minions *ex nihilo*.[27] Naked aged men receive together with their new ecclesiastical dignity more than just a new robe (Fig. 10). They are rewarded for a long incessant, virtuous proof of worth in the services of the church and, above all, they get a new identity, a specific determination, an unalterable orientation and irredeemable confirmation which welds them together irreversibly as a community of purpose and destiny. As mentioned above, this demonstrates the community-ideology of the Curia very well. It is beyond doubt that in the course of the Early Modern Age reserves were brought up, thus special processes of individualization were taking place against the cardinal's incorporation into a collective identity, as it had been demanded by Rome, so far. To detect how far these processes of individualization were reaching, is one of the project´s predominating interests and will form a foundational part of a thorough analysis of Roman tomb culture. Under this aspect should be explored not just any different strained relations and changes but also rankings and compatibilities of loyalities.

Therefore an examination of descending and ascending factors, registered in this image-cultivation *sub specie aeternitatis*, is neccessary. Especially sepulchres represent definitively a catalogue of inner an outer alignments, dignities and prestige titles edited for the eye of god and human beings in the long run. They were literally the last words of a personal life account and its interpretation. As outlined before, the idealized representation of the deceased was not just aimed at higher values of the church. Also individual circumstances played a significant role for the sepulchral design. Again strained relations of loyalty and competition can be detected: in the form of the sepulchre the family status and the family roots in their social and geographical sense are visualized as well as memberships with institutions and congregations etc.. Based on these informations one can examine the Curia´s clientele-networking.[28] In other words: cardinal and papal tombs of the Early Modern Age can be regarded as highly-stylized documents of life-interpretations. They unite significantly the particular with the whole, incorporating the viewer into this interpretation and mediating the validity and significance of this ostentatiously terminated vita - a *tua res agitur* in the sense of a stimulus to imitate.

To solve that kind of questions, means to proceed with a systematic analysis of motifs: Which life- and sense motives, which were mentioning and indicating the acceptable loyalities, are quoted - uncoded and encoded - in letters and allegories? Which are left out instead? For the purpose to analyse collective identity and individuality, such a decoding of hundreds of life
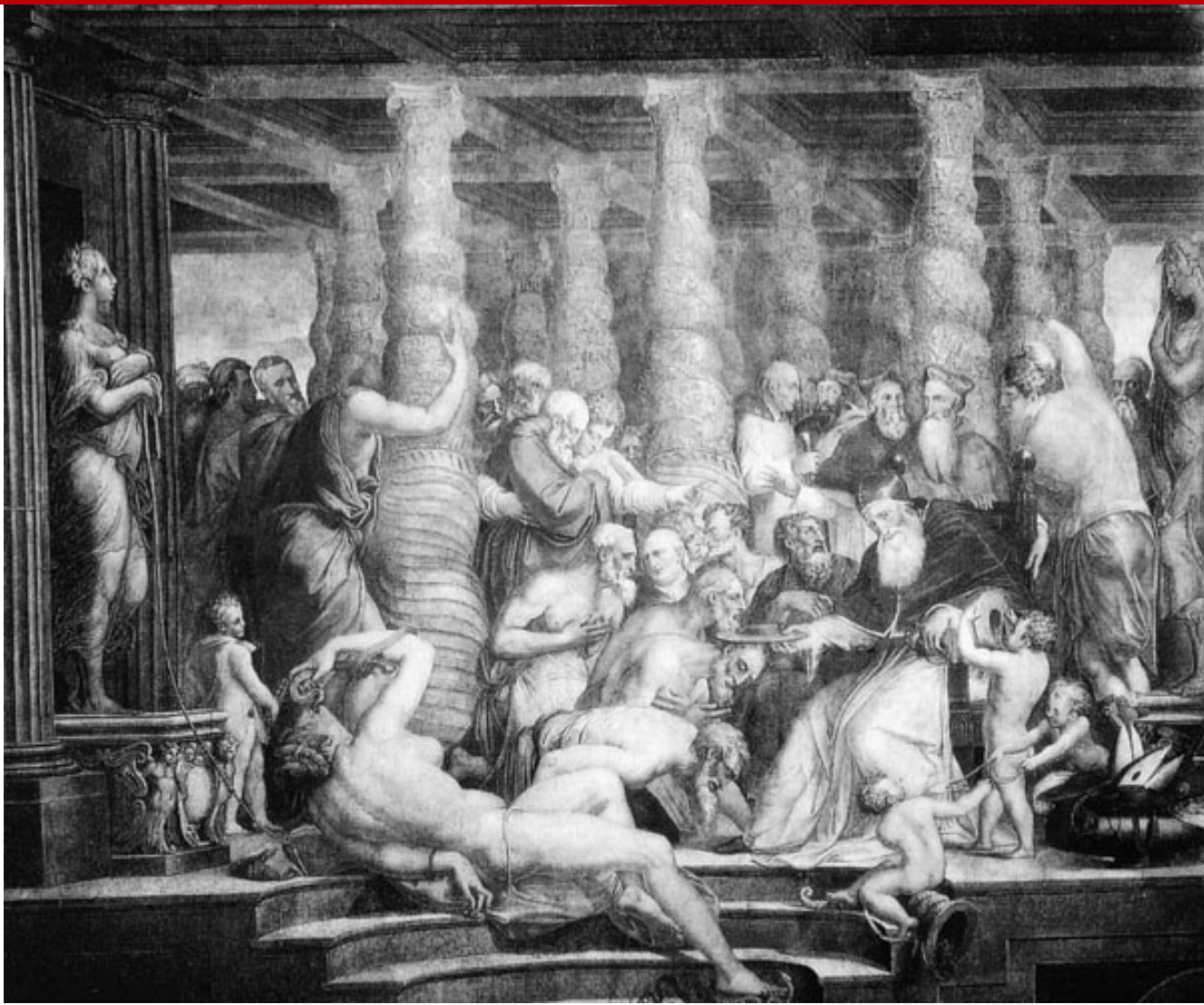
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Fig. 11. Giorgio Vasari: Reward of Virtue, Sala dei Cento Giorni, Palazzo della Cancelleria, Rome

stories is reflected as personal development in a given frame of relevance and in a specifically institutionalized frame of organisation. It requires precisely the knowledge of the structures of power and services and further of social-historical fundamentals of the family. Comparisons with verifiable facts of the careers and the *res gestae* written in stone let emerge single elements of this last 'make-up' in the face of death. Was a really existent ascent from below subject of these representations or retouched away euphemistically? Were career-breaks taken up or left out, loyalities with foreign rulers mentioned or withheld? What services, ranks and titles are to be seen, which would proof consequently their outstanding importance in the perception of the contemporaries? Finally, the question is: what kind of personal backgrounds and characteristics were mobilized at what time and for what purpose, transforming something transient as a lifespan into a part of an everlasting accepted whole? Answering these questions conduces to approach the experience of life and the existentiality of historical epochs in a strained relationship consisting unmistakably of similarity and difference.

The essence of mankind takes shape always in historical horizons, which is a basic hypothesis of historical research. What settles this essence? What kind of hierarchical value system is applied? Is it anywhere else clearer than in the representation of what is taken along as an extract of temporality into eternity? Consequently papal and cardinal sepulchres form *par excellence* an illustrative material for both historical and art historical research at the same time.

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Abbreviations:

- ZfKG Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte
- RömJahrb. Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte
- QFIAB Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken

- RdAS Rassegna degli Archivi di Stato

NOTES:

[*] The text in hand goes back to the essay of H. Bredekamp , A. Karsten, V. Reinhardt and P. Zitzlsperger: " Vom Nutzen des Todes für Zeit und Ewigkeit. Anmerkungen zu den römischen Papst- und Kardinalsgrabmälern der frühen Neuzeit" , Kritische Berichte 29 (2001): 7-20. Several new results have been added.

[1] On the unusual instability of the social structures in the roman nobility, see C. Mistruzzi: " La nobiltà nello stato pontifico" in: RdAS 23 (1963), 206-244, and Nussdorfer 1985.

[2] The project supported by the Fritz Thyssen donation, is supersised by Prof. Dr. Horst Bredekamp (Humboldt-University Berlin) and Prof. Dr. Volker Reinhardt (Fribourg/ Suisse) and exists since 2001. See also: http://www.unifr.ch/neuzeit/requiem

[3] Bredekamp exemplifies this aspect examining the tombs of the Medici popes Leo X. and Clemens VIII. in Santa Maria sopra Minerva. See H. Bredekamp: " Grabmäler der Renaissancepäpste. Die Kunst der Nachwelt" in Hochrenaissance im Vatikan 1503-1534. Kunst und Kultur im Rom der Päpste. Bonn 1999: 259-267. Another example for these ambitions gives the entombment of pope Clemens X. Altieri in St. Peter, see A. Karsten & M. Pabsch: " Das Grabmal Clemens X. Altieri" , Städel Jahrbuch, NF 17 (1999): 295-312.

[4] Eubel 1898-1914.

[5] Borgolte 1989: 357-360.

[6] The first funereal honour statue is to be found at the tomb for Innocent VIII. Cibo (1484-1492) in S.Pietro (1492-98), created by Antonio Pollaiuolo.

[7] On the complex genesis of the tomb for Paul III., which varied in its plans between freestanding monument and niche-statue, see W. Gramberg: " Guglielmo della Portas Grabmal für Paul III. Farnese in San Pietro in Vaticano" , Röm.Jahrb. , 21 (1984); Thoenes 1990.

[8] See C. Echinger-Maurach: Studien zu Michealngelos Juliusgrabmal., Braunschweig 1991. Further see H. Bredekamp: Sankt Peter in Rom und das Prinzip der produktiven Zerstörung. Berlin 2000: 14-20.

[9] Missale romanum, XIX. De usu et qualitate paramentorum: 3. Pluviale adhibetur: a) in Offitio Laudum et Vesperarum, quando solemniter dicuntur; b) in benedictionibus quae siunt ad altare; c) in processionibus; d) in absolutione super cadaver aut super tumulum; e) in Missa pontificali, a presbytero assistente; f) ad " orationes solemnes" in Actione liturgica feriae VI in Passione et Morte Domini; g) in Vigilia paschali. See also J. Braun S.J.: Die liturgische Gewandung im Occident und Orient nach Ursprung und Entwicklung, Verwendung und Symbolik. Freiburg i. Breisgau 1907: 306.

[10] For the papal ceremonies see the G. Lunadoro: Relatione della corte di Roma e de´riti da osservarsi in essa e de´suoi Magistrati, & offitij, con la loro distinta giurisdittione.

Venezia 1774. See also F. Buonanni: La gerarchia ecclesiastica considerata nelle vesti sacre e civili usate da quelli, li quali la compongono, Roma 1720; G. Moroni: Dizio-

nario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica, Venezia 1805-1879, vol.6: 308-311. Already Montaigne explained in his diary the daily routinized wearing of a headgear : „The nuncio sat on his [the popes] left hand side with a bare head; the nuncio did not have the privilege to do so, whereas the pope himself would have never taken of his cap, whoever was in front of him." , see M. de Montaigne: Tagebuch einer Badereise. Stuttgart 1963, 170.

[11] See Pontificale Romanum 1596; Braun 1907: 430f.

[12] See the analysis and interpretation of P. Zitzlsperger: Gianlorenzo Bernini. Die Papst- und Herrscherporträts. Zum Verhältnis von Bildnis und Macht. München 2002.

[13] On the meaning of the salutation gesture of Marc Aurel in the 16th century (atto di pace) and the emperor as exemplum virtutis resp. as a reference to the adoptive imperial rule, see L. de Lachenal: " Il gruppo equestre di Marco Aurelio e il Laterano. Ricerche per una storia della fortuna del monumento dall´eta medievale fino al 1538 (Parte II)" , Bollettino d´Arte, 62-63 (1990): 43; H. Wrede: " Römische Antikenprogramme des 16.Jahrhunderts" in M. Winner & B. Andreae & C. Pietrangeli: Il cortile delle statue. Der Statuenhof des Belvedere im Vatikan. Akten des internationalen Kongresses zu Ehren von Richard Krautheimer (Rom 21.-23. October 1992) Mainz 1998: 97.

[14] Sennie 1978. Sennie points to Algardi´s subtle stilistical critique of Bernini´s tomb for Urban VIII., which was built during this time; Montagu 1985: 39; see also O. Pollak: Die Kunsttätigkeit unter Urban VIII. (2vols), Wien 1927 and 1931, vol.2: 79ff. See also A. Karsten & P. Zitzlsperger: " Bilderkrieg in Neu-St.Peter. Alessandro Algardis Grabmal fuer Papst Leo XI. de'Medici und die " Borgia Krise" der Jahre 1632/43" Städel Jahrbuch NF 18 (2001): 157-177.

[15] See Gregorovius 1879; A.Leman: Urbain VIII et la rivalité de la France et de la maison d´Autriche de 1631 à 1635. Lille/ Paris 1920: 133-137.

[16] Pastor 1927, vol. XIII/1: 438f.

[17] G.P. Bellori: Le Vite de´Pittori, Scultori e Architetti Moderni, Torino 1976: 406: „Nel corpo dell´urna in picciolo bassorilievo nella sua legazione di Francia, fermò la pace tra le due corone; evvi il re a sedere che sottoscrive li capitoli alla presenza del legato, e fra la divisione di un panno che vien sollevato da un soldato vedesi dall´altra parte lo stesso re in piedi, che pone la mano su´l libro de gli evangeli e li conferma con solenne giuramento." . See also Montagu 1985: 43. On the role of the cardinal de`Medici at the peace negotiations between France and Spain, see Pastor 1927: vol. XII, 160.

[18] Already the choice for a specific painter was nearly a political decision. Algardi was the "Anti-Bernini" of the curial opposition against the Barberini family. Initially after his arrival in Rome Algardi worked for the cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi as an restorer of antiques. His first statues were created for the family chapel of the cardinal Ottavio Bandini, one of the closest confidants of Ludovisi, see Bellori 1976: 401; Montagu 1985,

vol.1: 16.

[19] The underlying thematical guidelines are very informative for the concept of the late 16th century from an 18th century perspective, see Martin 1998: 77-112.

[20] See also Reinhardt 1996: 279-307.

[21] G.S. Panofsky: Michelangelos „Christus" und sein römischer Auftraggeber, Worms 1991.

[22] C. D´Onofrio: Roma vista da Roma, Roma 1967: 67. The contract for the erection of the tomb: 406f.

[23] On the Capella Spada see Karsten, A.: Kardinal Bernardino Spada. Eine Karriere im barocken Rom, Göttingen 2001.

[24] Weber 1999.

[25] See Pastor 1927, vol.XIII/I: 235. Also very informative is the biography written by the secretary of Mellini: Vita dell´Eminentissimus Signor Cardinale Giovanni Garzia Mellino romano. Scritta dal Sig. Decio Memmoli suo Segretario, Roma 1644.

[26] On Alessandro Algardi´s tomb for Giovanni Garzia Mellini see Montagu 1985, vol.2: 437f. On Giovanni Garzia Mellini see also Lutz 1998: 425-460, here 425..

[27] On Vasari´s fresco in the Sala dei Cento Giorni and its ecclesiastic-political background see Reinhardt 1996.

[28] See also Reinhard 1996: 309-333; R. Ago: Carriera e clientela nella Roma barocca. Rom/ Bari 1990.

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