

# EARLY MODERN ROME, 1341-1667

Thursday, May 13

9:30-11 am

Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo

Petrarch

Chair: Serena Sapegno, Università degli Studi di Roma "La Sapienza"

**Margaret Brose**, University of California, Santa Cruz

De-Familiarizing the Ruins of Rome: Petrarch's *Familiars*

Francesco Petrarca, archeologist of the mind, stripped away the dung and dirt from the ancient Roman forum to restore the image of its lost splendor. The monuments of the Forum Romanum were mostly buried under debris: its location was designated as the *Campo Vaccino*. Four centuries before a physical excavation of Rome was attempted, Petrarch excavated the "fantasy" of Rome in his letter to Giovanni Colonna di San Vito (*Fam. VI, 2*). Exhibiting a fertile form of temporal presbyopia, Petrarch de-familiarizes the Rome of his own time so as to make the past newly familiar, treating the present as an opaque film under which lies a palpable past. The ancient Roman landscape that the poet projects onto this wasteland supplants the historical present of his own "Dark Ages." My paper will examine Petrarch's imaginative construction of Rome in several of his letters and in his Coronation Oration.

**Alexander Lee**, Université du Luxembourg and University of Warwick

Petrarch, Rome, and the "Dark Ages"

The enduring image of Petrarch as the "first modern man" is closely related to his conception of history. For Theodor Mommsen, for example, Petrarch came to conceive of a tripartite division of history as a result of his coronation as Poet Laureate in Rome in 1341. Petrarch, Mommsen believed, not only identified the "decline" of the Roman Empire as the beginning of a "dark" period of cultural backwardness, but also saw Antiquity as a "golden age," the return of which he was able to envisage.

Looking closely at the image of Rome in his correspondence with Cola di Rienzo, however, this paper seeks to re-evaluate Petrarch's conception of history. In particular, it suggests that Petrarch conceived of history as more of a continuum than previously supposed and nurtured a highly nuanced understanding of the Roman past as a consequence of his affection both for classical literature and for Rome itself.

**Steve Baker**, Columbia University

"*Ad antiquam amicitiam renovandam*": From Cola di Rienzo's Politics of *Amicitia* to Petrarch's Community of Friends

Within the first few weeks of his tenure as Roman tribune (May 19-December 15, 1347) Cola di Rienzo sent slight variations of the same letter to the major city-states of northern Italy inviting them to participate in a synod that was to be held in Rome. The purpose of his epistolary campaign was to restore liberty, peace and justice to the Roman people and their provinces, as well as to renew the ancient friendship (*amicitia*) that had once united Italy as a whole. Advocacy for Italian unification was one of the salient features of Cola's legendary rise to power, but the idea by no means originated with him. Scholars have long discussed the concept of Italian political unity in the fourteenth century, particularly its presence in the work of the poets of the period. In fact, Francesco Petrarca was one of the Roman tribune's most enthusiastic supporters from the onset. Like Cola, Petrarch longed for a united Italy and

a strong Rome. Several of his *Familiares* are dedicated to the renewal of the ancient friendships that might make unification a reality. By invoking the memory of ancient friendship in their respective epistolary campaigns to resurrect the empire of Italy under a reinvigorated Rome, Cola and Petrarch draw on a long classical tradition that equates *amicitia* to politics. This paper explores the rhetoric of friendship and familiarity employed in Petrarch's and Cola di Rienzo's attempts to conjure through language an Italy united by the renewal of ancient *amicitia* and the resurrection of Rome.

**9:30-11 am**

**University of California, Rome Study Center**

**Sisto V**

**Chair: Patrizia Cavazzini**, The British School at Rome

**Dalma Frascarelli**, Accademia di Belle Arti di Napoli

Luogo del sapere. La costruzione e la decorazione della Biblioteca Vaticana nella politica culturale di Sisto V

Gli affreschi che decorano la Biblioteca Vaticana presentano un complesso programma iconografico a cui lavorarono esponenti di spicco della cultura del tempo: da Silvio Antoniano, legato all'ambiente oratoriano, ad Angelo Rocca, fondatore della Biblioteca Angelica, allo stesso papa Peretti. Attraverso lo studio delle personalità che parteciparono all'ideazione dell'impresa e attraverso una capillare lettura del ciclo decorativo che pone a confronto i dipinti con la tradizione pertinente alla decorazione delle biblioteche, si rintracciano i motivi dominanti della politica culturale promossa da Sisto V, caratterizzata da una rivisitazione in chiave cristiana del modello fornito dall'antichità classica. Proprio tale sincretismo è alla base dei principali cantieri e interventi urbanistici sistini, a cui si farà costante riferimento nel corso della conferenza.

**Mauro Sarnelli**, Università degli Studi di Sassari

Il tardo Umanesimo nella Roma di Sisto V (e del Tasso)

Nel quinquennio del pontificato di Sisto V Peretti (24 aprile 1585 – 27 agosto 1590), si assiste ad una notevole fioritura della produzione tardo umanistica, che ha fra i suoi maggiori esponenti letterati quali Ercole Ciofano, Giulio Roscio da Orte ("Hortino"), Lorenzo Gambara, i numerosi esponenti della famiglia Capilupi, nonché un editore della rinomanza di Aldo Manuzio junior.

In tale ambiente, composito e niente affatto unitario o monolitico, si intersecano le esigenze di un "richiamo all'ordine" tridentino, il permanere del *Fortleben* di autori classici non proprio in linea con tali esigenze (primo fra tutti Ovidio), la celebrazione delle numerose iniziative — culturali ed urbanistiche — del pontefice, una rigogliosa attività letteraria neolatina, di "primo" o di "secondo grado" (si pensi alla pratica centonaria). Il tutto in posizione non antitetica, bensì complementare, all'altrettanto rigogliosa attività letteraria in volgare, che ha nel Tasso romano, spirituale e celebrativo, il suo massimo rappresentante.

**Valentina Prosperi**, Università degli Studi di Sassari

Gli affreschi del Salone Sistino tra tradizione classica e Controriforma

Con Silvio Antoniano come ideatore del programma iconografico e due esecutori intelligenti e capaci come Giovanni Guerra e Cesare Nebbia, il Salone Sistino si presenta come destinato ad accogliere tutte le Biblioteche dell'antichità, tutti gli inventori di alfabeti e di linguaggi, tutte le opere o gli individui, in una parola, che abbiano portato il loro contributo al grande disegno divino della costituzione di un sapere che comunque parte e culmina con Cristo e risiede fisicamente nella Vaticana. Si tratta di un progetto che spiega sotto quale

programma si rese possibile da questo momento in poi il rapporto con la tradizione dell'antico. La descrizione della nuova mirabile impresa di Sisto, uscita quasi in contemporanea con l'ultimazione dei lavori, a firma di due umanisti come Muzio Pansa e Angelo Rocca—altre volte stretto collaboratore del Pontefice—dimostra altresì l'importanza e il rilievo della cultura antica anche nella Roma controriformata.

Come teorizzava Antonio Possevino, in età controriformistica la perfetta pratica ecclesiastica di controllo della cultura non poteva limitarsi a distruggere i libri ritenuti "cattivi": era altresì dovere della Chiesa preoccuparsi di sostituirli con altrettanti libri "buoni". Possevino com'è noto si adoperò in prima persona a selezionare e riscrivere quanti più libri poteva per l'edificazione della sua ideale *Bibliotheca Selecta*; all'incirca negli stessi anni, un altro protagonista della Controriforma, Sisto V, dispiegava le notevoli energie e i potenti mezzi a sua disposizione a bruciare e censurare libri dapprima, a raccogliarli, conservarli e stamparli poi, nella grandiosa costruzione di una biblioteca materiale che doveva superare e ricomprendere ogni altra biblioteca mai esistita.

Nel rapporto con la cultura antica, la Chiesa della Controriforma oscillò tra la visione del papato come erede dell'Impero romano e quindi del sapere e della monumentalità precristiana e la volontà di estirpazione dei segni del paganesimo. Le due tendenze si incontrarono sotto il papato di Felice Peretti, papa Sisto V. Fu allora che la rinascita della città proposta alla devozione del mondo cattolico come la "città santa" dei pellegrinaggi vide l'avvio di progetti urbanistici imponenti e la discussione sul destino dei monumenti pagani, secondo alcuni da distruggere del tutto e secondo altri da salvare cristianizzandoli con apposite aggiunte (come avvenne con gli obelischi). Il problema si presentò in modo speciale per i libri. L'impulso dato alla Biblioteca Vaticana avvenne sotto il segno della necessità dei libri per la "propaganda fides", come si legge sulle mura della Biblioteca, ma anche sotto quello della censura libraria e dell'opera delle congregazioni del Sant'Uffizio e dell'Indice. Lo stesso papa Peretti era stato, come inquisitore, protagonista della fase più aspra del conflitto coi librai veneziani per imporre loro l'osservanza delle regole dell'Indice di Paolo IV.

Se agli inizi della carriera Felice Peretti si era distinto per l'inflessibile rigore esercitato come Inquisitore di Venezia, con frequente ricorso al rogo di libri e alle vessazioni nei confronti di librai e stampatori, una volta divenuto Papa come Sisto V si dedicò con pari entusiasmo alla risistemazione della Biblioteca Apostolica, un'opera destinata nei suoi disegni non semplicemente a conservare la cultura acquisita, ma a controllarla e orientarla, con l'ausilio dell'altro grande strumento di propaganda da lui ideato, la Stamperia Vaticana. E tuttavia, proprio in questi scritti concepiti come omaggio alla nuova cultura trionfante, non si può fare a meno di rilevare un continuo affiorare e addensarsi di quel sapere classico - antiquaria e filosofia, letteratura e storia - che, come illustrano eloquentemente gli affreschi della Vaticana, Sisto V desiderava piegare e rifoggiare a suo grado.

## **11-11:30 Coffee Break**

**11:30 am-1 pm**

**Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo**

**Diplomacy and Diplomats**

**Chair: Thomas V. Cohen, York University**

**Massimo Miglio, Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo/Università degli Studi della Tuscia**  
I legati pontifici nel XV secolo: ruolo diplomatico e strategie politiche

Con la profonda trasformazione che caratterizza la storia del Papato, della Curia pontificia e di Roma nel Quattrocento, cambiano anche gli elementi caratterizzanti e distintivi del profilo dei legati pontifici. Parallelamente all'assunzione da parte della Curia di un

atteggiamento sempre più politico nello scenario italiano ed europeo i legati pontifici vengono investiti di un ruolo nuovo e più incisivo con conseguenze significative sugli indirizzi della politica pontificia, con importanti ricadute negli equilibri interni alla Curia e sulle strategie familiari di quanti venivano chiamati a quell'incarico. L'analisi, partendo da una riflessione di carattere generale, intende dare conto di queste trasformazioni, delle ricadute interne alla Curia e di quelle a livello internazionale.

**Catherine Fletcher**, Open University/British School at Rome  
The City of Rome as a Space for Diplomacy

Between the return of the popes to Rome and the early sixteenth century, a recognisable diplomatic corps representing princes and republics from across Europe constituted itself at the papal curia. This paper will consider how the city of Rome functioned as an environment for this new resident diplomacy, discussing both the ceremonial, official spaces used by diplomats and those places where they entertained, lobbied and gathered information. It will draw on a range of evidence from ambassadors' letters and household records, as well as the unpublished treatise *De Oratoribus Romanae Curiae* (c. 1505-09) by the papal master-of-ceremonies Paris de Grassi, an important but neglected source on the comportment of diplomats in Rome. The paper will aim to redress some of the bias in the historiography of Renaissance diplomacy towards the republics of Florence and Venice, emphasising Rome's importance as a centre for diplomatic activities in this period.

**Paola Farenga**, Università degli Studi di Roma "La Sapienza" and **Anna Modigliani**, Università degli Studi della Tuscia

Le lettere degli ambasciatori: una fonte significativa per la storia di Roma nel XIV secolo

Le fonti per la storia di Roma in età rinascimentale sono molto scarse, perché un gran numero di serie archivistiche sono andate completamente o parzialmente perdute. Per questa ragione i "carteggi", ovvero le lettere degli ambasciatori che vivevano a Roma indirizzate alle cancellerie di stati stranieri sono una fonte di grande importanza per la storia politica, economica e culturale della città. In più, questo genere di fonte aggiunge informazioni su dettagli importanti della vita quotidiana della corte papale e della città, dettagli che non sono di solito menzionati nelle altre fonti.

Le più ricche raccolte di lettere degli ambasciatori stranieri residenti presso la corte papale sono quelle conservate negli Archivi di Stato di Milano, Mantova, Firenze e Siena. La relazione si propone di analizzare i caratteri specifici di questa fonte sia da un punto di vista letterario che storico. Si daranno esempi di come le lettere degli ambasciatori siano in grado di colmare vuoti nella ricostruzione di particolari avvenimenti.

**11:30 am-1 pm**

**University of California, Rome Study Center**

**Renaissance Individuals**

**Chair: Yvonne Dohna, Gregorian University**

**Luca Marcozzi**, Università degli Studi Roma Tre

Bembo in Rome: From Passion to Disenchantment

Pietro Bembo, the most influential sixteenth-century Italian man of letters, lived in Rome in different periods of his life, from his first journey at the age of eighteen, in order to gaze at the ruins of classical Rome in 1487, to his death in Campo Marzio in 1547. As a young humanist, Bembo lived the glorious renaissance of Julius II's Rome. Later, as Secretary of the Curia, he had an enormous influence on the development of Roman literature, rhetoric, and historiography. Finally, as a Cardinal, he knew the years of bitterness and disillusionment

just before the Council of Trent. The paper will present some remarkable accounts of Roman life and culture at the end of the Renaissance that this extraordinary witness offered in his letters and literary works and will emphasize his key role in Roman culture during the Cinquecento.

**Paolo Carloni**, Temple University, Rome **and Monica Grasso**, Università degli Studi di Urbino

Michelangelo, Petrarca e la figura della vergine nel Giudizio Sistino

Il nostro intervento si propone di focalizzare l'attenzione sulla particolare raffigurazione di Maria nel complesso contesto del Giudizio michelangiolesco. La gestualità e la postura – originalissime – hanno suscitato numerose interpretazioni a partire dalla suggestiva lettura data da Vasari nelle Vite che vedeva il gesto della Vergine come un timoroso ritrarsi. Si vuole però suggerire l'utilità – per la piena comprensione dell'invenzione michelangiolesca— di un'attenta rilettura dell'opera poetica di Petrarca in relazione alla figura mariana, troppo spesso trascurata a favore di una prevalente generica lettura dantesca dell'intero ciclo di affreschi. Il particolare colloquio simbolico tra Maria e Cristo verrà analizzato alla luce di alcuni innovativi confronti iconografici tratti dalla cultura pittorica manierista ma altresì dalla vasta serie di traduzioni incisive del capolavoro michelangiolesco. L'innovativa rilettura della figura mariana potrà fornire una nuova e originale prospettiva attraverso la quale guardare al Giudizio in un più stretto rapporto con le vicende biografiche e sentimentali di Michelangelo.

**Costanza Barbieri**, Accademia di Belle Arti di Napoli

Il cardinal Alessandro de' Medici diplomatico e riformatore ritratto da Scipione Pulzone

Con l'attribuzione di un inedito ritratto al pittore Scipione Pulzone da Gaeta, acclamato ritrattista del secondo Cinquecento romano, sarà possibile approfondire la conoscenza di un cardinale che ha avuto un ruolo decisivo nella Roma della Controriforma: Alessandro de' Medici (1535-1605), figlio di Ottaviano de' Medici, appartenente a un ramo minore della famiglia, e di Francesca Salviati, nipote di Leone X. L'impresa più importante del cardinale Alessandro, a parte la brevissima stagione come pontefice—eletto il primo aprile 1605 passa a miglior vita il 27 dello stesso mese—è la delicatissima missione diplomatica volta a riconciliare Enrico IV di Francia con la Chiesa cattolica, che il cardinale conclude con successo ottenendo l'atto di abiura il 19 agosto 1596. Intimo amico di Filippo Neri, suo confessore, il cardinale abbraccia inoltre il rinnovamento culturale e religioso propugnato dagli Oratoriani, che si traduce concretamente in importanti restauri di alcune chiese romane ispirati a modelli paleocristiani.

**1-3 pm Lunch Break**

**3-4:30 pm**

**Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo**

**Gender, Magic & Esotericism**

**Chair: Renata Ago**, Università degli Studi di Roma "La Sapienza"

**Mariateresa Guerra Medici**, Università degli Studi di Roma "La Sapienza"

Streghe a Roma e dintorni

Il saggio che propongo si riferisce al Trattato *de Maleficiis* di Paolo Grillando, un importante e dotto giurista e giudice che operava presso le corti romane nella seconda metà del Quattrocento. Grillando fu inviato come inquisitore in Sabina per indagare su di alcune denunce di casi di stregoneria. Il magistrato dichiara che, sebbene incredulo all'inizio della

sua missione, fu costretto a ricredersi in seguito alle testimonianze ricevute. Il resoconto delle sue investigazioni contiene narrazioni dettagliate, a volte quasi fiabesche, inverosimili e divertenti nella loro assurdit , si potrebbe dire, se non fosse per il fatto che le donne sulle quali Grillando indag  alla fine furono *ardentissimis flamis combustae*.

**Tessa Storey**, Royal Holloway, University of London  
Cosmetics, Poisons, and Alchemy: The Gendering of Domestic Recipe Making in Seventeenth-Century Rome

Historians of early modern medicine have recently paid considerable attention to the making of medicines, cosmetics and chemical products in the domestic sphere, particularly in England and Spain. In particular they have documented the role played by elite women in the this domestic production and in the circulation of the recipes themselves. This paper shifts the focus to both men and women, of middling rather than elite social extraction, who made up recipes in seventeenth-century Rome. Drawing on criminal archives, but with reference to my work on Italian Books of Secrets, it will explore the practices of two people engaged in both licit and illicit recipe making. It examines the ways in which the making of certain products – and hence the specific knowledge and equipment—was gendered; considers how this knowledge was transmitted; and explores the social networks which sustained the domestic production of legal and illegal substances.

**Marjorie Roth**, Nazareth College, Rochester, NY  
Opportunity Lost: Christian Prophecy, Musical Magic, and the Road Not Taken in Counter-Reformation Rome

Prevailing views of sixteenth-century Rome emphasize a penitent Holy City, shamed by the Reformation, punished by the Sack of 1527, and humiliated into a unidirectional retreat from the Classical overtones of earlier Renaissance humanism. Private sentiments, however, may not have changed so completely. This paper modifies current views of Roman religious reform by sketching the alchemical and hermetic features of a musical composition associated with mid-century Rome. Orlando di Lasso’s motet cycle *Prophetiae Sibyllarum* combines Christian prophecy with influential figures from pagan antiquity, resulting in an artwork that offers the listener spiritual purification through imitative techniques paralleling the process of alchemical transformation. The cycle’s existence indicates that although magic, hermetism, and alchemy were ultimately excluded from the public and institutionally sanctioned modes of Counter-Reformation religious reform, private expressions of esoterically-grounded, individual spiritual practices persisted through the century as humanists struggled to reconcile their ingrained ideals with the new religious conservatism.

**3-4:30 pm**  
**University of California, Rome Study Center**  
**Culture in the Papal Court**  
**Chair: Paolo Alei**, University of California, Rome

**Ingrid Alexander-Skipnes**, University of Stavanger, Norway  
Greek Mathematics in Rome and the Aesthetics of Geometry in Piero della Francesca  
Greek mathematics held an important place in Rome during the mid-fifteenth century. Euclid’s *Geometria* and *Optics* had been transcribed there between 1457-1458 by Francesco del Borgo, papal architect and Piero’s fellow countryman. As James Banker has shown, Piero made use of these manuscripts in Francesco’s library. Francesco may have been instrumental in Piero’s coming to Rome to work both in the Vatican Palace and S. Maria Maggiore. Piero’s interest in Greek mathematics peaked once he arrived in Rome. There he met

Cusanus, Bessarion and Alberti who demonstrated an interest in Greek mathematics. This paper will examine Piero's relationship to these individuals in Rome and, in particular, the role that Cusanus played in Piero's artistic development under the patronage of Pope Pius II. Furthermore, this paper will argue that Piero distanced himself from Alberti's theories and moved towards incorporating a greater evidence of the senses into his theory and art.

**Raphaële Mouren**, Ecole nationale supérieure des sciences de l'information et des bibliothèques, Lyon

Rome, Center of European Humanism, From Paul III to Marcellus II

From 1530 to 1560, the Roman curia played a little known role in the history of Humanism: cardinals and dignitaries with rich libraries containing significant manuscripts of ancient authors participated in scholarly editions, receiving humanists in their palaces. From 1510, Angelo Colocci started a project to edit humanist books in Rome, implemented by Marcello Cervini 30 years later with the help of Italian, French and Spanish humanists. About 1560, works by Fulvio Orsini, prepared in the palazzo Farnese, were published in Antwerp with the help of a Spanish humanist and a French cardinal.

The key role played by members of the Curia is under-appreciated. Without the help of the powerful *fuoriusciti*, numerous books by Florentine humanists would not have attained the high quality that made their reputation, nor would have the Parisian editions of primary importance like those of Denys Lambin, or some of Plantin's books in Anvers.

**Chiara Cassiani**, Università degli Studi della Calabria

Pierio Valeriano e la corte di Roma

La nuova sensibilità "visivo-simbolica" è uno dei tratti di maggiore specificità della corte pontificia e dell'ambiente culturale romano all'inizio del Cinquecento. Alla codificazione di un *parlar figurato* contribuirono in modo determinante i *Hieroglyphica* di Pierio Valeriano. Sebbene l'opera vide la stampa nel 1556, nella riformata Basilea, ebbe origine e si venne formando nella curia romana, tra il 1510 e il '30, dove l'autore fu allievo dell'agostiniano Egidio da Viterbo. Le lettere dedicatorie dei cinquantotto libri dei *Hieroglyphica* (a Egidio, Sadoletto, Calcagnini, Bocchi, Giovio, Sannazaro, Vittoria Colonna), come anche i destinatari dei versi latini di Valeriano (Bembo, Molza, Flaminio, Tebaldeo) e delle sue lettere *Pandectales* (Trissino, Amaseo, Tolomei), compongono una vera e propria "geografia" di ambienti e personalità, costruita intorno ad amici, maestri, protettori, che merita di essere ancora indagata. Essa esprime un forte senso della *res publica* letteraria e fa luce sulla centralità culturale di Roma nel primo Cinquecento.

**4:30-5 pm Coffee Break**

**5-6:30 pm**

**Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo**

**Nuns & Saints**

**Chair: Carolyn Valone**, Saint Mary's College, Rome

**Kimberlyn Montford**, Trinity University

Female Presentation and Agency in Nuns' Music of Early Modern Rome

In Roman monasteries after strict implementation of cloister, nuns led lives constrained by the limits placed on their movement and ability to be seen and heard. Yet it was because of cloister that nuns were able to present both a public image of chastity, virtue, and obedience while maintaining a private community in which they as women were free to pursue musical, intellectual, and spiritual opportunities. This paper explores the means by

which monastic artistic programs manipulated sacred imagery both to project that public image and to—privately—reinforce and celebrate women’s activity. An analysis of several musical collections written for Roman nuns reveals that they also resonate with similar cultural imagery to that displayed in convent architecture and artwork. Nuns used music as an important part of their self-presentation. Their presence as musicians, rarely seen, but often heard, was an integral part of the musical “soundscape” of Rome.

**Noel O’Regan**, University of Edinburgh

**Scandal Averted: The Case of the Papal Singer Giovanni Luca Conforti and the Nuns of S. Caterina dei Funari**

The confraternity and convent of S. Caterina dei Funari was founded under the inspiration of Ignatius Loyola in order to house *vergini miserabili*, girls perceived to be at risk of falling into prostitution. Girls and nuns were taught music and sang in the annual patronal feastday celebration, under the tutelage of, among others, Giovanni Maria and Giovanni Bernardino Nanino, Vincenzo Pinto and Giovanni Luca Conforti. Conforti, a papal singer renowned for his falsetto voice, improvisation and published volumes of ornamentations, also paid for singing and harpsichord lessons for one of the girls who was subsequently accepted as a nun by special election. He bought an organ for the convent and, on his death in 1608, left the nun, now acknowledged as his illegitimate daughter, a legacy. This paper will examine both the convent’s musical practice and its use by Conforti, and his powerful protectors such as Cardinal Montalto, to avert any scandal which might have surrounded a prestigious papal singer.

**Mícheál Mac Craith**, National University of Ireland, Galway

**Tadhg Ó Cianáin’s Roman Narrative, 1608**

The Roman section of Tadhg Ó Cianáin’s Gaelic travel narrative, 28/4/1608 -27/11/1608, gives a unique insight into Counter-Reformation Rome. Ó Cianáin’s employer, the exiled Irish prince Aodh Ó Néill, was a special guest of Paul V at the canonization of Santa Francesca Romana on 29 May. His participation is recorded both in the Gaelic text and in the fresco painted by Gian Battista Ricci for the Galleria Paolo Quinto in the Vatican Library. The only lay people in this fresco are Ó Néill and the Spanish ambassador. Having described a visit to S. Onofrio on 12 June, Ó Cianáin narrates the the saint’s life, faithfully adhering to the series of twenty seven frescoes that adorn the monastery’s cloister. The Gaelic text actually fills important lacunae caused by the erosion of some of the Italian and Latin explanations accompanying the lunettes. Ó Cianáin bears comparison with Gregory Martin’s *Roma Sacra* (1580) and Pietro Felini’s *Trattato Nuovo delle Cose Meravigliose dell’Alma Città di Roma* (1610).

**5-6:30 pm**

**University of California, Rome Study Center**

**Ritual Space and Rhetoric**

**Chair: Rose Marie San Juan**, University College, London

**Lucinda Byatt**, Edinburgh

**Sant’Agata dei Goti on the Quirinal: An Early 16<sup>th</sup>-Century Fulcrum For Politics and Learning Under Cardinal Ridolfi**

The “amenissimi horti di Sant’Agata” provided the setting for a learned circle of Greek scholars, Florentine exiles and sympathisers who met under the aegis of Cardinal Niccolò Ridolfi during the 1530s and 1540s. Based on archival sources and contemporary accounts, my paper will look at the bonds of patronage and politics that linked the “cardinal’s men”, at

the form of these meetings, and, lastly, at the role of the garden and the sculpture it contained in informing these occasions and the discussions that took place there.

Works were carried out on Sant'Agata by the leading hydraulic engineer and architect, Tommaso Ghinucci. The house adjacent to the church accommodated Ridolfi's resident astrologer, as well as Greek scholars working on his library. Sant'Agata was a key adjunct to the cardinal's main palace, not only a refuge from the city but the deliberate creation of a propitious setting for learned and political debate.

**Genevieve Warwick**, University of Glasgow  
Ritual Form and Urban Space in Early Modern Rome

This paper will consider the role of ritual forms in presaging, even constructing, early modern Rome's urban development. Its overarching argument is that processional routes, arches, floats, decorations, and performances often formed the living tissue from which new art, architecture, and urbanism drew in its reinvention of Rome. These evanescent and ephemeral forms, through the familiarity of a calendar repetition, forged an identity with the urban spaces in which they took place, in the eyes of their viewers. Inexorably, ritual marked the city's material fabric with "memorative" spaces, imbued with the collective memories of their iterative enactment. Much of the change in ritual activity in early modern Rome was driven by its popes, as was the city's urban development. This intertwining of ritual and urban forms in the hands of the papacy worked to remake Rome's civic fabric in the image of the popes. Spaces reclaimed by reinvented ritual forms became then permanently reconfigured by an attendant architecture, art, and urbanism. Key ritual spaces were widened, regularised, paved, in concert with their ceremonial roles; their surrounding buildings drawn into a choreographed urban scenography by means of new façades and fountains; while the memory of ritual decoration was latent within the forms of their sculptural ornament. Early modern Rome's urban developments thus embodied in perpetuity the ritual histories out of which they grew. Finally, the paper argues for the potency of visual cultures, both ritual and artistic, in reinventing the identities of urban space.

**Katherine M. Bentz**, Saint Anselm College  
The Rhetoric of the Garden Gate in Early Modern Rome

From the mid-16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> centuries, Rome saw an extraordinary growth in the establishment of elaborate gardens. Built first as private repositories for ancient and contemporary sculpture, later gardens became vast parks. According to the tradition of the *lex hortorum*, these spaces were ostensibly open to a "visiting public" through the generosity of patrons. Scholars have long examined the layout, contents and patronage of Roman gardens, but the question of who visited gardens, why and how remains open. In order to explore this question, this paper investigates the rhetorical strategies in the key point of garden entry: the gate. The gate served to direct the visitor's experience of the garden through its social, practical and theoretical functions, as well as its style, iconography and verbal and visual signs. As an architectural structure mediating the literal and figurative space between patron and garden visitor, the gate helped to shape the parameters of these social relationships.

**6:30-8 pm Reception at the University of California, Rome Study Center**  
(All attendees are welcome)

**Friday, May 14**  
**9:30-11 am**  
**Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo**  
**Rome and Foreigners**

**Chair: Antonella De Michelis**, University of California, Rome

**Matteo Sanfilippo**, Università degli Studi della Toscana

Una città d'immigranti: dalla fine della cattività avignonese alla guerra dei Trent'anni

Nella letteratura su Roma fra tardo medioevo e prima età moderna si trovano numerosi riferimenti alla presenza di stranieri. Per esempio, la *Descriptio Urbis* del 1527 suggerisce d'ipotizzare una presenza di romani pari ad appena il 68% della popolazione. Inoltre alcuni cronisti del Quattrocento prospettano "una città di stranieri", mentre nel Cinquecento Michel de Montaigne ritrae una metropoli "dal carattere più cosmopolitico del mondo [...] fatta in parte di stranieri". In genere questi testi sono stati inquadrati nella storia del viaggio, dell'economia, della Chiesa, ma quasi mai interrogati nella prospettiva di una storia delle migrazioni urbane. Eppure la storia di Roma è fondamentalmente storia di processi immigratori. L'intervento prospetta una sintesi che valuti tasso, consuetudini e impatto degli immigrati in una fase in cui Roma, di nuovo sede pontificia, agiva come un magnete demografico.

**Irene Fosi**, Università degli Studi "G. D'Annunzio" Chieti Pescara

L'Inquisizione e gli stranieri a Roma in età moderna

La presenza di stranieri, famosi e sconosciuti, e fra questi, di "eretici" ultramontani che arrivavano a Roma per motivi diversi pose, dalla metà del Cinquecento, il problema del controllo dell'ortodossia e rese la conversione al cattolicesimo una tappa fondamentale per il loro inserimento – definitivo o temporaneo – nella società romana. Tuttavia, molti stranieri "eretici" potevano vivere nella città del papa senza essere costretti ad abbandonare la loro confessione: non dovevano però dare "scandalo" né fare proselitismo. Quali erano i confini di questa tollerabilità (non tolleranza)? Quali le cause che potevano infrangerla? La conversione era veramente uno strumento di integrazione? Attraverso l'analisi di vicende di uomini e donne testimoniate da fonti inquisitoriali si delinea l'oscillazione fra repressione e tollerabilità, fra rigore e accoglienza nella prassi del tribunale della fede.

**James Nelson Novoa**, Villanova University

The Portuguese New Christian Lobby in Rome: 1532-1555

The granting of the tribunal of Inquisition to the Portuguese King John III in December 1531 by Clement VII occasioned the creation of a vast Portuguese New Christian network in order to attempt to block the Inquisition in Portugal and to mitigate its effects in the Kingdom which extended across Europe. Rome was one of the centers for prime importance for their efforts as the Portuguese New Christians sent representatives there to try the influence the Pope and Curia. The paper, drawing upon archival material held at the Archivio Segreto del Vaticano and the Archivio di Stato di Roma will present a general description of the New Christian communal organization in Rome from 1531 to 1554 and its many complexities, contradictions and problems. In particular it will highlight its interactions with Roman society.

**9:30-11 am**

**University of California, Rome Study Center**

**Music, Art, and Dance**

**Chair: Cristiana Filippini**, University of California, Rome

**Paul Arthur Anderson**, California State University, Los Angeles

Between Architect and Artisan: The Role of Professional Guilds and Confraternities in Early Modern Rome

This essay will investigate the expansion of the professional guilds and their confraternities in the context of the rise of early modern institutions in Renaissance and Baroque Rome as well as its impact on the working relationship between architects and artisans. The eternal city witnessed the transformation from a medieval guild system to the creation of early modern institutions. Rome underwent a period of tremendous demographic growth and institutional change that was reflected in the founding of new artistic and literary academies, theological seminaries, sodalities, universities, as well as the inundation of the city by artists, architects and artisans seeking employment. Rome was unique as it was open to foreign workers, unlike Venice or Florence where the guilds acted to curtail outside competition. The statutes of the Roman academies and professional guilds were repeatedly modified and reformed, and new administrative offices and departments were created to accommodate the trend towards specialization and increased membership of these institutions.

**Barbara Sparti, Rome**

The Danced *Moresca*: From the Papal Court to the Streets of Rome

“The Moresque is the most frequently mentioned of all the dances of the fifteenth century...yet [it] is one of the most difficult to classify and characterize in all dance history” (Curt Sachs, *World History of the Dance*, 1937).

My paper describes the multi-faceted *moresca* in Italy and specifically in Rome at the courts of Cardinal Riario and Popes Alessandro Borgia and Leo X. The mimed and danced *moresca*-ballet provided entertainment and relief between acts of plays, revived the “narrative dancing” of classical Antiquity, flattered princes with allegorical themes and splendid and costly costumes. Castiglione, himself author-director of a well-known *moresca*, describes one held in Castel Sant’ Angelo. *Moresche* (sometimes referred to as “mattaccinate”) were also practiced and performed in the streets of Rome by properly licensed groups of craftsmen led by a “caporale”. One *moresca* was a mock-battle with sticks; another had men dressed as women. (ASR, Tribunale criminale)

**Amy Brosius, New York University**

Leonora Baroni *Cantatrice*: The Roman *Virtuosa* as Courtier

Virtuosic vocal performances played an integral role in the consumption of luxury that dominated elite Roman culture during the seventeenth-century. While scholarship has tended to focus on performances by *virtuosi*, *virtuose* played an equally important role in Roman culture. They participated in the elite private gatherings that functioned as anti-chambers to the court, where entertainment and the cultivation of political relationships went hand in hand. *Virtuose* performing in these spaces developed important social and political ties that enabled their successful careers, which were in many ways analogous to those of male courtiers. This paper will focus on the career of the *virtuosa* Leonora Baroni, the darling of the Barberini court, who managed to maintain a successful career in Rome during the four papacies spanning her lifetime. I will discuss her relationships with her patrons and rivals and explore the different social and political strategies that enabled her success.

**11-11:30 am Coffee Break**

**11:30 am-1 pm**

**Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo**

**Strategizing of Noble Women and Families**

**Chair: Marina D’Amelia, Università degli Studi di Roma “La Sapienza”**

**Katherine A. McIver**, University of Alabama, Birmingham

Moving About: Women in the Urban Fabric of Sixteenth-Century Rome

While early modern sources often suggest that it was acceptable for women of power to demonstrate masculine qualities, the commonly held theory assumes the opposite. Yet my research shows that women in Rome frequently performed as men, whether it was having an affair while married or owning/building their own palace. Ricciarda Malaspina, Marchesa of Massa and Carrara is a primary example; she not only bought a palace just off the Piazza Navona (1530s), but had an ongoing affair with her husband's (Lorenzo Cibo) brother Cardinal Innocenzo Cibo. Malaspina denounced her first born son (by Lorenzo) in favor of the Cardinal's son naming him her heir. Did the choice of location of her palace speak of her power? Does its location reflect her desire to make her presence known in Rome? What about other women like Costanza Farnese, the daughter of Pope Paul III, who bought and renovated her own palace? Who were these sometimes notorious and certainly powerful women? This paper will explore the lives of some of these women as a way to better understand how women could and did operate successfully within the urban fabric of Rome.

**P. Renée Baernstein**, Miami University

*Roma Caput Italiae*: Elite Marriage and the Making of an Italian Ruling Class

There are many possible sources for a pan-Italian culture, but several essential pieces of the puzzle belong to early modern Rome. Not only was it a favorite destination for immigration, a center for the distribution of church offices and revenues, and the place to which all aspiring Italian aristocrats turned for advancement, particularly after 1530 when other Italian cities began to fade. Rome also served as the breeding ground of a new pan-Italian elite, as aspiring cardinalate families sought marriage partners from the ancient and increasingly impoverished Roman barons. The paper studies sixteenth-century marriage and communication patterns within the Italian elite, particularly women's correspondence, to explore this issue. Brides dispatched to distant courts negotiated new communities while maintaining connections to their natal families and hometowns, with Rome their central reference point for culture and politics. A case study of the Colonna family is contextualized with other Roman families, both old (Orsini) and new (Spada).

**Julia L. Hairston**, University of California, Rome

Mastro Pasquino's Lament to Tullia d'Aragona

This paper focuses on a pasquinade written on the occasion of Tullia d'Aragona's departure from Rome, apparently in relation to the papal court's transfer to Bologna in either the fall of 1529 for the coronation of Charles V by Clement VII or in the late fall of 1532 for a second meeting in Bologna between the two rulers. The *capitolo* offers an assessment of d'Aragona's status and social and cultural role in Rome and ponders the potential reasons for her departure. My paper will evaluate the composition as an important historical contribution to d'Aragona's biography, analyze its role within the pasquinade tradition, and, finally, consider how genre expectations impact reader response.

**11:30 am-1 pm**

**University of California, Rome Study Center**

**Performance**

**Chair: Luca Marcozzi**, Università degli Studi Roma Tre

**Raimondo Guarino**, Università degli Studi Roma Tre

Feste, luoghi e rituali d'incoronazione poetica nell'Accademia Romana

L'intervento riguarda l'interpretazione dei siti e delle pratiche dedicate alla recitazione e all'oratoria nell'attività dell'Accademia Romana dagli anni di Pomponio Leto all'età di Giulio II. Oltre a considerazioni complessive sull'Inghirami e lo spettacolo del suo tempo, si analizzano i valori simbolici legati alle sedi dei rituali accademici, tra le residenze degli umanisti, il Campidoglio e il Vaticano. Particolare attenzione è dedicata all'incoronazione poetica organizzata nel giardino del Belvedere in Vaticano dall'Inghirami nel novembre del 1512.

**Eric Nicholson**, Syracuse University in Florence

Waxing Poetic: a Literary "Contest" and the Quest for Fame in Late Cinquecento Rome

It is well-known that Torquato Tasso campaigned vigorously to have himself crowned Poet Laureate on the Capitoline Hill, and that only his death in 1595 prevented him from achieving his aim. It is not as well-known that his efforts to gain supreme public recognition included his "winning" a kind of competition, most likely held in late 1593, at the Roman palazzo of his patron Cardinal Cinzio Aldobrandini. To commemorate his victory—actually, a foregone conclusion---a wax bust of Tasso was executed, but so was another: this life-like portrait bore the features of the runner-up in the poetry contest, the famous actress, singer, and author Isabella Andreini.

While scholarship on both Tasso and Andreini has recognized the importance of this episode, especially with regard to the quests for literary fame and respectability, several questions about it can still be explored. For example, what exactly can be inferred from the "sonettando e scrivendo improvvisi" reference to Isabella's mode of composing, in competition with authors like Il Cavalier de' Pazzi and Antonio Ongaro? What was the significance of choosing wax polychrome sculpture as the medium for commemorating the victorious contestants? In what exact ways did this event and its particular circumstances not only sustain Tasso's personal agenda of emulating and outdoing Petrarch as a classical Roman-style Laureate, but also affirm Isabella Andreini as a legitimate poetic and cultural protagonist? In this final regard, I will argue that Isabella's fame as an actress could have supported Tasso's project, as much as Tasso's renown as a poet ennobled Andreini's public persona. For both of these poets and public figures, the "prize" to be won was "immortality."

**Valeria De Lucca**, University of Southampton

Antonio Cesti's *Orontea* in Rome (1661): Visual Splendor of Aristocratic Entertainment

Better than any other artistic media, opera served the purpose of the Roman aristocracy to display the power, splendor, and intellectual finesse of the patron and his family. And yet, opera in Rome remains a peripheral and under-researched subject in opera studies, which have hitherto privileged the early history of this genre in Florence and Venice. The extraordinary finding of massive archival documentation on the 1661 production of Antonio Cesti's *Orontea* at Palazzo Colonna in Rome—including correspondence and exceptionally detailed descriptions of sceneries, lighting techniques, costumes, and headgear— makes this one of the best documented Roman operatic productions of the seventeenth century. Through the reconstruction of visual elements and of aspects of performance practice, my paper investigates the seventeenth-century notion of opera as a spectacle in which music, text, dance, lighting, costumes, and sceneries contributed to the creation of a highly charged and multi-referential event in early-modern Rome.

**1-3 pm Lunch Break**

**3-4:30 pm**

**Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo**

## Physicians/Bodies

**Chair: Federica Favino**, Università degli Studi di Roma “La Sapienza”

**Elisa Andretta**, Italian Academy for Advanced Studies in America, Columbia University  
“A medical Spanish Rome”? Circulation of Medical Knowledge and Practices Between Spain and the Eternal City

The paper will focus on the presence, whether transitory or permanent, of physicians belonging to one of the most influential communities in “cosmopolitan,” sixteenth-century Rome: the Spanish Community. The paper will have two main guidelines. First, it aims to reconstruct the context of “medical Spanish Rome;” second, it will investigate two case-studies of particularly significant figures, Andrés Laguna and Juan Valverde. Their cultural background and their professional activities will be examined in order to understand how they contributed to the development of medical knowledge and practice in the city and how the experience they carried with them took part in the constitution of multiple “Roman medicines.” This analysis could shed a different light on Roman scientific universalism and call into question the monolithic idea of Roman centrality that the powers within the city were pursuing.

**Bradford A. Bouley**, Stanford University

Holy Bodies: Anatomy and Sanctity in Post-Tridentine Rome

The Roman Church, in its efforts to prove the veracity of saints in the wake of the Reformation, employed prestigious medical men based in Rome, including Andrea Cesalpino, Paolo Zacchia, and Marcello Malpighi to look for “holy anatomy” in the bodies of deceased and living saints. They found a variety of unusual features: Ignatius of Loyola was filled with stones, Carlo Borromeo’s rectum was devoid of feces and he had no body fat, Filippo Neri had broken ribs and an oddly enlarged heart, Turibido Alfonso’s body could not be cut by a knife. This paper will explain what role papal physicians had in proving “holy anatomy,” what features they looked for in saints, how these doctors interacted with the various new saint-making organizations—especially the Congregation of Rites and the Holy Office and, finally, how these anatomical “discoveries” affected the wider scientific and religious culture of early modern Rome.

**John Christopoulos**, University of Toronto

Framing “Abortion” in Early Modern Rome: Confessors, Jurists, Popes

What did “abortion” mean in sixteenth century Rome? Was it necessarily a crime and, if so, what kind? How was the aborting women portrayed? How was the unborn conceptualized? This paper examines perceptions and conceptions of “abortion” in the last decades of sixteenth-century Rome. Specifically, it examines Sixtus V’s 1588 bull *Contra abortus* (the first legislation equating abortion with homicide) and its revocation by Gregory XIV in 1591 in their immediate legal and religious contexts. I consider the bulls in relation to Agostino Montalcino’s – abbot of the convent of Santa Maria sopra Minerva – discussion of abortion in his popular *Lucerna dell’Anima* (1590), a work instructing Romans on the essentials of Christian life. I will also examine the legal analysis of abortion and of the bulls in the work of the influential and controversial Roman jurist Prospero Farinacci (1554-1618). These works, written within a few years of each other, by different types of authorities and for different audiences, demonstrate that ‘abortion’ was neither consistently defined nor understood in the centre of the Catholic world at the close of the sixteenth century. Rather, they reveal the multifaceted and enigmatic nature of ‘abortion’, which was open to debate and disputation.

**3-4:30 pm**

**University of California, Rome Study Center (Venere)**

**Art and Myth**

**Chair: Laurie Kalb**, Temple University, Rome

**Ayana Smith**, Indiana University

From the Palazzo Farnese Gallery to Arcadia: How Art in Early Modern Rome Shaped Later Aesthetics and Music

This paper seeks to address how the aesthetic developments that Annibale Carracci debuted in the Palazzo Farnese (1597-1604) continued to influence artistic, intellectual and cultural trends for the next ninety years, until the founding of the Arcadian Academy in 1690. The pivotal connection between Annibale and Arcadia is Queen Christina of Sweden. The Palazzo Farnese was her first residence in Rome, beginning in 1656, and in this illustrious dwelling she gathered a circle of scholars, clerics, and scientists in her *Accademia reale*. Many similarities exist between Annibale's new expressive techniques and the stated goals of Christina's academy, just as similarities exist between the depiction of Endymion in the Gallery and in a musico-poetic work commissioned by Queen Christina from her court poet, Alessandro Guidi--his *L'Endimione* (1688). Later, when Guidi joined the Arcadian Academy in July of 1691, he had a trio of Arcadian shepherds recite *L'Endimione* at his induction ceremony. The performance was followed by a lecture in Guidi's defense, by Gianvincenzo Gravina, titled *Discorso sopra L'Endimione*. Comparisons between framing, narrative and illusionary devices in Annibale's depiction of Endymion in the Gallery, and issues of narrative time, structure and imagery in Guidi's *L'Endimione* will create a backdrop for other parallels, thus demonstrating the relational continuum from artwork to aesthetic academy to musico-poetic production. Other aesthetic monuments, such as Bellori's novel analytical techniques, and the changing concepts of *novità*, *imitazione* and *maraviglia* provoked by the Domenichino affair, will be juxtaposed against Gravina's *Discorso* and the Arcadian Academy itself; appropriate examples also will be drawn from music. In the field of music, perhaps, we should not consider 1667 the cut-off point for studies of Early Modern Rome, but consider how Annibale's aesthetic continued to play an active part in Roman cultural life through the 1690s.

**Paolo Alei**, University of California, Rome

Meaning and Attribution: A New Narcissus in the School of Caravaggio

In *La Galeria* (1619) the poet Giovan Battista Marino reshaped the poetic (Ovid to Petrarch) and visual (Philostratus to Alberti) tradition of the myth of Narcissus in an imaginative lyrical-ekphrastic poetry. His friendship with artists (especially Caravaggio) and patrons had an impact over certain pictorial trends of early Baroque Rome so much so that one could speak of visual "Marinism." Sensuous representations, languid expressions, transient phenomena and metaphors of transformation become verbal and visual artifices in a new typically Baroque confrontation of painting and poetry. An unpublished painting of Narcissus by a follower of Caravaggio will be used to reopen the question of attribution of the *Narcissus* of Palazzo Barberini (attributed to Caravaggio with much debate), but also and above all to compare and contrast, according to the paradigms of meaning and style, the two main works of the same subject existing in Rome in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century.

**Wendy Heller**, Princeton University

"Un maggiore diletto": Staging Ovidian Fantasies in Early Modern Rome

Under the influence of the controversial poet Giambattista Marino, early modern Rome experienced with what has been described as an "Ovidian Renaissance." As confirmed by the

polymath Agostino Mascardi's eloquent defense of the expressive power of ancient fables, poets, artists, and musicians—encouraged by some of Rome's most important patrons—found new ways to exploit the myths of the pagan gods in ways that did not always conform to the moral precepts associated with Counter Reformation Rome. In the context of Mascardi's writings, including an examination of his manuscript for a play entitled *Le Metamorfosi* (containing an intermedio featuring Bacchus and Ariadne, my paper considers the inherent theatricality of this "Ovidian Renaissance" as manifest both in the passion for collecting art and antiquities as well in Ovidian-inspired sung dramas such as Vitali's *Aretusa* (1620) and Cornacchioli's *Diana schernita* (1629).

**3-4:30 pm**

**University of California, Rome Study Center (Apollo)**

**Culture and Foreigners in Rome**

**Chair: Eric Nicholson, Syracuse University in Florence**

**JoAnn DellaNeve, University of Notre Dame**

An Early Modern Frenchman Reads Rome: "Les Souspirs" of Olivier de Magny

When Olivier de Magny published *Les Souspirs* ("The Sighs") in 1557, no Frenchman had yet written a sonnet sequence on non-amatory subjects. But having just returned from an extended stay in Rome, Magny published 176 sonnets written on a multitude of topics in a variety of registers regarding his life in the city where he had served as a secretary in the papal court (along with his more famous compatriot, Joachim Du Bellay, who, in 1558, was to publish his own sonnets on life in Rome, "*Les Regrets*"). But while Magny's *canzoniere* reads very much like a personal diary or a testament to a lived experience, the truth is that his vision of Rome was mediated by his reading of Italian poetry. This paper will explore the role of an exceedingly rare work, the *Cento sonetti* of Alessandro Piccolomini, in shaping the scope, the tenor, and in some cases the details of Magny's Roman sonnet sequence.

**Nancy D'Antuono, Saint Mary's College, Notre Dame, IN**

Spanish Golden Age Drama in Papal Rome: The Adaptations of Giulio Cardinal Rospigliosi

Giulio Cardinal Rospigliosi's (Pope Clement IX) foray into the adaptation of Spanish drama may be traced to the time when he served as Papal legate (1631-1633) under Francesco Cardinal Barberini to the court of Philip IV in Madrid and, subsequently, to a seven-year period as Papal Nuncio to Spain (1646-1653). These assignments brought him into personal contact with Spain's leading dramatists: Lope de Vega (1562-1635), Tirso de Molina (1584-1648) and Pedro Calderon de la Barca (1600-1680) dramatists whose plays—both hagiographic and secular—were already being applauded vigorously by audiences in Italy both in their original language (part of the Spanish Crown's cultural propaganda) and in the early adaptations and translations by both Italian playwrights and the *comici dell'arte*, each group having been quick to recognize the professional and financial advantages of such an endeavor. Given this vibrant theatrical reality abroad and particularly at home—the advent of elaborate staging and operatic renderings—it is not surprising that Giulio Cardinal Rospigliosi should also be tempted to try his hand at writing for the theater. In this paper, I refer briefly to Rospigliosi's works deriving from his first residence in Spain before focusing on the adaptation of Spanish materials with particular reference to his rendering of Pedro Calderon de la Barca's *Los empeños de un acaso* (published 1651) as *Le armi e gli amori*, performed in Rome at Palazzo Barberini in 1656.

**Peter Leech, Swansea University**

“Spent too soon for so long a preparation”: Late Seventeenth-Century Celebrations in Rome for King James II of England

The coronation of James II in April 1685 prompted a variety of expensive and ostentatious festivities involving feasts, concerts, balls and other associated ceremonies. London was lit up with the latest pyrotechnic inventions supported by huge temporary sculptures, with banners portraying appropriate emblematic devices, all accompanied by festive music. The accession to the throne of a Roman Catholic, whilst generating fear and nervousness in the Protestant establishment, was for continental Catholic rulers the catalyst for England’s eventual return to the Roman church, and they responded with celebrations sometimes far more elaborate than their English counterparts. In the wake of James’ political miscalculations, English enthusiasm waned, but in Rome his special envoys were greeted with displays of unrivalled cultural magnificence involving the city’s leading painters, sculptors, musicians, craftsmen and literary figures. When the birth of the Prince of Wales was announced in June 1688, Rome again erupted with indulgent splendour. This paper will demonstrate the importance of the reign of James II to the cultural history of Rome in the 1680s, focussing upon John Michael Wright’s monumental *Ragguaglio della solenne comparsa* (1687). It will also show that whilst the reign stimulated Catholic baroque culture in England on a modest level (with the construction of a Royal Catholic chapel and revived English Catholic episcopacy) in Rome it gave rise to a short but significant period of unique artistic activity.

**4:30-5pm Coffee Break**

**5-6:30 pm**

**Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo**

**Religious Life**

**Chair: P. Renée Baernstein, Miami University**

**Emily Michelson, University of St. Andrews**

**Preaching Across Rome in the 16th Century**

Cornelio Musso rocketed to fame after Paul III appointed him preacher at his family church, San Lorenzo in Damaso. Marcellino Evangelista explicated scripture from his post at Santa Maria in Aracoeli, and then crossed the road to preach to Jews in the Roman Ghetto. During Lent, the pious crisscrossed the city to hear the daily sermons of their favorite preachers. This paper will explore the intersection of preachers, sermons, and the urban geography of Rome. The sixteenth century was a time of tremendous religious pressure, when the city of Rome sought to strengthen and reinvent itself after physical and spiritual battles, and the Catholic Church sought to retain the loyalty of its laity and reinvigorate their faith. Urban preachers were critical players in these endeavors, and this paper, using sermons and related preaching materials, will show how they made the city of Rome an integral part of their efforts.

**Andrew R. Casper, Miami University**

**Icons, Guidebooks, and the Religious Topography of Sixteenth-Century Rome”**

This paper explores the role of icons in the devotional practices of the Roman faithful by examining their treatment in some of the newly printed guidebooks to Rome issued in the 1500s. Books by Andrea Palladio, Luigi Contarini, Onofrio Panvinio and others direct pilgrims to a number of different types of religious images, including miracle working icons, images supposedly produced by Saint Luke the Evangelist, and image-relics such as the veil or Sudario of Saint Veronica. In many cases these guides were produced or re-issued for

pilgrims visiting the city during the Jubilees of 1550 and 1575, and therefore provide evidence for how the religious climate of the Counter Reformation impacted the promotion of religious images, and how these holy images scattered throughout its ecclesiastical institutions provided the basis for Rome's claim as the spiritual center of the Christian world.

**Querciolo Mazzonis**, Università degli Studi di Teramo

Women's Semi-Religious Life in Rome (1550-1650)

Questo intervento propone un'analisi socio-culturale della presenza femminile in contesti religiosi non conventuali a Roma tra la seconda metà del Cinquecento e la prima metà del Seicento, quali gli istituti assistenziali diretti alle fasce disagiate femminili, quelli educativi, le confraternite e le associazioni devote informali (beghinaggi, ecc.).

Nel tardo medioevo, a Roma come nel resto d'Italia, vi era una presenza bizzoccale che offriva alle donne possibilità di vita spirituale autonoma e attiva (vedi Francesca Romana). La recente storiografia mostra come in diverse città italiane (specialmente al nord) il richiamo alla clausura del Concilio di Trento non significò la fine di tali forme di vita. Emergono, tuttavia, nei testi normativi diretti alle donne, modelli spirituali più controllati e una nuova immagine della femminilità. Quale fu l'esperienza delle donne devote nella città del papa? Come mutarono i modelli di vita devota proposti dalle donne o a loro rivolti?

**5-6:30 pm**

**University of California, Rome Study Center**

**The Long Arm of Rome**

**Chair: Anne Wingenter**, University of California, Rome

**Daniele V. Filippi**, Milan

The Master and the Soundscape. Palestrina and the Musical Image of Rome Between the 16th and 17th centuries

Cinquecento Rome was the cradle of one of the most influential syntheses of Western music, the one that is usually labeled with the name of Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina. In the following centuries, this synthesis – no matter if misinterpreted or subjectively reshaped – would become a myth. How did this peculiar and multifaceted formulation of a pan-European polyphonic style come into being? What kind of influences turned a chapelmaster of provincial origins into the supreme arbiter of Roman musical style? This paper will explore from a broad perspective the confluence of international and local musical trends towards Rome during the Sixteenth century, and the subsequent global dissemination of the new Roman music. And since music was a crucial factor in city life, I will also address the unmistakable coincidence of this process with the powerful renewal of “l' image de Rome” (Labrot) in the post-Tridentine era, trying to capture the evolving soundscape corresponding to this image.

**Anu Raunio**, University of Turku, Finland

L'Ospizio dei Convertendi, storie di conversioni miracolose e l'assistenza romana caratterizzata dallo spirito post-tridentino

L'assistenza era un mezzo per raggiungere uno scopo definito - la salvezza dell'anima, che caratterizzava la Controriforma, era quello che più meritava - e questo richiedeva una specializzazione degli istituti caritativi, che offrivano un ambiente a porte chiuse entro cui si svolgeva un periodo di transizione da uno stato all'altro. L'Ospizio dei Convertendi, fondato nel 1673, forniva sia istruzione religiosa che assistenza materiale ai convertiti recenti e

aspiranti, abbinando così il soccorso materiale alla salvezza spirituale, conforme agli ideali dell'assistenza post-tridentina.

Esaminerò l'attività conversionistica come un progetto apologetico che mirava alla cancellazione dei pregiudizi degli ospiti protestanti nei confronti del mondo cattolico attraverso un'esperienza personale di carità, e come queste conversioni venivano utilizzati per scopi propagandistici. L'analisi si baserà sulle storie di "conversioni miracolose" dei primi ospiti nonché su documenti relativi alla fondazione di questo istituto.

**Luca Codignola-Bo**, CNR, Istituto di Storia dell'Europa Mediterranea

Re-configuring and Re-organizing the New American Worlds: Big Dreams, Tentative Steps, Small Achievements

In the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century the establishment of the Sacred Congregation "de Propaganda Fide," led by a most active secretary, Francesco Ingoli (1622-49), corresponded to the Holy See's major centralized attempt at reorganizing the new American world. So far, that had been almost entirely left to the initiative of the Iberian crowns. While learning to cope with the vastness and potential of America's island, central, and northern portions, the Holy See tried to profit from a number of exploring and settling initiatives that were devised by Crown officials, private entrepreneurs, and religious orders, mainly from France and England. Although initial big dreams were far from being fulfilled by field results, mainly through patient networking and knowledge accumulation by the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century Propaganda's had enabled the Holy See to build up a consciousness of its international role that would have been unthinkable only a generation earlier. This paper will follow these tentative steps and point out their relative significance.

**Saturday, May 15**

**9:30-11 am**

**Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo**

**Humanism & Humanists**

**Chair: Patricia Osmond, Rome**

**Patrick Baker**, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

A Renaissance *translatio studii*: Eloquence's Return to Rome from Exile

Just as Cicero entrusted his history of ancient rhetoric to his dialogue *Brutus*, Paolo Cortesi records the history of Italian Renaissance humanism in his *De hominibus doctis* (ca. 1489), a youthful dialogue between himself and two other representatives of the Roman milieu. This paper will consider Cortesi's presentation of humanism as a modern *translatio studii*, a return of classical Roman culture to its ancient seat from a millennium-long exile in Byzantium. Throughout his treatment Cortesi gives Rome ever greater priority and eventually depicts it as the uncontested center of humanism. Accordingly he marginalizes other cities like Venice, Naples, and especially Florence, and he characterizes Florentine developments such as vernacular learning and Neoplatonic poetics as deviant currents. It is instead Roman Ciceronianism that he places in the vanguard of the movement and sets up as the true heir to ancient eloquence.

**Kenneth Gouwens**, University of Connecticut

The Crisis of Masculinity in Giovio's "Ischian" Dialogue

Paolo Giovio's *Dialogus de viris et foeminis aetate nostra florentibus*, set in autumn 1527 and written soon thereafter, offers rich insights into Italian politics and culture in the early Cinquecento. Set on the island of Ischia where Giovio had found refuge with Vittoria

Colonna after the Sack of Rome, it comprises three “days” that survey, respectively, outstanding military leaders, literati, and elite women. Among its central themes is a perceived crisis in Italian femininity and masculinity. According to the interlocutors, female chastity, both as a physical condition and as a cultural ideal, has been a casualty of the foreign invasions. But the invasions themselves have resulted in part from a failure of male leaders to behave *as men should*, and their political and military flaccidity is allowing foreign domination to continue. This paper gives particular attention to the interlocutors' assessments of Clement VII, Pompeo Colonna, and Francesco Maria Della Rovere, Duke of Urbino, as those leaders took action (or not) in the crucial months of mid-1527.

**Angela Quattrocchi**, Università degli Studi Mediterranea di Reggio Calabria  
Da S. Francesca Romana agli spirituali moderati. Origini e continuità dell'umanesimo religioso di Latino Giovenale de' Manetti

Le ultime ricerche su Latino Giovenale Manetti (ancora inedite) hanno portato alla conoscenza delle sue origini legate alla famiglia d'origine di S. Francesca Romana. Si ritiene che, non solo per formazione umanistico-letteraria e affinità culturale, ma anche per l'indubbia influenza che l'appartenenza a quella famiglia ha esercitato sulla sua indole e maturazione religiosa, Latino sia stato portato a condividere un autentico interesse per il dibattito teologico e le profonde tensioni religiose degli spirituali moderati che si distinsero nettamente nell'elaborazione dottrinale dell'evangelismo.

La sua sincera convinzione religiosa ha indotto alcuni storici a dedurre che egli sia stato tra i primi adepti della Compagnia ovvero Oratorio del Divino Amore e che abbia fatto parte anche di quei personaggi partecipi di quel movimento di riforma che, pur non proponendosi il distacco dalla Chiesa di Roma, operava per la conciliazione tra cattolici e luterani e per l'acquisizione da parte della Chiesa di alcune dottrine riformate.

La sua adesione agli ideali di un umanesimo religioso promosso dagli spirituali moderati si è riflessa negli ultimi anni, nel contributo alla realizzazione del Gesù, e nella conoscenza e divulgazione del Vangelo diffuso a livello popolare dando luogo ad un punto di aggregazione di laici e religiosi attivi nel proselitismo presso la chiesa di S. Maria in Monticelli che, consolidandosi, sfocerà nella creazione dei Padri Dottrinari per opera del francese Cesare de Bus. Infatti emerge un legame di continuità tra la dimora di Latino Giovenale posta nell'*insula* comprensiva della chiesa di S. Maria in Monticelli e l'attuale localizzazione della sede generalizia della *Congregatio Patrum Doctrinae Christianae* o Padri della Dottrina Cristiana fondata da un membro appartenente al ramo francese della stessa famiglia la cui salma è tutt'oggi venerata in quella sede.

**9:30-11 am**

**University of California, Rome Study Center**

**Urbanism**

**Chair: Antonella De Michelis**, University of California, Rome

**Andrea Branchi**, Saint Mary's College, Rome

Alexander VI's Plans for Rome

The fame of Alexander VI Borgia – notwithstanding recent scholarship – is still fashioned for the public on the ‘black legend’ of daggers and poisons exploited by Alexander Dumas and Victor Hugo. Contemporary broadcasters both of fiction as well as documentaries very often have a propensity to overemphasize the ‘dark and spicy’ side of the Italian Renaissance, regrettably missing most of the appealing subtleties and richness of countless personalities. Beyond the clouds of fictionalization, Rodrigo Borgia powerfully contributed to the greatness of the Roman Church and of Rome. The paper focuses on the great architectural operations

he progressively commanded in Rome and their meaning in terms of political behavior. From the improvements of Castel Sant'Angelo with the latest advances in the science of fortification to the opening of a new straight road to St. Peter through the gardens and slums of Borgo, christened for himself as Via Alexandrina, the Borgia Pope shaped a triumphant display of papal prerogatives and princely virtues in the urban setting.

**Katherine Rinne**, California College of the Arts

Angling for Acqua: Topography, Technology, and Water Lust in Rome from 1572-1581

Sixtus V's construction of the Acqua Felice (1585-87) is often credited with initiating Rome's metamorphosis from a medieval into a baroque city. Yet, the transformation was well underway in the Campo Marzio (a densely-inhabited, low alluvial plain) by 1581. By then, water flowed through gravity from the newly restored Acqua Vergine (1560-70) to new fountains in Piazza del Popolo, Piazza Navona, Piazza della Rotonda, and Piazza Colonna; to drinking, animal, and laundry basins; and to at least 130 private palaces, gardens, monasteries, and hospitals. But, whether public or private, industrial or decorative, all fountains of necessity stood below the level of available pressure at 19.70 meters above sea level. This paper charts some of the social and physical changes wrought in the Campo Marzio as a result of access to Vergine water, and also investigates technical and political strategies that elite Romans living above the 19.70 contour devised to bring water to the Pincian and Quirinal hills between 1572 and 1581. Their efforts led to the construction of the higher elevation Acqua Felice, which satisfied their lust for water.

**Lauren Jacobi**, New York University

The Banchi in the Rione di Ponte: Architecture and Urbanism

While the development of Italy's early modern economy has received a vast amount of scholarly attention, a lacuna persists when one turns to the architecture of the very buildings used for monetary exchange and deposit. Exploring this understudied subject, the paper focuses on the sites of the Roman branches of the Altoviti, Chigi, Fugger, Medici and Strozzi banks active in city's Rione di Ponte district ca. 1490–1530. The location of these banks is analyzed, as is their architectural articulation. The paper argues that Julius II's early *cinquecento* urban reforms in the area responded in part to the architecture of buildings that housed financial operations, deliberately using a distinct visual language to establish a papal presence in the neighborhood. The paper also confronts a long persistent demarcation of the Renaissance *palazzo* as domestic architecture, demonstrating that sites of business and leisure could overlap in the early modern city.

**Maurizio Caperna**, Università degli Studi di Roma "La Sapienza"

Sviluppi e caratteri dell'area urbana di via della Lungara dalla metà del Cinquecento alla metà del Seicento.

L'argomento proposto per la relazione al convegno è incentrato sull'area attraversata dalla via della Lungara, antichissimo percorso al di là del Tevere, risistemato al tempo di Giulio II agli inizi del Cinquecento. Ambiente agricolo compreso tra l'abitato del Trastevere e il Borgo Vaticano per tutto il Medioevo, esso giunge a riqualificarsi con la ben nota impresa di rettificazione e l'arrivo di importanti ville suburbane circondate da giardini; pur sopravvivendo ancora a lungo l'attività di sfruttamento a vigneti, appartenenti a note famiglie, la cui entità e distribuzione sarà illustrata. Solo parzialmente, infatti, possono riconoscersi sviluppi abitativi nel corso del XVI secolo, resi fra l'altro difficoltosi a causa delle inondazioni frequenti dell'adiacente Tevere.

Il processo attuatosi nel primo Seicento finalmente conduce alla lottizzazione dell'area; la quale arriva a saturarsi di edilizia saldando la città nelle sue zone costruite a sud e a nord

della riva destra del fiume. Il piano per la realizzazione del quartiere, disegnato dall'architetto Orazio Torriani (1615) al tempo di Paolo V Borghese, soltanto in parte verrà seguito nell'edificazione, poiché altre logiche subentreranno a condizionare il risultato. Le qualità del tessuto edilizio (esaminato sulla base di molta documentazione inedita) e il ruolo delle architetture più significative costruite nell'area, così come le caratteristiche delle istituzioni assistenziali che in modo particolarmente intenso si diffusero in essa, verranno analizzate e interpretate in rapporto al loro tempo. Tutto ciò anche al fine di evidenziare quanto della struttura urbanistica, definitasi entro la metà del Seicento, ancora permanga allo stato attuale; malgrado le pesanti trasformazioni avvenute dal tardo Ottocento alla metà del Novecento.

**11-11:30 am Coffee Break**

**11:30-1pm**

**Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo**

**Gender & Antagonism**

**Chair: Mariateresa Guerra Medici, Università degli Studi di Roma "La Sapienza"**

**Laurie Nussdorfer, Wesleyan University**

**Hierarchies of Masculinity in Baroque Rome**

This paper utilizes trial records and other sources to analyze tensions over the meanings of manhood between generations, nations, professions, and laymen and clerics in Baroque Rome. Its point of departure is the fact that Rome was a distinctly "male" city in this period, with a disproportionate number of men between the ages of 15 and 44. Not only was there a skewed sex ratio but the usual patriarchal distribution of domestic and political power was also disrupted by the tight hold of ecclesiastics on government office. For Rome's rulers manhood could not be conveyed in exactly the same terms as it was in other places. At the same time their definitions could not assume a stable hegemony over alternatives; many inhabitants of the "male" city contested or disregarded both the masculine norms of the clerical elite and those of domestic patriarchs. The paper explores the varied languages of manliness and what they meant for politics and culture in the Baroque city.

**Elizabeth S. Cohen, York University**

***La Romana Agonistes: Broomsticks and Fighting Words c. 1600***

In Rome, as in other early modern Italian cities, contest and local agonism signified more than failures of public order. This competition for reputation and material well-being engaged not only men, but also women. Responding to a scholarship on gender norms that cast women as largely the objects of male discursive and bodily constraint, recent studies present Roman noblewomen as diplomatic and managerial protagonists for family interests. In a different social and linguistic register, this paper proposes a parallel activism in the efforts of ordinary *romane*, with their menfolk, with other women, and on their own. Specifically in the agonistic arena of the neighbourhood, women with fighting words and even impromptu weapons sometimes adopted offense as the best defense.

**Thomas V. Cohen, York University**

**Bartolomeo Camerario—Legist, Polemicist, Chief of the Annona, Collector of Young Girls**

After the Spanish War of 1558, Bartolomeo Camerario, Neapolitan exile, legal scholar, Catholic pamphleteer, and French protege, for nine months ran the grain office amidst post-war, post-flood penury and confusion. Ruling with strong hand and arm, he offended many and then fell, at the hand, as often, of Cardinal Caraffa. His trial unveils both the nature of his administration, amidst emergency, but also what seems to have been his abnormal private

life. If we can believe his accusers, and doubts are possible, Camerario collected girls, generally prepubescent, and stowed them in nunneries, but borrowed them to ornament his post-prandial repose. We hear from many: parents, kin, servants, and the girls themselves. What is interesting is less the sex – or veiled semi-sex -- itself, real or just asserted, than the web of meaning cast around it by the law, the laity, the defendant, and the girls themselves, who do appear in court and speak. Many vocabularies converged on the affair, some pious, some legal, some vernacular and street-wise. Moreover, the seductions, if such they were, involved elaborate gift-exchanges and cagey bargains involving both the girls and their protectors, who jockeyed for scarce grain, rich gifts of clothing, and patronage, dangling youngsters but hoping not to lose their own grip on the tender bait and on their own social reputations. So, I hope, this is a microstudy in the political and cultural anthropology of barely licit sex, in Rome, amidst the Riforma Cattolica.

**11:30-1pm**

**University of California, Rome Study Center**

**The Church, Antiquity, and Art**

**Chair: Carolyn Smyth, John Cabot University**

**Jill E. Blondin, University of Texas, Tyler**

Space, Memory, and Sixtus IV at SS. Vito e Modesto

SS. Vito e Modesto, originally a *diaconia* built in the fourth century on the Esquiline Hill between S. Maria Maggiore and the Nymphaeum of Alexander Severus, was rebuilt by Sixtus IV for the Holy Year of 1475. The extraordinary façade features the Arch of Gallienus (262 AD). The Arch not only extends the façade and distinguishes it from other churches, but it also preserves the memory of ancient Rome. As a monument that emphasized the emperor's triumph in antiquity, the Arch persuaded the fifteenth-century viewer to compare the triumphs of the past with those of contemporary Rome. Further, the Arch activated the space around SS. Vito e Modesto by encouraging processions. This paper will consider the space around this little-studied church and the memory of the past as embodied by the façade and nearby ancient monuments to yield a nuanced understanding of antiquity during the papacy of Sixtus IV.

**Minou Schraven, Leiden University**

Founding Rome Anew: Pope Sixtus IV and the Foundation of Ponte Sisto (1473)

On 29 April 1473, Sixtus IV performed the foundation ceremonies of the Ponte Sisto, the first bridge built in Rome since antiquity. Assisted by cardinals and bishops, the pope laid a cornerstone inscribed with his name, along with bronze portrait medals with the bridge on the verso. The Ponte Sisto assumed pride of place in the *Renovatio Urbis* of the Sistine pontificate, figuring prominently in fresco cycles, laudatory poems and biographies, portrait medals, and manuscript illuminations. This paper proposes to study the foundation of the Ponte Sisto and its appeal to humanist culture, preoccupied with reviving the ceremonies and institutions of ancient Rome. Specific attention will be given to panegyric claims that Sixtus surpassed Romulus and Augustus in founding the city anew; to the connection between the building of bridges and the title "Pontifex Maximus;" and to the revival of the 'Parilia' by the Accademia Romana.

**Harula Economopoulos, Saint Mary's College, Rome**

Morte e rinascita della scultura a Roma nell'età della Controriforma

All'indomani della scomparsa dalla scena artistica romana di Michelangelo nel 1564 il percorso della scultura a Roma sembra subire un'inspiegabile battuta d'arresto. Le cause di

questa perdita d'interesse nei confronti di una delle più antiche (se non la *più* antica) forma di espressione artistica risiedono in una serie di fattori, ancora non sufficientemente indagati. Oggetto di questo intervento sarà la ricerca dei motivi culturali, religiosi ed economici di questo decrescente interesse della classe politica verso la scultura negli anni '60/'70 del Cinquecento. Una prima reazione a questo stato di cose si avrà con il pontificato di Sisto V Peretti il quale, con la cappella eretta in suo onore nella basilica romana di S. Maria Maggiore, apre la strada ad una serie di iniziative che segneranno profondamente il corso delle scelte artistiche degli anni a venire. Con Clemente VIII Aldobrandini si diffonde l'uso su larga scala di statue e bassorilievi a soggetto sacro nella decorazione di chiese e cappelle e la scultura verrà utilizzata quale strumento adatto alla propagazione della fede.

### 1-3 pm Lunch Break

### 3-4:30 pm

#### Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo

#### News and Knowledge

**Chair: Nick Wilding**, Georgia State University and the American Academy in Rome

**Paul M. Dover**, Kennesaw State University

“News of the world”: The Papal Court as a Clearing-House for International News in the Second Half of the 15th Century

As the praxis and institutions of the “new diplomacy” took hold among Italian states in the second half of the fifteenth century, Rome assumed its place as Europe’s most important locale for diplomatic activity. For ruling Italian princes and republican oligarchies the papal court was simultaneously the social and administrative center of the universal church, the primary locale for ecclesiastical patronage and office-seeking, and a place of intense political arbitrage between the many ambassadors and other representatives stationed there. Rome thus became Europe’s foremost information exchange. My focus in this paper is on the flow of information from abroad, and how ambassadors in Rome tapped into it. The presence of non-Italian cardinals and other churchmen, regular visits from foreign political and ecclesiastical envoys, as well as the general impact of the church’s international dimensions meant that the papal court was unrivaled as an exchange for news from beyond the Italian peninsula. Assiduous information gathering on the part of a resident ambassador or “national” cardinal was expected to supply his prince or patriciate a window on the world that it could not access in any other manner.

**Giovanni Pizzorusso**, Università degli Studi “G. D’Annunzio” Chieti Pescara

La quinta parte del mondo: missioni e conoscenze a Roma in età moderna

Grazie alla presenza dei missionari nei vari continenti e alla fondazione di istituzioni centrali di promozione e di controllo dello sforzo apostolico, Roma diventa uno dei luoghi preferenziali di arrivo di notizie sulle varie parti del mondo, al pari delle capitali dei grandi imperi coloniali. Il collegamento con le periferie del mondo porta notizie che aggiornano le conoscenze geografiche, “etnografiche”, linguistiche, antiquarie che vengono rielaborate all’interno delle istituzioni culturali romane, più o meno legate all’azione apostolica (gli ordini regolari, la Sacra Congregazione “de Propaganda Fide”, i collegi di formazione del clero, le scuole di lingua, le biblioteche e i luoghi di produzione libraria). Ma non si tratta di una pura e semplice accumulazione di conoscenze. Oltre e forse più della “curiosità” erudita, è la stessa giurisdizione sulle missioni che, mettendo i principi tridentini portati dai missionari alla prova del confronto con le culture locali, stimola da parte dei superiori romani la riflessione, la scrittura di libri, la produzione di strumenti di conoscenza (carte, dizionari,

testi giuridici). Attraverso questi “saperi missionari” emerge specificamente a Roma -- nell’età della Controriforma, ma anche della Nuova Scienza -- un’immagine complessa e diversificata del mondo nel corso dell’età moderna.

**Ingrid Rowland**, University of Notre Dame, Rome  
The Friendship of Alexander VII and Athanasius Kircher, 1637-1667

The German Jesuit Athanasius Kircher met Inquisitor Fabio Chigi in Malta in 1637, where, amid visits to ostrich farms and troglodyte caves, they forged a friendship that was destined to endure for the rest of their lives. This paper will argue that Chigi’s protection and international connections were essential to Kircher’s success, providing protection both within the Society of Jesus and in the international Republic of Letters. Kircher’s intellect, in return, provided Chigi with inspiration for a number of the artistic projects he sponsored during his pontificate. On rare occasions, however, their interests clashed, when Chigi’s political aims and Kircher’s intellectual aims led in different directions.

**3-4:30 pm**

**University of California, Rome Study Center**  
**Violence Real and Rhetorical**

**Chair: Julia L. Hairston**, University of California, Rome

**Costanza Gislon Dopfel**, St. Mary’s College of California  
Reshaping Rome’s Narrative: The Curious Case of Sigismondo Malatesta’s Execution

On April 27 1462, the people of Rome gathered to witness the execution of the infamous warlord Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta da Rimini. Since Sigismondo himself was safe in Rimini, the event was conveying a figurative message, yet staged to achieve the same impact of a “real” execution. To make up for the lack of a body to be burned, Pope Pius II ordered that three life-size puppets made of rags, with a sign reading “Sigismundus Pandulfus de Malatesta de Arimino hereticus”, should be burnt in the three main public places in Rome: Campo dei Fiori, the steps of Saint Peter’s Basilica and the Campidoglio. Starting with this famous “execution,” the paper investigates the connection between the geography of Rome, the visual and contextual impact of location in the display of public violence, and the creation of a city narrative within the politics of the reborn papal power.

**Nancy E. Goldsmith**, University of North Carolina School of the Arts  
Giambattista Giralaldi Cinzio (1504-1573) and the Sack of Rome

The past is defined as much by catastrophe as by achievement. Artistic responses to an event mould what we wishfully call factual history. While pillage by mercenaries was not new, the 1527 Sack of Rome stunned Christendom by its ferocity. Florentines Benvenuto Cellini and Francesco and Luigi Guicciardini wrote the best-known reactions to this event. In the frame-tale of *Gli ecatommiti* by the Ferrarese Giralaldi, a *nobil brigata* flees the Sack by ship. The lack of a modern critical edition has hindered study of this work. To the elements of civic anarchy derived from Boccaccio’s *Decameron* Giralaldi combines details known from other sources (the German captain killed by the bullet of an arquebus, the weakly-defended pope’s flight to Castel Sant’Angelo, the involvement of the Colonna) with Counter-reforming moral indignation. Giralaldi as theorist expressed clear distinctions between the purposes of poetry and history. How does his frame story fit into history?

**John M. Hunt**, University of Louisville  
The Consumption of Violence: Carriage Culture in Early Modern Rome, ca. 1550-1650

In addition to palace-building and art-collecting, owning a carriage was prominent way for Roman nobles to display their status through consumption. Indeed, Peter Burke and Jean Delumeau have noted an explosion of carriages in the streets of late-sixteenth-century Rome. Related to the rise of the carriage was a concomitant rise in violence. Yet, except for a few passing remarks, scholars have not studied the violence connected to the carriage. This violence was sparked not only from fights over honor and precedence, but also from the illicit activities that could be performed within the concealed walls of the carriage. Nobles and their henchmen forged secret plots, gambled, held illicit trysts, and murdered enemies inside their carriages. Papal decrees and police action did nothing to attenuate this problem. This paper will use trials and police reports from papal judicial tribunals and diaries to examine this mobile space of violence in early modern Rome.

**4:30-5 pm Coffee Break**

**5-6:30 pm**

**Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo**

**Spain in Italy**

**Chair: James Nelson Novoa, Villanova University**

**Anna Maria Oliva, CNR, Istituto di Storia dell'Europa Mediterranea**

**Gli oratori spagnoli a Roma tra fine Quattrocento e primo Cinquecento**

Lo studio e, in alcuni casi, l'edizione delle relazioni degli oratori ed ambasciatori spagnoli, accreditati presso la Curia pontificia tra fine Quattrocento e primi del Cinquecento, propongono una lettura nuova delle vicende politiche, sociali e culturali, che videro in quegli anni Roma e la Curia trasformarsi in centro nevralgico della politica europea. L'interesse maggiore per questo tipo di fonti deriva dal fatto che le relazioni nascevano quale canale di informazione per la Corona riservato ed ufficioso e quindi speculare e complementare alla documentazione ufficiale. Lo studio si inserisce nel vivace dibattito storiografico nazionale sulla rilevanza di questo tipo di fonti sul piano storico-culturale e propone nuove prospettive di ricerca alla storiografia iberica che sino ad ora le ha trascurate o marginalmente utilizzate.

**Rose Marie San Juan, University College, London**

**The Transformation of Bernini's *Rio de la Plata***

The Fountain of the Four Rivers, designed by Gian-Lorenzo Bernini in the late 1640's as part of an ongoing re-organization of Piazza Navona, retains a surprising degree of opaqueness that can be directly attributed to its urban location. One aspect of the fountain that remains elusive is the figure of the *Rio de la Plata*, which in the 1650's was the focus of much discussion, especially due to its "Ethiopian" appearance, but which subsequently became submerged in the attempt to make the fountain's geographical scheme coherent. I will argue that this figure offers the opportunity to reflect on the historical problem of visibility and invisibility, and I will consider how the 1644-47 visit of Chilean-born Jesuit Alonso da Ovalle to Rome, during which he produced at the behest of the pope (the patron of the fountain) a forceful argument against the importation African slaves into Spanish America through the route of the *Rio de la Plata*, might serve to reconsider this figure's visibility in a piazza that was reclaimed as the centre of Rome, but also as the particular territory of the Spanish nation.

**Piero Ventura, Università degli Studi di Napoli "Federico II"**

**L'arciconfraternita dei napoletani a Roma tra XVI e XVII secolo**

La comunicazione si incentra sulle vicende della fondazione dell'arciconfraternita dello Spirito Santo dei Napoletani a Roma, negli anni settanta del XVI secolo, e sui suoi successivi sviluppi istituzionali, politici e spirituali, durante il XVII; indagati attraverso lo spoglio dell'inedita documentazione conservata presso l'Archivio Storico del Vicariato di Roma. Si illustreranno gli scopi assistenziali e la composizione socio-professionale del sodalizio.

Innocenzo XII, il papa Pignatelli, già suo primicerio nel 1643 e nel 1646, assegnò all'arciconfraternita le rendite di alcune abbazie soppresse nel regno di Napoli, nel 1698 e nel 1699. Ciò nonostante rimasero irrisolti i problemi del sostegno finanziario, cui pure concorrevano vari esponenti delle *élites* meridionali. Si può parlare di un sodalizio in affanno, rispetto ad altri meglio organizzati nella capitale pontificia. Il caso dello Spirito Santo dei Napoletani, da inscrivere nell'ambito della più generale presenza spagnola, è tuttavia interessante perché consente

**5-6:30 pm**

**University of California, Rome Study Center**

**Strategies of the Nobility**

**Chair: Stefanie Siegmund, Jewish Theological Seminary**

**Eleonora Canepari, CNRS, Paris**

How to Become *Illustre*? Civic Nobility and Neighborhoods in the Renaissance and Baroque Rome

The paper focuses on the relationships between the civic *élites* and the urban population in Renaissance and Baroque Rome, as a way for nobility to get political power. In fact, according to the city's statute of 1580, to be elected as a civic officer one had to be informally recognized as an illustrious man (*uomo illustre*) of a neighborhood (*riione*): no official nobility's list limited the access to the Capitol hill at least until the first half of XVIIth century. The paper aims to show that the reputation of *uomo illustre* was achieved mostly thanks to the social influence and the outstanding position that the nobleman had between the inhabitants of a neighborhood. Focusing on the exercise of the authority by the *caporioni*, mostly in Trastevere during XVIth and XVIIth century, I wish to emphasize the exchanges between lower and upper classes, often described by historians as two separate sectors of the society.

**Jennifer Mara DeSilva, Eastern Connecticut State University**

Red Hat Strategies: Elevating Cardinals, 1471-1549

In both the early modern and modern periods the College of Cardinals has attracted criticism for many of its practices. Not least amongst the practices was the enlargement of the College itself. Although cardinal elevations were the prerogative of the pope alone, periodically the cardinals were complicit in the continued expansion of their ranks beyond the limit of 24 men established by the Council of Constance (1414-1418). Critics claimed that venality, excessive nepotism, and inappropriate concern for politics drove popes to inflate the College. This study will explore the criticism and reveal the strategies of the High Renaissance popes, from Sixtus IV della Rovere to Paul III Farnese (1471-1549), which for centuries have borne the blame for encouraging a College of full of princes and politicians instead of priests. While modern historians consider Sixtus to be the initiator of this pattern at the papal court, historians view Paul as a transition towards the period of reform. In truth the popes through this period shared a vision of the cardinalate that was similar, although the circumstances of their elevations differed, which greatly contributed to criticism of their motives and their historical reputation.

**Antonella De Michelis**, University of California, Rome

Family and *Famiglia*: Political Strategies and Social Mobility in Farnese Rome

This paper investigates a specific group of Roman families during the pontificate of Paul III, those whose members served as *maestri di strade*, high-ranking officials responsible for overseeing the funding and completion of roadwork. This influential and profitable position originally fell under the purview of the S.P.Q.R. and although from the late fifteenth century the office came under the direct control of the Cardinal Camerlengo, the *maestri di strade* continued to be exclusively Roman. Between 1534 and 1549 there were a total of fifteen *maestri* belonging to thirteen prominent Roman families including the Massimi, Caffarelli and Del Bufalo. It is the unique identity of this office, both papal and Roman, which provided these officials parallel avenues of advancement. This paper is a case study of the men who served as *maestri di strade* under the Farnese pope and their careers as papal officers and representatives of the Popolo Romano.

**8 pm Closing Dinner at the Hotel Tiziano**

**Hosted by AACUPI**

**Event open to speakers and session chairs**