

Taddeo Zuccaro's Fresco in the Apse-Conch in S. Sabina, Rome

Golda Balass

Department of Art History, Tel Aviv University

Taddeo Zuccaro painted the apse-conch fresco in S. Sabina, Rome in 1559-60. The common opinion among scholars is that this fresco is based on the 5th century mosaic that was *in situ*. Other possibilities, as well as the reasons for re-creating this Early Christian work of art in the middle of the 16th century, have never been researched.

In the first part of this article I explore the Early Christian sources from which Taddeo may have taken his ideas. The reasons for invoking Early Christian art will be discussed in the second part.

The Apse-Conch Fresco and its Sources

The commission and a payment of one hundred scudi for painting the apse-conch fresco at the basilica of S. Sabina was given to Taddeo in 1559-60 by Cardinal Otto Truchsess von Waldburg, the titular Cardinal of the church between 1550 and 1561.¹ In view of the fact that the fresco has since been repainted several times, it is impossible to identify the original colors; hence, any attempt to discuss them would be futile.²

In the symmetrical composition of the apse-conch painting (Fig. 1) the figure of Christ is on the central axis, flanked on either side by male and female saints. Christ is seated on a mountain, while lambs drink from a stream flowing from the mountain toward the front plane of the composition. Although the saints' figures are characterized by considerable variation in features, clothing and movement, most of them are not identifiable, as they carry no attributes. At the extreme left of the fresco stands a group of female figures (Fig. 2) which have been identified by scholars as St. Sabina, St. Serafia and St. Marcella with her spiritual daughters.³ To the extreme right we can see St. Dominic clothed in the Dominican habit. A Pope is seated on a chair in the left foreground, with



Fig. 1: Taddeo Zuccaro, Apse-conch fresco, S. Sabina, Rome, 1559-1560.

a Bishop kneeling behind him. Berthier has identified the Pope as Alexander I, who is buried in the basilica; and the Bishop as the patron - Otto Truchsess.⁴ Salmi, however, suggests that the Pope may be Celestine I, during whose pontificate the basilica was founded - as mentioned in the famous mosaic inscription on the inner face of the west facade.⁵ In this latter case we may assume that the Bishop behind him is Petrus of Illyria, the founder of the church - according to the same inscription.⁶ In the right foreground a Bishop is seated, with a deacon kneeling behind him. According to Berthier these are St. Eventius and St. Theodolus, who are also buried in the basilica.⁷

All scholars are in entire agreement that the fresco depicted by Taddeo Zuccaro is a 16th century reinterpretation of the subject and composition of the original apse mosaic that was *in situ* as early as the 5th century.⁸ As Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini had already carried out restorations in this part of the church in 1441, it seems that by the middle of the 16th century this mosaic must have been in such poor condition that it had to be removed altogether.⁹

The mosaic, replaced by the fresco of Taddeo Zuccaro, was not documented, verbally or visually, before its final removal. Moreover, it is impossible to know whether Taddeo had seen its remnants, if any such remained by his time. We may obtain some idea of its appearance by comparing the fresco to other 5th century Roman apse mosaics with which Taddeo and his patron, Cardinal Truchsess, must have been familiar.



Fig. 2: Taddeo Zuccaro, Apse-conch fresco, S. Sabina, Rome, 1559-1560 (detail of fig. 1).

Based on the fresco, we may assume that in the mosaic Christ was seated on a little mountain in the center of the composition, flanked on either side by the figures of standing saints. The four rivers of paradise flowed from the mountain while the mystic lambs drank from its water or, alternatively, just stood nearby.

Salmi argued that such use of several figures symmetrically flanking Christ's figure, may reflect certain paintings in the catacombs of S. Domitilla and SS. Marcellino e Pietro, and also several apse mosaics dated from the Early Christian period, such as those of S. Pudenziana and S. Constanza.¹⁰ In the latter, which is the most indicative one among Salmi's examples, Christ is standing, flanked on either side by Peter and Paul, while at his feet flow the four rivers of paradise with four lambs nearby.

It is possible that the composition of S. Sabina's mosaic is reflected in some other 5th century apse mosaics, which were still extant in Rome during the 16th century. Two good examples for our purpose are now lost, but Ciampini's

(1690) designs provide us with some idea of them. In the apse-conch mosaic in S. Agata dei Goti (Fig. 3) Christ was seated on a globe with the twelve Apostles flanking him, six on either side.¹¹ At S. Andrea in Catabarbara (Fig. 4) Christ appeared in the center, flanked on either side by three Apostles. Four streams flowed from the little mountain supporting Christ.¹² In both compositions we can notice the symmetrical grouping of many figures around a central element, all pushed against the front plane of the pictorial surface. The figures are gently turned from ends to center. Similar compositions can be found in other Roman church mosaics, dated after the 5th century.¹³

Looking at the 6th century apse-conch at S. Vitale at Ravenna, we can see the same idea: Christ, enthroned upon a globe, is flanked by standing angels; St. Vitale and Bishop Ecclesio appear beyond this honor guard and four rivers flow at Christ's feet.

It is thus highly likely that Taddeo could have obtained an idea of the appearance of S. Sabina's mosaic from mosaics that were still extant in Rome during the 16th century and from the one at Ravenna.¹⁴ Though it is possible that Taddeo and his patron could have taken some ideas from the catacombs, it is more likely that their knowledge was acquired from sources readily available above ground throughout the city, and far easier to reach than the ones hidden within the dark, dangerous tunnels of the ancient cemeteries.

The triumphal arch mosaic had a somewhat better fate. Cardinal Truchsess was able to repair it¹⁵ and thus it was saved until at least 1690, when it was drawn by Ciampini (Fig. 5),¹⁶ and reinterpreted later according to this drawing. The triumphal arch comprised 15 or 17 medallion portraits or *imagines clipeatae* set around the archway. The central *clipeus* contained the bust portrait of Christ, flanked on either side by bust-length figures of unidentified men, obviously a combination of apostles, evangelists and saints. On the right and left sides of the triumphal arch appeared the cities of Bethlehm and Jerusalem, with eight doves between them, flying towards the center of the arch.

Such elements of decoration, in various different combinations, had existed since the 5th century in several churches in Rome: e.g. the depiction of Bethlehm and Jerusalem on the triumphal arch of S. Maria Maggiore; the bust-portrait medallions at old S. Pietro and at S. Paolo fuori le Mura; and especially those above the entry door to S. Zeno Chapel at S. Prassede, dated between 817 and 824.

Outside Rome, at Ravenna, as early as 424-434, ten secular figures in medallions - Christian members of the Imperial family - adorned the edge of the soffit of the triumphal arch at S. Giovanni Evangelista.¹⁷ The subject matter soon became standardized: Christ, or His symbol, at the summit of the arch,

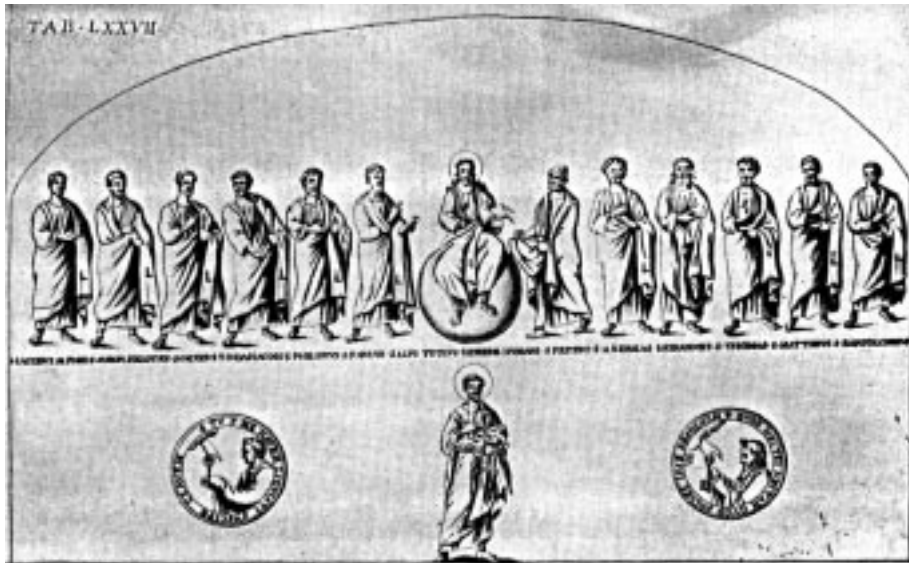


Fig. 3: Apse-conch mosaic once in S. Agata dei Goti, 462-472 (after Ciampini 1690).

was surrounded by holy figures, each in his own medallion.¹⁸ Examples from the 6th century, most similar to the S. Sabina medallions, survive in Ravenna at the Archbishops' chapel and on the arch soffit of the apse at S. Vitale. The triumphal arch of the latter also features a depiction of Bethlehm and Jerusalem.

Thus it seems that the entire decorative program of the apse area at S. Sabina could also be found at S. Vitale in Ravenna, created a century later.

In the apse-conch fresco at S. Sabina, Taddeo adhered, iconographically, to Early Christian prototypes. Nevertheless, some of his figures are new, such as St. Dominic, who lived during a later period; and Pope Alexander I, St. Eventius and St. Theodolus, whose bodies were transferred to be buried in the basilica of S. Sabina in the 9th century.¹⁹

Stylistically, Taddeo did not re-create the 5th century mosaic, but opted instead for a more complex composition with the characteristics of a much earlier time. Although he adhered to the symmetrical arrangement of the figures on either side of Christ, his composition did not succumb to either monotony or rigidity. He used a pictorial depth, and arranged the figures in the several planes of the pictorial space in a variety of postures. Christ and the two groups of figures flanking Him create a sort of arch - parallel to the structure of the lower part of the apse-conch. Here, Taddeo was undoubtedly directly inspired by Raphael's "Dispute" fresco. Yet this new composition does not characterize

Taddeo's style, as can be seen in the greater part of his religious paintings. The frescoes in the Mattei Chapel at S. Maria della Consolazione and in the Frangipani Chapel at S. Marcello al Corso - Taddeo's most important surviving religious works - reveal an asymmetrical composition with an off-center vanishing point, complexity of form, and repoussoir figures in exaggerated poses created to be admired as objects in themselves, irrespective of the subject-matter of the compositions in which they feature.²⁰ These are some of the qualities which Shearman notes as especially characteristic of the Mannerist style.²¹ Taddeo's apse fresco at S. Sabina has none of these characteristics.

Furthermore, iconographically and stylistically, Taddeo's fresco at S. Sabina did not resemble the other apse frescos which had replaced mosaics of Early Christian basilicas in Rome in the second half of the 16th century. It is sufficient to mention those at SS. Giovanni e Paolo, S. Vitale (Fig. 6), S. Susanna (Fig. 7), S. Prisca and S. Balbina,²² in all of which, the artists did not adhere to the Christian artistic approach of the distant past. They were presented, rather, in the latest artistic trend, common in apse frescos painted in contemporary built churches. These were usually of two kinds. In the first, the apses were divided into several fields by narrow strips of decorative painting and stucco. The compartments between the strips were "filled up" with scenes such as "quadri riportati" (S. Susanna, S. Prisca). In the second kind, the artists chose to treat the apse as one unit and, consequently, covered the entire surface with one scene, created according to the personal style of each artist (SS. Giovanni e Paolo, S. Vitale, S. Balbina). Hence, Taddeo's fresco was quite unique for his period, both for the artist's own repertoire and among other apse-frescos.

It would seem that Cardinal Truchsess had asked Taddeo to adhere to the iconography of the original mosaic, or alternatively to other 5th century mosaics, in order to evoke a sense of Early Christian art, giving Taddeo only limited freedom concerning his presentation of the subject-matter.

With regard to the reasons for the Cardinal's interest that the painting should appear Early Christian, two issues should be discussed. The first relates to the impetus in the second half of the 16th century to refurbish Paleochristian churches, which included conservation, restoration and revival of Early Christian art, and for research in Christian history and archaeology. This impetus had its roots in specifically Counter-Reformation thought. The second reason, concerns the character of the patron - Cardinal Truchsess himself.

Christian Art as a Weapon against Protestant Heresy

From the third decade of the 16th century, systematic actions began to be taken in Rome to improve the physical conditions of the city, coupled with a spiritual



Fig. 4: Apse-conch mosaic once in S. Andrea in Catabarbara, 468-483 (after Ciampini 1690).

renewal. At the seventh session of the Council of Trent, held in March 1547, it was decreed that: 'the local ordinaries shall be bound to visit every year with apostolic authority all churches...and to provide by suitable legal remedies that those that need repair be repaired'.²³ Consequently, in 1559 the Cardinal Vicar of Rome, Giacomo Savelli, initiated a series of visits to the city's churches. These were intended to investigate their administrations, the performance of divine worship and their state of repair, structure and decoration.²⁴ In 1561 Pope Pius IV (1559-1565) inaugurated a comprehensive program for the restoration of churches in Rome. In a Consistorial Act he ordered that all cardinals should undertake the renovation of their titular churches. The Pope himself carried out extensive restoration works in many Paleochristian churches, particularly at S. Giovanni in Laterano.²⁵ The succeeding Popes followed this pattern.²⁶ Naturally, the restoration projects varied from church to church, according to the exact condition of the building and its decoration.

Many cardinals initiated such works: St. Carlo Borromeo, for example, had S. Prassede extensively remodeled between 1560 and 1565.²⁷ At S. Lorenzo in Damaso the restructuring work which had been started in 1559 by the *Fabbrica*, was followed in the mid-1560s by Cardinal Alessandro Farnese's renovation.²⁸ Later on, still in the second half of the 16th century, other cardinals adopted

this practice, including: Cardinal Antonio Carafa at SS. Giovanni e Paolo,²⁹ Cardinal Enrico Caetani at S. Pudenziana³⁰ and Cardinal Cesare Baronio at SS. Nereo ad Achilleo.³¹

Nevertheless, not all the patrons were interested in reconstructing the churches or their decorations in an Early Christian style. As discussed above, some apse frescos which replaced Paleochristian mosaics in the second half of the 16th century, were created according to the contemporary artistic trend. It would seem that Cardinal Truchsess was the first patron of that period to express a wish to evoke Early Christian art, and thus, to lay the foundations for a phenomenon which was implemented later in other Paleochristian and medieval churches.

Cardinal Alessandro Farnese insisted on preserving the medieval appearance of the abbey church of S. Maria at Grottaferrata and that of the cathedral of Monreale. Although Alessandro found the church at Grottaferrata in great need of repair, the mosaics were left intact.³² When he reconstructed (1582-84) the church of S. Maria della Scala, part of the Abbazia delle Tre Fontane at Rome, he had the east conch apse decorated with mosaic. The use of mosaic was intended to recall the decoration of the earlier church, as the Jesuit Simone Bartoldo remarked in his appeal to Alessandro's heirs, urging them to complete the decorative project: 'Because the tribune of the high altar of the [former] church was decorated in mosaics, the Cardinal had started paintings and ornaments in mosaic in the new tribune, even more beautiful than those that were there before'.³³

Cardinal Baronio led the efforts carried out in Rome at the end of the century to conserve, restore and revive Christian antiquities. He succeeded in reconstructing his titular church of SS. Nereo ad Achilleo in Early Christian style.³⁴ The triumphal arch mosaic was repaired but the conch mosaic was in such poor condition that it had to be removed. The fresco that Baronio had made to replace it (Fig. 8) was a conscious revival of Early Christian art: ten saints flanking a jeweled cross, the dove of the Holy Spirit flying above it and lambs drinking from the four rivers below it. The church of S. Cesareo de' Appia was restored under the auspices of Pope Clement VIII, with Baronio as author and supervisor of the program.³⁵ The apse-conch and the triumphal arch were decorated with mosaics. The apse composition - God the Father seated in the center next to a globe and flanked by half-length angels - is a variation on an Early Christian motif.³⁶ The use of mosaic established historic veracity in the restoration by incorporating an Early Christian mode of decoration into an Early Christian church, thus reminding the spectator of the era that had produced it. Baronio failed to stop the final destruction of old S. Pietro and the



Fig. 5: Triumphal arch mosaic once in S. Sabina, 5th century (after Ciampini 1690).

modernization of S. Paolo fuori le Mura. The mosaic in the apse of the Constantinian basilica was sketched, so that its general character at least would be retained.³⁷

In the late 16th and early 17th centuries, Paleochristian and medieval mosaics were being restored and copied.³⁸ Moreover, even in newly built churches mosaic decorations were being used. Such decisions reflect a new interest in imitating Paleochristian mosaics and the revival of what was considered to be Early Christian tradition.

In the early 1580s Cardinal Farnese intended to have the apse of the Gesù covered with mosaic.³⁹ Mosaic had come into fashion with the decoration of the Cappella Gregoriana in 1578 and the Cappella Clementina in 1601 - both in St. Peter's.⁴⁰ The vogue for mosaics at this time culminated in the decoration of the cupola of this church, between 1599 and 1612.⁴¹ The mosaics were neither archaic in style nor imitative of the pre-existing mosaics in the basilica. Yet, due to the medium, they shared a common language and spirit with the decoration of the Early Church.

The impetus for the refurbishment of Paleochristian churches had its roots in Counter-Reformation thought. It was a way to prove that the authority and practices of the contemporary Roman Catholic Church were based on those of the Christian past, and thus to refute the Protestant charges that the Catholic Church had departed from its earliest teaching and practices. These efforts, however, should be looked upon in historical perspective. They were but a link in a long chain of attempts, begun as early as the 5th century, to revive the Church on the basis of a return to its origins.⁴²



Fig. 6: Andrea Comodi, Apse-conch fresco, S. Vitale, Rome, 1595.

This approach toward the churches of Rome as precious relics of the past (as *tesori nascosti* - to borrow from the title of a guidebook of the time), and therefore worthy of preservation, reflects the broader interest of this period in the study of Church history.⁴³

As early as 1522, a Catholic theologian had noted that ‘the challenge of the Protestants was one that concerned more a historical than a theological question; for it involved the destruction of what had consistently been received and passed on...about the beliefs of the Early Church’.⁴⁴ The Protestants had appealed to history in support of their accusations that the beliefs and practices of the Roman Church were corrupt. In turn, the Catholics also saw history as a polemical tool for proving their side of the argument.

Between 1559 and 1574 the Lutheran Matthias Flacius Illyricus and a team of associates published a thirteen-volume history of the church, known as the *Magdeburg Centuries*.⁴⁵ It aimed at tracing the corruption of the Roman Church from apostolic times through the 13th century.

The principal researcher of Catholic history was Cesare Baronio, who was a member of the Oratory of Filippo Neri and hence inspired to love every aspect of Early Christianity.⁴⁶ In 1559 Baronio began lecturing in the Oratory on the history of the church, from its inception to contemporary times. His thirty years of research and lecturing yielded the *Annales ecclesiastici*, published in twelve volumes from 1588-1607, covering the history of the Church from the Incarnation up to the year 1198.⁴⁷ Relying on what he believed to be authentic documents - especially Scripture, the writings of the Church Fathers,



Fig. 7: Cesare Nebbia, Apse-conch fresco, S. Susanna, Rome, 1597.

numismatic and epigraphical sources - Baronio attempted to demonstrate the uninterrupted continuity of the Roman Church under the leadership of the Papacy, and that the Roman Church had not degenerated nor had it strayed from tradition since the first century.

The emergence of Early Christian archaeology was closely associated with the study of ecclesiastical history and Filippo Neri's influence.⁴⁸ Among the earliest proponents of Christian archaeology was Cardinal Marcello Cervini (reigned as Marcellus II in 1555), who sponsored the Augustinian monk Onofrio Panvinio in his studies on the Paleochristian basilicas and the catacombs of Rome. During the 1560s, Filippo Neri and Carlo Borromeo explored Christian catacombs. Neri fostered the Oratorians' interest in ancient churches and other Early Christian monuments. Carlo Borromeo investigated Early Church architecture and in 1577 published his *"Instructiones fabricae et supellectilis ecclesiasticae"*.⁴⁹ The important discovery in 1578 of a catacomb on the Via Salaria gave rise to an intensive study of the physical remains and practices of the primitive Church, led by such men as Pompeo Ugonio, Antonio Gallonio, Alfonso Ciaconio (Chacon), Baronio and Antonio Bosio.⁵⁰ These and other scholars presented what they believed to be a historically accurate picture of the origins of Christian Rome, to serve as a moral and instructional guide for the faithful.

Early Christian archaeology was inspired by the same devotional, antiquarian and polemical spirit that inspired Baronio's *Annales*. The restoration of the churches of Rome and their decorations is also associated with this

Counter-Reformation ethos. The desire for 'renewed communion with the ideals and forms of the Early Church',⁵¹ contributed to the Early Christian revival. The study and restoration of mosaics, the exploration of the catacombs and the publications of books on the history and traditions of the Church are emblematic of this revival, begun in the middle of the 16th century. It is important to emphasize that this revival was not homogeneous, but articulated in diverse ways in different contexts. Moreover, it should not be thought of in terms of explicit quotations or copies, but rather as a pattern employed to evoke associations with the past through re-creating Early Christian forms.

The conservation of these "historical proofs" lent the sacred art the documentary role of Christian truth. This sacred art was intended to present, archaeologically, correct historical information that would help legitimize and strengthen the faith, by providing visual evidence that Roman Catholic belief and practice of the day were rooted in a tradition that had remained uninterrupted since Early Christianity. Thus, art in its documentary role - as in its didactic role - was meant to teach in an historical way, based on the establishment of authenticity.

In view of the discussion above, the importance of Taddeo's fresco on the apse-conch of S. Sabina is very clear. It reflects the interest in conservation and revival of Early Christian art. It would seem however, that its importance is derived primarily from the fact that this fresco was probably the first emanation of this striving for revival.

The Patron-Cardinal Otto Truchsess von Waldburg

Some characteristics of Cardinal Truchsess' life and personality shed light upon his motives for restoring and reviving Early Christian art at S. Sabina.

Cardinal Truchsess (b.1514 Swabia - d.1573 Rome) studied law at Padua (1531-33), Bologna (1534-35) and Pavia (1535-36). In Bologna he became lifelong friend of a fellow student - Alessandro Farnese, who would later become the most prominent Cardinal in 16th century Rome. In 1537 Truchsess went to Rome, where he was appointed a papal chamberlain (*camerarius secretus*). In 1542 Pope Paul III (Farnese) made him a delegate (*nuncio*) with the task of presenting the convocation bull of the Council of Trent to the Emperor, the Reichstag and the German prelates. Following his success in the mission he was elected Bishop of Augsburg (1543) and then elevated to Cardinal (1544). He was the first German bishop to send representatives to the Council's opening on 13 December 1545. He was appointed by Emperor Charles V as an official intermediary between the Emperor and the Pope, and in 1558 - as a Cardinal-Protector to the German Nation.⁵²



Fig. 8: Apse-conch fresco, SS. Nereo ed Achilleo, Rome, 1596-97.

The central issue of the papal-imperial discussions throughout this period was how to stop the Lutheran advance. Truchsess maintained a firm Roman Catholic position on the Pope's right to decide all religious questions.⁵³ In 1544 he accompanied Cardinal Farnese to Worms to meet with Emperor Charles V and Ferdinand I, King of the Romans, concerning waging war against the Lutherans.⁵⁴ Cardinal Truchsess strived to defeat the Reformation powers and to see the whole of the German Nation united in one faith under the Pope's leadership.⁵⁵

The personal religious development of Cardinal Truchsess was strongly influenced by his close relationship with the Jesuits. In 1542 he began his training in the Spiritual Exercises with Petrus Faber, the first companion of Ignatius Loyola and the first Jesuit priest on German soil, sent there by Cardinal Farnese. The Jesuit fathers, especially Petrus Canisius, became his most influential advisors on theological and reform issues.⁵⁶

In 1552 Rome, together with Cardinal Morone, Ignatius Loyola and Petrus Canisius, Cardinal Truchsess founded the Collegium Germanicum for the training of talented young Germans for the Jesuit order.⁵⁷ In 1562 and 1568, respectively, Cardinal Truchsess laid the foundation stones of the Jesuit church of S. Annunziata⁵⁸ and, together with Cardinal Farnese, that of the Gesù.⁵⁹ In

addition to his donations to the Jesuits, he supported many confraternities with which he was associated.⁶⁰ From 1562 until his death he was the Cardinal Protector of the confraternity of SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini e Convalescenti, which had been founded by Filippo Neri⁶¹ - hence he must have been intimately familiar with Neri's devotion to everything Early Christian.

Truchsess' vast collection of antiquities and relics was kept in the Holy Tower" (Heilige Turm) in his palace.⁶² In 1565 he commissioned Livio Agresti to create the paintings in this special personal project in Dillingen. The first floor of the round tower served as an oratory and contained a library. Paintings covering the walls and ceiling illustrating the Kingdom of God from Creation to the Last Judgment, the Virtues, the works of mercy and the duties of a bishop. On the second floor were displayed liturgical instruments and relics in bejeweled reliquaries. On the third floor was a chapel, where Cardinal Truchsess celebrated daily mass. Above the altar was a painting of Christ with the pelican piercing its breast to feed its children, a symbol which Truchsess had adopted for himself. Here, he had a collection of relics in expensive reliquaries. The walls and ceiling were painted with scenes of saints and martyrs as well as four paintings of women doing penance. A stairway ("Scala Purgativa") led to the reliquary room on the fourth floor. Among the Cardinal's extensive collection were pieces from the stall in Bethlehem, Christ's manger, the column of the Flagellation, the crown of thorns, the purple mantle, the cross, remains from the room where the Immaculate Conception took place and from the Virgin's girdle. At the end of the "Holy Tower" were steps which led to the floor called "paradisus".

Cardinal Truchsess regarded relics with the highest veneration, judging from his vast collection. This offers an additional aspect to his interest in Early Christian "authenticity" regarding the restoration which he commissioned at S. Sabina.

However, this does not mean that Truchsess was an ascetic, ecclesiastically-minded Cardinal whose life and deeds were motivated only by deep religious sentiments. He was well educated, sought to embellish his palaces and did not decline to live luxuriously.⁶³ His commission of the fresco at S. Sabina was only a small part of his vast patronage of the arts in Italy and in Germany, which caused him to incur enormous debts.⁶⁴

Cardinal Truchsess was closer in his lifestyle to that adopted, for example, by Cardinal Farnese, than to the ascetic life of Cardinal Baronio.⁶⁵ Yet, he nonetheless believed that the crisis in the Church was a result of its misconduct and, therefore, tried to revive the Church on the basis of a return to its origins.⁶⁶

In conclusion, in the second half of the 16th century artists and patrons

were reacting to the new religious atmosphere in various ways, reflected in the different artistic styles in simultaneous use in Rome itself, as well as in other regions. It seems that the patron's decision and the ability (or desire) of the artist to adapt himself to the patron's wishes - were the decisive factor in dictating the artistic product that, therefore, changed according to the circumstances.

Notes

- * This paper is based on my Ph.D. dissertation prepared under the supervision of Prof. Avraham Ronen, to be submitted to Tel Aviv University.
- * I am grateful to Prof. Nurith Kenaan-Kedar for her contribution and fruitful ideas concerning Early Christian art.
- 1 An inscription "Otto Truchses de Waldeburg S.R.E. presb. card. augustanus vetustate absidem collapsam restituit et ornavit. MDLX", now lost but quoted in Berthier 1910: 357 n. 3. In later repaintings of the inscription, the text and the date changed: "Otho Truchses card. S. Sabine. apsidem. pingi curavit AN.D.MDLIX". Forcella 1869-84: VII, 302. For the payment, see Berthier, *Ibid*: 356. For Truchsess as Cardinal Titular, see Cristofori 1888: 44,57,125,129.
- 2 The fresco has been repainted at least three times, in 1630,1830 and 1919. See Berthier 1910: 358; Darsy 1961: 100.
- 3 Berthier 1910: 357; Salmi 1914: 5; Darsy 1961: 12
- 4 Berthier 1910: 357
- 5 Salmi 1914: 5 n.5. The mosaic inscription is cited by Krautheimer 1937-77: IV, 75.
- 6 In the inscription he is called a presbyter, but in the Liber Pontificalis he is recorded as a bishop, see Duchesne 1886-92: I, 235.
- 7 Berthier 1910: 357. Salmi 1914: 5 n.5 doubts this identification. The Pope Eugenius II (824-827) transferred to the high altar of the basilica the relics of these two saints as well as those of Pope Alexander I. See Krautheimer 1937-77: IV, 75.
- 8 Ihm 1960: 152 and bibliography on p. 153. In 1946, Matthiae and Darsy found remains of the 5th century mosaic under the Zuccaro fresco in the left part of the apse-conch. See Darsy 1961: 47.
- 9 The bad condition of the mosaic is mentioned in the restoration's inscription of 1559-60. See note 1.
- 10 Salmi 1914: 8-10.
- 11 The apse mosaic in S. Agata dei Goti was created between 462 and 472 and destroyed when the vault collapsed in 1589. See Huelsen 1924: 192; Krautheimer 1937-77: I, 2-4. Ciampini's drawing is derived from a series of colored drawings made before the vault fell. See Waetzoldt 1964: 19, 28, and ill. 1-13; Ciampini 1690: pl. LXXVII.
- 12 The apse mosaic in S. Andrea in Catabarbara was created between 468 and 483, and destroyed with the church in 1686. A copy of the composition was made by Antonio Eclissi in 1630. See Waetzoldt 1964: 29 and ill.15; Ciampini 1690: pl. LXXVI.
- 13 Waetzoldt 1964: ill. 33,38,170,490,494.
- 14 In 1552 Taddeo accompanied Duke Guidobaldo II of Urbino on a visit to Verona. On their way they could have passed through Ravenna. For the visit to Verona, see Gere 1969: 30.
- 15 Rodocanachi 1898: 24 : "Si fa' il volto alla capella maggiore"
- 16 Ciampini 1690: pl. XLVII.

- 17 Ihm 1960: 16-17,170-171.
- 18 For a history of the interest in the imago clipeata, see Vermeule 1965: 361-397.
- 19 See note 7.
- 20 This analysis is based on my Ph.D. research on Taddeo Zuccari.
- 21 Shearman 1963: 195-196.
- 22 For the apse fresco at SS. Giovanni e Paolo painted by Niccolo Circignani at 1587-88, see Prandi 1957: 88 and fig. 27; for S. Vitale - painted by Andrea Comodi in 1595, see Huetter and Golzio 1938: 57 and fig. 17; Briganti 1960: 35; for S. Susanna - painted by Cesare Nebbia in 1597, see Affanni 1993: 38-39 and fig. 21; Hibbard 1971: 112 and fig. 5b; for S. Prisca - painted by Anastasio Fontebuoni in 1600, see Sangiorgi 1968: 48 and fig. 15; for S. Balbina - painted by Anastasio Fontebuoni in 1600, see Sricchia Santoro 1974: 30-32 and fig. 8.
- 23 Schroeder 1978: 58.
- 24 Monticone 1953: 228. For visits held from the 1530s see Beggiao 1978: 24.
- 25 Pastor: XVI, 441-442 and docs. 12 and 14.
- 26 For Gregory XIII restorations, see Pastor: XX, 574-598; for those of Sixtus V, see Pastor: XXII, 279-281.
- 27 Davanzati 1725: 506-507; Krautheimer 1937-77: III, 236,238.
- 28 Robertson 1992: 162-168.
- 29 Prandi 1957: 88.
- 30 Waetzoldt 1964: 73-74.
- 31 Herz 1988: 590-620; Zuccari 1981: 171-185; Krautheimer 1967: 174-178.
- 32 Robertson 1992: 170-172.
- 33 *Ibid*: 200.
- 34 See note 31.
- 35 Hertz 1988: 593-594; Zuccari 1981: 184-185.
- 36 The motif of Christ enthroned upon a globe can be found at the apse mosaics of S. Constanza, S. Agata dei Goti and S. Teodoro at Rome, and at the apse mosaic of S. Vitale at Ravenna. See Ihm 1960:tav. V fig. 2, tav.VI fig. 2, tav. VII fig. 1.
- 37 Kirwin 1981: 147 and n. 31 for a list of the published descriptions.
- 38 Waetzoldt 1964: 49, 54, 73-74; Röttgen 1968: 72.
- 39 Pecchiai 1952:81,86-87. The Cardinal's plans were abruptly terminated by his death at 1589. His heirs rejected the Jesuits appeals to continue his patronage.
- 40 The decoration of Cappella Gregoriana had been entrusted to Girolamo Muziano. He designed the mosaics in the interior of the dome, the pendentives and the lunettes, which were carried out with the aid of a large workshop that included Cesare Nebbia and Giovanni Guerra. See Siebenhüner 1962:268-278; Chappell and Kirwin 1974:127-128. Cristofano Roncalli was placed in charge of the decoration of the Cappella Clementina. The designs for the mosaics in the dome, the pendentives and the lunettes were produced by him and executed by Paolo Rossetti and assistants. See Chappell and Kirwin 1974:128-129.
- 41 The Congregazione della Reverenda Fabbrica of S. Peter first entrusted this work to Cristofano Roncalli who, by order of Pope Clement VIII, was later relieved of the commission in favor of Giuseppe Cesari d'Arpino. The designs were carried out by a large team of artists. See Röttgen 1973: 119-121; Chappell and Kirwin 1974: 125-126.
- 42 For studies on the idea of the primitive Church as a model of reform, see Herz 1988:nn. 2-7.
- 43 For studies on the historical consciousness of this era, see Bouwsma 1964-65:303-14; Cochrane 1981: esp.445-478; Pullapilly 1975;

- 44 Cochrane 1981:457.
- 45 On the Magdeburg Centuries, see Cochrane 1981:457-458; Pullapilly 1975:50-53; Brodrick 1962:677-711.
- 46 Neri's interest in Early Christianity is discussed in Ponnelle and Bordet 1932:passim; Fremiotti 1926:5-12,42-52; Cecchelli 1938.
- 47 For the Annales, see Pullapilly 1975: passim; Cochrane 1981:458-463; Walz 1963:259-287; Herklotz 1985:60-72.
- 48 For the broad subject of Early Christian archaeology in the second half of the sixteenth century, see esp. Fremiotti 1926; Cecchelli 1938; Ferretto 1942; Cochrane 1981:445-478; Wataghin Cantino 1980.
- 49 For Borromeo's treatise and its influence, see esp. Volker 1977; Volker 1988; (both including bibliography).
- 50 See note 48.
- 51 Hibbard 1971:66.
- 52 Zoepfl 1955:205-208; Zoepfl 1969:269;Ehse 1913:136-137; Cardella 1792-94: IV,258-261.
- 53 Siebert 1943:173-187,383-390.
- 54 Zoepfl 1955:213.
- 55 *Ibid.*, 204.
- 56 *Ibid.*, 209,231-235; O'Malley 1993:324.
- 57 *Ibid.*, 234; Villoslada 1954:25.
- 58 Ernesto 1914:93.
- 59 Zoepfl 1955:241; Pecchiai 1952: 34 n.2,35,57.
- 60 Zoepfl 1969:237,278,378,403.
- 61 Vasco Rocca 1979:100.
- 62 Wollesen-Wisch 1985:318-319.
- 63 Severe criticism had been expressed against the wasteful lifestyle, banquets, excessive hospitality, clothing style and household expenses of the Cardinal. He was famous for his love and support for music. The leading composers of the day - Palestrina, Orlando di Lasso, Jakobus de Karle and Tomas Luis de Victoria - dedicated some compositions, sacred and profane, to him. See Siebert 1943:342-343,349-356; Zoepfl 1955:245; Zoepfl 1969:462.
- 64 Truchsess collected paintings by Titian, Lorenzo Lotto, Paris Bordone and others. In 1554 he commissioned Pellegrino Tibaldi to paint and decorate with stucco his chapel at Loreto. For Truchsess patronage of art, see Siebert 1943:342-356; Zoepfl 1955:244-247; Zoepfl 1969:446-463. For his chapel at Loreto, see Grimaldi and Sordi 1988:9-12.
- 65 For general survey of Counter Reformation Cardinals, see Antonovics 1972; Hallman 1985. For the manner of life of Cardinal Farnese, see Robertson 1992:passim. For this of Cardinal Baronio, see Pullapilly 1975:passim.
- 66 Zoepfl 1955:231.

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