

Archconfraternities and the Arts

Overarching New Themes

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The English priest Gregory Martin, who sojourned in Rome from 1576 to 1578 and composed a manuscript titled *Roma Sancta* in 1581, wrote that “other Cities of Italie have the like Confraternities belonging unto these of Rome and dependant of them as of the greater and elder and more honorable and (at a word) as the lesser on the grand and mother Companies of the Mother Citie.”¹ Although Martin did not use the term “archconfraternity”, he was in fact attesting to these specially selected Roman brotherhoods, elevated by the pope himself to this prestigious rank. Archconfraternities accrued the most impressive indulgences and were also officially empowered to aggregate comparable sodalities, sharing spiritual benefits and privileges. Roman archconfraternities set the standard for an expanding global network in terms of devotional practices, rules of governance, indulgences, and even confraternal attire, such as the color of the hooded, sackcloth habit bearing the confraternal emblem.

Since the 14th century, confederations among Roman confraternities had occurred, and during the 15th and 16th centuries, affiliated groups from outside the city increased. However, the year 1520 marked a new development: the designation of the rank of “archconfraternity”. Prior to the conclusion of the Council of Trent in 1563, this was a very exclusive group comprising only five archconfraternities. But from the last quarter of the 16th century, spurred by the enthusiastic support of Pope Gregory XIII (reigned 1572–1585), the number of archconfraternities increased dramatically, an expansion that continued to the end of the early modern period. If all roads did indeed lead to Rome, then archconfraternities and their aggregated brotherhoods were the ideal embodiment of a devout Catholic laity united at the heart of the Eternal City. Archconfraternities were also an evangelical vehicle for spreading the “good news” of a reformed and triumphant Apostolic Roman Church across the globe.

Despite their importance, there is still no monographic study of Roman archconfraternities. Canon law scholars have addressed the juridical implications of this new rank meticulously,² but a true *history* of archconfraternities—synchronic or diachronic—is needed. This paper is, therefore,

¹ Gregory MARTIN, *Roma Sancta* (ed. George Bruner Parks), Roma 1969, p. 197. I shall use interchangeably the names confraternities called themselves in their own records: *confraternita* (confraternity), *fraternita* (brotherhood), *sodalizio* (sodality), *compagnia* (company), and “*archiconfraternità*”, today’s *arciconfraternita* (archconfraternity).

² Edmund QUINN, *Archconfraternities, Archsodalities and Primary Unions with a Supplement of the Archconfraternity of Christian Mothers*, Washington, D.C. 1962 (Canon Law Studies from the Catholic University of America, 421); Mirella MOMBELLI CASTRACANE, Ricerche sulla natura giuridica delle confraternite nell’età della controriforma, *Rivista di storia del diritto italiano*, 55, 1982, pp. 43–166.

a *prolegomenon* to a broader study of Roman archconfraternities, their influential cardinal protectors, and their patronage of the arts. I hope to identify new themes and pose many questions. Most significantly for this international conference, I have asked the participants—and here in this essay, ask confraternal scholars in general—to consider how these Roman regulations and patterns might have been emulated, manipulated, exploited, or ignored by confraternities across the Slovenian lands, the European continent, and the far-flung regions newly converted to Catholicism. First, I briefly examine new ecclesiastical decrees that controlled archconfraternities and/or incentivized support. Second, I look at the practical ways Roman brotherhoods served as paradigms. Next, since no definitive list exists, I begin to establish a chronology for the earliest Roman archconfraternities along with the names of their cardinal protectors. I then interpret the crucial role of the cardinal protector, elucidating his interwoven networks of jurisdiction, and underscoring confraternal expectations of his generous patronage of art and architecture.

Efforts at Control and Incentivizing Support

In the late Middle Ages, when laymen were first assembling and forming confraternities, there was no canon law specifying requirements for the institution or control of sodalities. Furthermore, it remains unclear how long after the original foundation of these pious unions they sought canonical institution (*erectio*) with episcopal approval, thereby establishing an official path for receiving spiritual privileges and indulgences.³ As late as the 1540s, attempts to place confraternities firmly under episcopal supervision and standardize devotional practices remained ineffective. Only as the Council of Trent (1545–1563) was drawing to a close, did it devote two brief chapters in Session XXII of 1562 to “pious places /.../ in the hands of laymen”, specifically placing confraternities, hospitals, colleges, and their charitable legacies under episcopal control.⁴ This included the inspection of their premises (including altarpieces and frescoes), account ledgers, and inventories of liturgical furnishings, hospital equipment, etc. The pastoral visitations necessitated accurate registers of their substantial real estate holdings, a primary source of income. Detailed survey plans were required, generating the great *Libri delle case* [*Books of the Houses*], a rich source for research that remains to be thoroughly explored.⁵ Digitizing and overlaying these plans on contemporary maps of Rome would reveal the extent of confraternal property throughout the early modern era and document the integral place of (arch)confraternities in the civic fabric.

³ Luigi FIORANI, Discussioni e ricerche sulle confraternite romane negli ultimi cento anni, *Ricerche per la storia religiosa di Roma*, 6, 1985, pp. 11–105, especially pp. 55–62, where he encouraged scholars to reassess the foundation dates and number of Roman sodalities, taking into account multiple earlier aggregations, time lapses between original devotional assemblies and papal approval, as well as more informal associations without official recognition. He did not, however, look specifically at archconfraternities.

⁴ *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent* (trans. Henry Joseph Schroeder), St. Louis 1960, pp. 156–157 (Session XXII, Chaps. 8–9).

⁵ Angela MARINO, I “Libri delle case” di Roma. La città disegnata, *Il disegno di architettura* (eds. Paolo Carpeggiani, Luciano Patetta), Milano 1989, pp. 149–153; Roberto FREGNA, *La pietrificazione del denaro. Studi sulla proprietà urbana tra XVI e XVII secolo*, Bologna 1990; Carla KEYVANIAN, The “Books of Houses” and their Architects. Mapping the Urban Fabric of Sixteenth-Century Rome, *Thresholds*, 28, 2005, pp. 17–22; David FRIEDMAN, Visual Documents, Property Archives, and the Map of the City of Rome 1563–1712, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 71, 2012, pp. 278–305. The earliest surviving example (1563) belongs to the Compagnia della SS. Annunziata at S. Maria sopra Minerva, which was elevated to an archconfraternity in 1581.

As part of his stringent program of visitation and reform, Clement VIII issued the bull *Quaecumque* in 1604 to establish norms for erecting new confraternities, in part to prevent the rapidly growing numbers of brotherhoods from duplicating cultic and charitable imperatives. In addition, sodalities were not permitted to aggregate with more than one archconfraternity, thereby preventing unauthorized efforts to acquire a richer patrimony of indulgences, so crucial in the Catholic economy of salvation. In addition to the “prestige” accrued by association and the extraordinary wealth of indulgences made immediately available to new members, the desire to aggregate was further animated by the hospitality offered to visiting affiliated companies during Holy Year celebrations. This was significant as pilgrimages to the Eternal City and processional visits to the Principal Churches had grown in stature and splendor from 1575 onward.⁶

In 1607, Paul V reconfirmed Clement’s bull while mandating three major exemptions from the prohibitions of founding multiple sodalities with the same dedication within a diocese: Dottrina Cristiana, SS. Rosario, and SS. Sacramento. The Compagnia della Dottrina Cristiana, which had assumed responsibility for adolescent catechetical education in Rome, had been founded in 1560, although Pius V (reigned 1566–1572) only authorized their constitutions in 1566. Impressed with their success, in 1571 the pontiff exhorted bishops across Christendom to create Christian Doctrine sodalities in every parish. Paul V subsequently raised the Dottrina Cristiana to an archconfraternity in 1607, reinforcing his decree of that year.⁷

Owing to their ardent promulgation of Catholic orthodoxy and the extirpation of heresy, the same exemption was applied to the Roman confraternities of SS. Rosario (instituted in 1481) and SS. Sacramento (instituted in 1539), both having been erected under the aegis of the Observant Dominicans at their mother church of S. Maria sopra Minerva. Although these confraternities were not the first in Rome (or elsewhere) to venerate the Rosary or the Holy Sacrament, the papacy conceded special archconfraternal-like status to affiliate other sodalities and share their rich indulgences, although they remained under the jurisdiction of the General of the Dominican Order.⁸ In 1573 SS. Sacramento was officially elevated to an archconfraternity; the Compagnia del SS. Rosario was not, although by the mid-17th century, texts called the Minerva sodality “archiconfraternità”.⁹

⁶ Barbara WISCH, *The Roman Church Triumphant. Pilgrimage, Penance and Processions Celebrating the Holy Year of 1575, “All the world’s a stage ...” Art and Pageantry in the Renaissance and Baroque* (eds. Barbara Wisch, Susan Scott Munshower), 1, University Park 1990 (Papers in Art History from The Pennsylvania State University, 6), pp. 82–117.

⁷ Sergio RIVABENE, *L’insegnamento catechistico dell’Arciconfraternita della Dottrina Cristiana a Roma nei secc. XVI–XVII*, *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria*, 105, 1982, pp. 295–314.

⁸ QUINN 1962 (n. 2), pp. 11–24; Gilles Gérard MEERSSEMAN, Gian Piero PACINI, *Le confraternite laicali in Italia dal Quattrocento al Seicento*, *Problemi di storia della Chiesa nei secoli XV–XVII*, Napoli 1979, pp. 109–136, especially pp. 129–132; MOMBELLI CASTRACANE 1982 (n. 2), pp. 64–67; Christopher F. BLACK, *Italian Confraternities in the Sixteenth Century*, Cambridge 1989, pp. 62–68.

⁹ When Pius V credited Mary’s intercession—invoked by Rosary prayers—for the victory at the Battle of Lepanto (7 October 1571), he instituted a new feast that dramatically spurred devotion and concomitant confraternities. In 1586, Sixtus V established the norms for erecting Rosary confraternities; see MOMBELLI CASTRACANE 1982 (n. 2), p. 65: n. 49. Carlo Bartolomeo PIAZZA, *Opere pie di Roma, descritte secondo lo stato presente e dedicate alla Santità di N. S. Innocenzo XI / ... /*, Roma 1679, pp. 365–366, comments that although he placed SS. Rosario in Trattato VI on archconfraternities, it was not actually elevated to that rank; the same held true for confraternities under the jurisdiction of other religious Orders. See *Capitoli Statuti et Ordinationi della Venerabile Compagnia del Santissimo Rosario / ... /*, Roma 1585 (“Ad istanza della Compagnia del SS. Rosario” Per gli heredi d’Antonio Blado); *Il modo di dire il Santissimo Rosario a chori, come lo dice l’Archiconfraternità di quello della Minerva di Roma*, Roma 1650; *Sommario delle indulgenze concesse a Fratelli, e Sorelle del Santissimo Rosario in vita, & in morte / ... /*,

Such blurring of the terminology contributes to the difficulty (addressed below) of creating a definitive chronological list of Roman archconfraternities.¹⁰

Many archconfraternities had their own richly decorated churches, oratories, and chapels, attesting to their wealth, prominence, and independence.¹¹ In 1573, upon mandating that the newly established feast of the Madonna del Rosario be celebrated in all Roman churches and oratories, Gregory XIII added that every church should have a chapel dedicated to the Rosary, further fostering confraternal patronage.¹² By 1601, 17 Sacrament sodalities existed in Rome, many with their own private oratories, demonstrating their growing importance and affluence. Nonetheless, to ensure proper supervision and control, in 1610, the Vicar General of Rome prohibited the introduction of new altars and paintings in all Roman confraternal churches without his express permission.¹³

Despite the preeminence of the Eternal City, archconfraternities were also created beyond the ancient walls. From 1569, Cardinal-Archbishop Carlo Borromeo elevated confraternities in the Diocese of Milan as part of his comprehensive reform program.¹⁴ In 1585, Pope Sixtus V conferred archconfraternal status on S. Maria della Vita, the oldest flagellant sodality in Bologna with its prominent church and large hospital in the city center. As Nicholas Terpstra has cogently remarked, the centralized hierarchy that had created “ties of dependence between autonomous lay brotherhoods across the Italian peninsula and Roman parent bodies /.../ was now duplicated on the urban level as S. Maria della Vita became the parent over ten other Bolognese confraternities.” As early as 1583, the statutes issued to all newly instituted Bolognese sodalities had been standardized by Cardinal-Archbishop Gabriele Paleotti, who emulated Borromeo’s model in Milan.¹⁵ Questions for further investigation include: How many other cities across the Catholic world were also developing their own archconfraternal systems? Which cardinal-archbishops sponsored them? How widespread were their networks?

Venezia 1668; and *Relazione della solenne processione fatta a Roma nell'Anno Santo M.DC.LXXV dall'Archiconfraternità del Santissimo Rosario*, Roma 1675.

¹⁰ Despite apostolic efforts to organize and standardize the procedures of archconfraternities and aggregations, much dissent from below (efforts to maintain independence and less oversight) and juridical ambivalence from above remained. In 1746, Benedict XIV even tried to suppress archconfraternities owing to administrative irregularities; see Roberto RUSCONI, *Confraternite, compagnie e devozioni*, *Storia d'Italia. Annali*, 9, 1986, pp. 469–506, especially p. 501: n. 1. A decree from the Sacred Congregation of Indulgences of 1880 and Chapter 707 of the *Codex iuris canonici* [*Codex of Canon Law*] of 1917 were still needed to clarify issues; see QUINN 1962 (n. 2), pp. 29–109; MOMBELLI CASTRACANE 1982 (n. 2), p. 65.

¹¹ Matizia MARONI LUMBROSO, Antonio MARTINI, *Le confraternite romane nelle loro chiese*, Roma 1963.

¹² MARONI LUMBROSO, MARTINI 1963 (n. 11), pp. 346–347. For the 1573 decoration of the confraternity’s new chapel in the Minerva that conserved the body of S. Caterina da Siena, see Simona CAPELLI, Marcello Venusti e la volta della Cappella Capranica in Santa Maria sopra Minerva in Roma, *Bollettino d'arte*, 87, 2002, fasc. 119, pp. 73–80.

¹³ Domenico ROCCIOLO, *Confraternite e devoti a Roma in età moderna. Fonti e problemi storiografici*, *Confréries et dévotions dans la catholicité moderne mi-XV^e–début XIX^e siècle* (eds. Bernard Dompnier, Paola Vismara), Roma 2008 (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 393), pp. 61–75, especially p. 71, quoting Archivio Storico del Vicariato di Roma, Bandi ed editi, 1586–1672, fol. 93.

¹⁴ BLACK 1989 (n. 8), p. 74.

¹⁵ Nicholas TERPSTRA, *Lay Confraternities and Civic Religion in Renaissance Bologna*, Cambridge 1995, pp. 221–225.

Setting an Example

In what practical ways were Roman archconfraternities exemplary? First and foremost, their statute books served as definitive models. Their own reformed statutes had incorporated Tridentine regulations, requiring that the books add many new chapters assiduously delineating confraternal life. These now encompassed: individual and collective prayers; papal indulgences; penalty fees for transgressions; and more rules for the growing numbers of officials (including a cardinal protector) as well as accountants, lawyers, priests, chaplains, and even additional porters to transport the lavish furnishings for festivities.¹⁶ The application process and patents for aggregation were significantly detailed in several chapters. From the early 17th century onward, the majority of *guardiani* (chief officials) were required to be noblemen, reflecting the “aristocratization” of Roman society.¹⁷ In addition, foundation stories were reinvented to aggrandize confraternal origins, pious fictions that have received little scholarly attention.¹⁸

Statutes also articulated the roles of *consorelle* (female members), which reflected their exclusions in civic life. Serving as *guardiano* was out of the question, but the *priora* (prioress)—a matron of a certain age and status elected by the women—was highly respected. Although confraternal oratories were predominantly barred to women, *consorelle* participated in other devotional practices and charitable work. From the later Quattrocento, women even helped represent the public face of Roman sodalities, as dowering indigent maidens became a confraternal charity celebrated by processions in which the prioress and *consorelle* accompanied the girls.¹⁹ By the late Cinquecento, when nobility was required for the office of prioress, elite women gained prominent positions, even that of *protettrice perpetuamente* (protectress for life). These new offices, I propose, should be studied to determine the extent of female power and influence.²⁰

Aggregated sodalities soon spanned the globe, creating an integrated web of pious practices, venerated images,²¹ and indulgences that effectively collapsed devotional and spatial distances by repeatedly converging at the eternal heart of Catholicism. By 1625, for example, the venerable Gonfalone, Rome’s oldest sodality, had aggregated almost 250 societies.²² As for images, in 1603,

¹⁶ MEERSSEMAN, PACINI 1979 (n. 8), pp. 132–136. Under Pius V, the *Officium Beatae Mariae Virginis ad usum confraternitatum* was developed to promote devotional conformity. For the proliferation of printed material on behalf of Roman confraternities, see Rose Marie SAN JUAN, *Rome. A City Out of Print*, Minneapolis 2001, pp. 95–128; Roberto RUSCONI, “Tesoro spirituale della compagnia.” I libri delle confraternite nell’Italia del ’500, *Confréries* 2008 (n. 13), pp. 3–38. For a discussion of the importance of confraternal texts in the Slovenian lands, see Matija OGRIN, Confraternities in the Slovenian Lands and their Significance for Baroque Slovenian Literature, *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 23/2, 2018, pp. 233–243.

¹⁷ E.g. *Statuti della venerabile Archiconfraternita dei Santi Dodici Apostoli di Roma*, Roma 1588; *Statuti della venerabile Archiconfraternita della S.ma Nuntiata in Roma*, Roma 1614; *Statuti della venerabile Archiconfraternita della Santissima Madonna della Consolazione*, Roma 1644; *Statuti del venerabile Archiospidale di San Giacomo in Augusta nominato dell’Incurabili di Roma*, Roma 1659.

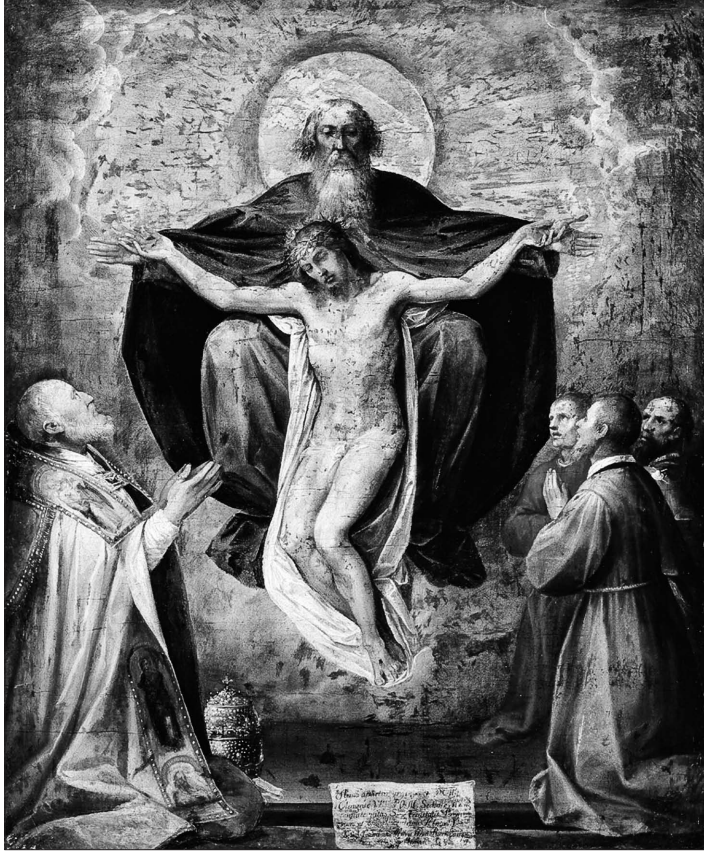
¹⁸ See Barbara WISCH, Nerida NEWBIGIN, *Acting on Faith. The Confraternity of the Gonfalone in Renaissance Rome*, Philadelphia 2013 (Early Modern Catholicism and the Visual Arts, 7), pp. 40–41.

¹⁹ SAN JUAN 2001 (n. 16), pp. 95–109; WISCH, NEWBIGIN 2013 (n. 18), pp. 70–74.

²⁰ See n. 45 below.

²¹ For one of the earliest and most significant copies of the preeminent *Salus Populi Romani* icon of S. Maria Maggiore, see Krzysztof J. CZYŻEWSKI, Marek WALCZAK, The Archconfraternity of the Rosary in the Dominican Churches of Kraków. Piety and Patronage of the Arts, *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 23/2, 2018, pp. 139–162.

²² Vincenzo PAGLIA, Contributo allo studio delle confraternite romane dei secoli XV–XVI, *Ricerche di storia sociale e religiosa*, 17/18, 1980, pp. 233–285, especially pp. 266–268.



1. Giuseppe Cesari,
called Il Cavalier d'Arpino:
*The Trinity Adored by Pope Clement VIII
and Confratelli*,
oil on canvas, 1602–1603,
Museo Nacional de San Carlos,
Mexico City

responding to a request from its new Mexico City affiliate and a 40 *scudi* “donation”, the archconfraternity of SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini e Convalescenti sent a painting of *The Trinity Adored by Pope Clement VIII and Confratelli* by Giuseppe Cesari, demonstrating the direct reception of an iconographic type (fig. 1).²³ By 1603, the Trinità had aggregated 314 companies.²⁴ Is this the only painting they sent abroad? How many other archconfraternities did the same?

Providing accommodation for visiting affiliates during Holy Years became a new responsibility for Roman archconfraternities, which further encouraged sodalities to join their ranks. In addition, the Jubilee of 1575 inaugurated entry processions as formalized affairs, and processional visits to the Four Principal Basilicas became the new manner of “earning” the Holy Year plenary indulgence (fig. 2). Affiliated societies responded to these new rituals by presenting their processional standards to the host company, in addition to more typical donations of wine, oil, and grain.²⁵ Because these grand, elaborate banners gained status as representational gifts, I suggest that we reassess their role in ephemeral and permanent decorative programs and attend to the prominent artists as well as artisans who created them.

²³ Marco PUPILLO, *La SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini di Roma. Artisti e committenti al tempo di Caravaggio*, Roma 2001, pp. 28–35. Clement VIII’s 1604 bull prohibited fees for affiliation.

²⁴ Luigi CAJANI, *Lungo le strade che portavano a Roma. Le confraternite aggregate all’Arciconfraternita della SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini e Convalescenti (XVI–XIX secolo), Poveri in cammino. Mobilità e assistenza tra Umbria e Roma in età moderna* (ed. Alberto Monticone), Milano 1993, pp. 339–408, including one from Ragusa (Dubrovnik) in 1593.

²⁵ WISCH 1990 (n. 6), p. 85.



2. Étienne Dupérac (attrib.): *Le sette chiese di Roma*, published by Antonio Lafreri in Rome, etching with engraving, 1575, British Museum, London

Developing a Chronology of Roman Archconfraternities

How helpful are early modern sources in establishing an accurate chronological list of Roman archconfraternities? Gregory Martin devoted Chapter 29 to “the Confraternities or Companies of Rome”, listing 24 in order of importance. He was primarily interested in their then current devotional and charitable functions. Although he took note of “the grand and mother Companies of the Mother Citie”, he provided no specific information about them.²⁶

In 1601, Camillo Fanucci, a devout *confratello* of five sodalities, provided a panoramic “eye-witness” account of the 99 active in Rome in the first published account of early modern Roman confraternities.²⁷ The volume, written not as a history, per se, but as an encomium of Rome’s “pious works”, inaugurated a new literary genre that flourished in 17th-century Rome. Fanucci did not carefully distinguish those groups elevated to archconfraternal status—perhaps unnecessary before Clement VIII’s 1604 bull.

²⁶ MARTIN 1963 (n. 1), pp. 203, 197; Martin reported a “Cardinal protector of ech Companie” of Rome (p. 204), which was not entirely correct.

²⁷ Camillo FANUCCI, *Trattato di tutte l'Opere pie dell'Alma Città di Roma. Nel quale si descrivono tutti gli spedali, confraternite, & altri luoghi pij, de quali tutti, o la maggior parte hanno facoltà di comunicare i loro privilegi, & indulgenze; & si dichiara da chi sieno state instituite dette opere, di che tempo, & quello che fanno, & molte altre cose curiose da intendersi*, Roma 1601.

However, Abbot Carlo Bartolomeo Piazza, in his *Opere pie di Roma* of 1679 and in the second revised edition of 1699, devoted a full section or *trattato* to them, titled “Dell’Archiconfraternità”.²⁸ The later imprint listed 41 archconfraternities in Rome, recording their dates of foundation and elevation, together with differing opinions regarding those histories.

The most comprehensive modern account of Roman confraternities and their churches—a repertory of almost 200 foundations (1264–1923)—was published by Matizia Maroni Lumbroso and Antonio Martini in *Le confraternite romane nelle loro chiese* in 1963. The authors of this fundamental and groundbreaking book provide a chronological list of confraternal foundations. However, they use the archconfraternal title as if it had been granted from the outset. This has caused considerable confusion in subsequent scholarship. Therefore, it is imperative to create a list of archconfraternities with their exact dates of elevation in order to initiate a synthetic analysis of this phenomenon, as I have done in Diagram 1.²⁹ In addition, the papal designation of “archiospedale” (archhospital), typically administered by confraternal brethren, increases the complexity and begs further research.³⁰

Historians now accept that the Compagnia della Carità, initiated c. 1519 by the Cardinal-Vice Chancellor Giulio de’ Medici, became Rome’s first archconfraternity. Within a year of its origin, the Carità numbered 80 brethren, comprising bishops, prelates, curial officials, and gentlemen. In his 1520 bull of approval, Giulio’s cousin, Leo X (reigned 1513–1521), simultaneously elevated the sodality to the new rank of archconfraternity. Cardinal Giulio was elected the archconfraternity’s protector and served until he assumed the papal throne as Clement VII in 1523. The Carità was renamed S. Girolamo della Carità in 1524 upon being assigned a new seat in the church dedicated to St. Jerome in the Regola district. It became one of the greatest and most influential Roman confraternal institutions, inspiring new sodalities, philanthropies, and religious Orders in its wake.³¹

Devout laymen had already been meeting at S. Girolamo for prayer and assistance to the poor by the time Filippo Neri (1515–1595), known for his deep commitment to hospital work, joined the group. Neri became a spiritual founder of SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini e Convalescenti, instituted in 1548. The Trinità, which soared to fame in the Holy Year of 1550 by caring for indigent pilgrims, was elevated to archconfraternity in 1562, the fifth to be so honored. By the Holy Year of 1600, popes and the most powerful cardinals had allied themselves with SS. Trinità.³²

Increasingly, clerics played prominent leadership roles, especially in new brotherhoods that gained archconfraternal status at the time of their official foundations. The Archiconfraternità delli Orphani [*sic*] at S. Maria in Aquiro was instituted in 1540 by Cardinal Gian Domenico de Cupis, who was concurrently serving as cardinal protector of the Carità. The brethren comprised cardinals, prelates, and curial officials, including the vicar of Rome, the pope’s almoner, and the cardinal-nephew

²⁸ PIAZZA 1679 (n. 9). Carlo Bartolomeo PIAZZA, *Euseuologio romano, ovvero Delle opere pie di Roma; accresciuto, & ampliato secondo lo stato presente; con due trattati delle accademie, e librerie celebri di Roma*, Roma 1699.

²⁹ MARONI LUMBROSO, MARTINI 1963 (n. 11), pp. 441–442.

³⁰ Alessandro CANEZZA, *Gli arcispedali di Roma nella vita cittadina nella storia e nell’arte*, Roma 1933; Domenico ROTELLA, *Ospedali romani e confraternite dal XIII al XVIII secolo*, Roma 2013. The question of archhospitals cannot be addressed here.

³¹ MEERSSEMAN, PACINI 1979 (n. 8), pp. 129–132; Andrea CARLINO, L’Archiconfraternita di San Girolamo della Carità. L’origine e l’ideologia assistenziale, *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria*, 107, 1984, pp. 275–306; Daniela SOLFAROLI CAMILLOCCI, *I devoti della Carità. Le confraternite del Divino Amore nell’Italia del primo cinquecento*, Napoli 2002, pp. 157–200.

³² PUPILLO 2001 (n. 23).

Diagram 1: Towards a Chronology of Roman Archconfraternities

1. **Arciconfraternita della Carità—founded c. 1519
archconfraternity in 1520**
(founded by Cardinal-Vice Chancellor Giulio de' Medici; canonically erected in 1520 as an archconfraternity; called S. Girolamo della Carità beginning in 1524)
First Cardinal Protector: Giulio de' Medici (1520–1523), elected Clement VII (reigned 1523–1534)
2. **Arciconfraternita degli Orfani at S. Maria in Aquiro—founded 1540
archconfraternity in 1540**
(founded by Cardinal Gian Domenico de Cupis; canonically erected in 1540 as an archconfraternity)
First Cardinal Protector: Gian Domenico de Cupis (1540–1553); also Cardinal Protector of S. Girolamo della Carità (1531–1535, 1538–1553)
3. **Arciconfraternita dei SS. Rocco e Martino—founded 1499
archconfraternity in 1556, confirmed 1560**
4. **Arciconfraternita di S. Maria dell'Orazione e Morte—founded 1552 at S. Lorenzo in Damaso
archconfraternity in 1560**
5. **Arciconfraternita della SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini e Convalescenti—founded 1548
archconfraternity in 1562**
6. **Arciconfraternita del SS. Crocifisso di S. Marcello—founded 1519
archconfraternity in 1564**
7. **Arciconfraternita del SS. Sacramento at S. Maria sopra Minerva—founded 1539
archconfraternity in 1573**
8. **Arciconfraternita dello S. Spirito dei Napoletani—founded 1572
archconfraternity in 1576**
9. **Arciconfraternita del Gonfalone—founded 1260s
archconfraternity in 1579**
10. **Arciconfraternita del SS. Sacramento at S. Maria in Trastevere—founded 1564
archconfraternity in 1579**
11. **Arciconfraternita della Pietà dei Carcerati—founded c. 1575
archconfraternity in 1579**
(founded by the French Jesuit Jean Tellier; canonically erected in 1579 as an archconfraternity)
First Cardinal Protector: Felice Peretti di Montalto (1579–1585), elected Sixtus V (reigned 1585–1590)

Alessandro Farnese (to whom we shall return).³³ New companies that were founded by an ecclesiastic and filled with his peers seemed to have received papal approval and the rank of archconfraternity simultaneously.

A similar example is the Pietà dei Carcerati, founded by Jean Tellier who, with his fellow Jesuits, tended to prisoners. The Pietà was canonically erected in 1579 as an archconfraternity with Cardinal Felice Peretti di Montalto serving as protector until his election as Sixtus V (reigned 1585–1590). Sixtus's 15-year-old grand-nephew Alessandro Peretti di Montalto, who had just received the red hat, took over the position and held it until his death in 1623, when his cousin Cardinal Andrea Baroni Peretti Montalto, who had been living at Cardinal Alessandro's palace, served as cardinal protector (1623–1629). The Pietà had effectively become an archconfraternal fiefdom.³⁴ In 1585, Sixtus had assigned the archconfraternity the duties of commissioner of the galleys and visitor of the prisons, offices previously united under the Apostolic Treasury—making the Pietà an official arm of the governing body of Roman prisons with Peretti-Montalto cardinals in charge for almost a half-century.³⁵

As this brief series of examples indicates, a careful analysis of the development of all of Rome's early modern archconfraternities—which groups found favor, when, and why—would offer fascinating insights into Rome's confraternal history, the development of pan-European and global networks, and the geopolitical aspects of diplomacy when national confraternities were elevated. In addition, it would provide greater insight into patterns of patronage and artistic commissions, since particular families are known to have preferred certain painters, sculptors, and architects, a point to which I shall return.

The Office of Cardinal Protector

Brethren of Roman archconfraternities were required to elect a cardinal protector for life. The cardinal protector had full jurisdiction to defend the sodality in civil and criminal disputes. A vice protector might also be elected to oversee affairs when the protector was away from Rome for an extended period. Expectations of the protector's generous patronage and influence were high, especially when he was the cardinal-nephew. Yet no study—not even a partial list—of confraternal cardinal protectors has existed until now (Diagram 2). Moreover, cardinal protectors simultaneously oversaw and financially supported many brotherhoods as well as religious Orders and nations.³⁶ As Arnold A. Witte has cogently articulated, the same cardinal might also be the prestigious archpriest of a major basilica or the titular cardinal assigned to a church in Rome and therefore responsible for the spiritual and material upkeep of the church and its parish. These jurisdictions might

³³ *Statuti della venerabile Archiconfraternità delli Orphani di Roma*, Roma 1584; Lance Gabriel LAZAR, *Working in the Vineyard of the Lord. Jesuit Confraternities in Early Modern Italy*, Toronto 2005, p. 57.

³⁴ Edvige ALEANDRI BARLETTA, La confraternità di S. Caterina dei Funari e il suo archivio, *Rassegna degli archivi di stato*, 38, 1978, pp. 7–32, especially pp. 19–20, for the phrase “i piccoli feudi dei cardinali protettori.” See n. 45 below for Barberini control of the Sacre Stimmate di S. Francesco.

³⁵ Vincenzo PAGLIA, *La Pietà dei Carcerati. Confraternite e società a Roma nei secoli XVI–XVIII*, Roma 1980, pp. 197–198; LAZAR 2005 (n. 33), pp. 157–174. Appendix 1 supplies a selected list of papal bulls, etc. affecting Jesuit confraternities and similar initiatives, which needs to be completed and integrated into a study of the evolution of archconfraternities.

³⁶ Markus VÖLKEL, *Römische Kardinalshaushalte des 17. Jahrhunderts. Borghese, Barberini, Chigi*, Tübingen 1993, especially pp. 413–417.

**Diagram 2: Towards Establishing the Network of Cardinal Protectors
of 16th-Century Roman Archconfraternities**

Arciconfraternita degli Orfani at S. Maria in Aquiro—1540

Cardinal Protector **Gian Domenico de Cupis** (1540–1553)

Cardinal Protector **ALESSANDRO FARNESE** (1553?–1589)

Arciconfraternita di S. Maria dell’Orazione e Morte—1560

Cardinal Protector **ALESSANDRO FARNESE** (1560–1589)

Arciconfraternita della SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini e Convalescenti—1562

Cardinal Protector **OTTO TRUCHSESS VON WALDBURG** (1562–1573)

Cardinal Protector **Ferdinando de’ Medici** (1573–1588); Grand Duke of Tuscany (1587–1609)

Cardinal Protector **ALESSANDRO PERETTI DI MONTALTO** (1588–1623)

Arciconfraternita del SS. Crocifisso di S. Marcello—1564

Cardinal Protector **RANUCCIO FARNESE** (1561–1565)

Cardinal Protector **ALESSANDRO FARNESE** (1565–1589)

Arciconfraternita del Gonfalone—1579

Cardinal Protector **Guido Ascanio Sforza** (1563–1564)

Archpriest of S. Maria Maggiore (1543–1564)

Cardinal Protector **Federico Cesi** (1564–1565)

Cardinal Protector **ALESSANDRO FARNESE** (1565–1589)

Archpriest of S. Maria Maggiore (1537–1543)

Vice Protector [?] Cardinal **OTTO TRUCHSESS VON WALDBURG** (after 1564?–1573)

Vice Protector Cardinal **Alessandro Sforza** (1576 or earlier–1581)

Archpriest of S. Maria Maggiore (1572–1581)

Arciconfraternita della Pietà dei Carcerati—1579

Cardinal Protector **FELICE PERETTI DI MONTALTO** (1579–1585); Pope Sixtus V (reigned 1585–1590)

Cardinal Protector **ALESSANDRO PERETTI DI MONTALTO** (1585–1623)

Cardinal Protector **ANDREA BARONI PERETTI MONTALTO** (1623–1629)

overlap happily or breed conflicts. This was especially the case with national confraternities, when the protector of the nation differed from the confraternal protector or the protector of a national college (where missionary priests were trained) and still another held the titular title.³⁷

Even elaborate funerary ephemera vied to commemorate the protector and his family. For example, a grand *apparato* (temporary decorative program) with a catafalque honoring Cardinal-Vice

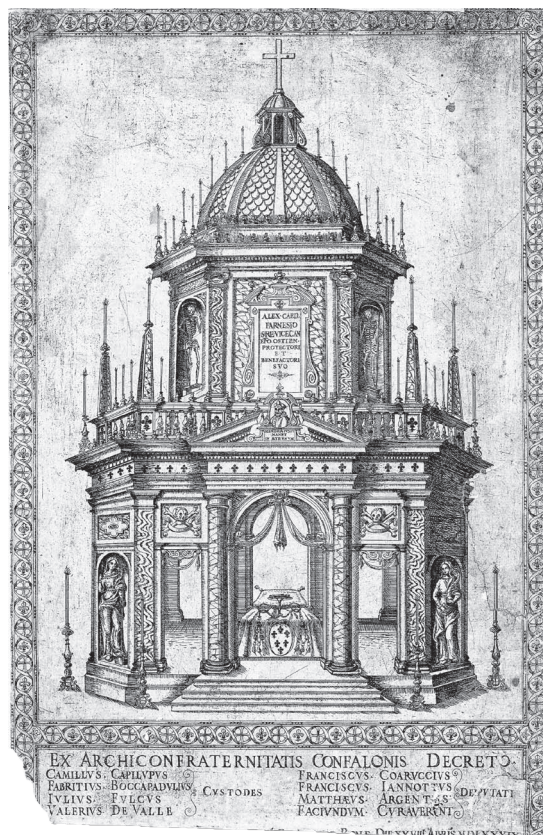
³⁷ I thank Professor Arnold A. Witte for sharing the unpublished text of his paper Protecting the Nation under Gregory XIII. A Potential Conflict of Interests, presented at the Renaissance Society of America Annual Meeting, Chicago, 31 March 2017: “These unclear legal limits and multiple obligations meant that cardinals had to manoeuvre carefully so as not to stand in one another’s way—an aspect that was stressed in treatises on the ideal cardinal of this very period.” For national protectors, see Josef WODKA, *Zur Geschichte der nationalen Protektorate der Kardinäle an der römischen Kurie*, Innsbruck 1967; Olivier PONCET, *La France et le pouvoir pontifical 1595–1661. L’esprit des institutions*, Roma 2011.

Chancellor Alessandro Farnese was designed by the renowned architect Girolamo Rainaldi for the obsequies (22 March 1589) held in Il Gesù; although the Jesuits had no cardinal protector, Farnese had personally funded the construction of their mother church. The Archconfraternity of the Gonfalone also commissioned Rainaldi to stage obsequies for its cardinal protector in its private oratory (4 May 1589; fig. 3). An etching was printed, as was the funeral oration, both clearly identifying the venerable archconfraternity as sponsor. Although commemorative Masses were celebrated for the cardinal in churches throughout Rome, the Gonfalone was the only one of his seven confraternal protectorates to adorn its space with a sumptuous catafalque accompanied by lavish ceremonies.³⁸ Rivalry between archconfraternities was often conspicuously displayed through ephemeral artistic commissions, even on the most solemn occasions. Again, this is a subject that requires considerable research.³⁹

Even if not promoted to archconfraternity, a sodality might be assigned a cardinal protector. Such was the case with the Compagnia delle Vergini Miserabili at the church of S.

Caterina della Rosa (today's S. Caterina dei Funari). With the support of Ignatius of Loyola, it was initiated in 1542/1543 to found a conservatory for the daughters of prostitutes. Upon the approval of Pope Paul III, Cardinal Federico Cesi served as the protector from 1544 until his death in 1565.⁴⁰ In the last year of his life, Cesi was also elected cardinal protector of the Gonfalone—the position having only been established the previous year. At that time the Gonfalone had not yet been elevated to archconfraternal status, which only occurred in 1579. The new Tridentine regulations of 1562 concerning the ecclesiastical oversight of “pious places” presumably motivated this development.

Early on, Ignatius himself articulated another, highly practical view of the new position, which he saw as crucial for establishing and sustaining any confraternal foundation in Rome. In Pedro de Ribadeneira's *Life of Ignatius*, first published in Latin in 1572, his strategy was described as follows:



3. Girolamo Rainaldi: *Catafalque of Cardinal Protector Alessandro Farnese in the Oratory of the Gonfalone, Rome, etching, 28 April 1589, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles*

³⁸ Minou SCHRAVEN, *Festive Funerals in Early Modern Italy. The Art and Culture of Conspicuous Commemoration*, Farnham 2014, pp. 164–174. For the seven confraternities (including five archconfraternities), see below.

³⁹ For example, competition increased decidedly in 1650, when the French backed the Gonfalone and the Spanish supported SS. Crocifisso di S. Marcello in constructing elaborate Maundy Thursday *macchine* (portable shrines) for the renowned flagellant procession to St. Peter's; see Montserrat MOLI FRIGOLA, "Pietas romana". Le Processioni, *Roma Sancta. La città delle basiliche* (eds. Marcello Fagiolo, Maria Luisa Madonna), Roma 1985, pp. 130–134.

⁴⁰ LAZAR 2005 (n. 33), pp. 71–98.

[Ignatius] would make his decision [to establish a confraternity] known to sober and wise men who were particularly inclined to works of charity. /.../ Having all discussed and examined the difficulties of the task they wanted to accomplish, they went to present it to noble, rich, and devout men, so that with their authority and alms the work could begin and be sustained. The first task was to elect some Cardinal of the Holy Church who seemed to them right for the job of Cardinal Protector. Then they set up the confraternity, wrote its statutes, put in place rules, and gave the orders by which to govern it and keep it afloat.⁴¹

The policy of Ignatius conformed seamlessly with that of the Church hierarchy. Stefano Andretta succinctly summed up the “new strategy of the Cardinal Protector /.../ [that] combined the construction of institutional power and its image with the regulation of private devotion.” He emphasized “how essential the ‘protection’ of holy places was to the successful assertion of ecclesiastical power and control in Rome [as well as] fundamental to maintaining a successful client network.”⁴² From this perspective of ecclesiastical careerism, the young Francesco de’ Medici (1594–1614), second son of Grand Duke Ferdinando, was advised to manifest his piety by becoming a cardinal protector of one of the most important sodalities—the Gonfalone, SS. Crocifisso di S. Marcello, or SS. Trinità—“where all the good people of the court and of Rome gather.” He was encouraged to favor the archconfraternity not only with his presence on important occasions, but also with “noble expenses of splendor”, but he died too young to achieve these goals.⁴³ Significantly, before his father had exchanged his cardinal’s hat for the grand-ducal crown, Ferdinando had served as cardinal protector of SS. Trinità (1573–1588).

Let us turn to the 17th century and the three cardinals created by Pope Urban VIII (reigned 1623–1644). Francesco, a papal nephew, was elevated in 1623, followed by Antonio Senior, the pope’s younger brother, in 1624, and Antonio Junior, a younger nephew, in 1627. Markus Völkel, one of the few scholars who has included confraternal protectorates along with those of nations, religious Orders, monasteries, etc., discusses the various titles of the Barberini.⁴⁴ The Capuchin friar Antonio Senior was cardinal protector of the Vergini Miserabili. Antonio Junior, who served as cardinal chamberlain from 1638, headed two powerful archconfraternities, the Pietà dei Carcerati and SS. Trinità. But Francesco, vice chancellor of the Church from 1632, headed nine archconfraternities. To the four enumerated by Völkel—the Carità, Gonfalone, S. Giacomo degli Incurabili, and S. Rocco—must be added the three listed only as confraternities, which, as my research has shown, were in fact already elevated to the rank of archconfraternity: Orazione e Morte (in 1560), SS. Annunziata at the Minerva (in 1581), and the Cordiglieri del Cordone di S. Francesco at SS. Apostoli (in 1585). In addition, SS. Dodici Apostoli

⁴¹ LAZAR 2005 (n. 33), pp. 52–53.

⁴² Stefano ANDRETTA, Religious Life in Baroque Rome, *Rome–Amsterdam. Two Growing Cities in Seventeenth-Century Europe* (eds. Peter van Kessel, Elisja Schulte van Kessel), Amsterdam 1997, pp. 168–179, especially pp. 171–172 (“The Cardinal Protector”), but without mentioning confraternities.

⁴³ Irene FOSI, Immagini e poteri del cardinale nel Cinquecento fra tradizioni e censure, *Per il Cinquecento religioso italiano. Clero, cultura, società* (ed. Maurizio Sangalli), Roma 2003, pp. 625–634, especially p. 633: “dove si raccolgono tutto il buono della corte e di Roma.” Giovanni Battista DE LUCA, *Il cardinale della S.R. Chiesa pratico*, Roma 1680, pp. 168–169. In his discussion of the role of cardinal protector, Cardinal De Luca named the most powerful Roman archconfraternities: the Annunziata, Crocifisso, Trinità, Gonfalone, and Dodici Apostoli, an elite Jesuit foundation serving the *poveri vergognosi* (destitute noblemen too ashamed to beg).

⁴⁴ VÖLKELE 1993 (n. 36), pp. 414–417.



4. Guido Guidetti: *S. Caterina della Rosa (today's S. Caterina dei Funari)*, 1560–1564, Rome

(in 1586) and the Sacre Stimmate di S. Francesco (in 1605)⁴⁵ were also under Francesco's protection. This brief discussion of the Barberini cardinals underscores the need for new, comprehensive studies of cardinal protectors, which will require intensive archival research.

Expectations of Patronage

This leads us to the symbiotic relationship of confraternal expectations of patronage. Wealthy confraternities, as we know, were major patrons of art and architecture, and although brethren of modest means could participate, the generosity of benefactors—especially cardinal protectors—was critical to the realization of these projects. The apostolic visitation of 1624 reported that 76 out of 116 lay sodalities maintained one or more autonomously controlled churches and/or oratories.⁴⁶ Some preserved older structures, while others were entirely rebuilt, inscribing new saintly and devotional dedications onto the sacred topography of the Eternal City.

⁴⁵ Six years before Francesco was elected cardinal protector in 1633, Costanza Barberini, sister-in-law of Urban VIII, was elected *priora* of the Sacre Stimmate. For her critical role in establishing Barberini hegemony in the archconfraternity, which lasted until 1704, see Alessandro SERRA, *Le "sacre stimmate de santo Francesco". Una confraternita e un culto nella Roma di Cinque-Seicento*, *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa*, 18, 2007, pp. 305–352, especially pp. 332–333.

⁴⁶ Alessandro SERRA, *Spazi sacri e sacralizzazione degli spazi nelle confraternite romane d'età moderna*, *Brotherhood and Boundaries/Fraternità e barriere* (eds. Stefania Pastore, Adriano Prosperi, Nicholas Terpstra), Pisa 2011, pp. 133–155, especially p. 139.

5. Francesco Capriani da Volterra: Interior of the hospital-church of S. Giacomo degli Incurabili, begun 1590, Rome



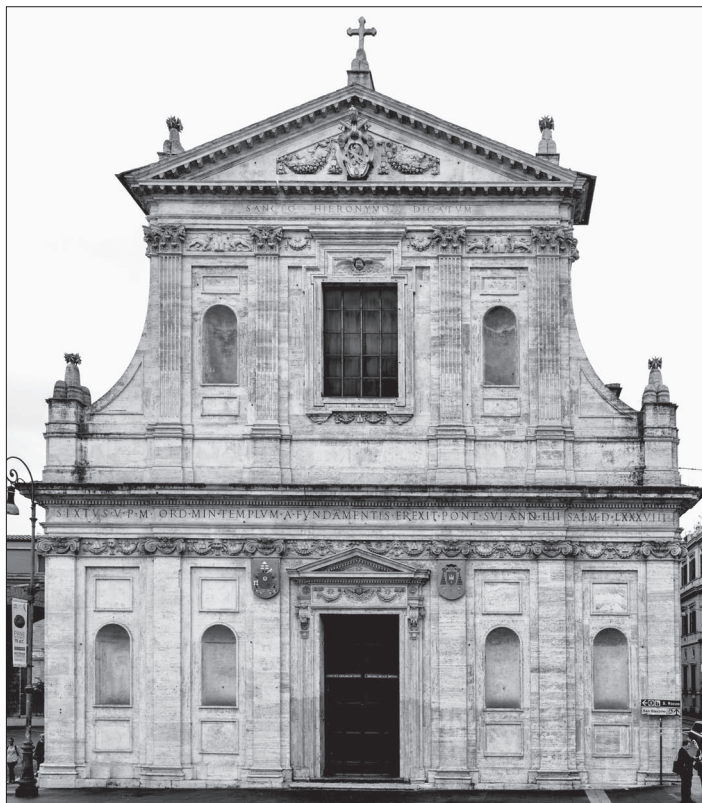
Many confraternal churches stood at the vanguard of ecclesiastical architecture, a topic still in need of comprehensive study. For example, Guido Guidetti rebuilt the medieval church of S. Caterina della Rosa (1560–1564) at the behest of Cardinal Protector Cesi (fig. 4). The innovative facade developed the two-story design with architectural elements that became regular features for the next 150 years. As John Beldon Scott has astutely pointed out: “Notwithstanding the charitable nature of the institution housed there, the design, with its fully rounded columns flanking the portal, is laden with opulent carvings, deeply sculpted niches and recessed panels, and a weighty rendition of the Cardinal’s heraldic shield that set a standard for ambitious curial patrons who followed.”⁴⁷ In 1590, Francesco Capriani da Volterra designed the hospital-church of S. Giacomo degli Incurabili (“of the Syphilitics”), administered by the Divino Amore confraternity but paid for by Cardinal Protector Antonio Maria Salviati. S. Giacomo was the first oval plan on a grandiose scale in Rome (fig. 5).⁴⁸

Let us turn briefly to the national confraternity of the Illyrians at S. Girolamo degli Schiavoni. Although the sodality was never promoted to archconfraternity, its new church, built by Martino Longhi the Elder, and fully decorated by Giovanni Guerra and his team between 1587 and 1590, was crucial in creating a visible representation of new political status (figs. 6 and 7).⁴⁹ The powerful

⁴⁷ John Beldon SCOTT, *Roman Church Architecture. The Early Modern Facade, A Companion to Early Modern Rome, 1492–1692* (eds. Pamela M. Jones, Barbara Wisch, Simon Ditchfield), Leiden 2019, p. 441. See also Hermann SCHLIMME, *Die Kirchenfassade in Rom. “Reliefierte Kirchenfronten” 1475–1765*, Petersberg 1999.

⁴⁸ Francesco LUCANTONI, Historical Notes on the Architecture of Italian Confraternities, *Confraternitas*, 17/2, 2006, pp. 3–27; Ludovica SEBREGONDI, *Arte confraternale, Studi confraternali. Orientamenti, problemi, testimonianze* (ed. Marina Gazzini), Firenze 2009, pp. 337–367; Barbara WISCH, *The Architecture of Confraternities in Italy, The Cambridge Guide to the Architecture of Christianity* (ed. Richard A. Etlin), Cambridge 2019 (in press).

⁴⁹ Jasenka GUDELJ, *Architettura e diplomazia tra Roma e Dubrovnik. San Girolamo dei Croati e la cattedrale di*



6. Martino Longhi the Elder: *S. Girolamo degli Schiavoni*,
1587–1589, Rome



7. Giovanni Guerra and assistants: *Interior decoration of*
S. Girolamo degli Schiavoni, 1587–1590, Rome

Cardinal Alessandro Farnese served as protector from 1564 until his death in 1589.⁵⁰ In 1566 the Slavic national church of S. Girolamo was elevated to the rank of a titular church, and in 1570, Felice Peretti di Montalto, the future Sixtus V, was elevated to the cardinalate and named titular cardinal. He was particularly dedicated to St. Jerome, tracing his own ancestry, like that of the renowned Doctor of the Church, to Illyria.⁵¹ According to confraternal records, he seems to have done little beyond requesting a dowry for a poor Illyrian maiden; so, too, Farnese seems to have shown little interest in confraternal affairs, that is until Pope Sixtus V embarked on a grand art and architectural campaign. First, the pontiff placed his newly minted, teenage cardinal-nephew, Alessandro Peretti di Montalto, in that titular seat. The unequal clout of the young titular cardinal and the elderly, wealthy protector prevented Sixtus from carrying out his plans at once. How the pope moved his chess pieces so his ambitious project could be executed, with little interference from Farnese, is a story best told by Jasenka Gudelj in this volume.

But let us consider Cardinal Farnese as the protector of multiple confraternities before we turn to Cardinal Montalto. Farnese's own titular church was S. Lorenzo in Damaso, incorporated into the grandiose palace of the Cancelleria that he had inherited in 1535 when named vice chancellor of the Church. There were two previously established confraternities of which he became protector—SS. Sacramento and SS. Concezione di Maria—as well as a third, S. Maria dell'Orazione e Morte, founded in 1552. In 1560 this sodality became the fourth elevated to an archconfraternity. Its seat was then transferred to its own church, newly consecrated in 1576, on Via Giulia, behind the Farnese Palace.⁵² In addition, Farnese was protector of the Orphans' brotherhood, which administered Rome's largest orphanage for boys and girls and to which the cardinal donated 10,000 *scudi* annually.⁵³ Of utmost significance to our art historical purposes, he was elected protector of Rome's oldest sodality, the renowned Gonfalone, in 1565, and that same year he also became protector of SS. Crocifisso di S. Marcello upon the death of his brother Ranuccio, who had held the position since 1561.

Starting with his artistic patronage at SS. Crocifisso, in 1566 Cardinal Farnese gave the brethren 100 *scudi* in order to buy the property in front of their oratory to create an appropriately dignified piazza. He also pressured the brethren to complete the facade quickly despite their financial difficulties. Consequently, the impressive facade by Giacomo della Porta was finished in stucco except for the large travertine plaque with the inscription recording that the oratory was erected and decorated

Dubrovnik nel secondo Seicento, *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana*, 40, 2011/2012, pp. 179–239; Jasenka GUDELJ, San Girolamo dei Croati a Roma. Gli Schiavoni e il cantiere sistino, *Identità e rappresentazione. Le chiese nazionali di Roma, 1450–1650* (eds. Alexander Koller, Susanne Kubersky-Piredda), Roma 2015, pp. 297–325; Jasenka GUDELJ, The Hospital and Church of the Schiavoni/Illyrian Confraternity in Early Modern Rome, *Confraternitas*, 27/1–2, 2016, pp. 5–25. See also Jasenka GUDELJ, Tanja TRŠKA, The Artistic Patronage of the Confraternities of Schiavoni/Illyrians in Venice and Rome. Proto-National Identity and the Visual Arts, *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 23/2, 2018, pp. 103–121.

⁵⁰ In fact, the cardinal's famed miniaturist, who also served as an artistic adviser, was the Croatian Giulio Clovio, who had joined Farnese's household c. 1538 and worked almost exclusively for him until his death in 1578. Clovio's masterpiece, the *Farnese Hours* (The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, MS M.69), completed in 1546, was extolled as one of the great sights of Rome; see Clare ROBERTSON, 'Il gran cardinale'. *Alessandro Farnese, Patron of the Arts*, New Haven 1992, pp. 29–35.

⁵¹ Stephen F. OSTROW, *Art and Spirituality in Counter-Reformation Rome. The Sistine and Pauline Chapels in S. Maria Maggiore*, New York–Cambridge 1996, pp. 11–19. Even the rampant lion on his newly invented coat of arms was St. Jerome's legendary companion and attribute.

⁵² Alessandro SERRA, L'arciconfraternita di S. Maria dell'Orazione e Morte nella Roma del Cinquecento, *Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia*, 61, 2007, pp. 75–108.

⁵³ *Statuti* 1584 (n. 33), p. 3.



8. Giacomo della Porta: Oratory of SS. Crocifisso di S. Marcello, 1561–1563, facade 1567–1568, Rome



9. Giovanni de' Vecchi: St. Helena Directs the Destruction of the Idols and Finding of the True Cross with Prophets, a Sibyl, and other Figures, fresco, 1578, SS. Crocifisso di S. Marcello, Rome



10. Ambrogio Bonazzini:
Central coffers of the ceiling
of the Oratory of the Gonfalone,
Rome, with the coat of arms of
Cardinal-Archbishop of Augsburg,
Otto Truchsess von Waldburg,
the Madonna della Misericordia,
and the coat of arms of Cardinal
Protector Alessandro Farnese
(in reverse), 1568

under the auspices of Ranuccio and Alessandro Farnese, the cardinal protectors (fig. 8). When the *Crocifisso confratelli* decided in 1578 to fresco the interior, the chronicler recorded that the brethren would pay for the paintings from alms and legacies. However, when they hired “Cardinal Farnese’s painter”, i.e. Giovanni de’ Vecchi, the chronicler reported it was “with the intention that the cardinal would pay for everything” (fig. 9). Apparently, the *Crocifisso* was not entirely pleased with the first two frescoes, so they dismissed Giovanni, and with him went the full payment by the cardinal. Only then did wealthy members pay for individual frescoes to complete the project.⁵⁴

The Gonfalone had a different, more complicated outcome, but the same hopes of full patronage from Cardinal Farnese. In 1568, the elaborately carved, polychrome and gilded wood ceiling included the coat of arms of Cardinal Farnese and that of the Cardinal-Archbishop of Augsburg, Otto Truchsess von Waldburg (fig. 10). Truchsess had been a member of the Gonfalone since 1564 and perhaps was an “unofficial” vice protector by 1568, when he permanently returned to Rome.⁵⁵ Both he and Farnese had just laid the cornerstone of *Il Gesù* on 26 June 1568, only four days after the contract for the wood ceiling was signed and notarized.⁵⁶ At the same time, he was serving as

⁵⁴ Josephine VON HENNEBERG, *L'oratorio dell'Arciconfraternita del Santissimo Crocifisso di San Marcello*, Roma 1974.

⁵⁵ WISCH, NEWBIGIN 2013 (n. 18), p. 418.

⁵⁶ At that time, Truchsess resided at Farnese’s palace (as archpriest) at the Vatican. In June 1569, owing to the heat, Truchsess moved to the Cancellaria, remaining until autumn 1571; see Ferdinand SIEBERT, *Zwischen Kaiser und*



11. Jacopo Bertoia: *Entry into Jerusalem*, fresco, 1568–1569, and Livio Agresti: *Last Supper and Foot-Washing*, fresco, 1569, Oratory of the Gonfalone, Rome

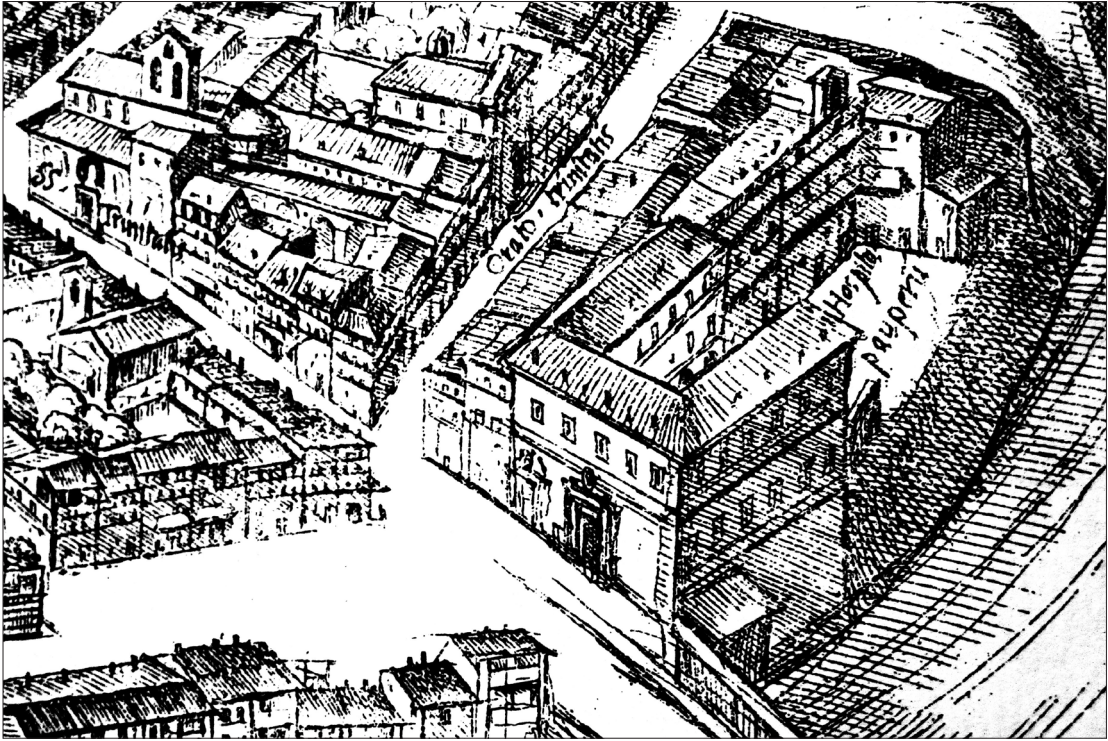
cardinal protector of that rising star in Rome's confraternal firmament, SS. Trinità, elevated to an archconfraternity in 1562, the fifth in Rome.

To design and execute the Gonfalone's fresco cycle, the Emilian Jacopo Bertoia, who had come to prominence working for Ottavio Farnese, duke of Parma and brother of Cardinal Farnese, was selected. At the expense of Cardinal Protector Farnese, Bertoia had been sent "back to Rome" in March 1568. The painter remained in Rome uninterrupted until July 1569, when he was withdrawn from the oratory to head the great enterprise of decorating the cardinal's magnificent pentagonal villa at Caprarola, planned and constructed by the renowned Giacomo da Vignola. Within this 17-month period, Bertoia designed the illusionistic decorative system of the Passion narratives and completed the entire first section of the right wall with the *Entry into Jerusalem*. Upon Cardinal Farnese's withdrawal of Bertoia from the Gonfalone project and the clear indication that he would not be permitted to return for some time, Truchsess seems to have suggested that his favorite Roman painter, Livio Agresti, should continue the decoration. In thanks for the important commission, Agresti included the cardinal's portrait in the *Last Supper*, the figure staring directly at the viewer on the far right (fig. 11).⁵⁷

Simultaneously, as cardinal protector of SS. Trinità (1562–1573), Truchsess had overseen the construction and consecration of their grand oratory (1570–1571), which was even larger than that of the Gonfalone. In Tempesta's 1593 map of Rome, the oratory towers above all the other confraternal

Papst. Kardinal Truchsess von Waldburg und die Anfänge der Gegenreformation in Deutschland, Berlin 1943, p. 367.

⁵⁷ WISCH, NEWBIGIN 2013 (n. 18), pp. 415–453.



12. Antonio Tempesta: Oratory of SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini e Convalescenti, detail of Map of Rome, etching, 1593

buildings (fig. 12). Following Truchsess's death in 1573, Ferdinando de' Medici was elected cardinal protector. In that year he fully outfitted the new chapel in the confraternal church that the brethren had built for the privileged altar just granted by Gregory XIII. Nothing remains but the resplendent altarpiece by Jacopo Zucchi (1574–1575, today in the church sacristy), although inventories record the lavish liturgical furnishings and vestments he donated (fig. 13).⁵⁸ Ferdinando served until 1588, when he renounced his cardinal's hat to become grand duke of Tuscany.

Cardinal Alessandro Peretti di Montalto was then elected, serving until his death in 1623. He may have begun timidly at S. Girolamo dei Schiavoni, but in 1589 (and with Farnese's death) he became the new vice chancellor living in the Cancelleria with his titular seat at S. Lorenzo in Damaso—and soon after, one of the wealthiest and most influential cardinals in Rome. For SS. Trinità's Chapel of the Separation of Peter and Paul (destroyed) on Via Ostiense, he commissioned a now lost altarpiece from Giovanni Guerra, for which the preparatory study survives (fig. 14).⁵⁹ Guerra was a favorite Peretti-Montalto artist who had headed the team decorating S. Girolamo, exemplifying how particular families continued to commission works for a variety of purposes from preferred artists. Cardinal Montalto also served as protector of the Pietà dei Carcerati, Vergini Miserabili, and Sacre

⁵⁸ Noel O'REGAN, *Institutional Patronage in Post-Tridentine Rome. Music at Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini 1550–1650*, London 1995 (Royal Musical Association Monographs, 7), pp. 9–20.

⁵⁹ Pen and brown ink with wash over traces of black chalk on paper. See Barbara WISCH, *Embracing Peter and Paul. The Arciconfraternita della SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini e Convalescenti and the Cappella della Separazione in Rome, Space, Place, and Motion. Locating Confraternities in the Late Medieval and Early Modern City* (ed. Diana Bullen Presciutti), Leiden 2017, pp. 178–216.



13. Jacopo Zucchi: *Mass of St. Gregory the Great*, oil on canvas, 1574–1575, Sacristy of the church of SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini e Convalescenti, Rome



14. Giovanni Guerra: *The Holy Trinity Surrounded by Angels with Instruments of the Passion Adored by Pilgrims and Confratelli of SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini e Convalescenti with Filippo Neri*, pen and ink with wash, late 1590s, Nissman, Abromson, Ltd., Old Master Drawings, Brookline, Massachusetts

Stimmate di S. Francesco, and vice protector of the Dottrina Cristiana. These sodalities have yet to be explored in studies of the cardinal's patronage, a major lacuna in our understanding. Moreover, I would propose that the significant role of confraternal cardinal protector needs to be documented, not just in individual cases, but correlated in databases and made interactively accessible.



From magnificent churches, chapels, and oratories adorned with lavish decoration to imposing banners held aloft at the head of grand processions, from stone plaques inscribing confraternal presence throughout the urban matrix to statute books filled with guidelines for governance, prayers, and indulgences, archconfraternities shaped the religious experience and visual culture of Rome and their vast networks of aggregate sodalities. Within this complex web of relationships, confraternal scholars need to bring new critical perspectives to assess the role of Roman archconfraternities and the influence of their patronage of the arts. Establishing an accurate chronology of archconfraternities in Rome and a comprehensive list of their cardinal protectors is primary. Only then will it be feasible to undertake analyses concerning which groups found favor, when, and why. In addition, the accumulation of cardinal protectorates that crafted archconfraternal fiefdoms and new clientage systems must be documented and explored. Although scholars have begun to investigate wealthy

archconfraternities that commissioned multiple kinds of buildings and sponsored lavish festivities—thereby integrally transforming the civic fabric and sacred topography—we also need to ascertain how much this extensive patronage depended upon the magnanimity of the cardinal protector. The incorporation of archconfraternities in studies of cardinalatial patronage is equally important.

Geopolitical diplomacy and rivalries enacted through Roman archconfraternities are significant new areas of research that require further development.⁶⁰ Looking more globally, we should also try to identify the cardinal-archbishops of dioceses across the Catholic world who initiated their own archconfraternal systems; the breadth and influence of their networks; and, finally, how closely Roman paradigms were followed. Studies might range from the reception of new devotional practices and innovative philanthropic programs to architectural styles and iconographies.

But this broad study cannot be accomplished solely from inside the ancient city walls, as I have begun to present here. The responses and initiatives beyond Rome are of equal importance. Among the essays in this volume, two engage with the specific issues raised in my paper. Krzysztof J. Czyżewski and Marek Walczak astutely elucidate the implications of the donation to Kraków's Archconfraternity of the Holy Rosary of a painted copy of the most powerful Roman Marian icon, conserved in S. Maria Maggiore—a copy blessed by Pope Clement VIII (reigned 1592–1605) and enriched with numerous indulgences. Their study convincingly demonstrates how this painting became one of the most significant miracle-working images in Poland under the stewardship of the archconfraternity.⁶¹ Sanja Cvetnić's innovative work on the Jesuit confraternities of the Bona Mors in Croatia, presented in this volume, reveals that from 1653 in Zagreb, only five years after the initial Roman establishment of the Compagnia della Buona Morte at Il Gesù, confraternities of the Good Death were instituted across the region. These sodalities advanced new practices of adoration of the Sacrament and frequent Communion in their public devotions, and dedicated more private prayers to Christ's five wounds, his agonizing death, and Mary's sorrows at the foot of the cross, all of which were considered beneficial spiritual preparations for "dying well." In 1729, the pope elevated the Roman *compagnia* to an archconfraternity and enriched all Good Death confraternities with numerous indulgences.⁶² Focusing on architecture as an expression of national identity, Jasenka Gudelj has cogently shown how choices promoted by the Illyrian sodality in Rome, the Confraternita degli Schiavoni, determined the design and reconstruction of the new Dubrovnik Cathedral in 1667.⁶³ The authority of Rome enacted by a wide range of confraternities and archconfraternities is a rich subject for future studies. Only by "aggregating," as it were, new research may we better comprehend the global reach of archconfraternities and the reception of their artistic and devotional models, thereby weaving a more resplendent tapestry of confraternal visual culture. The papers delivered at the conference and the essays in this volume constitute a major contribution to this objective.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ See *Identità e rappresentazione* 2015 (n. 49).

⁶¹ CZYŻEWSKI, WALCZAK 2018 (n. 21).

⁶² Sanja CVETNIĆ, The Jesuit Bona Mors Confraternities in Croatia, *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 23/2, 2018, pp. 179–193.

⁶³ See GUDELJ 2011/2012 (n. 49). See also GUDELJ, TRŠKA 2018 (n. 49).

⁶⁴ I would like to thank Professors Barbara Murovec and Mija Oter Gorenčič for their generous invitation to present the plenary lecture at the conference. I also extend my deep appreciation to the France Stele Institute of Art History for graciously hosting that distinguished gathering of confraternal scholars. In addition, I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Barbara Vodopivec for her contributions to the organization of that most convivial event.

Nadbratovščine in umetnost

Opredelevanje novih tem

Povzetek

Z letom 1520 je papež povzdignil izbrane rimske bratovščine v nov prestižni rang nadbratovščin, ki so bile pooblašene, da združijo podobne bratovščine po vsem svetu, delijo duhovne koristi in si izberejo dosmrtnega kardinala zaščitnika. Da bi stopnjevale pobožnost, so se nadbratovščine posluževale predvsem arhitekture, umetnosti in slavnostnih prireditev, s tem pa so se znotraj bratovščinske hierarhije hkrati vzpenjale proti položaju, po kakršnem so hlepele. Kot spoštovani primerki laične duhovnosti in dobrotelčnosti so utrdile Rim kot prestolnico globalnega katolištva, ob tem pa ustvarile enovito mrežo pobožnih praks, češčenih podob in odpustkov. Nadbratovščine so bile tudi evangelijsko sredstvo za širjenje pozitivnih sporočil o reformirani in zmagovalni apostolski rimski Cerkvi po vsem svetu.

Pred zaključkom tridentinskega koncila leta 1563 je obstajalo samo pet rimskih nadbratovščin. A od zadnje četrtine 16. stoletja naprej se je, tudi zaradi vnete podpore papeža Gregorja XIII. (1572–1585), njihovo število dramatično povečalo; ta ekspanzija se je nadaljevala vse do konca zgodnjega novega veka.

Kljub njihovemu pomenu in vlogi zglede za življenje bratovščin po celotnem katoliškem svetu o njih ne obstaja monografska študija. Pričujoči prispevek je tako *prolegomenon* v širšo raziskavo rimskih nadbratovščin, njihovih vplivnih kardinalov zaščitnikov in njihovega umetnostnega naročništva. Opredeleva nove teme in postavlja številna vprašanja. Najpomembnejše za nadaljnje raziskave pa je, da sem sodelujoče na konferenci in druge strokovnjake, ki se ukvarjajo z bratovščinami, prosila, naj razmislijo, kako so lahko bratovščine v slovenskem prostoru, po Evropi in v daljnih deželah, ki so se šele dobro spreobrile v katoliško vero, posnemale rimska pravila in vzorce, z njimi manipulirale, jih izkoriščale ali tudi ignorirale.

Najprej sem na kratko pregledala nove cerkvene sklepe, s katerimi so nadzorovali rimske nadbratovščine in/ali spodbujali podporo zanje. Med vprašanji za nadaljnjo raziskavo so: koliko drugih mest v katoliškem svetu je še razvijalo svoj sistem nadbratovščin? Kateri kardinal ali nadškof jih je sponzoriral? Kako razširjene so bile njihove mreže? Nato sem pregledala, na kakšen način so rimske nadbratovščine služile kot vzorci. Kot primer: njihove knjige statuten, ki so bile preoblikovane tako, da so vanje vključili tridentinske odloke, so služile kot ustaljeni zgledi. Pomenljivo je tudi, da so bili proces prijave in dekreti o pridružitvi razloženi v več poglavjih. Poleg bogatih odpustkov so bili pridruženi člani deležni brezplačne namestitve v času svetega leta, kar je bila močna spodbuda za pridružitve. Statuti so definirali tudi vlogo članic in priorice, spoštovane matrone določene starosti in statusa, ki so jo izvolile ženske. Do poznega 16. stoletja, ko se je za to pozicijo zahteval plemiški stan, so izbrane ženske pridobile pomembne položaje, med drugim položaj »dosmrtnih zaščitnic«. Te nove službe bi bilo treba preučiti, da bi lahko ugotovili, kolikšno moč in vpliv so ženske imele. Dodatne raziskave rimskih zgledov bi lahko segale vse od recepcije novih devocionalnih praks in inovativnih človekoljubnih programov do arhitekturnih slogov in ikonografije.

Temeljnega pomena za to raziskavo je ugotovitev kronologije najzgodnejših rimskih nadbratovščin in njihovih kardinalov zaščitnikov (diagram 1). V študiji razjasnjujem ključno vlogo, ki jo je imel zaščitnik, pričakovanja njegovega velikodušnega mecenstva in prepleteno mrežo njegovih pristojnosti, saj je sočasno nadziral in finančno podpiral številne bratovščine (diagram 2), prav tako pa tudi cerkvene redove in države. Mogočni kardinal vicekancler Alessandro Farnese je bil na primer med letoma 1535 in 1589 zaščitnik petih nadbratovščin, medtem ko jih je vplivni kardinal vicekancler Francesco Barberini med letoma 1632 in 1679 nadziral devet. Nadalje, nekatere nadbratovščine so postale družinski »fevdi«,

na primer Pietà dei Carcerati, ki je skrbela za zapornike in imela pol stoletja kardinale zaščitnike iz družine Peretti di Montalto. Skrbna analiza razvoja rimskih nadbratovščin (katere skupine so uživale naklonjenost, kdaj in zakaj) bi dala kritičen vpogled v zgodovino rimskih bratovščin, razvoj svetovnih mrež in geopolitične vidike diplomacije v času, ko so bile povzdignjene nacionalne bratovščine. Prav tako bi zagotovila boljše razumevanje vzorcev naročništva in posebej umetnostnih naročil, saj je znano, da so posamezne družine favorizirale določene slikarje, kiparje in arhitekte.

Na koncu se osredotočam na simbiotski odnos med pričakovanji nadbratovščin do pokroviteljev, saj je bila velikodušnost dobrotnikov, še posebej kardinalov zaščitnikov, ključna za uresničitev velikih gradbenih projektov. Mnoge od teh cerkva so predstavljale avantgardo cerkvene arhitekture, tema, ki še čaka na celostno obravnavo. Tako so se tudi nadbratovščine, ko so načrtovale razkošno opremo svojih kapel in oratorijev, obračale na kardinale zaščitnike (npr. Alessandro Farnese za SS. Crocifisso di S. Marcello v Gonfalonu; Francesco de' Medici in kasneje Alessandro Peretti di Montalto za SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini e Convalescenti). Treba je ugotoviti, kolikšen delež njihovih obsežnih naročil je bil odvisen od radodarnosti kardinalov zaščitnikov. Enako pomembno je vključiti nadbratovščine v raziskavo kardinalskega naročništva. Geopolitična diplomacija in rivalstvo med rimskimi nadbratovščinami sta prav tako pomembni področji, ki kličeta po nadaljnjem raziskovanju. Le z združevanjem novih raziskav bomo lahko bolje razumeli globalno razsežnost nadbratovščin in recepcijo njihovih umetnostnih in devocionalnih zgledov.