THE GOLDEN DAYS OF THE RENAISSANCE IN ROME

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FROM THE PONTIFICATE OF JULIUS II TO THAT OF PAUL III

BY

RODOLFO LANCIANI

AUTHOR OF "ANCIENT ROME IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT DISCOVERIES," "PAGAN AND CHRISTIAN ROME," "THE RUINS AND EXCAVATIONS OF ANCIENT ROME," "NEW TALES OF OLD ROME," ETC



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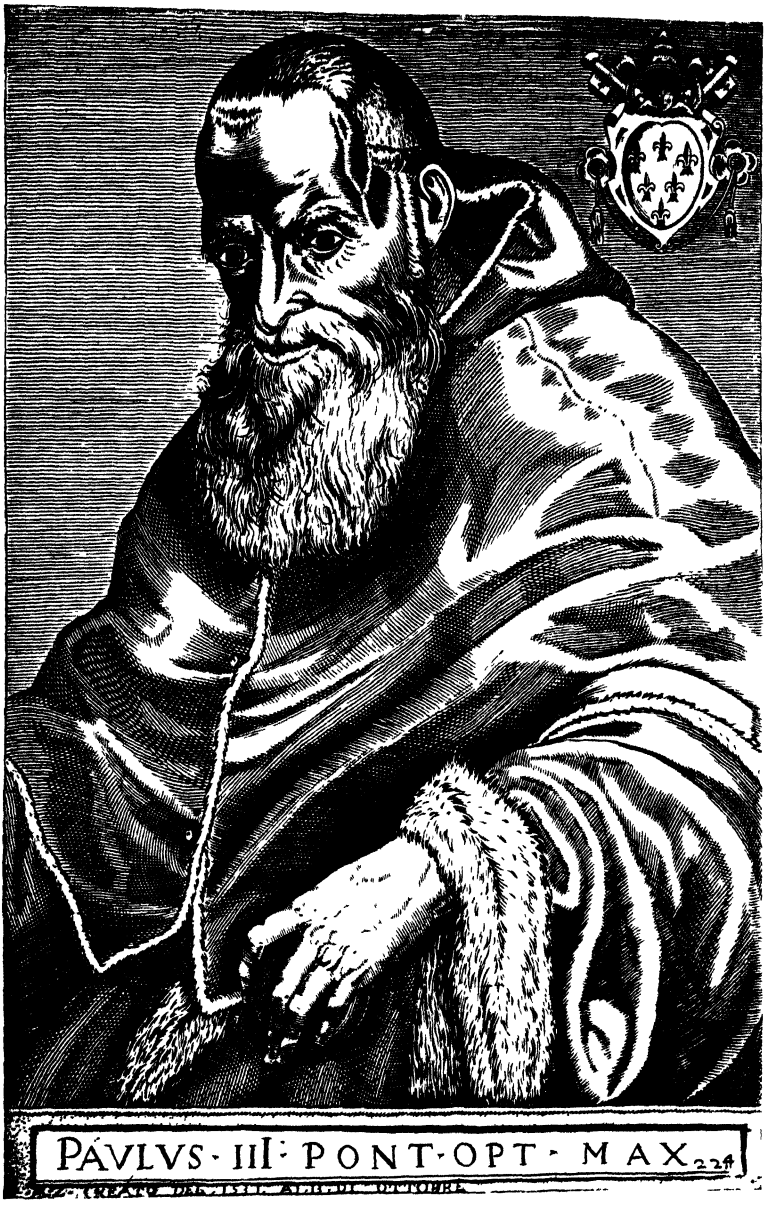
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PAUL III

From Panvinio's "Elogia et imagines," edited by Lafreri in 1568

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THE GOLDEN DAYS OF ROME

IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

CHAPTER I

THE CITY

It is said that when in the year 1377 Pope Gregory XI restored to Rome the seat of the supreme pontificate, — of which she had been deprived for the space of seventy-two years, — there were not more than seventeen thousand people living in the ruinous waste within the old walls of Aurelian. Whether the figures be exact or not, those few men who held firm and faithful to their native soil deserve the gratitude of mankind. Without them the site of Rome would now be pointed out to the inquiring stranger like those of Fidenæ, Veii, Ostia, or Tusculum, — places fit only for the exhumation of the records of the past, and doomed forever to silence and solitude.

It is also said that the young Pope[1] was so affected by the transition from the gay and refined life of Avignon to the horrors of Rome, that he died of grief on March 27 of the following year, 1378. The Romans, to whom his longing for "le beau pays de France" was not a secret, treated his memory with contempt, and the preserver of their city was buried in the church of Santa Maria Nuova (S. Francesca Romana) in a plain coffin, on the lid of which this simple epitaph was inscribed in Gothic letters,

[1] Pierre Rogier de Beaufort, born A. D. 1336, in the Château de Montroux, near Limoges, was elected pope in 1370.

"Here lies the body of the blessed Pope Gregory XI," without any reference to the great deed he had accomplished at the cost of his life.

Things were allowed to remain in this state until the end of the sixteenth century, when the City Council, feeling pangs of remorse, voted the erection of a memorial in the same church, selecting among various schemes the one proposed by Pietro Paolo Olivieri, who had achieved fame as an architect by the erection of the church of Sant' Andrea della Valle, and as a sculptor with his statue of Gregory XIII in the Capitol, and his bas-relief of the Adoration of the Wise Men in the Caetani chapel at Santa Pudentiana.

The central panel of the memorial of Gregory XI represents his triumphal entry by the Porta di San Paolo on the morning of January 17, 1377. The gate is surmounted by the coat of arms of the Counts of Beaufort, which appears also on the flags displayed by the standard-bearers at the head of the cavalcade. Of this glorious coat of arms only one specimen survives in Rome, in the frieze of the canopy or ciborium of St. John the Lateran, on the side facing the apse. It consists of two groups of three rosettes each, divided by a diagonal band.

I have purposely begun this study of a new period in the artistic and historical life of Rome with the mausoleum of Gregory XI, now almost forgotten, because as the column of Phocas marks the end of the ancient and the beginning of the mediæval periods, so the grave of that Pope marks the end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of the Renaissance. The transition from one to the other was neither sudden nor noticeable at first, but the simple fact of the head of the Church having taken up again his residence in the city by the Tiber, where hundreds of thousands of

pilgrims were expected to assemble from every part of the globe each quarter of a century, not only saved the city from abandonment or final collapse, but gave it a new lease of life, and helped it towards its moral and material regen-



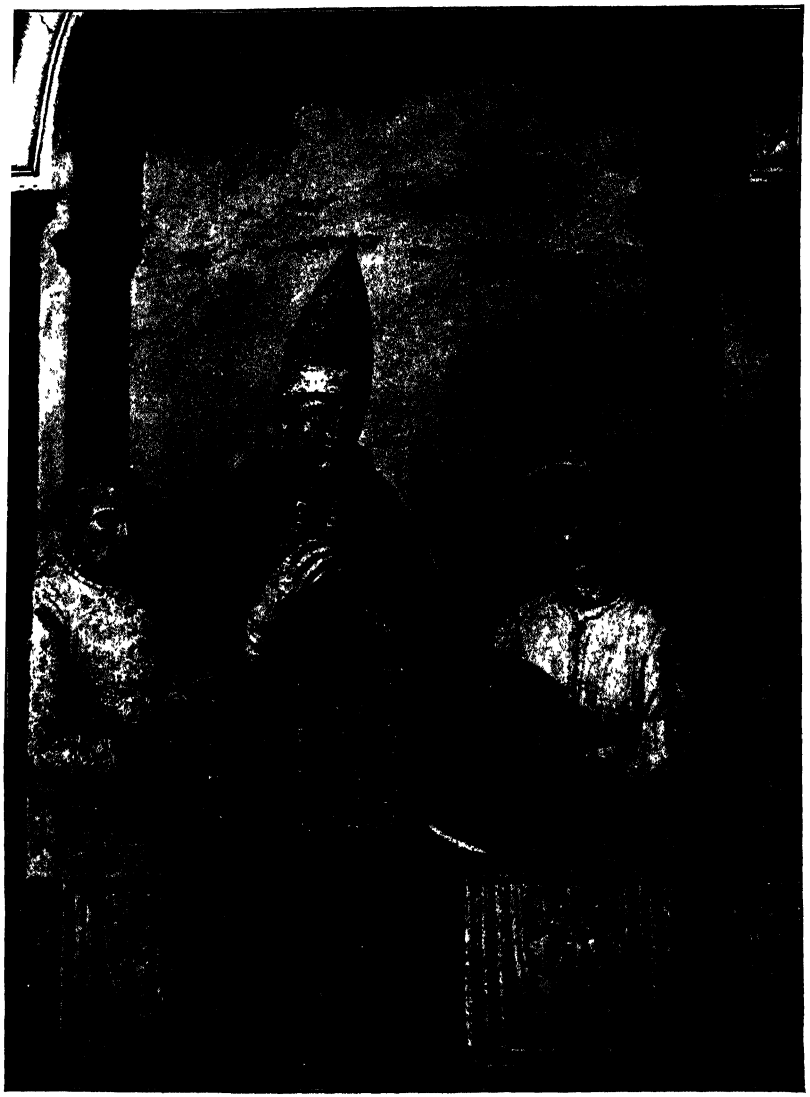
Gregory XI entering the gate of St. Paul on his return from Avignon

eration. In the period of one hundred and fifty-seven years which elapsed between the return of Gregory XI and the election of Paul III, the hero, or one of the heroes, of my present volume, the celebration of the Jubilees played a leading and beneficial part in the life of Rome. The streets were made passable, the bridges repaired, the houses

disinfected, the number and the accommodations of hospitals increased, — the whole city, in short, was made to assume a less forbidding look, and transformed into one vast hostelry.

The oldest memorial connected with the Jubilees is the fresco by Giotto, once in the Loggia della Benedizione, and now preserved in one of the aisles of St. John the Lateran, opposite the Torlonia chapel. It represents Pope Boniface VIII between two cardinals, announcing the opening of the "Anno Santo" of 1300, usually called the "Giubileo di Dante" because the divine poet is said to have visited Rome on that occasion, and to have met there Imanuel Ben Salome, from whom he learned the few Hebrew words which appear in the "Divina Commedia."

Giotto's picture is not historically accurate. In the first place, the Lateran was at that time in such a state of ruin and desolation that it could not even be included in the number of the nine churches which the pilgrims were bound to visit. In the second place, the Bull *Antiquorum*, which Pope Boniface is seen reading from the loggia, did not institute the Jubilees, but only confirmed the institution, being dated February the 23d, 1300, while the opening ceremony had taken place on the preceding Christmas, 1299. Boniface's attempt, however, was not a success. There had been no sufficient organization and no proper advertising, so that the Christians beyond the Alps did not know about the Jubilee until it was too late in the year to undertake the perilous journey to Rome. At all events, the clergy, as well as the lay population, saw at once what enormous advantages, moral and material, could be obtained from the institution, and Pope Clement VI was petitioned to shorten by half the interval of a century which, according to the Bull *Antiquorum*, must have elapsed between two celebrations. They urged the Pope to consider the fact that, on account of



BONIFACE VIII READING THE BULL ANTIQUORUM FROM THE LOGGIA OF THE LATERAN

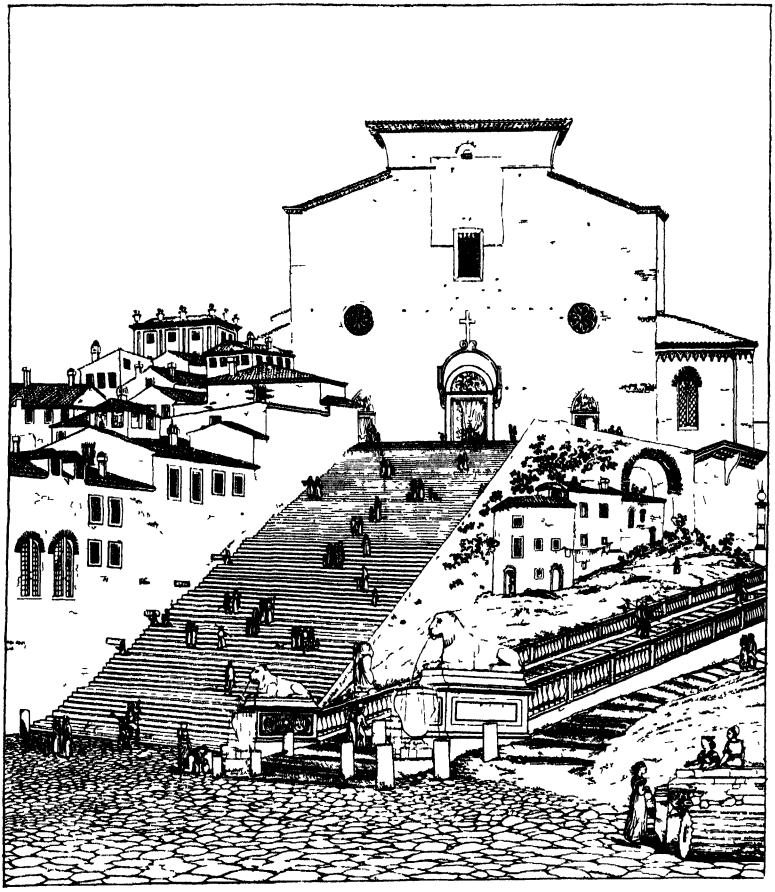
the excessive length of the interval, two generations at least would be deprived of the privilege of the plenary remission of their sins at the grave of the apostles. Clement VI, only too glad to win from the Romans forgiveness for his own secession at Avignon, at once granted them their request, and, by the Bull *Unigenitus*, another jubilee was appointed for the year 1350.

Those were sad times indeed for Rome and for Italy. In 1348 the black plague or "morbo nero" had carried off one third of the population. A Genoese ship returning from the East had conveyed the infection, the first victims of which were stricken unto death in the last days of October, 1347. Eighty thousand people died at Siena; five hundred a day were buried at Pisa; the ratio of deaths in Florence reached sixty in a hundred, and sixty-six at Bologna. The "Chronicler of Siena" (edited by Muratori) was compelled to bury five sons with his own hands. As regards Rome, we have no definite account of its losses; but judging from the cost and the importance of the commemorative monument of the plague, which still commands our admiration, they must have been great.

I refer to the marble staircase leading from the piazza to the church of Santa Maria in Aracœli, erected in October, 1348, by Giovanni de Colonna with the spoils of the temple of the Sun, for the accommodation of the panic-stricken citizens who, with ropes around their necks and with ashes on their heads, climbed the hill barefooted, to implore from the Blessed Virgin the cessation of the plague. The image to which they appealed is still there, one of the most popular in Rome; in fact, the church of the Aracœli itself is the property of the S. P. Q. R.

Another disaster marks the year 1348 as the most fatal, perhaps, in the history of the mediæval city. An earthquake,

which lasted, at intervals, from the morning of the 9th to the evening of the 10th of September, shook it to its foundations. The basilica of Santi Apostoli collapsed; the



The marble stairs of the Aracœli, built in commemoration of the Black Plague of 1348, from a rare engraving in which women are seen ascending on their knees

façade and belfry of St. John the Lateran met with the same fate; St. Paul outside the Walls was transformed into a heap of ruins; the outer shell of the Coliseum, on the side of the Cælian, the nave and right aisle of the basilica Maxentiana,

and the upper half of the Torre dei Conti likewise fell to the ground. The citizens who had escaped from the plague, and from being crushed to death, lived for weeks in the open Campagna, without shelter from the inclemency of the season.

No wonder that the Romans should have looked to the repetition of the Jubilee in 1350 as to their only chance of salvation after so many misfortunes. Gerald Ventadour, a layman from Limousin, was appointed high commissioner by the absent Pope, while the protection of the pilgrims was entrusted to Cardinal Guy of Boulogne-sur-mer. According to the chronicles of Matteo Villani, twelve hundred thousand pilgrims were registered in Lent alone, which is obviously an exaggeration. Balme, coming nearer the truth, says that five thousand persons a day were seen entering or departing by the city gates. If there were, among these penitent wayfarers, any veterans who remembered the first Jubilee of 1300, they must have believed that in the interval the curse of God had struck the wicked city. In 1300 they had beheld the presence of the last great pontiff of the militant Church, and had received his blessing from the loggia of the Lateran Patriarchium; now no pope cheered Rome with his presence, or lent her in her distress a helping hand; the banks of the blue Rhone offered to the bishop of the lonely city a more enjoyable residence than those of the muddy Tiber. In their peregrinations from church to church the faithful must have been horrified at the state in which the houses of God were kept or were allowed to remain. Grass grew on the marble or mosaic pavements of St. Peter's; the Lateran was roofless, its windows had no shutters; rain, cold, and wind made worship impossible in Santo Stefano Rotondo and in St. Paul outside the Walls, while other minor churches were used as haylofts or cattle sheds.

Many details of the state of the Roman churches at the Jubilee of 1350 can be gathered from a fragment of the "Descriptio Urbis" made by order of Cola di Rienzo between 1344 and 1347, a copy of which is preserved in the University library at Turin.[1] In giving the catalogue of the four hundred and fourteen places of worship which existed at that time within the boundaries of the city, the author of the census says that forty-four had no attendants, or keepers, eleven were levelled to the ground, while many others had no roof or windows or doors. Yet these half-ruined establishments gave shelter to a clerical army thirteen hundred and three strong, representing a fifteenth part of the whole population. Petrarch, one of the pilgrims of 1350, says that the city gave the impression of having just been stormed and pillaged by a barbaric host.

Things were allowed to remain in this condition until the day Cardinal Oddone Colonna was raised to the chair of St. Peter under the name of Martin V (November 14, 1417). His biographer, Platina, says: "He found Rome in such a state of devastation that it could hardly be considered a city fit for human habitation: whole rows of houses abandoned by their tenants; many churches fallen to the ground; streets deserted and buried under heaps of refuse; traces of plague and famine everywhere." With the Bull *et si in cunctarum*, published on March 30, 1425, Martin V re-established the office of the "magistri viarum," to whom the care of cleaning and reconstructing the city was entrusted. The Bull describes incidentally how various classes of manufacturers and tradesmen had occupied and made their headquarters in certain antique edifices, still capable of giving shelter. The butchers, for instance, had chosen for their

[1] Published by Papencordt, *De Hist. Urbis Romae*, p. 53; Urlichs, *Codex Urbis Romae Topographicus*, p. 170; Armellini, *Chiese di Roma*, p. 47.

home the beautiful forum of Nerva, and the lower arcades of the theatre of Marcellus; hence the name of *Fundicus macellorum* given to both in contemporary documents. The fishmongers had established themselves in the portico of Octavia, thus causing its classic name to be superseded



The fish-market in the portico of Octavia, abolished in 1878

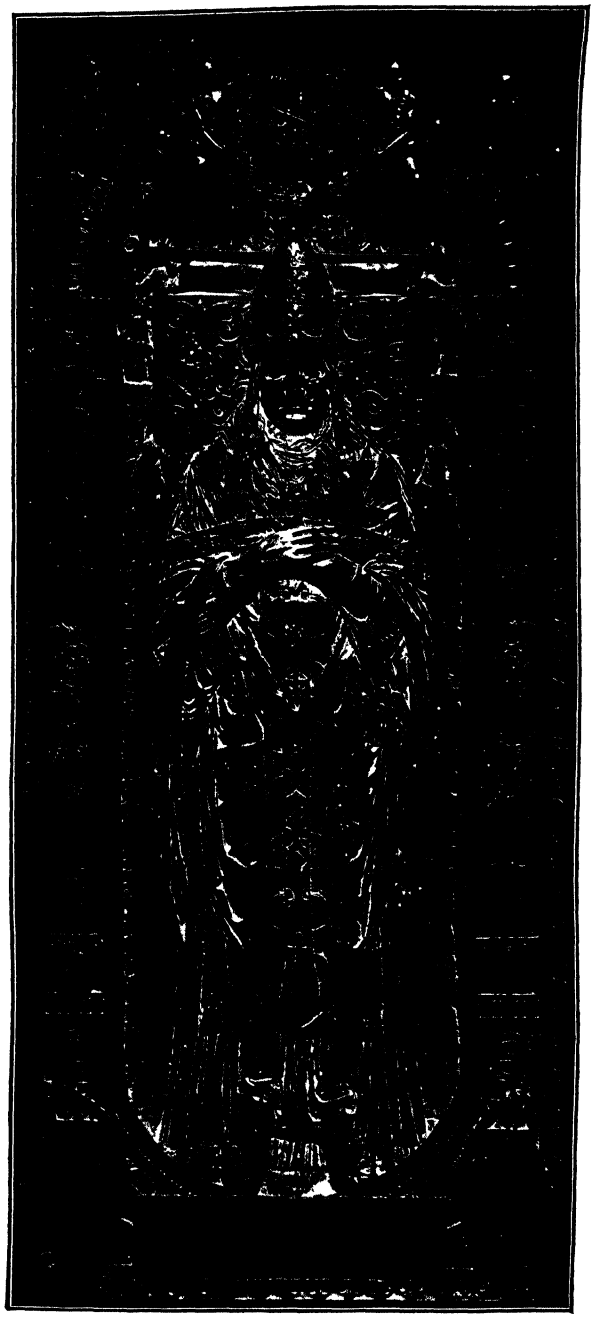
by that of *Forum piscium*. The tanners were making use of the crypts of Domitian's Stadium; the lime-burners and the rope-makers of those of the Circus Flaminius; the candle-makers of the portico of Balbus; the glass-blowers of the baths of Agrippa. The other available ruins had long since been occupied and fortified by the barons.

Nicholas Porcari and Marcello Capodiferro, the first commissioners selected by the Pope, entered into their duties with fervor, but accomplished little or nothing. With the exception of the bridge of Santa Maria, the ancient Pons Æmilius, repaired at the cost of three thousand ducats, of the church and palace of Santi Apostoli, and of certain

works at the Lateran, I do not know of any other material improvement which the city owes to Martin V; but as in the time of Augustus his friends Plancus, Cornificius, Balbus, Pollio, Philippus, Taurus, etc., contributed towards the embellishment of the capital by reconstructing at their own cost the temple of Saturn, the temple of Diana, the crypta and theatre of Balbus, the atrium of Liberty, the temple of Hercules Musagetes, the Statilian amphitheatre, etc., so the cardinals of the court of Martin V endeavored to follow his lead by restoring their own titular churches and the adjoining residences. Thus Jean de la Rochetaille, archbishop of Rouen, rebuilt the *titulus Lucinae*, that is to say, the church of San Lorenzo in Lucina, and the palace annexed to it;[1] Alfonso Carrillo that of the Santi Quattro Coronati on the Cælian hill; Giacomo Isolani that of Sant' Eustachio, and so on. While these works were progressing the Pope died of an apoplectic stroke in his palace by the Santi Apostoli, on the twentieth day of February of the year 1431. Rome mourned over the loss; under the just and prosperous administration of Martin V, the Romans had forgotten their lost republican liberties. A contemporary chronicler says that tradesmen and travellers could cross the Campagna with gold in their wallets, without danger or fear. Over the grave of Oddone Colonna was inscribed the best title of honor that a ruler could wish: TEMPORUM SUORUM FELICITAS — "the happiness of his times." The praise is not exaggerated if we recall to mind the tribulations which the people had suffered at the time of the great schism, to which the Council of Constance had put an end.

Eugenius IV, who, on March 3, 1431, succeeded Martin V in the chair of St. Peter, brought with him a return of

[1] The palace and the "Arco di Portogallo," upon which it was partially built, are represented in the illustration on p. 38.



THE GRAVE OF MARTIN V BY SIMONE GHINI IN ST. JOHN THE LATERAN

the evil days. The infamous way in which the city was treated by the Pope's legates, Cardinal Giovanni Vitelleschi da Corneto and Cardinal Ludovico Scarampo Mezzarota, finds comparison only in the deeds of Genseric or of the Connétable de Bourbon. And yet Flavio Biondo, the author of the "Roma Triumphans" and of the "Roma Instaurata," the first topographical works written in the spirit and in the light of the Renaissance, addresses both to Eugenius as if he were the best and kindest friend of the city. "The Lateran palace," Biondo says, "had lately and for the greater part fallen to the ground; but thou, Eugene, most holy Father, hast rebuilt it at a great cost, adding to it a monastery in the foundations of which, at the depth of eighty-two feet, beautiful columns, statues, and marble pavements have been found." And again, speaking of the Pantheon: "The whole city sing thy praises, Eugene, for having covered with sheets of lead the great dome, and for having freed the columns of the portico from the ignoble booths and shops which concealed their lower half. Thou hast also paved with stone the piazza in front of the temple, and the main street of the Campo Marzio."

The list of the works accomplished under the following Pope, Nicholas V (elected on March 16, 1447), is so important that I can safely present him to the reader as the first improver and restorer of the city from the modern point of view. No doubt the approaching celebration of the fourth Jubilee was the main cause of his alacrity, but it did not flag or vanish after that event, as had been the case with his predecessors. Besides the general restoration of the walls and gates of the city, of the bridges Salario, Nomentano, and Tiburtino, or Mamméo, of the pontifical palace adjoining Santa Maria Maggiore, of the churches of Santo Stefano Rotondo, San Salvatore de Ossibus, San Giacomo

degli Spagnuoli, and Santa Marina, and of the castle of Sant' Angelo, Nicholas V straightened and enlarged the Via di San Celso, leading to the Ælian bridge, and ordered his architect, Bernardo Rossellino, to draw a "piano regolatore" for the improvement of the Borgo Vaticano. Rossellino must have had some notions about the Golden House of Nero, from the plan of which he seems to have derived his inspiration. The project, however (a summary of which is given by Alveri, "Roma in Ogni Stato," vol. ii, p. 115), was as beautiful as it was impracticable. The good Pope-Humanist died on the twenty-fourth day of March of the year 1455. Following the example of Augustus, he gave to the cardinals gathered around his deathbed a résumé of what he had accomplished in the eight years of his pontificate, as a pope and as a temporal ruler; and the progress made by Humanism at that time may be better appreciated from the expressions used by the leaders of the movement on the occasion of Nicholas's death. Mannetti says: "If the Immortals could shed tears over the fate of the mortals, surely the sacred Muses and the divine Camoenae would mourn over the loss of our Nicholas;" and Filelfo repeats: "Hunc Musae lacrhymant, hunc Phoebus luget Apollo." In the crypts of St. Peter's the marble effigy of Nicholas is lying on a plain stone coffin. As one looks at it under the flickering light of a torch, the thin spiritual face seems to revive; the lips seem to quiver like those of the true Humanist absorbed in the perusal of a newly discovered classic text. Nicholas, having collected and placed at the disposal of learned men so many masterpieces of Greek, Latin, and Oriental literature, has won a place of honor among the benefactors of mankind.

We come now to the Haussmann of the fifteenth century, to Pope Sixtus IV, elected on August 9, 1471, to whom

the title of "Gran Fabbricatore" — the Great Builder — has been attributed by the historians of the Renaissance. It is no doubt a surprising fact that the head of one of those mendicant brotherhoods, so bitterly denounced by the Humanists as hotbeds of ignorance and superstition, should have made himself, from the sublimity of the pontifical throne, the champion of intellectual progress, and should have contributed with all his power to the revival of art and learning in the capital of the Christian world. Without preoccupying himself with the conflict of so many different aspirations, this old general of the Franciscans, this Francesco della Rovere, most humbly born at Albissola, near Savona, revealed an astonishing gift of organization, and became the protector of men of letters and artists. His best titles to fame are too well known to be described in detail: the Sixtine Chapel, the Vatican Library, the Roman University reorganized on a modern scale, the Capitoline Museum enriched with masterpieces in marble and bronze, the city improved materially and morally in a way which still commands the admiration of modern reformers, the reconstruction of twenty-five churches, considerable repairs to the castle of Sant' Angelo, to the Palazzo del Senatore, and to the fountain of Trevi, and the opening, straightening, and paving of the many streets which, from the bridge of Sant' Angelo, radiate in the direction of St. Peter's, of the Campo di Fiore, of the Palazzo di San Marco, and of the Porta del Popolo. To him we are indebted also for the hygienic reform of the Hospital of Santo Spirito, the main ward of which, three hundred and sixty-five feet long, was made capable of accommodating one thousand patients; for the restitution to its original place of the beautiful porphyry sarcophagus of Constantia, which Pope Paul II had removed to his own private palace, and which is now preserved in the

hall of the Greek Cross in the Vatican Museum; for the restoration of the equestrian bronze statue of Marcus Aurelius, which stood at that time in front of the Lateran palace; for the statue of Hercules Victor, discovered in the Forum Boarium, of which he made a present to the city; and lastly for the bridge across the Tiber which still bears his name, the Ponte Sisto. Baccio Pontelli, the Pope's favorite architect, has left marks of such distinct individuality in all his works that, after the lapse of four and a half centuries, both his name and that of Pope della Rovere are still popular in Rome, even among the lower classes. Sixtus IV's "armoirie parlante," a *quercus robur* (Ital. *rovere*), is still seen gracefully chiselled above the entrance door of our dearest churches, such as San Pietro in Vinculis, Santa Agnese outside the Walls, San Vito in Macello, Santa Maria della Pace, and, above all, San Cosimato in the Trastevere. This last-named church with its quaint interior and the adjoining monastery with its three cloisters and five gardens are among the most interesting and less known edifices of the Renaissance in Rome, and contain two masterpieces, — the grave of Cardinal Lorenzo Cibo, one of the best specimens of the Sansovinesque style, which was transferred to San Cosimato from the Cibo chapel in Santa Maria del Popolo, and changed into an altarpiece in 1684 by Cardinal Alderano; and a mural painting, attributed to Pinturicchio, the equal of which can hardly be found in Rome for simplicity of design, harmony of coloring, and delicacy of expression. This fresco, of which I give for the first time a photographic reproduction, represents the Virgin Mary between St. Francis and Sta. Chiara.

We wonder how Sixtus IV could have accomplished so much, considering the financial difficulties with which he had to contend. His reign, in fact, had begun disastrously;



Pinturicchio's fresco painting in the church of San Cosimato, with the Blessed Virgin between St Francis and Sta. Chiara

to replenish the coffers of the Holy See he had been compelled to sell the magnificent collection of gems, medals, and precious vases formed by his predecessors Nicholas V and Paul II, and to pledge his own silver plate. These resources exhausted, the "Apostolic chamber" resorted to other expedients, including the levying of new and heavier taxes. We do not know the cost of his wars, of the reconstruction of so many fortresses, and of the improvements carried on in Rome, but we do know that the Pope paid at one deal the sum of forty thousand ducats for the purchase of the estate of

Forli, which he gave to his nephew Girolamo Riario; we also know that Girolamo's brother, the famous cardinal of San Sisto, was allowed to squander in two years the sum of two hundred and sixty thousand ducats, equal to $2,000,000. This youth, Pietro by name, was a simple and retiring monk of the Franciscan order when his uncle received the pontifical tiara, and made him at once a cardinal with a yearly income of sixty thousand ducats ($300,000). No wonder that the sudden transition from the humble dismal cell to the splendor of an almost royal palace, from penury and monastic fare to the absolute control of unlimited wealth, should have turned his head and set him on the wrong path. And yet, when he died at the age of twenty-eight, in consequence of dissipation and excesses of every description, the people mourned over his bier, and regretted the loss of so liberal and generous a prince of the Church. The reception which he gave to Eleonora d' Aragona, daughter of the king of Naples, when she halted in Rome on her way to Ferrara, as the bride of Duke Hercules d' Este, must be counted among the wonders of that period. Received by the two nephews of the Pope, the cardinal of San Sisto and the cardinal of San Pietro in Vinculis, the princess was led in triumph to the palace of Santi Apostoli, where the former dwelt. First she was conducted through three halls decorated in the antique style, the walls covered with tapestries of inestimable price, and the floor with the finest carpets which Egypt and Asia Minor could produce. The furniture was worthy of the splendor of the apartments: sideboards lined with golden plate, tables carved out of a single block of cypress, lounging-chairs of satin covered with Venetian lace, and a fountain on the basin of which stood a live child, nude and heavily gilded, holding an ewer from which flowed perfumed water. The princess's suite

comprised fourteen rooms decorated with equal lavishness. The reader wishing for a more complete account of these Sardanapalian feasts may consult the delightful volume of the late Costantino Corvisieri, entitled "Il trionfo romano di Eleonora di Aragona nel 1473."

The Riario brothers found a rival, if not an equal, as far as wealth and magnificence are concerned, in Guillaume d'Estouteville, archbishop of Rouen, cardinal bishop of Ostia, allied to the royal house of France, candidate for the papal throne in the conclave of Pius II, "grand seigneur," in the best sense of the word, and "rich beyond the dreams of avarice," to quote the expression of Andrea Fulvio. To this charming prince of the Church we owe two artistic creations: the cathedral of Sant' Aurea at Ostia, in which Baccio Pontelli has mixed up with fascinating incongruity the gothic and classic styles, and the ciborium or tabernacle over the high altar in Santa Maria Maggiore, the masterpiece of Mino da Fiesole. The ciborium, designed on the type of those erected by Arnolfo di Cambio at St. Paul's outside the Walls and at Santa Cecilia, was supported by four slender columns of porphyry and carved in white marble with panels, medallions, and statuettes touched with gilding and coloring, after the manner of Mino's school. Having escaped the fate of renovation and disfigurement which the maniacs of the seventeenth century inflicted upon so many of the Renaissance structures, it came to an end under the pontificate of Benedict XIV, one of the best intentioned sovereigns Rome ever had, but whose pernicious influence in the field of art was recorded forever by the destruction and the heinous transformation of the inner attic of the Pantheon. Benedict XIV having substituted new capitals for the classic ones, having destroyed the tabernacles of the Madonna, of the Reliquie, and of the high altar, — having,

in short, taken away every vestige of antiquity from Santa Maria Maggiore, — was rewarded with an inscription extolling his deeds in these words: QVOD SACRAM AEDEM ANTEA INCONDITAM AD ELEGANTIAM REVOCAVERIT! Mino's ciborium would probably have escaped destruction, but for the fact that Benedict XIV was burdened with the possession of four great porphyry pillars, which he was determined to put into use; and having failed in his attempt to set them up in St. John the Lateran, where the canons pluckily stood in defence of their own *Tabernacolo della Cena*, he won the consent of those of Santa Maria Maggiore to the substitution of his rich but heavy and disproportioned structure for the graceful conception of Mino. I do not know what was the fate of the architectural parts of the ciborium, except in the case of two or three pilasters which were transferred to the shrine of San Girolamo in the Cappella Montalto. The panels, however, and the medallions were set into the wall of the apse and of the Chapter hall near the sacristy. The four statues which once stood at the four corners of the entablature were sold by the canons in 1872 to a dealer, for the sum of one hundred and twenty-five francs apiece, including in the bargain a bust of Sixtus V, probably the work of Leonardo Sormani. The name of the foreign collector to whom the four statues were eventually sold by the dealer has never been made known.

D'Estouteville was already in his eightieth year when he undertook the reconstruction of another church, that of Sant' Agostino, adjoining his own palace. His name, GVILLERMVS DE ESTOVTEVILLA EPISC · OSTIEN · CARD · ROTHOMAGEN ·, is still engraved in cubital letters on the façade; but the church itself, one of the best works of Baccio Pontelli, has been shamefully altered, once by Vanvitelli after the fire of 1750, and again by Pius IX in 1856, and many of

its sepulchral monuments of historical value have been either destroyed or removed to an inner court of the convent. The obsequies of Cardinal d'Estouteville, performed on Thursday, January 23, 1483, gave occasion for scenes of pillage and sacrilege not unfrequent in those days. The canons and chapter of Santa Maria Maggiore, incensed at the partiality the cardinal had shown for Sant' Agostino in selecting it for his last resting-place, attacked the bier in front of the high altar, and laid hands on the vestments of brocaded velvet which had been spread over the coffin. The populace followed the lead of the canons, and a general scuffle ensued, at the end of which the floor of the house of God was covered with maimed and wounded men. The bishop of Bertinoro reconsecrated it a few days afterwards with an imposing ceremony of expiation.

The successors of Sixtus IV did not follow his example in regard to the sanitation and the beautifying of Rome. With the exception of the Via Alessandrina, now di Borgo, opened by Alexander VI, of the Via Giulia, opened by Julius II, and of the Via Leonina, now di Ripetta, opened by Leo X, the plan and the aspect of the city did not undergo any noticeable change. We shall see in the third chapter how the transformation from a mediæval into a modern city was brought about by the advent of the Emperor Charles V in 1536, and by the genius and foresight of one of the advisers of Pope Paul III, Latino Giovenale Mannetti, whose name — now almost forgotten — ought to be engraved in letters of gold in the Protomotheca of the Capitol.[1] The importance of the works Mannetti was able to accomplish in his

[1] Such is the modest name of the Gallery of Fame in the Conservatori Palace, to which the portrait busts of eminent Italians, formerly in the Pantheon, were transferred in the time of Pius VII. In the recent reorganization of the Conservatori palace the Protomotheca has been massed into two inferior rooms unfit for the purpose.

double capacity of "maestro delle strade" and of "commissario delle antichita," with the help of the two Alessandro Farnese, uncle and nephew, one Pope, one the head of the Sacred College, can only be appreciated by comparing the state of the city at the beginning of the century with its condition at the death of Paul III.

Let us choose as a point of vantage the western summit of the Capitoline hill, from which Poggio Bracciolini and his friend Antonio Lusco used to gaze over the city at the time of Nicholas V, and where the famous description inserted in the book "De Varietate Fortunae" was probably written in 1447.[1] Here, also, Martin Heemskerk sat day after day in 1536 while drawing the beautiful panoramic view, now preserved in the department of prints and drawings of the Berlin Museum.[2] What would have struck more forcibly the observer in those days was the smallness of the inhabited space in comparison with that enclosed by the walls of Aurelian, — perhaps not more than one tenth. The population was congested in the narrow belt of lowlands bordered by the Corso on the east, by the Capitoline hill on the south, and by the Tiber on the west; while on the opposite bank of the river two suburbs, the Borgo and the Trastevere, clustered round the churches of St. Peter and Santa Cecilia respectively. This restricted area was by no means overcrowded, each monastery being provided with a garden, each church with a cemetery, each palace with a fortified enclosure, in which the retinue of "bravi" and outlaws found shelter and protection from the feeble hands of the law. The limits of the inhabited section towards

[1] The "*descriptio urbis*" of Poggio forms part of his book *De Varietate Fortunae*, edited for the first time by Domenico Giorgi in 1723 from the original MSS. then in the possession of Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni.

[2] Published and illustrated by De Rossi in the *Antike Denkmaeler* of the German Archæological Institute, vol. ii, plate 12.



THE CONVENTIONAL VIEW OF MEDIÆVAL ROME

With the Vatican Obelisk, the Torre delle Milizie, the Pantheon, and the Column of Trajan in the background of Ghirlandajo's "Rape of the Sabines," now in the Colonna gallery

the east are to the present day indicated by the names attached to certain streets or churches, like San Giuseppe "a capo le case," Sant' Isidoro "in capite domorum," and Sant' Andrea "delle Fratte," or "inter hortos," — this last being an allusion to the hedges with which the orchards of the district were then surrounded. In fact, the whole space now crossed by the Vie della Mercede, della Vite, and Frattina was an unhealthy swamp, the shape and aspect of which had induced early topographers to identify it with an alleged Naumachia Domitiani. And again, the belt of land between the Tiber and the Corso, north of the mausoleum of Augustus, and now crossed by the Vie di Ripetta, dei Pontefici, di San Giacomo, etc., was occupied by vegetable gardens, watered by means of norias from wells excavated in the alluvial soil. The same state of things prevailed in the Trastevere, where the hollow of the Naumachia of Augustus had become a pond named the "Cavone," the property of the nuns of San Cosimato. The reason which compelled the Romans to dwell in the unhealthy plains of the Campus Martius and of the Trastevere is evident. Since the barbarians had cut down the higher aqueducts, like the Anio Novus, the Claudian, and the Marcian, the hills were condemned to a permanent water famine.[1]

The city, seen from our point of observation, offered no striking feature. No Town Hall, no Duomo, no Loggia dei Mercanti, the three characteristics of a prosperous Italian mediæval town, broke with their imposing mass the monotony of the scene. The basilicas themselves, — St. Peter's, Santa Maria Maggiore, St. John the Lateran, — wealthy

[1] The Anio Novus entered the walls at the height of 70.^{m}40 above the sea; the Claudian at 67.^{m}40; the Marcian at 58.^{m}63. The highest inhabited point in the neighborhood of the Porta Collina (corner of Via 20 Settembre and Via Goito) stands only 63.^{m} above the sea. On the opposite side of the Tiber the Aqua Traiana reached the Janiculum (83.^{m}) at the level of 71.^{m}16.

beyond belief in interior ornamentation, offered a shabby and neglected outside appearance; in fact, they could hardly be singled out behind the screen of chapter houses, monasteries, and titular palaces by which they were surrounded on three sides. I do not think that ten churches can be counted in modern Rome, to say nothing of mediæval times, which stand by themselves, isolated, the exterior decoration of which harmonizes with the beauty of the interior. Founders and architects alike have despised the elementary rule of making the two harmonize, — of making the house of God as perfect in the mass as in the details, and rendering it a conspicuous landmark to the pilgrim or the wayfarer who has crossed the seas and the mountains to visit the graves of the founders of the Church.

The Capitol had justly been called the heart of the mediæval city, but the heart had long ceased to beat, since the suppression of municipal liberties by Pope Eugene IV. This state of things was duly reflected by the outward aspect of the hill, — silence and desolation reigned everywhere except near or within the Senatorial palace, where justice was administered for a limited number of offences, and the Conservatori palace, where the Town Council was occasionally summoned to ratify, rather than to discuss, the decrees of the omnipotent Pope.

The western summit of the hill, once crowned by the temple of Jupiter, had exchanged its classic name of Capitolium for that of "Monte Caprino," from the goats (*capre*) which came to browse over its crags at each return of spring. The higher platform of the Monte Caprino was still strewn with great blocks of Pentelic marble, — cornices, friezes, capitals, pedestals of the temple, — because the quarry from which for centuries Rome had derived its best materials for the workshops of the Marmorarii was by no

means exhausted. In fact, the records of a regular search for marble begin only with the year 1545, when Gian Pietro Caffarelli was laying the foundations of the palace, now the seat of the German embassy. The search was continued by the contractors for the rebuilding of St. Peter's, and many pieces of the fluted columns, nine feet in diameter, found their way to the Vatican. These and other finds are described by Flaminio Vacca in the following terms: "Upon the Monte Caprino several columns of Pentelic marble have been dug out, with capitals of such magnitude that I was able to carve out of one of them the Lion now in the garden of Grand Duke Ferdinand of Tuscany by the Trinità di Monti (Villa Medici). The other marbles were used by Vincenzo de Rossi to carve the Prophets and other statues of the Cesi chapel in the church of Santa Maria della Pace."

The rest of the surface of the Monte Caprino was occupied by a "tiratorio di panni," or yard for drying clothes, the property of the Sordi family; by another enclosure where wheat was stored in wells (i pozzi di Campidoglio), the property of Domenico Persona; and lastly by the "forche," or gallows, a platform facing the valley of the Forum, officially known by the name of "locus justitiae." With this horrid place is connected the following touching story: In June, 1385, Giordanello degli Alberini, a nobleman from the Rione de' Monti, imprisoned in the dungeons of the Senatorial palace, fearing for his life, asked and obtained leave to make his will, stipulating, among other clauses, that his heirs should spend two golden florins in having the image of the Blessed Virgin painted near the place of execution, so that the doomed men might gather strength and hope by gazing at the merciful face of the mother of God. The image is believed to be the one now placed on the high altar of the church of Santa Maria della Consolazione,

which stands within a stone's throw of the mediæval "locus justitiae."

The Capitoline gallows are given a prominent place in certain views of the city of the second half of the fifteenth century; for instance, in that painted by Taddeo di Bartolo in the chapel of the Palazzo Comunale at Siena, published by Stevenson in 1881.[1]

When the Monte Caprino was partially excavated, in 1896, for the building of a new wing of the municipal offices, I was present at the discovery of a square enclosure or terrace, facing the above-mentioned church of La Consolazione, in the centre of which were four blocks of stone, with a square hole in each, as if intended to support an upright beam. I have no doubt that this was the "locus justitiae" set apart for the execution of plebeians, because noblemen could claim the privilege of being beheaded in the square of the Capitol, in front of the Senatorial palace. It is just, however, to remark that the magistrates of those days, provided the guilty one, or the one supposed to be such, were really done to death, cared little how and when and where the deed was accomplished. Thus we hear of Lello Capocci being beheaded "at the foot of the second column in the Sala del Consiglio;" of the two sons of Jacopo Cola Santo hanged from the windows of the anteroom; of Giovanni Cenci killed while descending the main stairs of the palace. As a rule, the senator and his guests witnessed the executions from a balcony which had been purposely built and decorated in 1413 by a distinguished citizen, Nicolà da Teano.

The gallows of the Capitol were abandoned ultimately in 1548, and transferred to the Piazza di ponte Sant' Angelo. The views of the piazza from the time of Paul III to the

[1] *Bullettino archeologico comunale di Roma*, vol. ix, a. 1881, pp. 74–105.

Napoleonic invasion represent this second "locus justitiae" as a court enclosed by a low wall, at an equal distance between the entrance to the bridge and the Torre di Nona.

The northern slope of the Capitoline hill and part of the plain below, beyond the limits of the present Piazza dell' Aracœli, were occupied by the public market. The first mention of the place occurs in a diploma of the antipope Anacletus II, dated 1130, in which the property of the district is assigned to the monks of Santa Maria in Aracœli. On the boundary lines of the market there were marble tables for the exhibition of wares and stuffs,[1] and in the centre of the square another stone, which was put to a strange use. A debtor who had failed to fulfil his engagements was stripped of his garments in the presence of the money-lender, and thumped thrice on that stone, and made to repeat each time the formula: "Pagatevi creditori!" And again: the city officer who had disobeyed orders or taken unfair advantage of his position was condemned to sit astride of the marble lion at the foot of the steps, with a paper mitre on his head, on which the words "mandati transgressor" were written. He had to endure the punishment, with face besmeared with honey and hands tied behind his back, as long as the market lasted.

This stone lion played an important part in the mediæval history of Rome. There were two lions, in fact, one carved in marble, the other painted on the wall supporting the balustrade. The first, represented in the act of tearing to pieces a fallen horse, was thought to symbolize the punishment of crimes, or the stern justice exacted by society from its offenders; the second, represented in the act of patting with his paw a starving cur, was considered to represent the clemency and equanimity characteristic of the

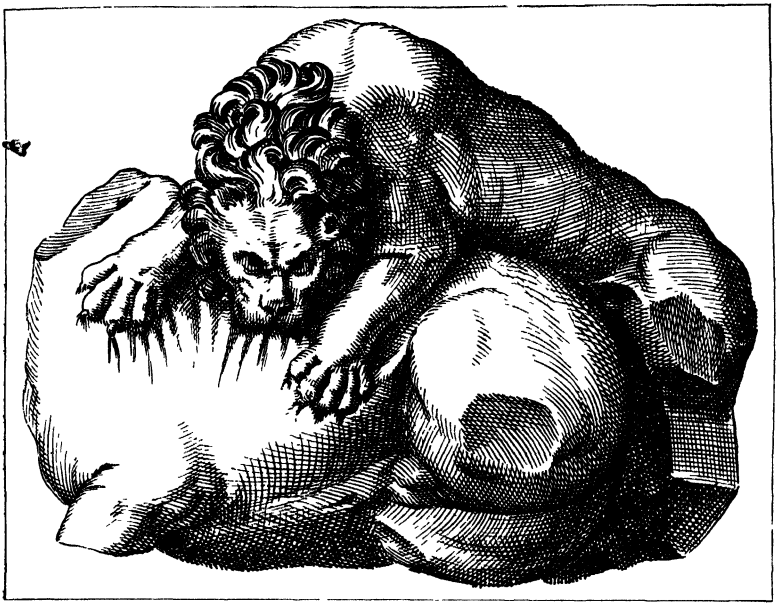
[1] Like those appearing in the illustration on p. 11.

true and just judge. The stone group, largely restored in the time of Paul III, is still in existence, but it has lately been subjected to unworthy treatment. This group, against which Cola di Rienzo was probably leaning for support, while listening to his own sentence of death on the morning of October 8, 1354, and before which Martino Stefaneschi in 1347 and Fra Monreale in 1354 were handed over to the executioner, — this group, in short, in which three centuries of the mediæval history of the capital are reflected, was removed from the court of the Conservatori in 1903 and located in the centre of a vulgar fountain in the upper garden of the same palace.

Let me conclude these remarks by stating that the habit of keeping live symbolic animals on this sacred hill dates from the earliest times of Roman history. At first there were only geese and dogs, in commemoration, probably, of the unsuccessful attempt of the Gauls to storm the citadel. In the middle ages it was a live lion, whose keeper, called "custos leonis," received his salary from the thirty florins which the Jews of the Ghetto were compelled to pay on Good Fridays, in memory of the thirty pieces of silver with which their ancestors had remunerated the treason of Judas. On a Sunday morning in the year 1414 the lion escaped from his cage, and, after killing or maiming several children, hid himself among the ruins of the Palatine. It was only in the later part of the day that some men from the Rione di Ripa traced him to his lair, and brought him thence in triumph to the City Hall. These old traditions are not forgotten by us, and we still keep and feed, at the expense of the city, a wolf and an eagle, as symbols of the mythical birth of Rome and of the fortunes of the Roman Empire.

On February 15, 1353, the market-place was the scene of one of those popular outbreaks so common in that unruly

age. It seems that Stefanello della Colonna and Bertoldo Orsini, both senators, had exported a large quantity of wheat while a terrible famine was pressing the city; and when on the market-day the crowd found no breadstuff to purchase, they stormed the Senatorial palace, from which Stefanello, being young and alert, made a successful escape,



The stone lion of the Capitol before its restoration, from an engraving by Cavalieri, 1585

while his colleague Orsini, a heavier and older man, was stoned to death by the infuriated mob.

The market boasted of heroes of local — and dubious — fame, a kind of *forts de la halle*. Such was the illustrious Tribuntio Squazzetti, to whom the following tablet was erected in the church of Sant' Onofrio on the Janiculum: "To Tribuntio Squazzetti, a commissioner from his early youth, later promoted to the rank of porter, second to none

in carrying heavy weights, in decanting wine, and in playing the game of the morra (in dimicatione digitorum). . . . Stop, wayfarer, and offer a draught of wine to the worthy man forever thirsty." Were it not for the authority of the learned Cancellieri, who vouches for the authenticity of the text, we should hardly have thought it possible that such a profane memorial could be exhibited in a Christian church.

The market was removed from the foot of the Capitol to the Piazza Navona by Cardinal Guillaume d'Estouteville in the year 1477, another step taken by that illustrious prelate towards the reform of the municipal administration in Rome. The cardinal's institution lasted to my own days; and I well remember the sight of that vast piazza teeming with life on Wednesday mornings, with its thousand stalls and booths, in which all kinds of marketable goods were exhibited, a sight far more interesting and picturesque than that of the present rag fair at the Campo de' Fiori.[1]

The old Capitoline institution was revived once only in the course of the last four centuries, in the year 1810, on the name-day of the Emperor Napoleon, of whose dominions Rome then formed a part. The description of this fair is to be found in nos. 107–114 of the official Gazette of that time, — the "Gazetta del Campodoglio."

Let us now descend from our post of observation and follow the two principal thoroughfares of the city of that day, — the Via Lata, corresponding to the classic Flaminia and to the modern Corso, the main line of communication from north to south, and the Via Papae, running westward from the Corso, in the direction of St. Peter's.

The Corso had been a fashionable street since the time of Paul II, the builder of the Palazzo di Venezia, who in

[1] The market was transferred from the Piazza Navona to the Campo de' Fiori in the last years of Pius IX.

1465 introduced for the first time in the capital of the Pontifical States the celebration of the Carnival. A Venetian of noble family, fond of luxury and magnificence, Paul II thought that the more amusement the people were allowed to enjoy, the readier they would be to forget their aspirations to municipal liberties. At the same time he, a patrician by birth and by feelings, could certainly not approve of the bloody and brutal sports so dear to mediæval Romans, such as bull-fights, tournaments, and chariot-races, which never ended without loss of life. When we think that the most popular amusement was the so-called "Giuoco di Testaccio," in which bull-carts laden with live pigs were hurled down the slopes of Monte Testaccio, with evident risk of life to the daring youths who tried to seize the pigs in their wild descent; and that stands were erected on these occasions for the patrician matrons and maidens to witness the revolting spectacle, we do not wonder at the attempt made by the Venetian pope to bring about a less brutal spirit of amusement. He selected the Corso, the whole extent of which he could command from the corner balcony of his palace, for the racing competitions, which he organized on a grand scale. The events for the Carnival of 1465 included races of horses, donkeys, oxen, and buffaloes, which, however, brought about the same results, and were the cause of many accidents among the crowd which lined the Corso, on account of the narrowness of the street. Then followed competitions of speed between children, youths, and old men, the prize, a *pallio*, being a piece of Venetian red cloth of the value of thirty-six scudi.

The principal attraction — *le clou de la fête* — was undoubtedly the racing of the Jews. It was the first time that they were obliged to take a share in the Carnival, more personally than they desired. Disguised in fantastic cos-

tumes, they were compelled to run for the *pallio*, driven on by the yells and insults of the heartless crowd; and whenever they slackened speed from sheer fatigue, or in protest against the persecution, they were hurried on by mounted soldiers galloping behind them. In the following years the original institution of Paul II degenerated into license and cruelty.

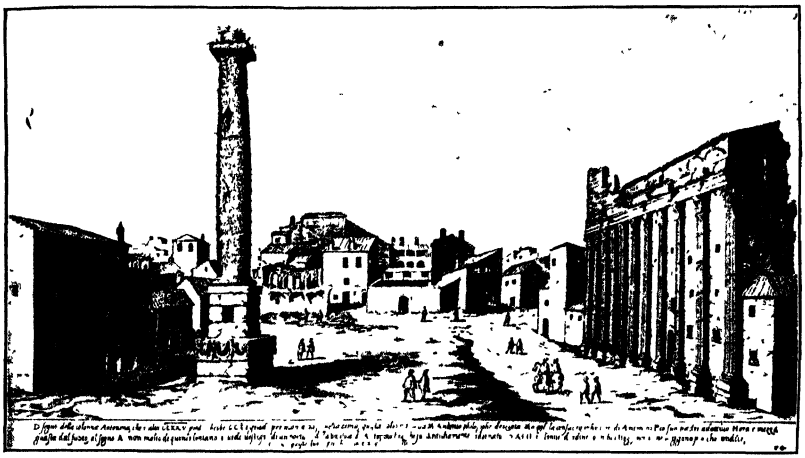
The track was lengthened from one thousand to thirteen hundred yards, and the unfortunate champions of the Ghetto were forced to take a copious repast before racing, and, incredible as it may appear to the reader, it was decided to shorten the blouse which the runners wore — for the Christians, as much as was strictly consistent with decency; for the Jews, without any reference to it. We hear also of competitions between hunchbacks and lame men. Montaigne witnessed in 1580 a race of absolutely nude competitors, — "On fait courir à l'envi tantôt quatre ou cinq enfants, tantôt des Juifs, tantôt des vieillards tout nus."

The Carnival festivities were generally attended by the cudgelling of minor offenders in the Piazze Colonna, di Sciarra, or di Venezia, and by the execution of criminals in the Piazza del Popolo, the hangman and his assistants donning the costume of harlequins and punchinellos. The minor offenders were mostly vulgar women, who had infringed police regulations, but the victims of the hangman were selected with greater care among the nobility and the clergy. It is enough to quote the names of Count Soderini, executed on Shrove Tuesday, 1650, of the Abbé Volpini, hanged in the Carnival of 1720, and of Count Trivelli, who perished in that of 1737.

These cruel amusements were not those, surely, which Paul II, the gentle Venetian, had thought to offer to the Romans. However, when institutions like the Carnival are transferred from one country to another, they can survive

only by shaping and adapting themselves to the nature and requirements of the new soil. The Grecian athletes, once transplanted to Rome, became gladiators.

The Via del Corso, in which the Carnival has been celebrated from the time of Paul II to our own days, then followed only approximately the straight line of the Via Flaminia, and its level was most irregular. It did not start



The Piazza Colonna in the time of Paul III, from a rare engraving by Etienne Duperac, 1575

from the Piazza di Venezia, which was opened in 1536, but from the tomb of C. Poplicius Bibulus at the foot of the Tarpeian Rock,[1] seven hundred feet more to the south. The pilgrim, advancing northwards, in the direction of the Porta del Popolo, must have been struck by the number and magnitude of the ruins of classic edifices which lined the road, leaving but little space for habitations. The lofty

[1] The name Tarpeian Rock, contrary to the received notion and to popular belief in Rome, belongs to the cliff of the Capitoline hill, facing the north, under the walls of the Arx or citadel. Epigraphic records of it have been found *in situ* in the foundations of the monument to Victor Emmanuel at the side of the Via della Pedacchia.

arcades of the Septa Julia extended as far as the Piazza di Sciarra on the site of the present palaces d' Aste (Bonaparte), Doria, and Simonetti, and of the present churches of Santa Maria in Via and San Francesco Saverio (Caravita). On the opposite side of the road, and facing the column of Marcus Aurelius, rose the remains of the Porticus Vipsania on the site of the Palazzi Bonaccorsi and Piombino (now demolished), and, farther on, those of the Horti Largiani, in such good preservation that Palladio was able to draw their plan in its most minute details. These gardens and the colonnade by which they were surrounded had their frontage on the Corso extending from the Via di San Claudio to the Via Frattina. At this point, viz., at the height of the church of San Lorenzo in Lucina, all traces of city life ceased, and the road entered a belt of orchards and gardens with hardly a trace of human habitation save in the neighborhood of the Ortaccio (the present Piazza di Monte d' Oro), where women of ill fame dwelt in wretched hovels. The most conspicuous features in this marshy waste were the mausoleum of Augustus, called "lo monte dell' Austa," and a great pyramid on the site of the present church of Santa Maria dei Miracoli. The pyramid, the grave of an illustrious Roman whose name is not known, was stripped of its coating of marble by Pope Sixtus IV, and the blocks were used in the construction of the towers flanking the Porta del Popolo. The shell, which still constituted a landmark of some importance under the name of Meta Populi, was levelled to the ground in the time of Paul III.

The road itself was spanned by three triumphal arches, the first of which, near the church of Santa Maria in Via, was destroyed by Pope Innocent VIII in the month of August, 1491. The oldest guide-books call it the "arcus novus," just as they call the one raised by Maxentius on the Sacred

Way "basilica nova." We may argue, therefore, from the name that the arch was probably dedicated to one of the emperors of the Constantinian era.

The second arch spanned the road just in front of the Sciarra palace, and answered a double purpose, — that of carrying the Aqua Virgo across the road to its terminal fountain and reservoir by the present church of Sant' Ignazio, and that of celebrating and recording the capture of King Caractacus and the "annexation of barbarous trans-oceanic lands" by the Emperor Claudius. I have related the curious history of this structure in chapter vii of "New Tales of Old Rome."

The third arch, named Arco di Portogallo from its contiguity to the residence of the cardinal-ambassador of that country, as shown in the following illustration, was destroyed by Pope Alexander VII in 1662. The inscription recording the fact is still affixed to the corner house between the Corso and the Via della Vite. We have no knowledge of the origin and classic name of the arch; but we know that it was only a patchwork of older materials made in the fourth century after Christ. The story of the dispersion of its parts is remarkable. Two panels from the north front of the arch, representing, one the apotheosis of Faustina the younger, the other an allocution of M. Aurelius, were removed to the Conservatori palace; two columns of *verde antico* were made use of in the construction of the high altar of the church of Santa Agnese in Agone; a second pair are now to be found in the Corsini chapel at the Lateran. The key of the arch is preserved in the lower vestibule of the University della Sapienza.

The aspect of the second thoroughfare, which left the Piazza di Venezia in the direction of the Ponte Sant' Angelo and the Vatican, was quite different from that of the Corso.

because it crossed the heart of the mediæval and Renaissance city, the populous and noisy quarters of the Pigna, Sant Eustachio, Parione, and Ponte. Its name of "Via Papae", or "Strada Papale" originated from the fact that the newly elected Popes followed its winding course, while riding in state from St. Peter's to the Lateran, to take possession of the episcopal chair. The history of these "solenni possessi" has been written with his usual marvellous erudition by Francesco Cancellieri, in a volume published by Lazzarini in 1802,[1] in which a full account is given of the houses, palaces, churches, shops, banks, and offices which lined the



The palace of the cardinal titular of S. Lorenzo in Lucina, with the Arco di Portogallo spanning the Corso, from an engraving by Israel Silvestre

Pope's highway. There is also a pamphlet by Adinolfi, dealing with the same subject and full of equally useful information, "La via sacra o del Papa," Rome, 1865.

The list of the patricians owning property with frontage on the Via Papale includes the names of the Caffarelli,

[1] *Storia de' solenni Possessi de' Sommi pontefici da Leone III a Pio VII.* Roma, presso Luigi Lazzarini, M.DCCC.II.

Fieschi di Lavagna, Piccolomini, Orsini, Leroy (Regis), Lanciarini da Fano, della Valle, Massimi, and Cesarini, while the princes of finance made the Quartiere dei Banchi the richest section of the street and one of the richest in the world. This historical highway of the Popes has lost, unfortunately, its individuality since 1880, having been absorbed in a great measure by the new Corso Vittorio Emanuele. Still, a walk through the preserved sections, which include the Via del Governo Vecchio, di Monte Giordano, and dei Banchi Nuovi, cannot fail to rouse the interest of the stranger, notwithstanding the modernization undergone by many of the buildings.

From the point of view of the movement of the Renaissance, two dwellings deserve special attention, — the Cesarini and the Massimi. The first palace, or whatever is left of it, stands between the church of San Nicolo à Cesarini and the Via dell' Arco dei Ginnasi on the left side of the Corso Vittorio Emanuele. Founded in 1444 by Cardinal Giuliano the elder, it was enlarged and enriched with antiques by his nephew and namesake, Giuliano the younger, made cardinal by Alexander VI in 1493. To this enlightened prelate we owe the creation of the first villa-museum or garden-museum, made accessible to students and visitors on May 20 of the first year of the new (sixteenth) century. Cardinal Giuliano, therefore, must be considered the pioneer of that splendid race of villa-builders, collectors of ancient and Renaissance masterpieces, benefactors of art, educators of their countrymen, the Cesi, the Grimani, the Caraffa, the d' Este, the Carpi, the Farnese, the Maffei, the Soderini, and the Vittori, to whom Rome was indebted for its best attractions, which, alas! exist no more. The Cesarini villa was laid out in terraces on the slope of the Cespian near San Pietro in Vinculis, on the area of which the church and monastery of San

Francesco di Paola now stand. The following inscription placed above the entrance gate recorded the opening of the garden: "I, Giuliano Cesarini, cardinal deacon of Sant' Angelo in Pescheria, have opened for my own recreation and for the pleasure of my relatives and friends, this garden of statues on my thirty-fourth birthday, namely on May 20 of the eighth year of Alexander VI, of the fifteen hundredth of our Lord, and of the two thousand two hundred and thirty-third of Rome." Underneath were to be read the regulations for visitors couched in an exquisite epigram of four distichs, the text of which is given in Schrader's "Monumenta," p. 217. A short catalogue of the contents of this garden, which included the panels of the above-mentioned arch of Claudius in the Piazza di Sciarra, is to be found in vol. ii of my "Storia degli Scavi," p. 134. Vacca mentions this curious anecdote: "I remember that Messer Giovan Giorgio Cesarini, the standard-bearer of the Popolo Romano, purchased a column of cipollino, which had been discovered in the forum of Trajan by Sebastiano Piglialarme, for the purpose of raising it in his garden at San Pietro in Vinculis. By chaining a bear to the pedestal of the column and by placing a bronze eagle on the capital, he intended to raise a monument of glory to his family, whose coat of arms included the three symbols of the bear, the eagle, and the column. Death, however, prevented Giovan Giorgio from carrying the design into effect."

The garden remained totally or partially in the possession of the Cesarini up to 1623, when a priest from Calabria, Giovanni Pizzullo, bought it for twelve thousand five hundred scudi, and gave it to the order of the Minims of San Francesco di Paola, who retained it until its recent transformation into a technical institute.

The houses of the Massimi, built over the remains of the



The tower of the Cesarini garden, now transformed into the belfry of the church of San Francesco di Paola

Odeum, near the south end of the stadium of Severus Alexander, — now the Piazza Navona, — were renowned for two reasons: for a collection of antiques and for a printing-press, the first ever seen in Rome. Claude Bellièvre of Lyons, who visited the palace in 1512, mentions three special pieces: a Julius Cæsar, the beauty of which could be felt more than described; a Seneca; and a Brutus which, the Frenchman says, bore a striking resemblance to St. John the Baptist!

The introduction of the printing-press in Rome at Subiaco dates from the year 1464 and from the pontificate of Paul II, when three apprentices from the school of Faust and Schöffer of Mayence came over the Alps, well equipped with types and hand-presses. It seems as if the discovery of so many classic texts and the institution of a public library in the Vatican, made in the time of Nicholas V, had brought as a necessary consequence the invention of movable types and the process of printing. The new and genial ideas of the Humanists were to be no more the privilege of the few. Learning was to be guarded no more within the precincts of monasteries. The bright sunshine of the Renaissance conquered mediæval darkness as soon as it was found possible to transfer human thought to paper.

The circulation of books had been a hard and expensive undertaking up to the time of Paul II and Sixtus IV. The exploit of Vespasiano, in transcribing two hundred volumes for Duke Cosimo of Tuscany in the short period of twenty-two months, and with the help of only forty-five amanuenses, was considered little short of miraculous. Besides, manuscript books had reached prohibitory prices: forty florins were given for a Bible, twenty-five for the epistles of Cicero. Poggio Bracciolini had asked and obtained from Lionello d' Este one hundred florins for the epistles of St. Jerome, and one hundred and twenty ducats for a Livy sold to the poet Beccadelli. Both works had been copied by his own hand.

The first experiences in Rome of the three apprentices from Mayence, Conrad Schweinheim, Arnold Pannartz, and Ulrich Hahn, were not successful. The activity which had prevailed under Pope Nicholas in the field of letters seemed to have come to a standstill just at that period; and finding themselves without money or shelter, they retired to Subiaco, that ancient seat of learning, many of whose inmates were

German extraction. In this peaceful retreat Conrad and Arnold printed the Donatus and the Lactantius (two hundred and seventy five copies of each) in 1465, Cicero's "De Oratore" in 1466, and St. Augustine's "De Civitate Dei" in 1467. These incunabula, representing the very infancy of the printer's art, are still to be seen in the library of San Benedetto at Subiaco.

Ulrich Hahn, in the mean time, had been called to Rome by Torquemada to print the "Meditations." His success raised fresh hopes in the other two, and by the end of 1467 we find them installed in the house of Piero Massimi, from which is dated the first edition of the epistles of Cicero.[1] They had secured the collaboration of Giannandrea de Bussis, chief librarian of the Vatican, as a reviser of proofs; yet they do not seem to have prospered in business, and disappear altogether from the scene in 1476. Hahn had a better fate, owing perhaps to the clever use he made of woodcuts to embellish his books, and also because of the help he received from Giovanni Antonio Campano, bishop of Teramo, one of the leading Humanists of the day, and a member of Pomponio Leto's Academy.

The art of printing declined very much in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, owing to political troubles and to the fierce rule of the Borgias, which gave literary enterprises little or no opportunity to prosper. Aldo Manuzio not only revived the art under Julius II and Leo X (1494–1515), but brought it to perfection. His editions of the Greek and Latin classics show what grace and elegance and artistic touch the Italian spirit of the Renaissance could impart to the useful but rough productions of the Teutonic race.

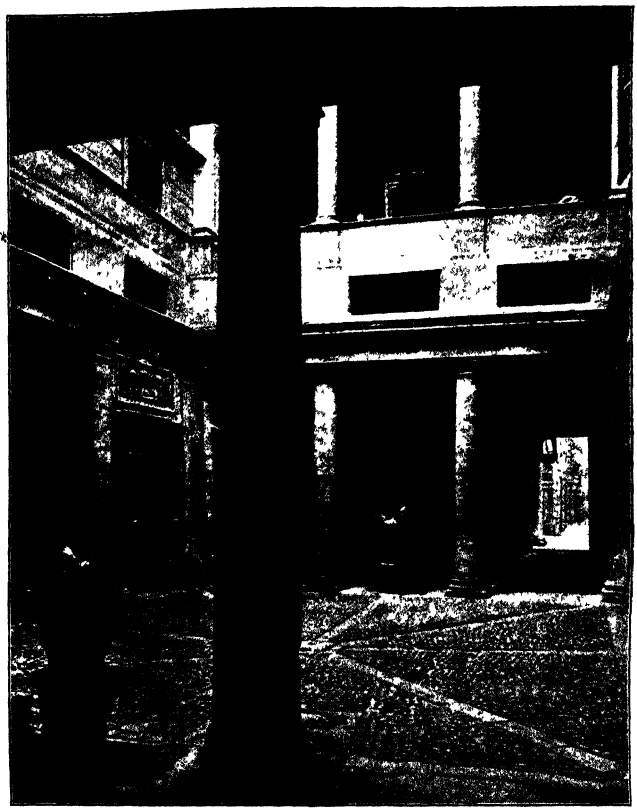
At the time the heroes of my book were living in Rome, the old printing-office in the house of the Massimi had been

[1] In domo Petri de Maximo, M.CCCC.LXVII.

let to another master of the craft, Antonio Blado from A[illegible], a pupil and ex-partner of Aldo. The first book issued from his press, Valeriano's "Comments on Virgil," bears the date of June, 1521. Twenty-six years later we find Blado established in his own premises in the Campo de' Fiori. His greatest title to fame is the publication of Machiavelli's three standard works, the "Discorsi," the "Principe," and the "Historie," made under the patronage of Monsignor Giovanni Gaddi, the owner of the original manuscripts. This publication gave origin to an act of piracy that can hardly find its match in more recent times. It seems that on the strength of a brief of privilege granted to him by Clement VII on August 23, 1521, Blado, feeling secure against competition, must have relaxed his vigilance. The negligence gave an opportunity to his Florentine rival, Bernardo Giunta, for bribing one of the apprentices so as to obtain possession of the printed sheets as fast as they came out of the press. This explains the fact that Bernardo Giunta (who had never seen the original manuscript) was able to issue the "Discorsi" within twenty-three days, and the "Historie" within twenty-four hours, after Blado's publication.

The Roman edition has become so rare, especially in the case of the "Principe," that many bibliographers have doubted its existence. Yet it is not difficult to explain the fact. The Curia and the Inquisition must have soon realized what a mistake they had made in allowing Machiavelli's dangerous treatise to appear in Rome under the personal auspices of Pope Clement VII and of Cardinal Giovanni Gaddi; all the available copies were seized and destroyed, and we may consider it almost a miracle that a priceless few have come down to us to give evidence of an act of piracy, of which Bernardo Giunta could not have been otherwise convicted.

The house of the Massimi, having been wrecked in the sack of 1527, and its owner, Giulio, having been murdered by the Lansquenets, was soon after rebuilt in the form shown



The court of the Massimi palace, rebuilt in 1532–36 by Baldassare Peruzzi

by the accompanying illustration, from the designs of Baldassare Peruzzi.

Besides those described in the preceding pages, scanty vestiges of mediæval Rome are left standing. If we except a few churches which by accident have been spared the heinous transformations of the seventeenth century, a few baronial towers not yet whitewashed or turned into tene-

ments, and a few private houses which have not yet fallen into the hands of speculators, Rome offers no connecting link between the classic and the modern age. Tivoli, Corneto, Viterbo, Anagni, Orvieto, are far richer than Rome in monuments dating from the glorious period of municipal liberties, when each town felt impelled to raise a church "grand, beautiful, magnificent, whose just proportions in height, breadth, and length should so harmonize with the details of the decoration as to make it decorous and solemn and worthy of the worship of Christ in hymns and canticles," like the duomo of Siena, and belfries which should reach "even to the stars," like that of Spoleto. Why is it that no such structures were erected in Rome? The usual reason given for this anomaly is that the soil was so rich in columns, capitals, entablatures, and architectural marbles in general, ready for use, that the builders had no reason to exert their artistic ingenuity; they could not help producing a patchwork of antique ready-made materials which had no unity, no harmony, no symmetry in its various parts. The explanation is a poor one. Let us consider the parallel case of the duomo of Orvieto, which is likewise built of marbles found or purchased in Rome and in the Campagna, the first barge-loads having been shipped from the quay of Ripetta to their destination in June, 1316. For the space of twenty years the "maestri dell' opera del Duomo" ransacked the ruins of Ostia, Porto, Veii, of Domitian's villa at Castel Gandolfo, of the portico of Octavia, etc.; and yet with these spoils taken at random they raised an original and perfectly harmonious monument, the beauty of which will forever charm the student of art. The same thing can be said concerning the duomo of Pisa, built with marbles from Ostia and Porto. How was it, then, that Rome alone did not or could not follow the artistic movement of the age, and

possesses no structure which can stand comparison with the cathedrals, cemeteries, city halls, and merchant halls of the other Italian mediæval cities? How was it, moreover, that the only artistic school Rome can boast of, the so-called Cosmatesque,[1] which flourished from the beginning of the twelfth to the end of the fourteenth century, has shone only in minor works, in works of minute details, such as canopies, episcopal chairs, canons' stalls, candelabras, tombs, tessellated pavements, and small cloisters? The reason is evident. At the time of the Renaissance, Rome did not enjoy the freedom of municipal life; the sacred fire of liberty did not stir her citizens to accomplish great deeds; she did not feel the responsibilities and the ambitions of self-government. Whatever was accomplished in the field of art was due to individual initiative and to private resources; in other words, it was due to the initiative and to the resources of religious institutions, under which name I include a few popes, a few cardinals, and a few monastic orders.

I have just said that no vestiges are left of mediæval Rome save a few churches, towers, and private dwellings. The church of San Saba is perhaps the best representative of the first class of structures, the Torre delle Milizie of the second, the Casa degli Anguillara of the third.

The church of San Saba was built by representatives of the great monastic institution of Mar-Saba in Palestine, who had sought refuge in Rome after the plunder of the mother-house by the Persians in the seventh century. These Eastern refugees, wandering through the deserted lanes of the smaller Aventine, found shelter in the cells of the Statio cohortis II Vigilum, or the barracks of the second battalion of firemen,

[1] The proper designation is "Scuola dei Marmorarii Romani." It comprises four branches: of the "Sons of Paul," of Lawrence or Cosmas, of the Vassallecti, and of Ranuccio Romano.

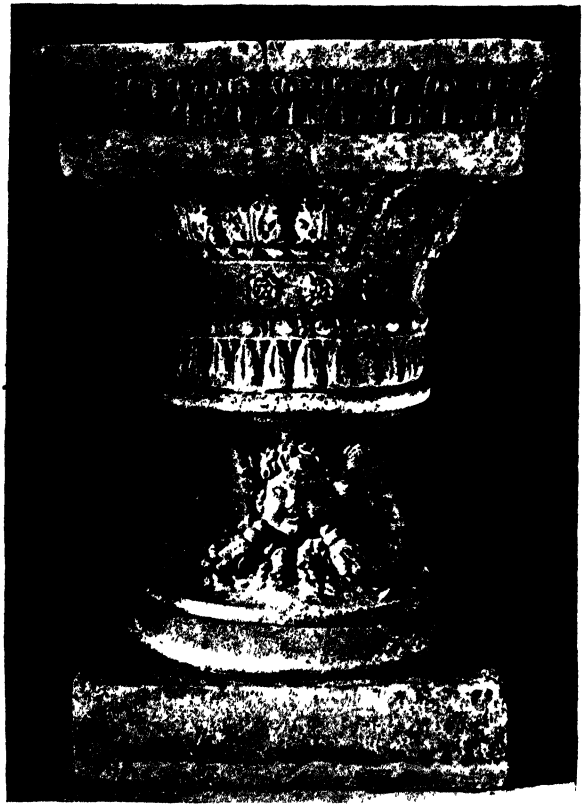
which were adapted for the use of the community under the name of Monasterium Cellae Novae. Adjoining the monastery, and perhaps included within its area, were the remains of the house of Silvia, the mother of Gregory the Great, where the pious lady used to prepare the simple meal—a dish of vegetables—which was daily sent over to the monastery of Sant' Andrea ad Clivum Scauri, the residence of her son. Here the monks built a charming little basilica, the pavement of which lies five feet below that of the present church. The basilica had its walls covered with frescoes, in much better style than those of Santa Maria Antiqua in the Forum, but very little of them is left to tell the tale. The head of the Redeemer, once painted in the centre of the apse, has been recovered intact among the blocks of masonry which fell on the floor when the basilica was done away with in the year 1205 to make room for the upper church. The best preserved panel represents the story of the Paralytic. It is now exhibited in the left aisle under a glass case. Another (left in the original place below) contains a riddle, mostly composed of initials, and ending with the sentence, "Clever you are if you can make me out."

The Eastern brotherhood remained in possession of the Aventine monastery up to 1044, when Lucius II substituted in their place the monks of Cluny. About two centuries later (1205) the Abbot John, seeing that the church and monastery had become inadequate for the needs of the ever increasing congregation, commissioned the leading artist of the day, Master Jacobus, son of Lawrence and father of Cosmas I, to reconstruct both buildings on a larger scale and at a higher level. Master Jacobus began his task by demolishing with a certain amount of care the upper walls of the basilica, which stood in his way, and spread the rubbish on the spot, to the height of five feet above the old

pavement; then he laid hands on the surrounding ruins of the greater and lesser Aventine in search of materials for his work. From the walls of Servius Tullius he gathered tufa blocks, upon which now rest the columns of the nave; from the border of the Via Ostiensis, the cornice and the frieze of a temple or a mausoleum, beautifully carved in volutes and festoons; and from other places, unknown to us, the most varied collection of columns, capitals, bases, slabs, panels, lintels, and cornices. At this juncture Master Jacobus found himself in exactly the same condition in which Orcagna, Ronald, and Busketus found themselves at Orvieto and Pisa, when the supply of ancient marbles had reached them from Rome and from Ostia. We know to what magnificent use Orcagna, Ronald, and Busketus did put the raw material, and how they were able to transform that heterogeneous mass of marble into architectural masterpieces, as harmonious in their general outline as they are perfect in details. Jacobus, son of Lawrence, on the other hand, satisfied himself and his clients with raising a commonplace replica of a type which had been known for centuries, the so-called "basilical," consisting of an oblong hall divided into nave and aisles by two rows of columns, with a door at one end and an apse at the other. No originality of conception, no novelty in outline or in details, no touch of individuality. The architect's object was not to match columns, capitals, bases, and cornices, but to conceal the patchwork as well as he could under the circumstances, by coupling a shorter column with a higher base, or by giving to a longer one an Ionic capital instead of a Corinthian. As regards the respect or admiration for antiques with which these Roman "maestri Marmorarii" are credited, we find in this church of San Saba an evident denial of the fact. There was in its neighborhood a temple of great

beauty, of the Doric order, the marbles of which, used in many mediæval buildings of the Aventine, can easily be identified by means of their rich or rather excessive carvings, characteristic of the age of the Antonines.

One of the capitals of this temple was transformed at a

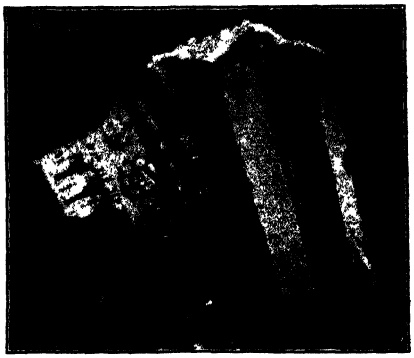


A capital from a temple on the Aventine, transformed in the middle ages into the baptismal font of the church of Santa Prisca

remote age into a baptismal font for the church of Santa Prisca, and it is still shown to visitors as the "Baptismum Sancti Petri," used by the prince of the Apostles himself

while a guest in the house of Aquila and Prisca. Another, no less perfect in its carvings, was found by Jacobus, son of Lawrence, amidst the materials collected for the rebuilding of San Saba. He simply threw it as common stone into one of the foundation trenches, in the manner shown by the following illustration.

The Torre delle Milizie, which I have named above as the best existing specimen of a mediæval baronial tower, was probably built by Pope Gregory IX, of the Conti family, between 1227 and 1241, on the remains of Trajan's buildings, known in the middle ages by the name of Balnea Pauli (Magnanapoli). Boniface VIII bought it from the sons of Pietro d' Alessio, in 1294, and restored it to its full height after it had been mutilated by Brancaleone Andalo in 1257. Popular tradition, ignoring all these particulars, connects it with the burning of Rome at the time of Nero, and points it out to the unsuspecting tourist as the point of vantage from which the wicked emperor witnessed the calamity.



Another capital, thrown into a foundation trench of the church of San Saba

It is perhaps on account of this tradition that the tower obtains a place of honor in all the mediæval views of the city, such as the one by Nicola Polani (1459), published by Geffroy in 1892; a second by Taddeo di Bartolo (1413), published by Stevenson in 1881; a third by Ghirlandajo in the "Rape of the Sabines," etc. I have selected for my own illustration a hitherto unpublished view by Paolo Uccello, forming part of a panorama of Rome in the background of

a battle-piece now in the Galleria Reale of Turin. The Torre delle Milizie, three stories high, is coupled as usual with other characteristic landmarks of the city, the Coliseum, the Aracœli, St. John the Lateran, etc. Comparing Uccello's design with the present state of the tower, we see that the third and highest section is missing. When and by whom and for what purpose the mutilation was done still remains a mystery. No clue is to be found in Valesio's dissertation "De Turri Comitum," which deals exhaustively with this subject,[1] nor in Cancellieri's account of Roman towers inserted in his volume "Sulle Campane di Campidoglio." It may have been destroyed by Giacomo Arlotto de' Stefaneschi in his attempt to pacify the city in 1313, or it may have fallen, like the upper part of the Torre de Conti, in the great earthquake of January 25, 1348.

The house of the Anguillara in the Trastevere, opening on the Via della Lungaretta and facing the church of San Crisogono, has been described by Prince Camillo Massimo, in a memoir published in 1847 under the title "Cenni storici sulla torre degli Anguillara."

The Anguillara branch of the Orsini family was already in possession of power and wealth at the time of the death of St. Francis of Assisi (1225). A rude painting in the church of San Francesco à Ripa, now lost or whitewashed, represented Count Pandolfo, the head of the family, in the garb of a Tertiary monk, offering to the saint the model of this church and of the adjoining convent, both of which he had rebuilt at his own cost. In the contests which followed the advent of the Emperor Henry VII in 1312, the tower formed a rallying point for the Orsini faction, while the Colonna had selected the Torre delle Milizie for their headquarters. None of the contending parties won the con-

[1] Published by Calogerà, *Opuscoli*, vol. xxviii, p. 45.

test, because, while the Orsini succeeded in preventing the emperor from being crowned in St. Peter's, the Colonna opened to him the way to St. John the Lateran, where the ceremony of the coronation took place on June 29 of the same year.

Count Pandolfo's grandson, Everso the Second, is described by his contemporaries, especially by Cardinal Giacomo Ammanati, the chronicler of the reign of Paul II, as a perfect "flagellum Dei," as the worst and wickedest among the barons of his age. He had selected as the scene of his exploits the highroad from Viterbo to Rome, waylaying pilgrims and travellers, not so much for the sake of a ransom as for the pleasure of wrenching the wives from the arms of their husbands. In contempt of God and his saints Everso compelled his vassals to work on Sundays and feast days, and when after the extirpation of his race the gates of the strongholds of Cere, Cervetri, Caprarola, Ronciglione, Monticelli, etc., were thrown open, the dungeons were found crowded with wretches who had been starving in chains and darkness for a number of years. It is also said that in the cellars of the castle of Calcata the tools for coining false money were discovered, with a number of spurious pieces of Nicholas V, Calixtus III, and Pius II; yet this same man spent a large amount of money in rebuilding the hospital of Sancta Sanctorum, endowing it with a sum of eight hundred gold ducats, in memory of which event two marble reliefs were placed in the front wall of the hospital, with the coat of arms of the Anguillara family in the middle, and the name EVERSVS SECVNDVS on either side of it. This coat of arms, of which I give a reproduction, is beautifully modelled in white stucco above the fireplace in the main hall of the house in the Trastevere. Everso's career of violence and crime came to an end

on September 3, 1464, and he was buried in Santa Maria Maggiore, at the foot of the chapel of Nostra Donna, where his father, Count Dolce, had already been laid to rest. His grave was covered with a slab, the bas-relief on which represented him clad in armor, with the senatorial toque instead of a helmet. This interesting monument was removed and destroyed at the time of Benedict XIV, and we should probably have been ignorant of its very existence had not a learned man of the age, Francesco Gualdi da Rimini, copied the inscription and made a sketch of the tomb.

The house of the Anguillara continued in great favor with the Trastevere people until lately, on account of the extraordinary representation of the presepio or crèche of our Lord, which the last owner of the tower, Signor Giuseppe Forti, used to prepare on the top of it during the Advent weeks. I myself remember this truly remarkable sight, the grotto of Bethlehem being constructed so cleverly as to give through its various openings exquisite vistas over Tivoli, Frascati, Albano, Monte Mario, and other points of interest of the Roman Campagna.



The coat of arms of Count Everso degli Anguillara

CHAPTER II

LIFE IN THE CITY

In the fifth year of his rule Pope Leo X ordered a census to be taken of the inhabitants of Rome, and entrusted the task to the rectors of the one hundred and thirty-one parishes into which the city was ecclesiastically divided. The census was taken some time between the months of July, 1517, and November of the following year, as proved by two entries, — one relating to Lorenzo Campeggi, who was promoted to the cardinalship on July 1, 1517; the other to Madonna Vannozza, mother of Cæsar Borgia, who is mentioned as the living owner of a house in the parish of Santo Stefano in Piscinula, and who died an octogenarian on the 26th day of November, 1518.

The results of the census were registered in a deed, the original of which has been discovered by Mariano Armellini in codex M. 193 (125) of the Vatican archives; but, unfortunately, of the one hundred and fifty-six sheets that composed it, eighty-eight have been torn to pieces; yet, in spite of its fragmentary state, the document reveals some important facts. First, that the census was taken from a purely fiscal point of view, and therefore it does not indicate how many persons dwelt in a single house, or palace, or monastery, but only mentions the name, mother country, profession, and social condition of the owner of the property, and of the head of the family. Secondly, that the people in those days, as at present, objected to being registered in the government's books, and refused to answer the questions of

the official messengers. Thus, mention is made in the Rione di Ponte of a "donna superbia (sic)," a scornful woman who declines to give the name of the landowner; and in the Rione di Campomarzio of a "giardino d' Ascanio," which, the statistician says, "no si sa de chi sia ne chi ve habita." Thirdly, that the parish priests of the time of Leo X were not educated persons, nor skilled in the mysteries of spelling their own vernacular. The word "bottega" (shop), for instance, is written in five various ways and all misspelled. Fourthly, that the "Romani di Roma," the children of the soil, formed but a minority of the cosmopolitan population. Lastly, that the "cortigiane" outnumbered the honest women.[1] These last two points, concerning the prevalence of strangers and courtesans in Rome, need a few words of explanation.

After Martin V in 1420 and Eugenius IV in 1443 had put an end to the wanderings of the heads of the Church, and given the papal government a firm and permanent basis in Rome, strangers from every province of Italy and from every state beyond the Alps, and beyond the seas, flocked to the city of the seven hills in quest of occupation, of pleasure, of fortune, of adventure, and of a career in one of the thousand branches of the pontifical administration. This cosmopolitan assembly was subject to periodical changes in the constitution of its elements, according to the chance of the day. The Venetians prevailed at the time of Eugenius IV and Paul II; the Ligurians under Sixtus IV, Innocent VIII, and Julius II; the Tuscans under the Medici popes; the Spaniards under Calixtus III and Alexander VI; the northerners under Adrian VI. "We cannot deny," wrote Marcello Alberini on the eve of the sack of 1527, "that we Romans form but a minority in this international ren-

[1] That is, single women and widows.

dezvous of the world." Historians had already gathered the evidence of this fact from the perusal of the twenty-five thousand funereal inscriptions of Roman churches collected by Pier Luigi Galletti and Vincenzo Forcella,[1] in which British, French, Spanish, Lusitanian, and German names occur in such numbers that Galletti considered it expedient to devote a volume to each nationality. The same fact is so conspicuous in the census of Leo X, published by Armellini, that we cannot help asking ourselves the question, Where were then, where are now, the true Romani di Roma? Alas! even the popular quarter of the Trastevere, the alleged surviving relic of the Populus Romanus Quiritium, unsoiled and unspoiled by contact with foreign invaders, makes no exception to the rule. Documentary evidence compels us to believe that our Trasteverini owe their traits of honesty, bravery, passion, vindictiveness, and readiness to settle their quarrels man to man, not to their alleged descent from the classic "plebs," but to the Corsican blood which permeates their veins. The parishes of San Bartolomeo all' Isola and San Crisogono numbered so many Corsican residents that for some time the bodyguard of the Pope could be drafted exclusively from this troublesome colony. The other foreign colonies clustered around their national churches, colleges, or hospices, or in the district in which their own individual trade or industry found better chances of success. The French excelled as perfumers, glovemakers, confectioners, makers of musical instruments and hunting weapons; the Teutons as bakers; the Spaniards as booksellers; the Lombards as builders and architects; the Dalmatians as boat-builders and navigators; while the Ligurians and the Florentines reigned supreme in the

[1] Pier Luigi Galletti, *Codices Vaticani*, 7904–7921; Vincenzo Forcella, *Iscrizioni delle chiese e d' altri edificii di Roma*, 1869.

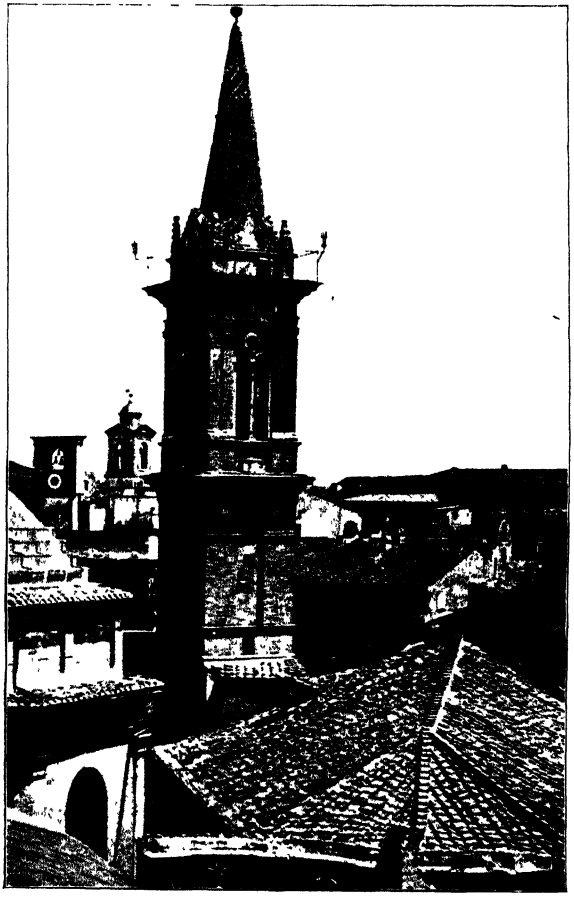
contrada de' Banchi as money kings and collectors of taxes.

A walk through the old quarters of Parione, Regola, and Ponte cannot fail to bring back to our memory these interesting particulars of city life at the time of Leo X. The names of the streets are the same, mostly connected with special branches of industry, such as the Vie de' Baullari, Cappellari, Cartari, Chiavari, Calzettari, Pianellari, Pettinari, etc., although their respective tradesmen in trunks, hats, paper, locks, underwear, slippers, toilet articles, etc., are now dispersed all over the city. A few streets, however, have not changed name or occupation since the time the census was taken. The Via de' Giubbonari, for instance, is still haunted by makers of "giubbe," or mantles for the peasantry; the Via de' Canestrari by dealers in wicker-work; the Via de' Coronari by dealers in chaplets and articles of religion; and the Via de' Staderari by makers of scales and weights.

As soon as a foreign colony had attained a certain amount of wealth and consideration, its first thought was to build a national church and a national hospice for pilgrims; many of these institutions have enjoyed and still enjoy great celebrity. I have already described in "New Tales" those founded by the Anglo-Saxons in A. D. 727, the oldest and foremost of the foreign "scholae" in the Vatican district. At the time of the census, the schola Saxonum, abolished by Innocent III in 1204, was represented by three descendants: the church and hospice of San Tommaso degli Inglesi in the Via di Monserrato, those of Sant' Andrea degli Scozzesi a Capo le case, and those of the Ibernesi.

To the same class belong the charitable institutions of San Luigi de' Francesi, San Claudio de' Borgognoni (Burgundians), San Nicola de' Lorenesi, San Giacomo degli

Spagnuoli, Santo Stanislao de' Polacchi, Sant' Antonio de' Portoghesi, Santo Stefano degli Abissini, Sant' Atanasio de' Greci, San Girolamo degli Illirici, Santo Stefano degli Ungari, Santa Maria dell' Anima de' Teutonici, Sant' Ivo



The belfry of Santa Maria dell' Anima, the national church of the Teutons

de' Brettoni, and Santa Elisabetta de' fornari Tedeschi. These last two churches have been destroyed since 1870, one out of sheer necessity, the other through greed.

The church of Santa Elisabetta, founded by the guild of German bakers at the time of Innocent VIII (1487) on the site of the Hecatostylon of Pompey the Great,[1] was rebuilt in 1645 from the designs of Girolamo Rainaldi, Peter Schweikert of Pomerania being one of the principal contributors. It contained three altars, one of the Visitation with a beautiful painting by Johann Heinrich Schenfeld, and two side ones with altar-pieces by Ignatius Stern. These disappeared at the time of the French invasion of 1793, and the church itself was levelled to the ground in 1879, to make room for a new street which has never been finished. The funereal tablets — the oldest of which bore the name of Heinrich aus Wiesbaden and the date of 1514 — were removed, I believe, to the Camposanto dei Tedeschi, near the Vatican sacristy.

The national church of the Britons, dedicated to Saint Ives at the time of Calixtus III, was demolished in 1878, for no other reason than that the substitution of a tenement house for the venerable but unproductive sanctuary was considered a good investment by its owners. The historical inscriptions, as well as the three altar-pieces by Carlo Maratta, Lamberti, and Triga, were removed to San Luigi de' Francesi. In laying the foundations of the new house it was discovered that Saint Ives's had been preceded by an older chapel, Sant' Andrea de' Marmorarii, built on the site of a stonecutter's shed. A large column of oriental granite was lying in an unfinished state on the sanded floor of the shed, together with other blocks of marble ready for use. This discovery fits remarkably well with others made in the same

[1] A portico of one hundred columns, forming the front of the Pompeian gardens on the east side. Remains of this beautiful colonnade have been found under the Palazzo Caffarelli-Vidoni, and under the church of Sant' Andrea della Valle. The hospital of the German bakers faced the northern side door of Sant' Andrea.

neighborhood, showing that the whole section of the Campus Martius, north of the Stadium (Piazza Navona), had been set apart for the importation, storage, sale, and cutting and carving of marbles, under the supervision of the "Statio marmorum," or central office for the administration of crown mines and quarries, the headquarters of which were found and explored between 1737 and 1740 on the site of the church of Sant' Apollinare.

As regards the prevalence of women of doubtful morality or of no morality at all, at the time the census was taken, I must refer the reader to the delightful essay written by Emmanuel Rodocanachi, in 1894, "Courtisanes et Bouffons, Étude de Mœurs Romaines au XVI^e^ Siècle" (Paris, Flammarion, 1894), from which I have derived valuable information about the part played by this class of women in the movement of the Renaissance from the time of Innocent VIII to the middle of the sixteenth century. I speak, of course, of the upper and refined class, which the documents of the age call "delle cortigiane honeste," as if this strange coupling of terms was not to be considered any longer a contradiction. The lower class, called "delle cortigiane di candela," has not the right to be mentioned in this book.

The "cortigiane honeste" were an outcome of the literary and social reform brought about by the Humanists, a revival, so to speak, of the age of Pericles and Aspasia. The poets, historians, archæologists, and philosophers of those days could not find responsive minds or sympathetic advisers in the ignorant, superstitious, ungraceful housewives; while the rivals of the latter, with the wonderful adaptability of the Italian woman of the Renaissance, had identified themselves with the "intellectuals" from the opening of the Accademia Romana of Pomponio Leto. They were no longer the audacious and noisy set, the exploits of which

have been chronicled by Poggio, Pannonio, and the Panormita, but appeared before the court and the public as women of modest and graceful behavior, good conversationalists, learned in Greek and Latin literature, poetesses, musicians, and charming hostesses, whose salons were opened to the best society. To this class belonged Tullia d' Aragona, Isabella de Luna, Imperia, la Saltarella, Madrema, Camilla, and Beatrice, whose talents have been sung by the greatest poets, and whose features have been immortalized by the greatest artists.

When Tullia d' Aragona reached Ferrara, in June, 1537, the representative of Mantua to the ducal court wrote to Isabella d' Este in the following terms: "I have to record the arrival among us of a gentle lady, so modest in behavior, so fascinating in manners, that we cannot help considering her something divine; she sings impromptu all kinds of airs and motets; she keeps herself in touch with the events of the day, and we cannot suggest a subject of discussion with which she does not appear conversant. There is not one lady in Ferrara, *not even the Duchess of Pescara*, that can stand comparison with Tullia." This coupling together of the names of Vittoria Colonna, Duchess of Pescara, the purest and noblest woman of the century, one of the heroines of this volume, with that of Tullia d' Aragona proves two points, — that virtue had become a very vague expression in the age preceding the Reformation, and that if vice was coupled with beauty of form and quick, bright intelligence, the Duchess of Pescara herself and the stern Michelangelo were ready to forget the one in consideration for the others.[1] Tullia appears over and over again

[1] In Michelangelo's *Rime* we find the epitaph of a cortigiana between two sonnets addressed to Vittoria Colonna, and this lady has not hesitated to immortalize in her verses the name of Beatrice da Ferrara.

in the diplomatic correspondence of the day; for instance, in a letter written by Piero Vettori to Filippo Strozzi, on February 14, 1531, in which he acknowledges he is writing it in the boudoir of the beautiful girl whose advice is so often valuable to him. Vettori was not the only foreign representative in Rome to follow the fashion of the day; because any diplomatist, anxious to gather information on court intrigues or society scandals, or to outwit his colleagues in a special case, was obliged to seek the help of one or more of these Egerias, whose salons thus turned — to mutual advantage — into regular chancelleries.

This is perhaps the reason why Tullia, on her visit to Florence in 1535 was excused from wearing the statutory yellow veil, although the reason given was that such a distinguished follower of the Muses and of the divine Plato ought not to be submitted to the ordinary police regulations. The career of the girl, however, soon came to a pitiful end. After having received almost regal homage in Naples, Rome, Florence, and Ferrara, she died in a wretched den by the river, leaving the few trinkets saved from the wreck to a niece (?) Celia, under the guardianship of a Messer Orazio Marchiani. The trinkets were sold at auction: a necklace of pearls with a diamond clasp found a purchaser at forty scudi; another necklace of pearls with nine pendants was sold at thirty; the sale of the furniture brought as a total the sum of twelve scudi and a half. I may remark in the last place that Tullia owed her extraordinary success to the charm of her manners more than to personal attractions. Her face was irregular, but her eyes were sparkling and her hair of the most brilliant golden hue. I wonder, however, whether this last was a gift of nature or the result of one of those manipulations for which the Venetian chemists were famous. Tullia must also have been a lover

of music, considering that, among the records of happier days to which she had clung in the days of distress, we find a harpsichord with its stool, an old broken lute with its case, and several books of music.[1]

Thanks to the general perversion of morals which characterizes the Humanistic period, the "cortigiane honeste" had gained an equal footing with ladies of rank and virtue, and they could be seen sharing the same seats and receiving the same welcome in churches, in public gatherings, and in



The church where Imperia was buried. A snow effect.

the houses of certain members of the Curia. In the theatrical performance offered by Giacomo Serra to his circle of acquaintances on the eve of the Epiphany of 1513, half the seats were occupied by Spanish cortigiane, although the

[1] The literature on Tullia d' Aragona is very rich. Compare Celani Enrico, *Le Rime di Tullia d' Aragona*, Bologna, 1891; Bongi, "Il velo giallo di T. d' A.," in *Rivista Critica*, iii, a. 1886, p. 90; Biagi Guido, "Una Etèra Romana," in *Nuova Antologia*, xxi, a. 1886, p. 681; Luzio, "Federigo Conzaga," in *Archivio Storia Patria*, ix, a. 1887, p. 509.

guest of honor for the evening was the Pope's favorite, the son of Isabella d' Este, Federigo Conzaga, then only twelve years old.

It is true that in the majority of cases the behavior of these women was not only decent, but decidedly more refined than that of many ladies of rank; and that the education they gave to their children was better than that given to many young scions of the Roman patriciate. The daughter of Imperia, the "queen of beauty" of the time of Leo X, preferred to kill herself rather than to fall the victim of the governor of Siena, where she lived in retirement. Imperia, herself, having succumbed to a fatal illness in the prime of youth, was buried in the church of San Gregorio al Celio, in a marble tomb bearing the following inscription: —

IMPERIA · CORTISANA · ROMANA
QVAE · DIGNA · TANTO · NOMINE
RARAE · INTER · HOMINES · FORMAE
SPECIMEN · DEDIT
VIXIT · ANNOS · XXVI · DIES · XII
OBIIT · MDXI · DIE · XV · AVGVSTI [1]

Whenever the Tortora left her house for church or for a promenade, four footmen, two pages, one maid, and several admirers formed her escort. Lucrezia Portia attended mass surrounded by ten pages and ten maids. The Padovana included in her suite many secretaries and clerks from her banking and money-lending establishment. The Panta is said to have squandered in a few years the sum of three hundred thousand scudi, the revenue of a province.

After having enjoyed immunity and received encourage-

[1] Imperia, Roman courtesan, who, worthy of the great name, was gifted with incomparable beauty, lived twenty-six years, twelve days; died on August 15 of the year 1511. Compare Roscoe, *Life of Leo X*, vol. iii, p. 93, note; Forcella, *Iscrizioni delle chiese de' Roma*, vol. ii, p. 104, note 287.

ment from every quarter for about half a century, these "Muses of the Renaissance" underwent their first persecution at the approach of the Jubilee of 1525, by order of the austere Pope Adrian VI. "Alas!" exclaims Andrea Calino on the eve of his pilgrimage, "what a sad Jubilee we expect to have, since Rome has been deprived of its best attraction." The changes in the attitude of the various popes towards the ἑταίραι are registered indirectly in contemporary statistics. According to Infessara six thousand were numbered in 1490. It is true that this diarist of Innocent VIII is always ready to cast blame upon the actions of the master he served, but even if diminished by one half, the number is extraordinary for a city of fifty or sixty thousand inhabitants. In 1549 four hundred and eighty-four "cortigiane honeste" were registered, together with many thousands of the lower grade. In 1592, according to the information collected by Cardinal Rusticucci, the vicar of Sixtus V, the women leading an irregular life within the walls had risen to the total of nineteen thousand. Such a condition of things could not help bringing dire results for the health of the city, especially as the space to which the wretched women of the lowest type were relegated was shifted from time to time from one quarter to another. At the time of Sixtus IV they were immured near the Bocca della Verità, in a filthy labyrinth of lanes called the Bordelletto, within sight of the church of the repentant Saint Mary the Egyptian. A quarter of a century later we find them mustered in the unhealthy district between the Ghetto and the Ponte Sisto, and lastly they seem to have been confined to the Quartiere dell' Ortaccio, now represented by the Piazza di Montedoro, a network of alleys extending from the church of Sant' Ambrogio dei Lombardi (S. Carlo al Corso) to those of San Giacomo degli Schiavoni e San Rocco.

We must remember, also, that the Bordelletto, the Ortaccio, and in general all the low-lying districts on either side of the Tiber, were not provided with drainage. The Cloaca Maxima and the drain of the Circus Flaminius answered at intervals their old purpose, so far as the increase in the level of the city would allow it; but more frequent were the cases in which either the silt deposited by the overflowing river, or the accumulation of refuse, would stop the flow of the sewage and turn the neighborhood into a deadly quagmire. These occurrences were periodical in the hollows of the Forum Augustum and of the Campo Vaccino; in fact, a bridge had been thrown over the stream of liquid poison to keep open the communication with the church and monastery of Santa Maria Liberatrice. The topographers and archæologists of the sixteenth century, in describing the ruins and excavations of the Forum, refer to this bridge under the name of "Ponticello" as to a well-known landmark; and Martin Heemskerk has left a memorandum of it in the sketch-book formerly in the possession of the Parisian architect Destailleurs, and now in the Imperial Museum at Berlin. The same noxious stream is seen crossing the Campo Vaccino diagonally from the church of Sant' Adriano to that of Santa Maria Liberatrice, in the panoramic view dedicated in 1763 to Count Rezzonico, nephew of Clement XIII, by the celebrated engraver Giuseppe Vasi.

The name of Pantano — the Bog — still given to the forum of Augustus owes its origin to the same cause. The Pantano extended from the southern boundary of the forum of Trajan to beyond the Argiletum, and being very much in favor with the vegetable growers and market gardeners of the district, it brought a considerable revenue to the Knights Templars of San Basilio, to whom it belonged. Pius V and Prospero Boccapaduli put an end to the dis-

graceful speculation in 1570 by filling up the bog to the level of the present Via Alessandrina.

The cemeteries, of which there were as many as there were parish churches, convents, and hospitals, furnished another source of infection, being in contact with the houses of the living. Thus the corpses of the unfortunate who died in the hospital of San Giovanni, in the island of the Tiber, at the rate of a hundred and fifty a month, were buried in a yard directly under the windows of the ward in which the sick lay. The stench (*foetor cadaverum*) became so foul that the Town Council, at the sitting of April 27, 1591, voted funds for the opening of another burial-place "away from the inhabited quarters, and not prejudicial to their health."

Many of these hotbeds of disease have been rediscovered in my time. I remember, in particular, those of Santa Maria Nuova, of the Pantheon, of San Sebastiano in Pallara, of San Marcello de Via Lata, of San Nicolao de Calcarario, of San Ciriaco de Camilliano, and of Santa Maria in Campitello. The largest of all, adjoining the hospital of Santa Maria delle Grazie, occupied one half of the Basilica Julia, the layer of human remains being from six to eight feet in thickness. Flaminio Vacca[1] relates the following remarkable discovery: "While Bernardo Acciajuoli was excavating his garden on the Quirinal, on the site of the baths of Constantine, he entered two underground vaulted passages, the outer end of which was cut off by a wall built in a hurry and out of the perpendicular. Beyond this obstacle, which was removed without difficulty, the cellars appeared to be full of human bones. Bernardo Acciajuoli being my friend, I was sent at once to investigate the matter. The

[1] *Memorie di varie antichità trovate in diversi luoghi della città di Roma*, scritte da Flaminio Vacca nel 1594. Published by Carlo Fea in 1790, n. 112.



THE REMAINS OF THE BATHS OF CONSTANTINE IN THE GARDEN OF BERNARDO ACCIAJUOLI, ON THE QUIRINAL

first thing I noticed on entering the crypts was that between the upper layer of bones and the top of the walled ceiling there was an empty space, about four feet high, which space allowed us to reach the end of both cellars, sinking knee-deep in the crumbling mass of skeletons. Each gallery was ninety feet long, twenty-six wide. Now as the ceilings of both were intact, without loopholes or skylights, it is evident that these poor people must have died and their corpses must have been heaped up layer after layer all at once, whether in consequence of an outbreak of the plague or of a wholesale massacre of citizens I cannot say. The empty space above must have been caused by the sinking of the mass, after the corpses were turned into skeletons; and the hasty manner in which the walls were built at each end shows how anxious the masons were to escape from the ghastly place."

Another discovery of the same kind was made in the seventeeth century in the garden belonging to the Barberini palace, while workmen were laying the foundations of the pedestal for the obelisk which the brothers Curzio and Marcello Saccoccia had discovered in 1570, in the circus of the Varian Gardens beyond Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, and which, after many wanderings, has now been set up again in the central avenue of the Pincio Gardens. Pietro Sante Bartoli, who watched the Barberini excavations in the interest of science, speaks of a "stanzone" or hall fifty feet high, filled with a "quantità grandissima di ossa umane."

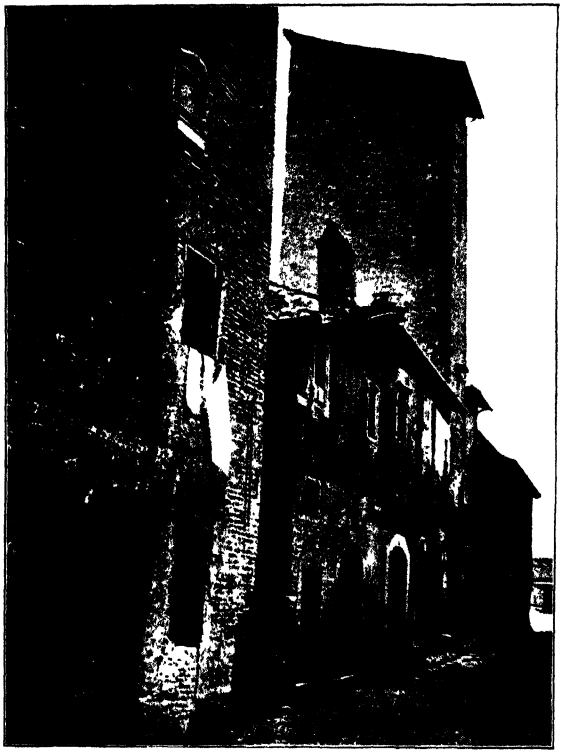
Many of the parish cemeteries, abandoned or very seldom in use, served as receptacles for the refuse of the city, whenever the sleepy authorities remembered to collect it from the streets, into which it was first dumped from the windows. There was virtually an office in the capital called "officium immunditiarum urbis," but we must consider it more as

an archæological reminiscence of the classic "quattuor viri viis in urbe purgandis" than as an efficient institution. Streets were swept only on extraordinary occasions, such as the Jubilees, the election of a new Pope, the arrival in state of a new ambassador, and so on, and a special vote of the Town Council was required to make the proceedings legal. Thus, on January 23, 1560, the municipality decreed that the thoroughfares through which the newly elected Pius IV was to ride on the day of the "Solenne Possesso"[1] should be cleaned. The same precautions were taken under the fear of an outbreak of the plague. When news reached the city magistrates in July, 1564, that the scourge had already made its appearance in the hill-towns which surround the Campagna, Marcantonio Borghese proposed, and the council voted, that the city should be cleared of "putrid things" and carcasses; that pigs and goats should not be allowed to roam about free; that the refuse of the houses should not be thrown from the windows; and, lastly, that waste-pipes should no longer have their outlet in the streets. But as soon as the last human victims of this particular plague were buried, the old habits were resumed, to such an extent that an emergency committee of four noblemen was appointed in 1567 to clean the Augean stables once more.

Carts for the removal of waste were used for the first time in the Jubilee of 1525; but so slow progress was made in this most important branch of the city administration that two hundred and twenty-five years later, namely, in the Jubilee of 1750, only twenty-eight sweepers and thirty-six cartmen were engaged to keep the city clean. Another remarkable set of regulations is the one issued by the energetic Cardinal Enrico Caetani, at the approach of

[1] Cancellieri Francesco, *Storia de' solenni possessi de' sommi pontefici da Leone III a Pio VII.* Rome, Lazzarini, 1802.

the Jubilee of 1600; he threatens with three stretches on the rack, and jail *ad libitum*, whosoever should dare to dump in the street dead domestic animals, hay, straw, garbage, and the like; he also warns the owners of pigs that



A lane of mediæval Rome — the Lungarina — destroyed in 1880-1882

any such beast found wandering in the city after the 31st day of October (the first pilgrims were expected to arrive in November) might be killed and appropriated by the first comer, without penalty. The city was freed of this nuisance only in 1731.

The Vatican district, although inhabited by the Pope and the prelates of the Curia, had not lost hygienically the ill-

fame of old times, and to it could still be applied the characteristic of "infamis," bestowed upon it by Tacitus in connection with the malarious epidemic which carried off whole companies of soldiers encamped "infamibus Vaticani locis," in the summer of the year 70 A. D.[1] The cause of this unhealthiness, peculiar to the Borgo, is supposed to have been the stagnant water which filled the moats of Castel Sant' Angelo, and also the ditch running parallel with the walls of Leo IV and Pius IV. I have seen them myself in this condition with their sluggish polluted stream, before the Italian administration filled up both hollows about 1874, and altered the course of the Fosso della Sposata, the water of which was largely used in summer for the irrigation of the orchards and gardens of the "Prati di Castello." No wonder the Borgo was considered the unhealthiest district of Rome; in certain years it became absolutely the deadliest. In August, 1503, when Pope Alexander VI was stricken with his fatal illness while taking refreshments in the garden of Cardinal Adriano da Corneto, the fever had laid low half the members of the Pope's household, the majority of cases having proved fatal. A similar epidemic is recorded for the year 1605; but although the Borghigiani and the inmates of the Vatican died by hundreds, the pestilential ditches were not drained until the 23d day of September. Again, Cardinal Noris, in a letter dated September 10, 1695, says that seven hundred Borghigiani had already been carried away by malignant fevers in the course of that summer.

To these causes of infection we must add another not less pernicious in its consequences, the pollution of drinking water. Alas, the golden days when Rome boasted of eleven aqueducts, measuring three hundred and thirty-eight miles

[1] *Historiarum*, Book II, ch. 93.

in aggregate length, and discharging a daily supply of one million seven hundred and forty-seven thousand cubic metres of the purest water, at the rate of eighteen hundred litres per head, were gone forever.

Save for the Aqua Virgo, which continued to flow intermittently in the fountain of Trevi, and for a remnant of the Aqua Trajana which supplied, also at intervals, the fountain of Innocent VIII in the Piazza di S. Pietro and that in the Piazza of Santa Maria in Trastevere, there was no water



The spring of Juturna, near the temple of Castor and Pollux

but what could be obtained from the Tiber and from wells. From this point of view the mediæval city had gone back to the days of its infancy, of which Julius Frontinus, the chief commissioner of aqueducts at the time of Trajan, says: "During four hundred and forty-one years after the foundation of the city the Romans satisfied themselves with the use of such water as they could obtain on the spot from

the Tiber or from springs . . . like those of the Camoenae, of Apollo, and of Mercury." These springs may have been wholesome in the age to which Frontinus refers; but at the time which falls within the scope of this book, the springs, being forced to filter through strata of rubbish, mostly formed from the decay of vegetable or animal matter, had certainly lost their purity. Of this fact we have lately been given an object lesson in the rediscovery of the fountain of Juturna. We hailed with delight the reappearance of this poetical source at which Castor and Pollux, bearing to Rome the joyful tidings of the victory of Lake Regillus, are said to have watered their steeds. We expected to be able to quench our thirst with the same liquid crystal that the Vestals used in purifying the shrine of their goddess; we were, however, doomed to disappointment. Chemical analysis has shown the spring of Juturna to be now saturated with nitrogenous matter, so as to be unfit for human use. This corruption must have happened after the occupation of that classic corner of ancient Rome by the cemetery connected with the church of Santa Maria Antiqua, and after the same spot had been selected by Paul II as a dumping-place for the refuse of the city.

As regards the Tiber, there is no doubt that people drank its water with impunity. Alessandro Petroni, physician and friend of St. Ignatius Loyola, and archiater of Pope Gregory XIII, praises its wholesome qualities in a pamphlet "De aqua Tiberina ad Julium III pont. max." (Rome, 1552). Another writer, Francesco Cancellieri, says that long after the restoration of the old aqueducts of Agrippa by Pius IV, of Severus Alexander by Sixtus V, and of Trajan by Paul V, several monastic establishments, such as the Theresians of Santa Maria della Scala, the Benedictines of San Callisto, and the Oratorians of Santa Maria in

Vallicella, continued to fill their cisterns with water from the river. Clement VII, on the advice of his physician, Corti, in the journey to Marseilles which he undertook in 1553, to celebrate the marriage of his niece Catherine de' Medici with the Duke of Orleans, provided himself with sufficient water from the river to last throughout his absence. The same precaution is said to have been taken by Paul III in his journeyings to Loreto, Bologna, and Nice. Gregory XIII attributed to the habitual use of this water the fact of his having reached his eighty-fourth year in full enjoyment of health.

The author of the life of Santa Francesca Romana says that the pious widow was passing one day, with her friend Vannozza Santacroce, by the church of San Leonardo in Settimiana (which stood at that time near the water's edge on the site of the present Porto Leonino), and that they both fell into the river while bending for a drink. Their miraculous escape from drowning was afterwards painted in a shrine of the garden adjoining the church of San Leonardo. This and other similar instances, which I abstain from quoting, show that the Romans of the middle ages and of the early Renaissance must have been proof against typhoid fever, of which the Tiber, acting as the main sewer of the city, did certainly contain the germs. No wonder that the honorable Compagnia degli Acquariciarii or water-carriers should have prospered under this state of things. Their headquarters were at the chapel of Sant' Andrea, the site of which is now occupied by the church of Santa Maria della Pace. The beautiful Madonna on the high altar is the same that was once worshipped by the water-carriers. Tradition relates that having been struck with a stone by a member of the company who had lost heavily at cards, the figure bled; and that Pope Sixtus IV vowed to raise a temple in honor of the

miraculous image, if the dangers which threatened Italy in consequence of the Congiura de' Pazzi were averted by the Virgin's intercession.

The Acquariciarii carried the water in barrels strapped on the backs of donkeys; and as in Rome even the common occurrences of life must have a monumental or an artistic expression, we find that the armorial bearing of the ancient hospital of the Saviour "ad Sancta Sanctorum" actually consists of a donkey and a barrel, because the company of the Aquariciarii was foremost among the founders of that benevolent institution.

The water trade must have been remunerative. I have among my notes a copy of a contract passed between Giovanni Battista, water-carrier, and a priest named Girolamo Garzia, by which the former binds himself to sell water in the streets in the interest of the latter, for the space of two years, and for a remuneration of thirty carlini[1] a year, besides two overcoats and two pairs of boots. This curious contract is dated December 4, 1512.

Plague entered the city and made havoc among the population at least twelve times in the course of the sixteenth century. It is true that the name was then applied indiscriminately to all infectious diseases which were propagated by contact and could be checked by isolation; yet there is no doubt that the scourge which decimated the city in 1522, 1527–28, 1564, 1575–76, and 1595 was the real bubonic or inguinal plague, the most virulent of all. The provisions made on these occasions by the municipality and by the Popes were the same old-fashioned ones which we have seen applied in our own age at the approach of the cholera epidemics of 1854 and 1867, viz., the isolation of infected districts or individuals, and the destruction or disinfection of

[1] Two dollars and ten cents.

any substance, object, or article of wear, to which the power of spreading the infection was attributed by science or by popular superstition. In applying these measures, however, many exceptions to the rule were made by those in power, when private interests or reasons of state were at stake; and what impresses us most is that the measures were only temporary; once the danger was past, no thought was given to the possibility of its return, and each new epidemic found the city just as much unprepared, unclean, unfit as the time before. Many interesting details about these periodical visitations can be found in the archives of the Capitol, or in the registers of contemporary notaries. I have read many wills dictated from windows by the plague-stricken testators, while the notary and the witnesses were standing in the street below, in fear of their own lives; I have also minutes of agreements between practitioners or quacks on one side and various Roman families on the other, by which the former agree to give medical advice and to supply drugs in case of emergency, and for a specified remuneration.

The difficulties with which Rome had to contend were increased tenfold by the fact that, at the first intimation of danger, the court would escape to a place of safety, leaving the municipality to face the situation as well as it could. In May, 1449, Nicholas V fled into Umbria; in 1462 Pius II repaired first to Viterbo, then to Bolsena, lastly to Corsignano. Sixtus IV in June, 1476, retired to Viterbo, Campagnano, and Amelia. In April, 1522, while the pestilence was at its height, Adrian VI sent word from Spain that a new tax of five giulii per house should be imposed on the city, to start a crusade against the Turks! And as the cardinals were leaving one by one, by land or by sea, under plea of joining the Pope, the Town Council, in the meeting of June 4, voted an address to the Sacred College, asking

them not to desert their place of duty. In the mean time the citizens, trying to escape in the direction of the Sabine and Simbruine hills, were met by Tiburtinians at the outskirts of their territory and chased back with spikes and cudgels, amidst yells of "Death to the Romans!" No wonder that, forsaken by their leaders and driven to desperation, the Romans should have lent a willing ear to the suggestions of an impostor, a Greek from Sparta named Demetrios, a master of the black art and a necromancer by profession. Demetrios told them that, as the ordeal they were going through was the work of the devil, to him they were bound to appeal in their distress. Accordingly he was permitted to lead through the streets, by a silken string, a bull whose fierceness he had tamed by magic power. The bull was led into the arena of the Coliseum and sacrificed to the evil one, according to the ritual of classic times. We can hardly believe that such a sacrilege could have been committed in Rome in the year of our Lord fifteen hundred and twenty-two, and under the rule of the austere Adrian VI; yet the event is duly chronicled by Bizarus, Rinaldi, and other historians of that period.[1]

As soon as the clergy and the people realized the enormity of the sacrilege of which they had been willing witnesses, an expiatory procession was ordered, in which men and boys marched scourging themselves to bleeding, while women barefooted and in sackcloth cried "Misericordia, Misericordia!" The beautiful Oratorio del Crocifisso, by the church of San Marcello, must also be considered as an expiatory monument of the same event.

Among the provisions against the plague registered in the city records, I find the closing of several gates, the suppression of the navigation of the Tiber, and the wholesale

[1] See Gregorovius, vol. viii, p. 487 of the Italian edit., Venice, 1876.

destruction of dried fish, especially herrings and stockfish. The gates left open could be entered only from the break of day to nightfall, when they were locked and the keys brought to the Capitol. On July 30, 1575, an order was issued that all the boats of the Tiber should be scuttled in three days. The reason for this extraordinary measure was that boatmen and bargemen had been bribed over and over again to transfer passengers across the stream. Two transgressors, Lorenzo da Montefalco and Lorenzo da Siena, caught on August 7, were stretched on the rack at the Torre



The grave of Marco Albertoni, who died of the plague on the 22d day of July, 1485

di Nona, with a placard explaining their offence. Six days later, the police, having learned that a certain Flaminio had likewise broken the regulations, sank his barge at the landing of Ripetta and put a ransom on his head.

There are several mementos in Rome of those times of desolation. The confraternity of the Pietà, still nominally existing in the church of San Giovanni de' Fiorentini, was established in the time of Eugene IV (1431–1447) for the

purpose of helping the wretches left to die alone in the public streets. The feast day of the Immaculate Conception, which now falls on the 8th of December, was made a day of obligation by Sixtus IV during the pestilence of 1476. The third memorial in order of date is the grave of Marco Albertoni, who "peste inguinaria interiit" on July 22, 1485, and was buried in the church of Santa Maria del Popolo, on the left side of the chapel of Santa Caterina del Portogallo.

Of the epidemic which raged in the time of Alexander VI, as a consequence of the flood of December, 1495, we have a document in the extraordinary book of the Pope's own archiater, Pintor, in which a touch of certain precious stones is proclaimed to be an infallible means of cure. We learn, however, from the same book a historical fact, namely, that the dreaded "morbus gallicus" made its first appearance in Rome in March, 1493, and that by the following August it had already made a considerable number of victims.

In a rare pamphlet attributed to Paolo Giovio, archiater of Pope Clement VII, the virtue of a wonderful oil to cure the plague, invented by Gregorio Caravita, a physician from Bologna, is praised to excess; in fact, to it is attributed the cessation of the infection of 1522. I may also note, among these interesting reminiscences, the lovely chapel in the Collegio Romano, erected to the memory of San Luigi Gonzaga, in the very room in which the saintly youth died on June 21, 1591, in consequence of his exertions in carrying on his frail shoulders the victims of the plague of Gregory XIV to the hospital of la Consolazione. The most conspicuous memorial of this kind raised in Rome is the church of Santa Maria in Campitelli. It was erected, or rather rebuilt in its present form, in consequence of a vow made by the S. P. Q. R. in 1659 for the cessation of another pestilence.

After the tales of distress and cowardice which I have related above, it is certainly a welcome change to find in Fabio Chigi, Pope Alexander VII, worthy descendant of the Magnifico Agostino, such an example of wisdom, courage, practical sense, ardent charity, in saving his city from this last visitation. One cannot read the account of his deeds on this occasion without wondering why a testimonial of gratitude has not yet been raised to him, either in the Capitol or in the court of the Chigi palace.

During the eventful period which I am attempting to describe, the practice of medicine and surgery was not always learned or acquired in universities or hospitals, but in many cases by the students devoting themselves to the service of a practitioner. These young candidates generally pledged themselves to serve the master for five years, receiving no pay except a change of clothing every twelve months. Those who excelled in the profession, and had obtained a regular degree at Padova, Bologna, or Perugia, called themselves "artium et medicinae doctores," while their humbler colleagues satisfied themselves with the title of "fisici" or "chirugici." Jews were not excluded from the craft; in fact, they were favorite doctors with a certain class of citizens, and occasionally with popes. I have transcribed from the records of the Capitol the following curious certificate: "I, Scipio de Manfredis, knight, doctor of arts and medicine, head physician of Rome and of the universe, commissioner of the Apostolic See in these matters, deliver hereby the following diploma M. D.: Whereas the excellent and most learned master Michael de Zamora, a Hebrew residing in Rome, has given us evidence of the long vigils and of the long studies made to learn the healing art in various universities, and having applied for his diploma, after a successful examination, I therefore, . . . etc., etc."

The prince of the Jewish medical school in Rome was the rabbi Samuel Sarfati, who became pontifical archiater in the time of Julius II.

We must not think that in the majority of cases the practice of medicine was particularly remunerative. The physician who attended to the wants of a girl named Anna Parisi during the eight weeks of her illness received for his fee five carlini (or about thirty-five cents). In many cases the cure was not undertaken unless the remuneration had been duly agreed upon and specified in a legal contract. One of these interesting documents, a copy of which I have in my possession, relates how, in the year 1518, the noble lady Paolina Portia dé Mutis, suffering from an internal complaint, entrusted herself to the care of the Franciscan monk, Gregorio Caravita, of whom I have spoken above as the inventor of a miraculous oil for curing the plague. The stipulations were as follows: Should the cure prove successful, and the success be certified by experts, the venerable monk was to receive a remuneration of two hundred gold pieces, besides the twenty advanced to him for the purchase and compounding of drugs. Should he fail, or should the lady die, the monk was bound to give back to the family even the money spent for medicines. He must have failed in his attempt, because I find the same lady — who must have been gifted with a wonderful constitution, as well as with a will of iron — quarrelling with another physician before the protomedico, and for the same cause. This unfortunate doctor, named Vincenzo, having had enough of his troublesome patient, gave up the case to a third party, a quack named Agostino da Rocchetta.

In another agreement of the same kind and period (January 6, 1520) a Sicilian lady, Madonna Speranza, promises five gold pieces to surgeon Colimodo in case he should deliver

her of the "morbus gallicus." I may quote in the last place the disappointing experience of the surgeon Giovanni de Romanis, who, having failed to restore the eyesight of one of his clients, is condemned by the magistrate to give back half of the fee of six ducats already received (May 26, 1523).

One cannot glance over some of the prescriptions in favor at the beginning of the sixteenth century without marvelling at the soundness of constitutions which could successfully withstand such treatment. I have already related in "Pagan and Christian Rome," p. 29, how the French Antonian monks in charge of the hospital of Sant' Andrea all' Esquilino had secured a comfortable income by selling pills for the ague, made of the glutinous substance which held in their place the marble encrustations of the basilica of Junius Bassus. Other favorite pills for headache and heartburn, "used by cardinals and clerics of the Curia," were compounded of sagapen, scammonea boiled in the juice of quinces, coloquint, and salt. A remedy warranted to cure hernia "in thirty-five days without any surgical operation" was composed of chips of aloe, agallochum boiled in vinegar, lard, dragon's blood, incense, and glue!

The perusal of several contracts passed between certain courts of Italy and their respective apothecaries for the supply of medicines and drugs, the prices of which were duly specified, makes it quite evident that the trade was not a remunerative one, unless the chemist undertook at the same time the sale of other articles which had nothing in common with the healing art. Such were writing or wrapping paper, ink and varnish, confectionery, spices from India and the far East, pearls and precious stones. As regards wax and sugar, they were either sold in their natural

state or manipulated in various guises. The two best manuals of the time, the "Thesaurus Aromatariorum" and the "Lumen Apothecariorum," give us full directions about whitening or dyeing wax in red, green, or black, and about the thirty-one known ways of making sugar, "ad faciendum fructus et animalia omnia ex zuccaro." During the few days in which King Alfonso I of Naples entertained at Terracina the pontifical legate and Nicolò Piccinino, the court apothecaries supplied to the royal table two thousand five hundred and ninety-one pounds of sugar in the shape of birds and other animals, bonbons and delicacies, to the value of four hundred and twenty-four ducats. In Rome itself it found a suitable market, for the confection of the Agnus Dei, of which thousands were sold to the pilgrims, or sent abroad as articles of devotion. The Diarist of Leo X, Paride de' Grassi, says that on April 27, 1519, the Pope blessed not less than twenty cases of "Agnus Dei" which had been manufactured by the court apothecary. I must remark, in the last place, that rice is registered in these documents, if not as an actual medicine, at least as a rather uncommon food.

One of the most curious documents on this special chapter of public and private life in Italy in the first quarter of the sixteenth century is a contract signed on February 23, 1424, between Giacomo Arrivabene, apothecary, and the representatives of the court of Ferrara, for the supply of medicines for the space of two years. The drugs registered are but 176, which represents the pharmacopœia of the aristocracy, in comparison with the 2656 popular prescriptions, contained in the "Antidotarium" of Nicholas Mireps, the celebrated specialist from Alexandria and court physician to the Emperor Johannes.

It is also satisfactory to see that not one of the horrid substances "ex homine desumpta," to secure possession of



A mediæval house left standing opposite the church of Santa Cecilia, in Trastevere

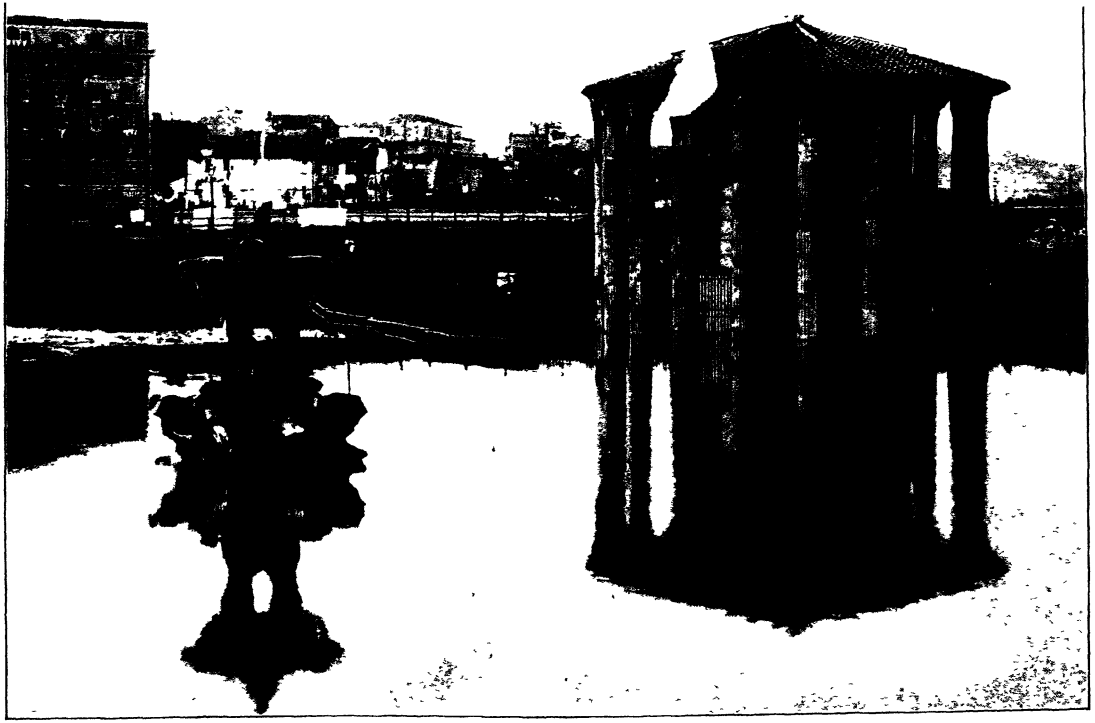
which many human lives were sacrificed in the middle ages, is mentioned either in the Ferrara or in other Roman documents which I have happened to consult.

The same reasons which prompted the druggists to extend their trade in the way just described must have induced perfumers to dabble in chemistry. In the inventory of a perfumer's shop in the Via della Croce, made on November 25, 1555, we find, besides the tools of the trade, glass, maiolica, soaps, gloves, mirrors, chaplets, etc., and the following medical substances: laudanum, benzoin, storax, sublimate oil of lentisk, and white of Venice. Barbers were also called in to perform certain simple surgical operations, such as the drawing of blood, massage, etc. This class of tradesmen were evidently held in great estimation. There used to be in the church of Sant' Agostino a tombstone inscribed

as follows: "To the memory of Jean Robert, most exquisite perfumer. As he distinguished himself in his lifetime by distilling marvellously scented perfumes, so he now finds himself in the full *fragrancy* of a blessed life. Died on July 15, 1513, aged 55."

Another cause of the insalubrity of mediæval Rome is to be found in the inundations of the Tiber, which three or four times a year invaded the low-lying districts, — the Pantheon, the Contrada della Valle, the Contrada dell' Orso, the Bocca della Verità, the Ripetta, and the Ghetto, — while three or four times in a century they extended over the whole area of the inhabited city.[1] The Romans took refuge on these occasions on the nearest height at hand, such as the Monte Giordano, formed by the remains of the amphitheatrum Statilianum, the Monte Savello or the Monte de' Cenci, formed by the remains of the theatres of Marcellus and Balbus, the Monte Citorio (origin unknown), and waited in stolid patience for the subsiding of the waters, which took place generally at the end of the third day. Considering that the average yearly volume of mud and sand carried down by the river amounts to eight and a half million tons, corresponding to one hundred millions of cubic feet, it is easy to imagine in what condition streets and dwellings must have been left by the receding flood. There is actually an old lane in Rome called Leccosa, because, owing to its low level and proximity to the river, it was permanently covered with "lecco" or silt. Another street, destroyed in 1887, bore the name of Fiumara, from its being transformed into a river at each freshet of the Tiber. Rain, cold, and hunger

[1] The section of the city inhabited in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries embraced the plain of the Campus Martius, between the Corso, the Subura, and the Tiber, and also part of the Trastevere. The average level of these quarters was at that time fourteen metres above the level of the sea, while the floods reached sometimes the height of nineteen metres.



THE INUNDATION OF 1900

As seen in the Piazza della Bocca della Verità

forced the crowd to seek the shelter of their dwellings as soon as it was possible to reënter them, and here we find them living for a time in rooms reeking with damp, over cellars filled with foul-smelling mud, and amid orchards and gardens transformed into pools of sluggish water. No wonder that the "Liber Pontificalis," like the historians and annalists of a later age, never mentions the occurrence of a flood without expatiating at the same time on its trail of misery, famine, ophthalmia, pernicious fevers, ague, and plague.

From the point of view of actual loss of life, the inundations of the Tiber must be divided into two periods. In the first period we hear of a sudden inrush of water which caught the people almost unawares and left them no time to seek a place of shelter in higher lands, as if the outburst had been caused by the breaking away of an obstacle, whether a levee, an embankment, or a wall. These appalling contingencies are described by the "Liber Pontificalis" with the following stereotyped formula: On such an hour, on such a day of such a year — for instance *hora diei x* for the inundation of October 30, A.D. 860 — the waters broke through the postern of St. Agatha or St. Martin, and rushing over the waste fields of the Campus Martius entered the Via Flaminia (the modern Corso), to strike the foot of the Capitoline hill. Pushed back by this obstacle, they followed the Pallacinae (Via di San Marco and Via delle Botteghe Oscure), to fall back into their proper channel somewhere near the Æmilian bridge.

It is not difficult to explain the occurrence. Rome in those days was still protected on the river side by the walls of Honorius, which followed the left bank from the present Ponte Margherita to the Ponte Sisto. There were only three or four posterns or gaps in the walls, which served to give

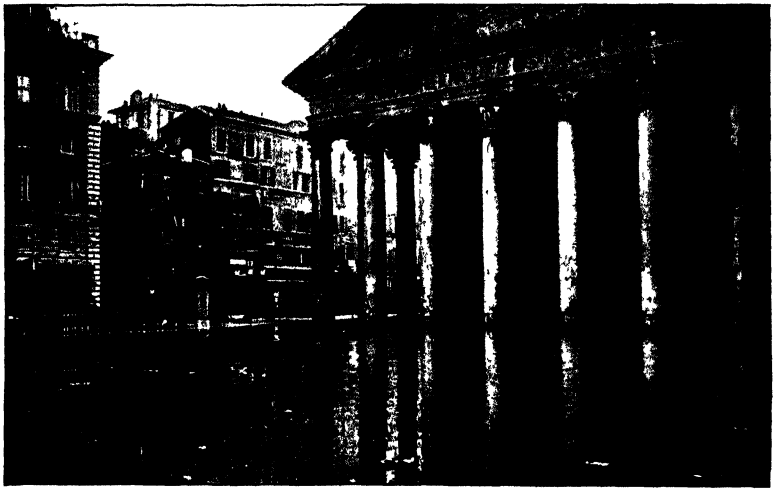
access to the "traghetti" or ferries, or to the mooring stations along the bank. The posterns of St. Agatha or St. Martin, the northernmost and the most exposed of all, were probably walled up or barricaded at the first warning of danger, but the temporary obstruction must have given way under the enormous strain of the swollen river rushing at the rate of many miles an hour.

In later times, namely after the downfall of the Honorian wall, we hear no more of sudden inrushes, but only of a gentle steady rising of the waters, which spread over the lower quarters, giving time to the citizens to save their lives and their valuables.

The worst fatalities that occurred within the period to which my work refers are those of December, 1495, October, 1530, September, 1557, and December, 1598. The height reached by the water on these occasions (16.88 metres in the first, 18.95 in the second and third, 19.56 in the last) is still marked all over the city by commemorative tablets. There were originally two special places selected for the registration of such events, — the palace of Cardinal Caetani in the Via di Tordinona and the façade of Santa Maria Sopra Minerva. The Palazzo Caetani no longer exists,[1] but the front of the church is still covered with the records of floods, of which I quote one instance: "In the year of our Lord one thousand five hundred and thirty, the seventh of the pontificate of Pope Clement VII, on the eighth day of October, the flood reached this line, and the whole city would have perished if the Blessed Virgin had not made the waters recede."

[1] Its site is indicated by the name of the street on which it stood, *Via dell' Arco di Parma*, a name derived from that of Cardinale di Parma. It came into the hands of the Caetani at the time of Hadrian VI and was sold by them to the Celestinian Fathers of Sant' Eusebio in the year 1627.

The flood of 1598, the highest recorded in history, began on Christmas eve. At noon of the following day there were twenty-one feet of water in the Via di Ripetta, twenty-two at the Pantheon, seventeen at the Piazza Navona, fifteen on the Corso by San Lorenzo in Lucina. A barge went ashore in the Piazza della Trinità, since called di Spagna,



The inundation of 1900 as seen in the Piazza del Pantheon

where the fountain of the Barcaccia was erected at a later period to commemorate the event. Two arches of the Æmilian bridge were overthrown at 3 P. M. on the 24th, a few seconds after Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini had crossed it to rescue some families surrounded by the foaming waters. Houses were washed away by the hundred, seven hundred persons were drowned in the city, and eight hundred in the suburbs, besides thousands of cattle. As usual, famine and pestilence followed the flood.

The tablets put up on this occasion on the side wall of the church of San Giovannino, on the front of the Crescenzi-Serlupi palace, on the castle of Sant' Angelo, etc., have all

perished but two. The first is to be seen in the Piazza Giudea behind the church of the Madonna del Pianto; the second, in the front wall of la Minerva near the door on the right.

The reader may ask at this point of my narrative, How could people live and prosper in a city exposed to so many deadly perils, and how could the same city continue to attract newcomers from every part of Italy and from every Christian nation beyond the Alps, so that towards the end of the reign of Leo X the "Romani di Roma" formed but the minority of the population within the walls? There is no doubt that the human constitution was stronger then than now; the refinements of civilization had not drained or debased the vitality of men; they could stand more physical strain and better resist contagion or disease. It is my belief, for instance, that if the banquet given on the Capitoline hill, on September 13 of the year 1513, to Giuliano de' Medici, to celebrate his coöptation into the Roman patriciate, had taken place in the present century, it might have occasioned a public calamity. The description of the appalling feast was discovered in the Barberini library, and published by Pasqualucci in 1881.[1] A stand had been erected for the occasion in front of the Conservatori palace, adorned with six large pictures painted by "excellenti pictori," among which, one, forty-two feet high, by Baldassarre Peruzzi, represented the deeds of Tarpeia, the traitor. The same artist had designed the scenes for the wooden stage upon which the comedies were to be enacted. Giovanni Giorgio Cesarini, the standard-bearer or gonfaloniere of the S. P. Q. R., had planned every detail of the ceremony on a grand scale, and the poor Giuliano de' Medici, a prince of retiring disposition, had to undergo the following ordeal during the

[1] *Giuliano de' Medici eletto cittadino Romano nel 1513 . . . relazione inedita di M. Ant. Altieri con prefazione e note di Loreto Pasqualucci.* Rome, 1881.

three days that the reception lasted: a cavalcade in state; addresses of welcome from the senators, the conservatori, the delegates from the thirteen wards of the city, and other



The portrait of Giuliano de' Medici, son of Lorenzo, by Bronzino, in the Galleria degli Uffizi

officials; a high mass sung in the church of the Araceli; an interminable oration by the speaker of the day, Lorenzo Vallati; the verbal exposition of all the privileges conferred on the candidate by the S. P. Q. R.; the recital of poetical

compositions with intermezzos of choirs and songs; apparitions of mythological personages; recitals of eclogues and bucolics; theatrical performances, such as the recitation of the "Poenulus" of Plautus; and, last of all, a banquet, the menu of which — as given in the memoirs of Marco Antonio Altieri, one of the forty-four guests who survived the ordeal — occupies four and a half sheets of fine print.

The banquet opened with three courses of "innanti pasti," or entrées, which included pastry of pine nuts and sugar, biscuits, sweet wine and whipped cream, prunes, beccaficos, quails, doves, and Eastern sweetmeats. Then followed eighty courses with fourteen varieties of birds, five of venison, five of meat, twenty-two of pastry, and sundry other delicacies in the line of fruit and vegetables. And while the guests were partaking of the heroic meal, the spectators and the crowd at large were continually exploding guns, mortars, and light pieces of artillery, beating drums, and blowing trumpets.

No less curious are the particulars of the feast offered to Eleonora d' Aragona on the occasion of her visit to Rome, mentioned in the preceding chapter. Although the guests were only seven at the first table and three at the second, fifty courses were offered to them, some of the silver dishes containing a whole stag, a whole bear, or else two sturgeons each five feet long. Certain combinations of food sound incredible to our modern tastes, but Cardinal di San Sisto's butler was bent on pleasing the eye in preference to the palate. The bread, for instance, was gilded; there were dishes representing Atalanta and Hippomene, Perseus rescuing Andromeda, Ceres on a chariot drawn by four tigers, and Orpheus playing on the lyre amidst a flock of peacocks in the full splendor of their plumage. The last piece represented a mountain, from the bowels of which a poet emerged, who recited an appropriate set of verses.

Pauperism in its manifold and hideous manifestations had become a flourishing industry in Rome since the institution of the Jubilees. In the oldest documents concerning the topography of the Vatican the present church of Santa Maria in Campo Santo is called "Eleemosyna," because within its walls thirteen beggars were entertained at dinner daily, and two thousand were given food and drink on Mondays and Fridays. It was customary in those days for every citizen making his will to leave a certain amount to be distributed among the indigent of the parish. Some of the formulas used in these documents are rather touching; for instance: "October 22, 1368, I, Meo Ubere, of the region of the Pigna, call three poor of Christ to be my heirs, regretting that my own poverty does not allow me to leave them more than five soldi provisini each." The custom still exists among us, and no good Roman dictates his last wishes to the notary without leaving a few lire to the hospital of Santo Spirito.

Pope Pius IV in 1561 ordered the Town Council to provide workhouses for the destitute, it being his wish that the sorry and revolting sight of thousands of dirty beggars harassing the citizens in the streets should be stopped at once. On the receipt of this missive a committee of noblemen was elected to carry the Pope's order into execution, but, as far as I know, the committee never met. The only step taken on this occasion was that each caporione, or chief magistrate of one of the thirteen wards of the city, followed by a town councillor, went through his district once a month, with an almsbox in his hands, begging for the poor.

Workhouses were eventually established towards the end of the sixteenth century, which, however, were meant to meet the emergencies of the moment rather than to be perma-

nent institutions. Thus I find that in 1592 the beggars of the Rione Colonna had been crowded into the house of the late Bartolomeo Papa, under the care of the Fatebenefratelli. To Sixtus V belongs the honor of having established the first workhouse in the modern sense of the word. It occupied the large building known as the "Casa dei Cento Preti," at the cistiberine end of the Ponte Sisto. It was intended to give shelter to destitute but healthy citizens, those afflicted with contagious diseases being sent to the Porta Angelica and those who were suffering with incurable ones to S. Giacomo in Augusta. A special class was allowed to beg in the streets, provided they had given satisfactory answers to the following questions: "Do you know the Pater, Ave, and Credo? Who was your last confessor, and where does he live? Do you know the articles of the Christian doctrine?" etc. At a later period the beautiful palace of the Lateran, the official residence of the Bishop of Rome, the great memorial of Sixtus V and Domenico Fontana, was turned into a hospice. However, as the Roman beggars have never changed their nature, preferring freedom of movement even to the regal hospitality of the Lateran, they found a way of breaking their bonds, so that Monsignor Berlingerio Gypsio, governor of the city, was obliged to issue a proclamation against the fugitives, ordering their recapture on account of the many crimes and scandals which they had perpetrated.

This, then, was the condition of the city when its inhabitants welcomed the election of the old Cardinal Alessandro Farnese to the chair of St. Peter as a true godsend, in the firm belief that his advent would put an end to the material and moral disadvantages under which they had labored for centuries. The fulfilment of these anticipations will be described in the following chapters.

CHAPTER III

PAUL III

THE triumphal entry of the Emperor Charles V on April 5 of the year 1536 marks the turning-point in the destiny of the city, and the beginning of its transformation into a modern capital, because the works of improvement, accomplished in haste in the weeks preceding the arrival of the imperial guest, met with such welcome on the part of the people and were obviously so beneficial to their health and comfort and general well-being, that they were continued long after their actual origin and cause had faded from the memory of the living. The merit of this transformation belongs to two men alone, — to Pope Paul III, Alessandro Farnese, and his genial adviser, Latino Giovenale Mannetti.

Alessandro, born on February 28, 1468, of Pier Luigi Farnese and Giovannella Caetani, was promoted to the cardinalship when only twenty-five years old, thanks to the influence that his sister Giulia, the "bellissima," had gained over the reigning Pope Alexander VI. His first thought after receiving the red hat was to secure a suitable residence, and he found it in the house once inhabited by the Spanish cardinal, Pedro Ferriz, which had passed into the hands of the Augustinian monks of Santa Maria del Popolo. The property consisted of a house facing the "major via Arenulae"[1] and of two gardens reaching down to the river, on the bank of which stood one of the towers of the old Honorian walls. The Via Giulia, which now separates the palace from the

[1] The present thoroughfare Capodiferro-Venti-Farnese-Monserrato.

river, had not yet been opened by the Pope whose name it bears; nor had the present Piazza Farnese brought air, light, and health into the lurid blocks of hovels which occupied



The "bellissima" Giulia Farnese, sister of Pope Paul III. From the allegorical statue by Guglielmo della Porta, in St. Peter's

the space between the palace and the Campo de' Fiori.[1] For the space of twenty years the young dignitary of the Church showed no particular ambition for improving the old palace, perhaps on account of his constant wanderings to Monte

1 The Campo de' Fiori, upon which cattle were still grazing at the time of Martin V, was levelled and paved by Cardinal Ludovico Scarampo in 1452.

Fiascone and Viterbo, where he met in 1499 King Charles VIII of France; to Bertinoro, Venice, Parma, Valva, Sulmona, St. Pons, and Benevento, of which dioceses he was named bishop successively by Julius II and Leo X; and to the Marca di Ancona, which he governed as legate from 1504 to 1507. Having won the favor of Leo X, whom he had crowned with his own hands, and having settled in Rome as cardinal titular of Sant' Eustachio and bishop of Frascati, he undertook to transform the old Ferriz palace into a residence worthy of the great name of the Farnese, for which purpose leave was given to him by the Apostolic Chamber to lay hands on and despoil of their marbles and columns the half-ruined chapels, cloisters, and porticoes by which the church of San Lorenzo fuori le Mura was then surrounded.

The importance of this grant of building and decorative materials may be gathered from the fact that, to save the treasures within the monumental group of San Lorenzo from hostile invasions (such as the Saracenic of 846, the Teutonic of 1111, etc.), a battlemented wall had been raised round it, and the whole group transformed into an outlying fortress, under the (probable) name of Laurentiopolis. At the time of Cardinal Farnese the wall had collapsed for half its length, as shown by a sketch of Martin Heemskerk, now in the Kunstgewerbe Museum at Berlin;[1] but the buildings within, although roofless and tenantless, had not yet been deprived of their wealth of marbles. These were the church of St. Agapetus; the cubicle or oratory of SS. Abundius and Irenæus, whose grave was marked by a metrical epitaph composed by Pope Damasus and engraved by Philocalus; the chapel of St. Stephen; a hospice for

[1] A reproduction of this sketch is given in *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, p. 85, fig. 35.

pilgrims, a chapter-house and monastery, and many shrines, fountains, bathing ponds, etc. We do not know precisely the quantity and nature of the plunder collected from Laurentiopolis by the masons of Cardinal Farnese; but, judging from other discoveries made in the neighborhood on subsequent occasions, the first comers must have had the lion's share. They came across a wall built of pieces of statuary, among which were eighteen or twenty portrait heads of emperors, which must be considered the nucleus of the famous Museo Farnesiano. Flaminio Vacca, to whom we owe the information, speaks also of the finding of an epitaph to a mule so devoted to its master that it would kneel before him to spare him the fatigue of mounting.

If we may believe a vague statement of Benedetto Mellini,[1] the agents of the cardinal did not hesitate to attack even the graves of the martyrs. He speaks of the finding of the remains of St. Hippolytus and other saints in a crypt adjoining the basilica, and quotes as authority Fra Angelico da Bologna, prior of the monastery, who saw the "holy bodies lying on the floor as in a circle, with their heads resting on a stone."

Other records of the time of Alexander VII (1655–1667) show the wealth of these ruins to have been almost inexhaustible. "On the right side of the court of San Lorenzo, where a new vineyard has just been planted, Pope Chigi caused the remains of the church of San Romano to be searched. Several beautiful columns of *verde antico* and marble and travertine in great quantities were the reward of his labors."[2] The columns of *verde antico* can be seen at the present day, two in the Ginnetti chapel at Sant' Andrea

[1] The author of the volume on the Oratory of St. Lawrence ad Sancta Sanctorum, printed in 1666.

[2] *Memorie di Pietro Sante Bartoli*, published by Fea in 1790, n. 137, p. 261.



THE MONUMENTAL GROUP OF SAN LORENZO FUORI LE MURA

From an engraving by Israel Silvestre

della Valle, the other in the Chigi chapel in the Duomo di Siena.

Cardinal Alessandro resided in the old palace until the sack of 1527, keeping a princely court of his own. In the census taken by order of Clement VII a few months before that dire event, the results of which were made known in 1894 by Domenico Gnoli,[1] the cardinal ranks next to the Pope, and above all his colleagues of the sacred college as regards the number of his courtiers and servants. To the Pope are assigned seven hundred "bocche" or mouths feeding at his expense; to the cardinals the following numbers: Farnese, 306; Cesarini, 275; Orsini, 200; del Monte, 200; Cybo, 192; Pucci, 190; Ridolfi, 180; Piccolomini, 180; de Cupis, 150; Rangoni, 150; Campeggi, 130; della Valle, 130; Pisani, 130; Armellini, 130; Scaramuccia Trivulzio, 103; Accolti, 100; Erkenfort, 100; Jacobacci, 80; Cesi, 80; Numalio, 60; de Vio, 45. All these names have become famous for their connection with the sack and massacres of 1527. We know that only thirteen cardinals, Farnese included, shared with Clement VII the shelter of the castle of Sant' Angelo; the others had to undergo the most atrocious treatment at the hands of the Lansquenets. Exquisite refinements of cruelty were devised to extort money from them. Numalio, for instance, was torn from his bed, to which he had been confined for a time, placed on a hearse, and dragged through the burning city in his robes of state. "Drunken soldiers and profligate women surrounded the bier, brandishing torches and vociferating infamous songs in imitation of priestly canticles. In this guise the unfortunate old man was carried into the church of the Araceli and lowered into a crypt, to be buried alive

[1] *Descriptio Urbis o Censimento della popolazione di Roma avanti il sacco Borbonico*, in "Archivio della Società di Storia Patria," vol. xvii, a. 1894.

unless a fresh ransom should be paid. Friends came to his rescue at the last moment." [1] Another dignitary of the Church, the old Cardinal Ponzetta, whose name does not appear in the census, was seized in his residence on the Via Papale, near San Tommaso in Parione, and, although a stanch partisan of the emperor, was held for a ransom of twenty thousand ducats. Later in the day he was dragged by a rope through the streets of the city with his hands tied behind his back. Ponzetta died soon after in great destitution.

It is difficult to understand, even in our day of enormous fortunes and display of luxury, why a single man like Cardinal Alessandro needed to be attended and followed by three hundred servants. I have found a document which throws light on this point; viz., a list of servants of Cardinal Alessandro the younger, — the grandson of the future Pope and the heir of his wealth and liberal spirit, — to whom certain arrears of salary were due on May 31, 1544. The list includes an organist, a carpenter, a soprano, a gamekeeper, an "écuyer-tranchant," a barber, an upholsterer, an embroiderer, a saddler, a silk weaver, an apothecary, a weaver of silk stockings, a stable-master, a bookkeeper, a chief cook, an under cook, a pastry cook, an amanuensis, a master of page-boys, a singer, a master of counterbass, a butler, a master mason, a gardener, and so forth. We do not know what became of the Farnese palace and its three hundred inmates during the sack: the palace was probably plundered, the servants were dispersed or held for ransom.

The loss sustained by the city in general has been estimated by Gregorovius at twenty millions of florins, — nearly a million and a half pounds sterling, or seven and a half million dollars. Thirteen thousand houses were burned

[1] See *Destruction of Ancient Rome*, p. 220.

or pillaged, and thirty thousand inhabitants lost their lives by sword or fire, by exposure or hunger, or were carried away by the plague, the germs of which had been spread by the invaders.

No wonder, then, that the election of Alessandro Farnese, which took place on October 14, 1534, should have been hailed by the surviving population with intense satisfaction. For the space of one hundred and four years, that is to say, since the death of Martin V, Colonna, no Roman had sat on the chair of St. Peter, and they knew that only a Roman pope would be able to heal the wounds from which the city was still bleeding. They saw in him the rising star which would guide the "navicella di San Pietro" to calmer and safer waters. The enthusiasm of the crowd rose to such a pitch on the day of the coronation that the conservatori and the caporioni, led by Ascanio Colonna and other young barons, took away the "sedia gestatoria" from the official bearers, and, in spite of the entreaties of the master of ceremonies, carried the Pope on their shoulders into the overcrowded church.

On the eve of October 29 another demonstration took place in the Piazza di San Pietro, the first joyful gathering since the black days of the sack. The conservatori and the noblemen, riding gaily caparisoned chargers, headed the pageant, while the populace lighted their progress with torches and bonfires, the cavalcade being followed by three allegorical cars representing the triumphs of Rome, of the Church, and of the Faith. Each car carried a contingent of youths, singing canticles of joy, or reciting verses suited to the occasion. On reaching St. Peter's the Pope showed himself to the jubilant multitudes on one of the balconies, ready to listen to the address of congratulation read by Girolamo Capodiferro, the head of the conservatori. A few

days later fifty young patricians, led by Ascanio Colonna, Gian Battista Savelli, and Giuliano Cesarini, fought a tournament in the Piazza di San Pietro, hurling at each other balls of baked clay, from which they tried to protect themselves with raised shields. The real tournament, with lances and full armor, was fought later in the day in the Piazza dei Santi Apostoli. One cannot read the account of these simple but heartfelt demonstrations of welcome to Paul III without emotion, considering the ordeals Rome had gone through in the preceding years. I am pleased to record, at the outset, that the bright promises of the new pontificate were more than fulfilled, and that the fifteen years of Paul III's rule (October 13, 1534–November 10, 1549) mark one of the happiest periods in the history of the city and the beginning of its transformation into a healthier and finer capital. The cause for this change was, as I stated before, the triumphal reception tendered to the Emperor Charles V on his return from the Tunis expedition, ten years after his own lieutenant, the Connétable de Bourbon, had inflicted on the city the worst punishment recorded in its history.

The Pope's legates had met the emperor on April 1, 1536, as he was leaving the village of Sermoneta, on the Pontine marshes. On the third day he was the guest of Ascanio Colonna at Marino. On Wednesday the 4th he reached the monastery of St. Paul outside the Walls, and on the morning of the following day rode to the Porta San Sebastiano by the Via delle Sette Chiese, attended by Pier Luigi Farnese, son of the Pope, by the standard-bearer of the S. P. Q. R., Giuliano Cesarini, and by many other dignitaries, while the cardinals awaited his arrival at the chapel of Domine-quo-vadis.

The decoration of the city gate, designed by Antonio da

Sangallo the younger, in conjunction with his own brother, Battista il Gobbo, Martin Heemskerk, Raffaello da Montelupo, l' Indaco, Girolamo Pilotto, and other great masters, formed a suitable opening for a series of wonders. The programme of the reception suggested by Latino Giovenale Mannetti, and approved by the Pope and the conservatori, was sublime in its simplicity. The emperor was to be escorted through the Vie Appia, Triumphalis, and Sacra, bordered by the great ruins of the imperial age, to the Piazza di San Marco (di Venezia), and then to that of St. Peter's by the Via Papale, a street of palaces and stately churches. The reader's appreciation of the genius of Mannetti in carrying the programme into execution will be increased by the fact that it had been agreed upon only on December 10 of the preceding year; in other words, that in the short interval of fifteen weeks the emperor's highway, three miles long, had been opened, levelled, paved, decorated, and spanned with triumphal arches; that two hundred houses and three or four churches had been demolished, and that the baths of Caracalla, the Septizonium, the Coliseum, the palace of the Cæsars, the Templum Sacrae Urbis (SS. Cosma e Damiano), the Heroon of Romulus, son of Maxentius, the temple of Faustina, the arch of Septimius, and the forum and column of Trajan had been freed of their ignoble surroundings and brought into full view. Very few modern administrations can boast of having accomplished so much at such a short notice; and the outlay was only 50,547 ducats.

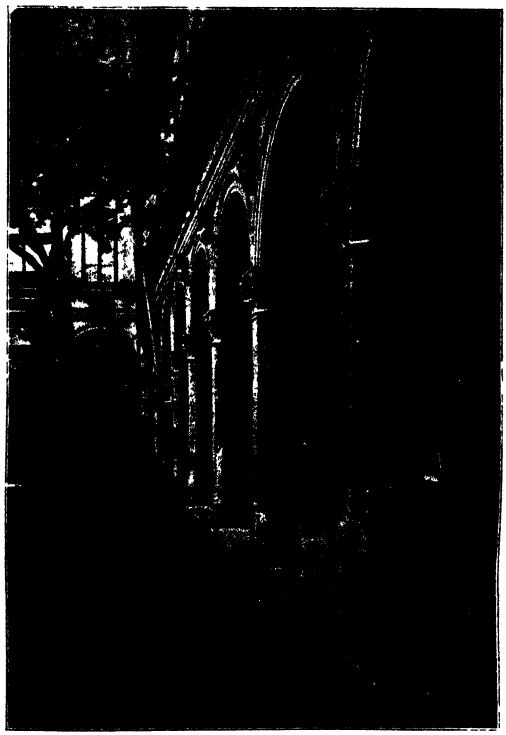
The end of the festivities did not mark the end of the material improvement of the city. Thanks to the good will of the Pope and to the untiring energy of the "maestro delle strade," Mannetti, assisted by Angelo del Bufalo de' Cancellieri as administrator, and by Bartolomeo Baronino as engineer and expert, the aspect of the capital underwent as

radical a change as that brought about again by Sixtus V and Domenico Fontana towards the end of the century; with this difference, however, that while the efforts of the latter Pope were directed towards the rehabilitation of the high quarters from the Trinità de' Monti to Santa Croce in Gerusalemme (which had been left untenanted since the cutting of the aqueducts), the aim of Paul III and Mannetti was the sanitation and betterment of the low-lying quarters, which enjoyed an ample supply of water.

The budget of the works accomplished between 1536 and 1549 includes the opening or levelling or widening of the Corso, of the Vie di S. Gregorio, di Marforio, Paolina, de' Baullari, del Babuino, di Panico, del foro Traiano, di Torre Argentina, de' Condotti, de' Cestari, della Palombella, di Santa Maria in Monticelli, del Plebiscito, Papale, Alessandrina; the opening of the four squares, di San Marco (Venezia), Farnese, Navona, and Santi Apostoli; the erection of the tower and belvedere on the northern summit of the Capitoline hill; of the viaduct connecting the tower with the Palazzo di Venezia; of the bastions of Belvedere, of Santa Sabina, of Santo Spirito, and of the Antoniana; of the Sala Regia and of the pontifical apartment in the castle of Sant' Angelo; the laying out of the Orti Farnesiani on the Palatine; the erection of the new apse of St. Peter's, and the gathering of a museum of statuary, of a gallery of pictures, and of a library the equal of which had never been seen in the possession of a private family.

The funds for the opening or the bettering of a street were derived from a so-called "tassa di gettito," or "improvement-tax," to be paid by all owners of property along the line, the value of which would be increased by the intended works. The minutes of these "tasse di gettito," an excellent source of information for the topography of the

city in the first half of the sixteenth century, are all preserved in the state archives of Santa Maria in Campomarzio, except one which I purchased at a book sale in 1902. It refers to the improvement of the Corso in the year 1538, in consequence of which it became the main, the busiest, the most fashionable thoroughfare of the city, a distinction



One of the courts of the Palazzo di Venezia, the favorite residence of Paul III, by Meo del Caprino and Jacopo da Pietrasanta

enjoyed up to that time by the now almost forgotten Via Giulia.

The taxation of property, in the document of 1538, does not begin at the Piazza del Popolo, but only at about a third of the way, namely, at the Arco di Portogallo, the

nameless arch of the decadence, which spanned the street at the height of the Via della Vite.[1] The reason is manifest. The Arco di Portogallo marked the extreme end of the inhabited city; beyond it northward, that is to say, in the direction of the gate, there was no property worthy to be taxed. At the arch, therefore, began the carnival sports and races, and all official pageants, such as the reception of foreign ambassadors or princes of royal blood, the processions of the Rogations, of the Corpus Domini, etc.

The document informs us that the Corso was bordered at that time by one hundred and sixteen houses, palaces, or church establishments; that the most valuable piece of property was the Palazzo di Venezia, from the corner balcony of which it was possible to survey the whole length of the street ("vede insino alla porta del Populo et ne piglia grande utilità"); that next in importance to the Palazzo di Venezia came that of Cardinal Francisco Quiñones, Count of Luna, adjoining San Lorenzo in Lucina; that of Cardinal Ercole Conzaga, on the site of the present Palazzo Doria; and that of the Salviati family, at the corner of the Via dell' Umiltà, on the site of the present Palazzo Aldobrandini.

Excellent illustrations of this state of things, as regards the Corso of the sixteenth century, are to be found in the plan of Leonardo Bufalini (1551), in the panoramic views of Maggi (1610) and Tempesta (1645), and in the sketch-books of Alò Giovannoli (1616), Israel Silvestre (1642), and Giovanni Falda (1660). In the private apartments of the Marchese Theodoli there are still to be seen two views of the street painted by order of Girolamo Theodoli, Bishop of Cadiz, in the third quarter of the sixteenth century, and representing the middle section of the street, between the Arco di Portogallo and the Piazza Colonna. The scene is

[1] See illustration on p. 40.

enlivened by allegorical masquerades, with allusions to the gossip of the day.

While engaged in the task of freeing the city from its mediæval fetters, Paul III did not forget his own interests, and began the reconstruction of the old residence on such a scale of grandeur and magnificence that it remains to the present day unequalled. In erecting the Farnese palace, with the help of the great masters of the age, he foresaw undoubtedly the brilliant future of his race, a future destined to outdistance the wildest dreams of human ambition. The first august alliance was contracted by the Farnese in 1538, with the betrothal of Ottavio, nephew of the Pope, to the young widow of Alessandro de' Medici, Madame Margaret of Austria, daughter of the Emperor Charles V. The assassination of Duke Alessandro, which had taken place the year before, must be considered an event of archæological as well as political importance, as it marks the dispersion of the antiquarian collections which the Medici had so lovingly formed, from materials found, for the greater part, in Rome. The soldiery and the populace, instigated by Alessandro Vitelli, broke open the doors of the ducal palace and pillaged it of its precious contents, such as illuminated manuscripts, gems, medals, marble and bronze statues, which were handed over to Vitelli himself. When Margaret abandoned Florence, on her way to Rome, Ferdinando de Silva, the ambassador of Charles V, compelled the usurper to give back part of the stolen treasures, among them the priceless intaglio of Apollo and Marysas known as "Nero's seal," and the cup of agate known as the "tazza Farnese." These two κειμήλια, first removed to Parma, are now preserved in the Museo Nazionale at Naples.

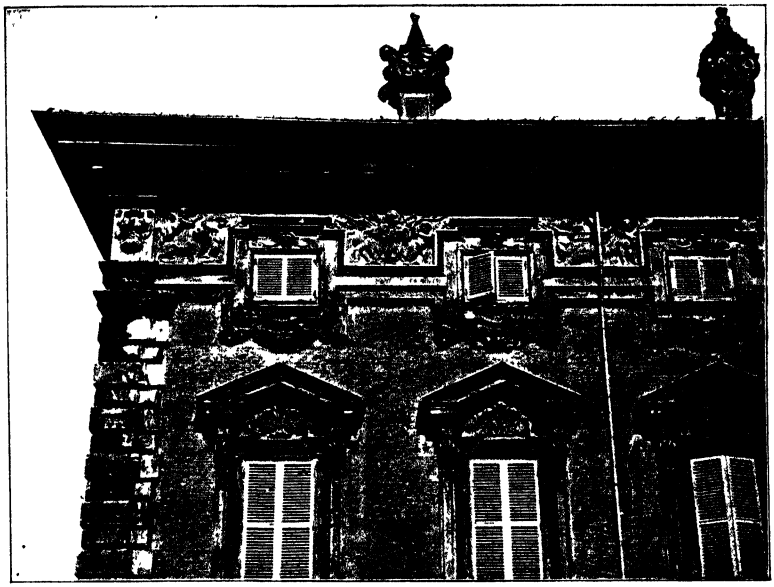
The beautiful bride came in sight of Rome by the Via Triumphalis, on Sunday, November 3, 1538, the anniversary

day of the coronation of Paul III. She had passed the last night of the journey among the ruins of Veii in the castle of the Orsini, now called the Isola Farnese, and had halted for rest and refreshment in the villa built by Clement VII, on the slope of the Monte Mario, which bears now the name of Villa Madama. The entry in state was made by the Porta del Popolo, two hours before sunset, amid the loud acclamations of the people, who had perhaps never beheld such a charming scene. The bride, riding a "chinea learda" of great price, and attended by Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, Cardinal di Compostella, and twenty-five equerries, wore a marvellous habit of white satin, cut in the Portuguese fashion, with gold embroideries interwoven with pearls.

The procession, followed by the foreign ambassadors, the Court, the Sacred College, the Patriciate, and the Senatore, Conservatori, and Caporioni, rode through the Corso, the Piazza di San Marco, the Via Papale, and entered the Borgo by the Ælian bridge. Ottavio Farnese was presented to the bride in the loggia of the first floor of the palace, and the couple proceeded hand in hand through the "anticamera de' Paramenti" to the Pope's throne room, where Margaret received a cordial welcome and superb gifts. I have purposely mentioned at length this advent of the daughter of Charles V to Rome, because her name is still popular among us from its connection with the Palazzo and the Villa Madama, and with the picturesque village of Castel Madama in the upper valley of the Anio.

The Palazzo Madama, built and enriched with a library, a museum of statuary, and a gallery of pictures by Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici, afterwards Leo X, has been so well described by Michaelis and Müntz[1] that I need not touch

[1] Adolf Michaelis, *Jahrbuch d. Instituts*, vol. viii, a. 1893, p. 119 Eugène Müntz, *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, vol. xxxv, a. 1895, part II.



A corner of the Palazzo Madama, showing details of windows, frieze, and cornice

the subject again. Before becoming the residence of Margaret it had been occupied by another illustrious woman, Alfonsina Orsini, widow of Piero de' Medici and mother of Lorenzo and Clarice, whose charitable instincts towards the needy had received in 1514 the most unexpected reward. Of this event Clarice's husband, Filippo Strozzi, gives the following account: "My mother-in-law," he says, "is very fortunate indeed, considering the interest she has been drawing from the money spent in her charities. While building at her expense a new wing of a monastery, she has come across five exquisite marble figures, all representing dead or wounded men. They belong, as I understand, to the history of the Horatii and Curiatii." The true meaning of the discovery has been given by Brunn. We know from Pausanias that King Attalus I of Pergamum (241–197 B. C.) had presented the Athenians with four groups of statues representing, one the

Gigantomachia, another the fight between the Athenians and the Amazons the third the battle of Marathon, the fourth the defeat of the Gauls by Attalus himself. The four groups — cast in bronze — were placed on the south wall of the Acropolis, above the theatre of Dionysos. The figures found by Alfonsina Orsini are copies of some of these bronze originals executed by Pergamenian artists of the first century after Christ. One of them, a statuette of a Persian warrior, now in the Galleria de' Candelabri of the Vatican Museum (No. 269 e), belongs to the cycle of the battle of Marathon and represents a Persian warrior sunk upon his knees before an Athenian, and endeavoring to parry with the right arm a blow aimed at him from above. The "gifts of Attalus" are represented by other magnificent specimens of the Pergamenian school in Rome, by the "Dying Gaul" of the Capitoline Museum, and by the group of the "Gaul and his wife" — the so-called Arria and Pætus — of the Ludovisi collection.

The Palazzo Madama has been the meeting-place of the upper House or Senate since Rome was made the capital of Italy in 1870; but in spite of the many alterations which the building underwent at that time, there are several rooms preserved almost in the same state as when they were graced by the presence of the daughter of Charles V. The Villa Madama, on the other hand, seems to have been persecuted by ill fate from its origin to the present day. Built by Giulio Romano for Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, afterwards Pope Clement VII, on the eastern slopes of the Monte Mario, in a region made famous by the legend of the apparition of the cross,[1] it was pillaged and partially wrecked at the time of the sack, at the instigation of Cardinal Pompeo Colonna, the personal enemy of Clement

[1] See *Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 165.

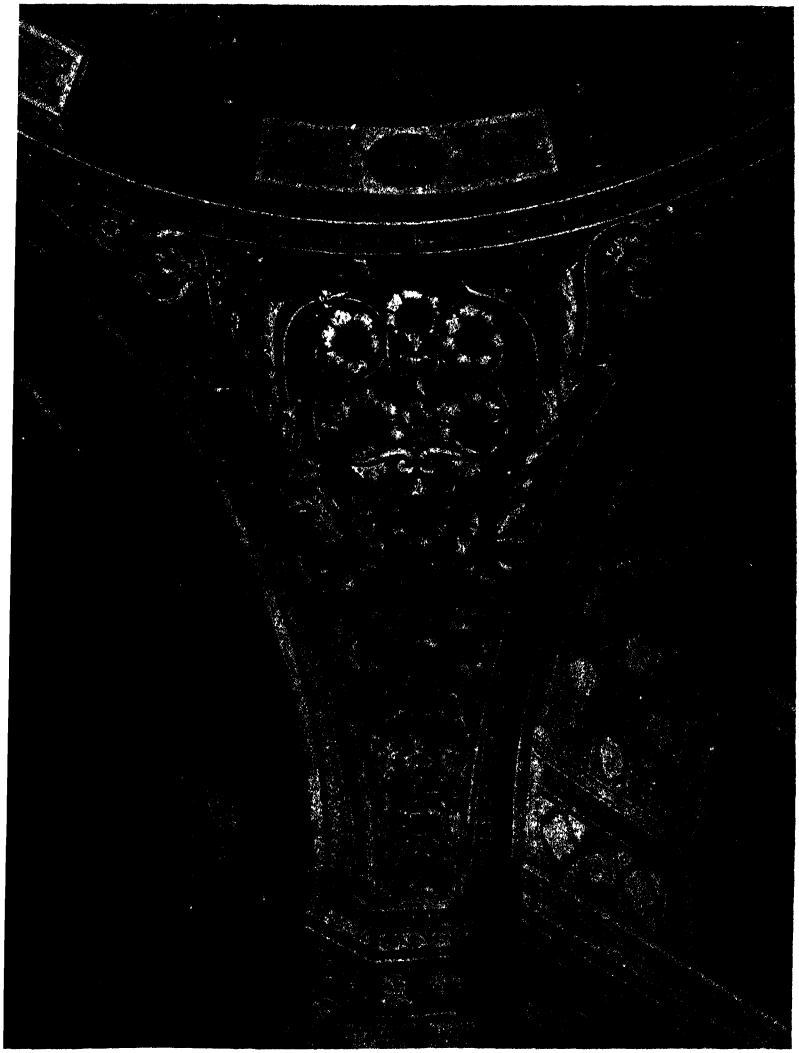
VII, who from the upper ramparts of the castle of Sant' Angelo witnessed the scene of destruction. After the retreat of the imperial army the villa fell into the hands of the Chapter of Sant' Eustachio, from which it was withdrawn on the occasion of Ottavio's marriage, to be offered as a suburban residence to his bride. With some of the statues collected by Clement VII, and many others purchased from their discoverers according to the chances of the antiquarian market, Margaret of Austria transformed the villa, and above all the loggia of Giovanni da Udine, into a museum of statuary, which, however, had but an ephemeral life. The semi-colossal figure of Jupiter, the gem of the collection, was the first to leave the woody recesses of the villa for Fontainebleau. Another "statue de marble blanc, représentant un homme dont la barbe descend au-dessous de la poitrine" was offered as a present to Cardinal Perrenot de Granvelle, the secretary of state of Charles V and Philip II. The ultimate dispersion of the marbles took place in 1566 as the result of a Brief of Pius V by which their noble owner was empowered to dispose of them at her will, and even to export them from Rome. One cannot enter the now silent and lonesome precincts of the villa, and gaze at the unfinished "teatro," at the loggia of Giovanni da Udine, mouldy and green with dampness, at the rank weeds growing in the paths once trodden by the feet of the august bride of Ottavio Farnese, without experiencing the same sense of sadness which one feels on visiting the Villa Conti at Poli, the Villa Farnese at Caprarola, the Villa Versaglia at Formello, all of them deserted and left to decay by the heirs of their respective founders.

The alliance with the head of the Holy Roman Empire was soon followed by that with the house of France, through the marriage between Orazio Farnese, Duke of Castro and

brother-in-law of Margaret, with Diana, daughter of Henry II. This marriage was celebrated in 1549. Alessandro, Duke of Parma, who inherited the estates of his father Ottavio in 1586, named governor of Flanders by his uncle Philip II, and one of the most renowned army leaders of the time, contracted another alliance with a royal house by marrying the Infanta Maria of Portugal, daughter of Prince Odoardo.

The last Duke of Parma and Piacenza, Antonio Farnese (1727–31), having no male issue, married his niece Elisabetta to Philip V, king of Spain. The duchy, therefore, passed into the possession of the Infante Don Carlos, born of this marriage, who in 1734 became also king of the Two Sicilies, a most unfortunate event for Rome and its historical collection, as I shall have the opportunity to explain before the end of this chapter.

The construction of the Farnese palace, from the designs of Antonio da Sangallo the younger, began about the year 1540, and was completed by the Pope's namesake and grandson, Cardinal Alessandro, long after the death of the former. Flaminio Vacca relates the following story in connection with Antonio's work: "I have been told that after the foundations of the palace were finished and the walls raised to a considerable height above the ground, a great crack was noticed in the masonry of the corner facing the church of San Girolamo della Carità. Antonio made soundings in more than one place to ascertain the cause of the accident, and was astonished to discover a great Roman sewer running under the clay bed upon which he had laid the foundations of that corner." Vacca's story is not correct; the mishap was due to the fact that Antonio had planted the new walls upon those of the "Stabulum factionis Russatae," — the barracks and stables of the Red Squadron of Charioteers, —



THE LOGGIA OF GIOVANNI DA UDINE IN THE VILLA MADAMA

Details of the ceiling

the thickness and strength of which was not able to stand the strain and weight of the superstructure. These walls, together with a beautiful mosaic pavement in black and white representing feats of horsemanship, can still be seen in the cellars of the right wing of the palace.

Panciroli, Martinelli, Marangoni, Fea, and other writers about Rome take it for granted that the great structure was mainly built of stone quarried from the Coliseum, and one after another they repeat the anecdote about Cardinal Alessandro, who, having obtained from the Pope a grant of as much material as he could properly remove in one night, laid hold of several hundred carts, even from the hill-towns and villages of the Campagna, and accomplished in a few hours the work of many weeks.

The fact is that in the diary of expenses, kept by Monsignor Aleotto, who, in conjunction with the banker Ceuli, administered the funds, no mention occurs of the Coliseum. The blocks of travertine came from the "Fosse di Tivoli," and especially from the district since called Casal Bernini; and long teams of buffaloes plodded along the Via Tiburtina, dragging their heavy loads even in the heart of summer, when the quarrymen, as a rule, are obliged to leave their work on account of the great heat. The marbles, on the other hand, lavishly used throughout the building, represent the spoliation, if not the destruction, of several classic edifices,—of the temple of the Sun in the Colonna gardens, of the baths of Caracalla, and of the ruins of Porto.

The temple of the Sun, the remains of which, known by the name of "Torre Mesa" or "Frontespizio di Nerone," towered one hundred feet above the terrace of the Colonna gardens on the Quirinal, was the property of the Princess Giulia, widow of Prosperetto Colonna, a lady whose name is connected with the establishment of many chari-

ties, such as the Casa de' Catecumeni, the monastery of Sant' Ambrogio alla Massima, etc. The immense size of the temple can be better appreciated from the fact that its area covered one hundred and fifty thousand square feet; that the fountain of Sixtus V, formerly in the Piazza del Popolo and now in the garden of San Pietro in Montorio, was cut out of a single base; that a block of the pediment, which now lies near the edge of the upper terrace, weighs one hundred tons; and that the pavement of the Galleria degli Specchi in the adjoining palace was inlaid with marble cut out of a single block of the frieze. The destruction of these noble ruins for the sake of providing the Farnese palace with ornamental materials began in January, 1549, according to the terms of agreement between the Princess Giulia and the Pope's agent, Monsignor Aleotto. After the death of Paul III, Prince Ascanio, who had inherited Giulia's rights, made a present of what was left of the temple to Julius III, then engaged in building his beautiful villa on the Via Flaminia. The Cesi chapel in Santa Maria Maggiore had also a share of the spoils. No wonder, then, that the greatest temple of imperial Rome should have disappeared so completely that, but for a single block of the pediment, and for the sketches of the sixteenth century artists who witnessed the destruction, we should now be ignorant even of the former location of Aurelian's masterpiece. The strangest part of this story is that the provider of archæological marbles for the Palazzo Farnese and the destroyer of the temple of the Sun was the same Messer Mario Macharone whom Paul III had appointed "commissario degli scavi;" that is to say, protector of antique ruins and edifices against the greed of despoilers. How often Messer Mario must have regretted his embarrassing position, when the sense of duty on one side and the wish to serve the Pope on the other

were drawing him in quite different directions! I think, however, that he must have come to a compromise with his conscience, and that between the two conflicting interests he must have chosen to serve his own. We are indirectly informed of this fact by Ulisse Aldovrandi, the antiquarian from Bologna, who declares that he saw in 1556, among the curiosities of the Macharone house at the Macello de' Corvi, "a marble horse in full harness to which are attached the legs of the rider" and the "head and bust of Caracalla, part of a semi-colossal statue," found in the baths of that emperor. It seems evident, therefore, that while Messer Mario was exhuming and putting aside for his master the Hercules of Glycon, the group of Dirce, the Flora, the group of Atræus, the two Gladiators, and many other such wonders of ancient art, he thought it fair to keep for himself one or two mementos of the successful excavations.

The Farnese palace became the recipient of the rarest and best collections ever formed by a private individual (the Pope had made over the property to Cardinal Alessandro the younger, his own grandson) even before its completion by Michelangelo. The collections comprised works of statuary, pictures, books and manuscripts, and *objets de vertu* and curiosities. The museum of statuary was formed partly with the products of excavations, partly by purchase. From this second point of view the museum represents to us the outcome of the efforts which had been made, independently of each other, by Cardinal Marino Grimani, by Bernardino de' Fabii, by the brothers Sassi, by Paolo del Bufalo, Muzia de' Velli, Tommaso della Porta, Orazio Sangallo, and others to secure for their respective houses and gardens the best pieces of statuary that chanced to come into the market before the beginning of the Farnese collections. I cannot better illustrate this point than by reproducing from An-

between January, 1546, and the end of the year 1549 make us think of a fairy tale. Imagine those men, led by Mario Macharone, laying hands, for the first time since the revival of classic studies, on a building which all the Roman emperors of the third century, from Caracalla to Diocletian, had endeavored to make the most attractive in the capital, lavishing upon it all the art treasures which they could gather for the purpose. Imagine those agents of the Pope discovering the two Hercules, the Flora, the Gladiators, the Atræus, and the group of Dirce, lying at the feet of their respective niches. The number of masterpieces, says Ligorio in vol. ii of the Turin MSS., found within the baths goes beyond the dreams of imagination, — whole rows of columns of giallo, alabaster, and porphyry, numberless fountains, basins, baths cut in precious stones, "con mille maniere d' ornamenti di grandissima spesa che porgevano spavento."

Without pursuing a subject about which a volume could be written, I will mention one incident only, connected with the group of Dirce, the account of which I have just discovered in the Chigi Library. A cipher despatch from the Papal nuncio in Paris, deciphered in Rome on February 1, 1666, speaks of the efforts made by King Louis XIV to obtain from the Duke of Parma the gift of the group. The negotiations were carried on between the king and the duke by the confidential agent, Abate Siri, and they would probably have succeeded, and Italy would have been deprived of the possession of that magnificent work, but for the firmness of the Pope in demanding that the wish of the testators, Paul III and Cardinal Alessandro, should be respected. The will of the cardinal, discovered by Fiorelli in the records of the notary Prospero Campana, and dated 1587, contains the following clause: "It is my solemn will that all my statues of bronze or marble, my library, and the

Office of the Blessed Virgin illuminated by Giulio Clovio, shall be preserved and kept forever in the city of Rome, and in the Farnese palace, and that none of my heirs and successors shall dare to sell or give away, or transfer to other places, or pawn any of the objects of art and curiosity which exist at the present moment in my collection." Alas! this clause did not prevent the removal to Naples of the Farnese treasures at the time of Pius VI. The fear of offending the newly established Bourbon dynasty, and other political considerations which would have had no effect on the head of the church, but brought too strong a pressure on the ruler of the Pontifical States, induced Pope Pius VI to disregard completely the directions left by the founders of the museum. The shipping of the marbles from the banks of the Tiber to those of the Sebeto began in 1787, under the direction of the painter Hackert, of the sculptor Albacini, and of the architect Bonucci. The group of Dirce was first placed in the middle of the fountain of the Villa Reale di Chiaja, and removed to the Museo Borbonico only in 1826. Pius VII and Gregory XVI allowed the last remnants of the glorious Museo Farnesiano to follow the bulk of the collection to Naples, except one piece, a beautiful frieze from the palestra of Caracalla's baths, which not many months ago was sold to a dealer by the last representative in Rome of the House of Naples, for the sum of one hundred and fifty francs.

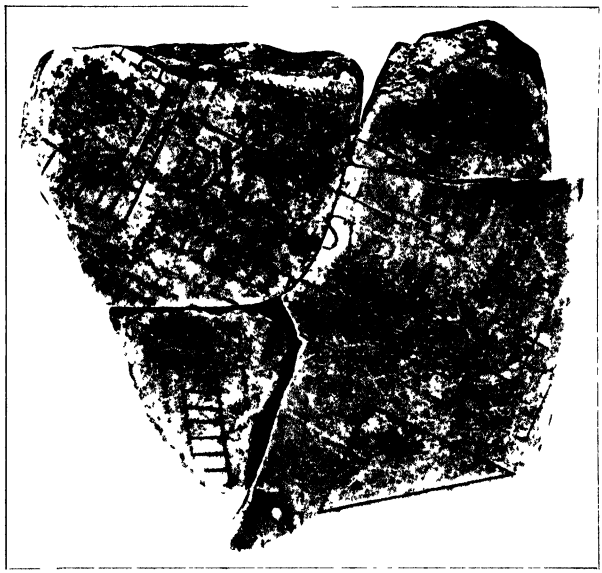
In reading the accounts left by the learned men who witnessed the excavations of the time of Paul III, we often encounter the figure of Cardinal Alessandro in the guise of a rescuer of antique monuments from the fate which generally awaited them, — the lime-kiln or the stone-cutter's shed. I will quote only two or three instances out of the many with which the name of this munificent personage is connected.

In the month of August, 1543, the workmen employed by the reverenda Fabrica di San Pietro to excavate and destroy the monuments of the Forum came upon the ruins of the Regia. Palladio, Metello, Panvinio, Ligorio, all of them eye-witnesses, agree that a great portion of the building was standing above ground, and that a considerable part of the "Fasti triumphales et consulares" could still be seen engraved on the marble walls and pilasters. Ligorio says that it took thirty days to demolish the Regia to the level of the foundations, some of the blocks being crushed for the kilns, others removed to St. Peter's, and that no remains of the find or of the precious documents of Roman history would have been saved had not Cardinal Alessandro Farnese come to the rescue. He not only piously collected the fragments of the Fasti, but caused the ground to be tunnelled in various directions in search of stray pieces. Michelangelo for the architectural part and Gentile Delfino for the epigraphic were deputed to arrange them in the hall of the Conservatori palace which is called to the present day the Sala dei Fasti.

Another splendid occasion for the cardinal to intervene in favor of a historical monument, doomed to the same fate as the Regia, was afforded by the discovery of the marble plan of the ancient city made at the time of Pius IV (1559–1565) by the architect Giovanni Antonio Dosio da San Geminiano. This enterprising young artist, to whom we owe a set of Roman views published in 1569 by Giovanni Battista Cavalieri,[1] had obtained leave from Prince Torquato Conti to excavate the garden adjoining the church of SS. Cosma e Damiano, at the foot of the back wall of the templum Sacrae Urbis. Here he found ninety-two pieces of the marble panels upon which the "Forma Urbis" had

[1] Dosio's original drawings are preserved in the Galleria degli Uffizi at Florence.

been engraved about the year 211, by order of Septimius Severus and his son and colleague Caracalla. Had the discoverer taken care to collect them carefully, and to join the fragments of each slab there and then, the value of the discovery would have been inestimable; but we have reason to believe that, even before Cardinal Alessandro had been



Part of the marble plan of Rome. From a photograph by Cav. A. Vochieri.

warned of what was taking place in the garden of Torquato Conti, the fragments were thrown negligently into a heap without the least consideration for their mutual relationship. Furthermore, we have reason to believe that Onofrio Panvinio, the learned Augustinian to whom the care of sorting and placing the pieces in the museum was entrusted, lost either his patience in the difficult attempt, or his appreciation of the value of the Forma. The fact is that only the larger and more impressive fragments were exhibited

in the palace, while four hundred and fifty-one smaller bits were thrown into the cellars. Some years later a master mason, in quest of building materials, laid hands on the heap, and made use of it in restoring the boundary wall of the Farnese garden on the river side. Many of the bits were rediscovered in 1888 and 1899, when the garden wall was demolished to make room for the Tiber embankment.

As regards the larger slabs put aside by Panvinio, they had no respite from their long wanderings until three years ago. In the first place, Pope Benedict XIV (to whose liberality the Capitoline Museum owes so many treasures) having asked King Charles III of Naples, the heir to the Farnese estates, to present the "Forma Urbis" to the city, the request was complied with in 1742, and the fragments were removed first to the Vatican, then to the Capitol, with a loss of only thirteen in the course of the adventurous journey. Then, again, in 1903, I was instructed by the municipality to remove the fragments from the stairs of the museum, where they had been set into the wall without discrimination or reference to their topographical value, and to reconstruct the whole plan in its original scale of 1 : 250. The place selected this time was the wall enclosing the beautiful garden of the Conservatori palace on the north side, high and wide enough to contain the best and most interesting section of the ancient plan. Of the one thousand and forty-nine fragments which I had at my disposal I was able to identify and put in their proper places one hundred and sixty-seven only, as shown in the accompanying illustration.

There is no possibility of perfecting the work unless a final and successful search for the missing pièces is made on the spot where the others originally came from, namely, in the strip of ground between the church of SS. Cosma e

Damiano, the basilica of Constantine, and the Via Alessandrina.

The most memorable year in the history of the Museo Farnesiano is the first of the seventeenth century, on account of the legacy left to it by the antiquarian Fulvio Orsini. The subject of this legacy having already been described by De Nolhac in 1884 and Beltrami in 1886,[1] I will limit myself to a few particulars best calculated to make my sketch more complete.

Fulvio Orsini, canon of San Giovanni in Laterano, had enjoyed for a great number of years the friendship of the Farnese, first as librarian to Ranuccio II, cardinal of Sant' Angelo, later in the same capacity with Cardinal Alessandro, lastly as curator of the museum under Cardinal Odoardo. By a will dated January 31, 1600, he left to the latter all his collections, on the condition of satisfying certain legacies to the amount of six thousand scudi. If the cardinal, for any reason whatever, were to decline to accept the trust, the collections — dearer to the testator than life itself — were to be sold, as far as possible, wholesale, to prevent their dispersion.

Odoardo followed the wishes of his old friend, and the Museo Orsiniano was annexed to the Farnesiano; the two together form the most marvellous group of masterpieces in every branch of art which has ever been seen exhibited under the roof of a private mansion. Orsini's gift included 400 cameos and intaglios mostly signed by Greek artists; 113 pictures and cartoons; 150 historical inscriptions; 58 portrait busts of poets, philosophers, historians, and statesmen, and 1500 coins, many of which are unique. All these

[1] Pierre de Nolhac, "Les collections d'antiquités de Fulvio Orsini" in *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome*, vol. iv, a. 1884, pp. 138–231; Giovanni Beltrami, *I libri di Fulvio Orsino nella biblioteca vaticana*. Rome, 1886.

objects were valued by the testator at 13,569 scudi, as specified in an inventory discovered by Nolhac in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana at Milan, in which many secrets concerning the antiquarian market in the second half of the sixteenth century are revealed.

Fulvio Orsini had lived in the very centre of the trade in smaller objects, such as engraved stones and medals, a trade which was mostly in the hands of the goldsmiths and jewellers of the Via del Pellegrino. This is the reason why the names of Francesco Bianchi, Bernardino and Jacopo Passeri, and Andrea di Nello, all having their premises in the same street, occur repeatedly in the inventory, and especially that of a Messer Carlo, from whom the collector bought cameos to the value of 307 scudi. Sometimes Fulvio dealt personally with the peasants gathered in the market-place. The shop of Biagio Stefanoni, an apothecary at the corner of the Via del Caravita, was also a great meeting-place for buyers of antiques. Fulvio had business relations with artists, too, such as the Padorano, Vincenzo and Niccolò Fiamminghi, and with the Roman noblemen, the Maffei, Alberini, Massimi, Santacroce, Capranica, Rustici, etc., in whose lands discoveries were most likely to occur.

We who have witnessed so many contemporary examples of fabulous sums offered and paid for a few square inches of canvas, or for a small object of virtu, the value of which the smallest accident could destroy, cannot read without emotion that part of the inventory relating to the pictures, cartoons, and drawings in which the names of Raphael, Titian, Daniele, Leonardo, Baldassare Peruzzi, Sebastiano dal Piombo, Baccio Bandinelli, Albrecht Dürer, and Luke Cranach occur over and over again, and in which one hundred and thirteen masterpieces are valued all together at 1789 scudi. The picture of St. Jerome, by Cranach, with

exquisite background by Valerio da Reggio, which would be worth to-day the ransom of a prince, is set down in the catalogue at ten scudi!

As I have remarked above, all these treasures were lost to us in the fourth quarter of the eighteenth century, despite the anathema pronounced in the will of their original collector upon those who should dare to remove one single object from the Palazzo Farnese. It seems as if the Bourbons of Naples must have found great satisfaction in depriving Rome even of things that were of no use whatever to them, such as fragments of inscriptions of purely local interest, or forming part of a set already exhibited in a Roman museum; architectural decorations of Roman monuments such as the temple of Victory on the Palatine, the baths of Caracalla, or the temple of Neptune; and even pieces of statues or bas-reliefs or sarcophagi; so that a student wishing to examine the scattered remains of these mutilated bodies has to travel back and forth from the land of Romulus to that of Parthenope. Men of science and men of thought who consider these questions from a higher standpoint than that of petty local jealousies and ambitions, cherished the hope that the union of Italy into one happy free nation would bring about a rational settlement in the interests of art and archæology, as well as in the interest of the several cities which clamored for a share of the spoils. We hoped to see Naples become the centre of Greek and Greco-Italic studies, Palermo of Greco-Sicilian and Siculo-Arabic art, Rome of Latin antiquities, Florence of Etruscan and Renaissance art, Bologna of pre-Roman, Milan of Lombardesque, Turin of Egyptian and Ligurian civilizations. Such a rational solution of existing difficulties has failed to come, thanks to evil influences which prevailed at the time when it was still possible to set things right.



Part of the frieze of the bedchamber of Paul III in the castle of Sant' Angelo, by Perino del Vaga

Paul III and Cardinal Alessandro will never be forgotten by the Romans, in spite of the intrigues of Charles III and his successors, because we cannot gaze around us, within or outside the walls of our city, without beholding an artistic legacy of those two great men, be it the Farnesian gardens on the Palatine hill, the papal apartment in the castle of Sant' Angelo, the Sala Regia in the Vatican, the Pauline chapel, the church of the Gesù, the Villa Madama, the walls and castle of Frascati, or the villa at Caprarola. Considering that each of the places mentioned has its own special literature, forming altogether a library of many hundred volumes, it would be futile to enter into details.

The pontifical apartment in the castle of Sant' Angelo, with its charming frescoes by Perino del Vaga and Sicciolante, with its ceilings modelled in stucco or carved in wood by Giovanni da Udine and Giulio Romano, with its bathroom in which we find an early and graceful imitation of a classic columbarium,[1] constitutes, in my judgment, the

[1] The bathroom dates from the time of Clement VII.

best existing specimen of a Renaissance living suite, especially adapted to the wants of a single man in high position. If the government, which keeps hundreds of pieces of tapestry stored in the presses of the Uffizi in Florence, would lend us the limited number necessary to drape the now bare walls of Paul III's bedchamber and dining-hall, the restoration *in pristinum* of the apartment would be perfect.

A stranger entering the Sala Regia, which forms, as it were, the vestibule to the Sixtine and Pauline chapels, and gazing at the wonderful ceiling carved in stucco by Daniele da Volterra and Perino, at the frescoes painted by Taddeo and Federico Zuccari and Vasari, and at the rich marble panelling and flooring designed by Antonio da Sangallo, would hardly imagine the amount of damage inflicted on the ruins of ancient Rome by the builders of this magnificent hall. The larger portion of the marbles was drawn from the vineyard of Antonio Palluccelli, near the church of the Navicella on the Cælian, the site of which is now enclosed within the boundaries of the Villa Mattei (von Hoffmann). It took Sangallo's masons and stone-cutters ten years to extract from those great ruins all the marble they were capable of yielding. Some of the pieces were so large and heavy that a breach had to be made through the wall of the vineyard to allow their removal, and the Via della Navicella had to be widened to make room for the carts, each drawn by several pairs of buffaloes. The books of accounts of the Sala Regia, kept by Pietro Aleotto and now preserved in the state archives, mention columns of cipollino and architraves of portasanta and blocks of white Greek marble; and as these architectural elements of great size cannot have been found among the ruins of the Barracks of the fifth battalion of firemen (Statio Cohortis V vigilum), which occupied the plateau of the Cælian behind the Navi-

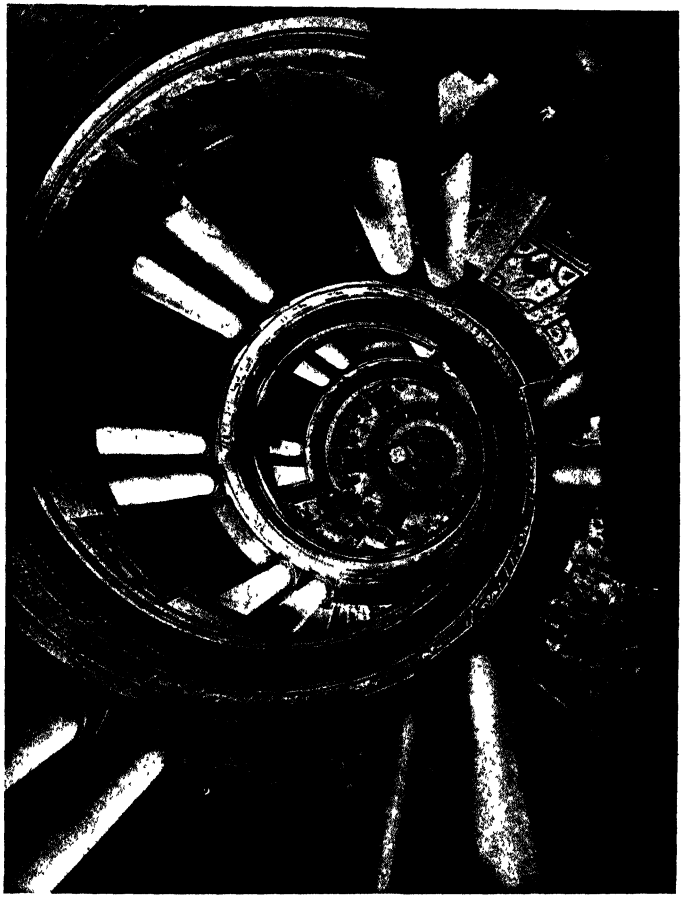
cella, it remains to be ascertained what great temple or bath stood next to the barracks.

As soon as the Palluccelli mine was exhausted, the workmen attacked the forum of Trajan, where a madonna Costanza (Santacroce?) and Giovanni Zambeccari had just discovered certain columns belonging to the basilica Ulpia and to the temple of Trajan. Twenty-four horses were required to remove some of the blocks on September 3, 1541, from the Macello dei Corvi and from the Piazza dei SS. Apostoli to the Vatican, where they were sawn into slabs and carved into door-posts and architraves. Pirro Ligorio says that some of the columns measured fifty-four feet in height and six in diameter, partly of giallo antico, partly of cipollino with reddish streaks, and that other marbles of archæological interest were sacrificed, among which was the pedestal of a statue dedicated to Julia Sabina, the wife of the Emperor Hadrian.

Such was the law of monumental evolution in Rome during the Renaissance. Each palace, church, villa, cloister, each tomb, statue, pedestal, altar, fountain, which the genial artists of the sixteenth century have left for us to admire, is tainted with the same origin, and represents to us a loss perhaps greater than the gain. These facts explain why I have been able to gather the materials for the first volumes of my "Storia degli Scavi e dei Musei di Roma" mostly from the account books kept by the Pope's treasurer or by the Camera Capitolina, in connection with the works conducted either by the state or by the municipality, within or outside the walls of the city.

As regards the castle and park built and laid out by Cardinal Alessandro at Caprarola, in the county of Ronciglione, which formed part of the Farnese estates, I can but refer my readers to the works describing this masterpiece of Vignola,

by Ursi, Sebastiani, Mogalli, Liberati, and especially to the work of George Caspar Prenner, published in Rome in 1748. Better than any description are the two illustrations which follow, one representing the vertical perspective view of the



The shaft of the spiral stairs in the castle of Caprarola (looking vertically)

spiral staircase of the castle, with some of the arabesques colored by the Zuccari, and the other a view in the park.

Another title to glory for Paul III is his action in favor of the university "della Sapienza," the origin of which

dates back to the time of the Alban kings, when the young representatives of the Latin race were sent to Gabii, the city of learning, to become familiar with the Greek language. After the capture of Gabii by Tarquinius Superbus the central Latin national school must have been transferred to Rome, where we shall not attempt to follow its fate during the rough republican times, nor its transformation into the celebrated "Paedagogium puerorum Kapitis Africae" under the Empire. Its revival, after centuries of mediæval darkness, took place in the time of Innocent VII. Leo X, however, is the Pope to whom the University of Rome owes its modern constitution. Leo was a great partisan of the Greek language, and to render it more popular in Rome he had entrusted its teaching to John Lascaris and other Greek refugees of great learning, gathering together for this purpose the famous Medicean academy in the garden of the poet Angelo Colocci opposite the church of San Silvestro. Considering, moreover, how necessary it was for men destined to high public offices to become cognizant of the history of their own country, he entrusted the learned Evangelista Maddaleni Capodiferro with the mission of lecturing for one hour in the Capitol, every day when the city magistrates met there for business; he had a salary of three hundred scudi a year, to be drawn from the so-called gabella del vino, or duty imposed on foreign wines landed at the quay of Ripa Grande. Leo also protected the old Accademia Romana d' Archeologia, founded by Pomponio Leto, which used to meet periodically in the garden of the illustrious president, among the ruins of the baths of Constantine. There were occasional sittings held in the gardens of Angelo Colocci near the fountain of Trevi, of Mario Maffei da Volterra on the banks of the Tiber, and of Johann Goritz among the ruins of the forum of Trajan.

The reorganization of the university dates from November 5, 1513, and from the issuing of the Bull *Dum suavissimos*, which contains the following regulations: that no less than three lecturers should teach in the principal branches of learning; that besides lecturing from the chair they should hold familiar conversations with the students; that the professor failing to lecture without sufficient excuse should be heavily fined; that professors of law should not practice before the courts; that the janitors should keep a record of the lectures duly given or of those omitted, and finally that the professors should be subject to an income tax of three per cent.

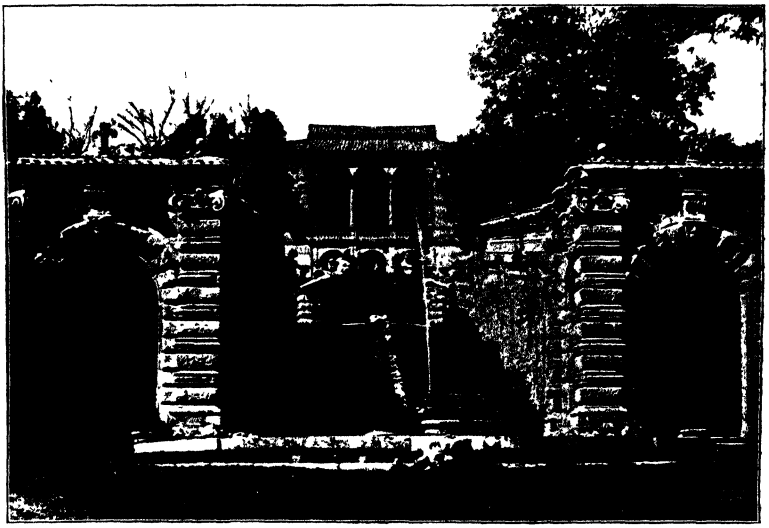
The institution prospered greatly under the benevolent Pope. From a roll of the staff of the university, discovered by Gaetano Marini in a booth at the rag fair in the Piazza Navona, and published in 1804, we learn that only one year after the publication of the Bull *Dum suavissimos*, the professional staff numbered eleven canonists, twenty jurisconsults, fifteen physicians, five philosophers, and a professor of botany, a science which had never been taught before in any Italian university. No wonder that a statue should have been raised to the pontifical reformer in the Capitol with an inscription recording his generosity towards the *Gymnasium romanum*. In fact, a funeral service in memory of Leo X was celebrated in the chapel of the establishment every year until the change of government which took place in 1870.

When Paul III was elected in 1534, this happy state of things was already a matter of the past. Leo had been succeeded by the stern Dutchman, Hadrian VI, under whose rule science, poetry, fine arts, and culture in general were held in contempt, if not actually persecuted. Hadrian fortunately reigned only seventeen months, and the nomination

of another Medici in 1523 was hailed with delight by the upper and more refined classes of the population. Clement VII, however, was destined to disappoint their expectations, because, partly from avarice, partly from his interference in the differences which had already risen between King Francis I and the Emperor Charles V, he appropriated the revenues of the gabella del vino, allowing the professors of the Sapienza to seek employment elsewhere. Then followed the sack of 1527, during which the old professors were either killed or held to ransom or dispersed. Paul III, only twenty-six days after his election, reopened the gates of the time-honored institution, and offered the chair of medicine to the famous physician of Gubbio, Girolamo Accoramboni, and that of surgery to another great authority, Alfonso Ferri from Naples. Accoramboni must have declined the flattering offer, because his name does not appear among the "professores deputati a Paulo III ad legendum in Gymnasio romano pro anno 1535," in a list that has lately been discovered by Tacchi-Venturi among the Farnesian papers in the archives at Parma. This document, so important as a means of comparison with the present state of the University of Rome, shows that in the first year of the reform of Paul III only eighteen lecturers were appointed, of whom five were for the faculty of law, three for each of the other faculties. The teaching of mathematics was entrusted to one professor only. The appropriations varied from a minimum of 30 ducats a year, assigned to Andrea da Montalcino, assistant professor of logic, to a maximum of 300 allotted to Giacomo Giacomelli, professor of philosophy. The same university, recalled to life by Paul III in 1534 under such modest auspices, now numbers a staff of five hundred and seven officers, librarians, assistants, professors, and teachers of various grades and seniority, and three thousand five

hundred students, probably four times as many as at the time of its resurrection.

Paul III, overcome by age and by the great religious and political controversies which were then stirring Italy and Europe, and grieved beyond measure at the sad fate of some of his relatives, died of a violent fever on the 10th day of November, 1549, aged eighty-one years, eight months, and



View in the park of Caprarola

ten days, after a pontificate of fifteen years and twenty-eight days. He had already promulgated the celebration of the tenth "anno santo," or Jubilee; in fact, he is represented in two medals, coined in anticipation of the event, as striking with the silver hammer the Porta Santa, which, however, he did not open. Having died in a villa on the Quirinal hill, his domestics carried his body to St. Peter's without any pomp, in expectation of the state funeral, which all classes of citizens were wont to attend.

The memory of this great pontiff will always be dear to

us Romans. Pomponio Leto, his preceptor, had imbued him with the spirit of humanism, and imparted to him the gift of a gay and bright conversation. He seemed to have brought back with his advent to the pontificate the fine old days of Leo X, with a higher standard of morals. I may also recall among his other traits that, like Michelangelo and Vittoria Colonna, the hero and the heroine of my next two chapters, he did not despise the cultivation of poetry in leisure hours; that he illustrated the "Epistulae ad Atticum" of Cicero, and wrote himself a beautiful set of epistles to Charles V, Francis I, Erasmus, and Cardinals Sadoleto and Cortesi. The coin of the value of ten bajocchi took from him the name of *paolo*, a name which common people still apply to the fifty centimes piece of the present currency. We cannot forget, besides, that the Order of the Jesuits was founded under his rule, perhaps the most important event, next to the Reformation, in the history of the modern church.

Paul III was of medium height, with a well-proportioned head, brilliant eyes, long nose, flowing beard, prominent lips, and slightly stooping shoulders. I have described in "Pagan and Christian Rome," pp. 245, 246, the magnificent tomb raised to him in St. Peter's, on the left-hand side of the tribune, where he appears seated between the allegorical figures of Prudence and Justice, the most marvellous artistic creations of Guglielmo della Porta. This mausoleum, brought to completion in 1575, stood originally against one of the piers of the cupola, now bearing the name of St. Longinus; but Urban VIII, Barberini, having selected for his own resting-place the niche on the right hand of the apse, caused the memorial to Paul III to be transferred, for the sake of symmetry, to the opposite niche, in 1628. The columns and marbles used for the decoration of both

were taken from the temple of the Sun in the Colonna garden on the Quirinal. But the best monument in memory of Paul III is the statue raised to him on that ancient seat of glory, the Capitoline hill, by his collaborator in the hygienic and material reform of the city, Latino Giovenale Mannetti. The inscription on the pedestal mentions expressly the fact that thanks to Paul III "urbs situ et diverticulis viarum deformis et impervia, disiectis male positis aedificiis in meliorem formam redacta est" (the city, disfigured and made uninhabitable by the narrowness and tortuosity of its alleys, had undergone a wholesome transformation). The raising of this beautiful tribute of gratitude to Pope Farnese, as a reformer of the street system, had probably been suggested to Mannetti by the sight of another monument which was then preserved in the Capitol: I mean the pedestal dedicated to the Emperor Vespasian by the people of Rome, "quod vias urbis neglegentia superiorum temporum corruptas impensa sua restituit," — for having reorganized and improved the street system after the great fire of Nero and the civil war brought about by Vitellius.[1] The fact of finding these two great benefactors of the city, Vespasian and Paul III, honored on the sacred hill of Saturn, for the same reason and in the same manner, at an interval of fifteen centuries, cannot fail to impress the student of Roman history.

[1] The pedestal of Vespasian's statue, described as "great" by Poggio and as "admirable" by Smet, had been made use of in the middle ages to sustain the third column of the porch of the Conservatori palace, on the right side of the entrance. During the reconstruction of the same palace, which began in 1537, the historical monument perished, probably in a lime-kiln.

CHAPTER IV

MICHELANGELO

MICHELANGELO began his marvellous career as an imitator of antiques. There was in the garden of Lorenzo de' Medici, at San Marco in Florence, "a sleeping Cupid carved in marble on a round base," either a Greek work of the Alexandrine school, or a Roman work of the Imperial period, representing the young god lulled to sleep by the sound of a running brook or by that of a fountain. The artist, who had already shown his appreciation of classic models in the head of the Faun (1489), now in the Museo Nazionale del Bargello, in the fight of the Lapithæ and the Centaurs (1490), now in the Casa Buonarroti, and in the figure of Hercules (1492), now lost, was especially pleased with this image of the graceful son of Aphrodite, and set his mind to reproduce it, or to imitate it with the best of his skill. Such reproductions had become popular in those days, and this one was seen and praised beyond measure by the Magnifico Lorenzo.

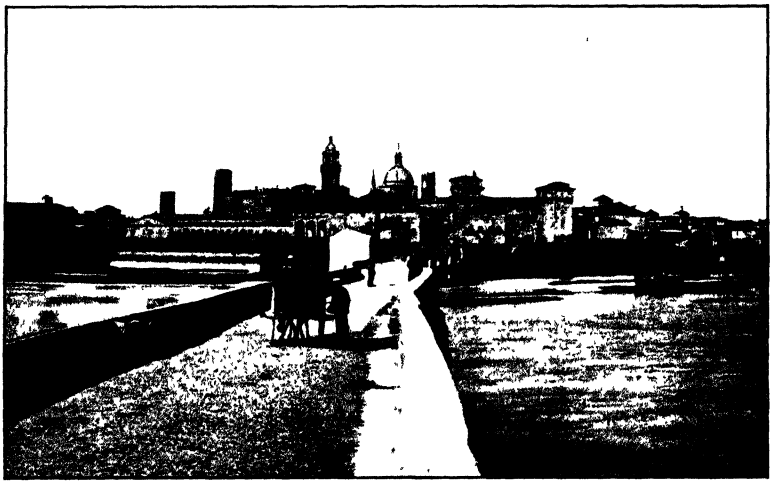
The subsequent fate of the work is uncertain. It appears, however, that the Cupid having been sold for thirty scudi to the dealer Baldassare del Milanese, — we do not know whether for a real antique or for an imitation, — it was offered by the latter and resold as an antique to Raphael Riario, cardinal of San Giorgio, who was gathering a valuable collection of marbles in his Palazzo della Cancelleria. The forgery having been discovered and the contract cancelled, Baldassare sold the Cupid again, probably as the work of

Michelangelo, to Cesar Borgia, who in turn made a present of it to Guidobaldo Feltre, duke of Urbino.

We meet here for the first time with the most attractive type of a Renaissance lady, Isabella d' Este Conzaga, who like so many noble contemporaries, imbued with the principles of Humanism, was engaged in gathering ancient and modern works of art for her "Studio" di Corte Vecchia. Traces of her first acquaintance with Michelangelo are to be found in a letter written on June 30, 1502, to her brother, Cardinal Ippolito I of Este. "The duke of Urbino," she says, "had in his castle a marble Venus, small but perfect, and a Cupid given to him by Cesar Borgia. Both pieces have now fallen again into the hands of the latter, since the capture of my brother's castle and the invasion of his states. As I am aware that the invader is not an admirer of art and antiquities, will you kindly ask him to make me a present of both marbles?"

Cardinal Ippolito made such gallant haste in complying with Isabella's wish, that on July 21 the Venus and the Cupid were duly deposited in the Studio di Corte Vecchia. The next mention of the young god occurs in the inventory of the Conzaga collections made in 1542: ". . . and furthermore, a Cupid sleeping on a lion's skin, attributed to Praxiteles, placed on the left side of the window in the 'Grotta di Madama,' and a sleeping one of Carrara marble, carved by the hands of Michelangelo, and placed on the opposite side of the same window." We hear again of both in 1573, when Jacques Auguste du Thou, the historian of Kings Henry III and Henry IV, visited Mantua. Having been shown first the one by Michelangelo, he found it to be far above the praises which had been bestowed on it; but as soon as he was allowed to gaze at the other one, the alleged work of Praxiteles, which had been momentarily

hidden from view with a silk cover, Du Thou and his fellow travellers felt ashamed at their want of discernment, and declared that while the older Cupid was brimming with life the modern was lacking feeling and expression. " Quelques domestiques," says the author of the " Mémoires de la vie de J. A. du Thou," " leur dirent que Michelange, qui était plus franc que les habiles gens comme lui ne le sont ordinairement, pria instamment la Comtesse Isabelle, après qu'il lui eût fait présent de son Cupidon, et qu'il eût vu l'autre,



View of the ducal palace at Mantua, with the bridge on the Mincio

qu'on ne montrât l'ancien que le dernier, afin que les connaisseurs pûssent juger en le voyant, de combien en ces sortes d'ouvrages les anciens l'emportent sur les modernes."

The last evidence of the permanency of both works at the Corte Vecchia is the following entry in the inventory of 1627: " Un amorin che dorme sopra un sasso, stimato scudi venti — un' altro amorin che dorme sopra una pelle di leone stimato scudi venticinque." Praxiteles' work, therefore, was valued at that time only five scudi above that of the Flor-

entine artist, and both could be obtained for the sum of forty-five dollars! Three years after the inventory was made both Cupids left the land of sunshine and the shores of the sea which had given birth to their mother Aphrodite, to undertake a long and lonesome journey towards the land of mists. The abductor was King Charles I.

Valuable information on the subject of the king's artistic purchases in Italy can be obtained from the correspondence exchanged between his agents Nicholas Lenier and Daniel Nys on one side, Thomas Carey and Sir John Coke on the other. The ship which was to deprive Italy forever of so many treasures (the paintings alone had been sold for sixty-eight thousand scudi, not one quarter of their present value) sailed from Venice on August 4, 1632, and must have reached its destination before the equinoctial storms, which rendered the crossing of the Bay of Biscay almost impossible after the breaking up of the season. And it is there, on the other side of the Channel, that the Cupid has been sleeping for the last three centuries, in deeper peace than he enjoyed at the Corte Vecchia. The young god has vanished from the gaze of the public, and keeps himself hidden in some obscure corner of the British isles. All the attempts lately made by Venturi and myself to discover the hiding-place have proved fruitless; yet we cannot reconcile ourselves to the idea that this charming souvenir of Michelangelo and Isabella d' Este has perished[1] forever.

The belief in the possibility of a rediscovery has been strengthened lately by the unexpected coming to light of another gem of Isabella's studio, the portrait of her son

[1] Michelangelo came again in contact with the court of Mantua in 1519, when the Marchese Federico wrote to his representative in Rome, Baldassare Castiglione, to ask him or Raphael to prepare the design for the tomb of the marchese's father.

Federico painted by Francia. The story of this long lost work, as given by Yriarte in the "Gazette des Beaux Arts," 1896, and by Venturi in the "Archivio dell' Arte," 1888, is as follows: Gian Francesco Conzaga, Isabella's husband, having been made prisoner by the Venetians after the defeat of Legnano, was set at liberty in July, 1510, through the influence of Julius II, on the condition that his son Federico, aged ten, should be sent as a hostage to the Pope's court. On the way to Rome the boy stopped at Bologna, where Isabella commissioned Lorenzo Costa, and after Costa's refusal Francesco Francia, to paint his portrait. The order was executed and the portrait finished in twelve days, much to the satisfaction of the sorrowing mother, who declared it to be a perfect work, and remunerated the artist with the "munificent gift" [1] of thirty golden ducats. The portrait, it seems, was sent with the hostage to the Vatican, to be shown to Julius II. What became of it after that has been a matter of conjecture. Yriarte wrote on this subject: "Ce n'est plus qu'un hasard heureux qui pourrait nous mettre un jour en face de ce portrait. . . . C'est dans l'ensemble des collections de Charles I^er^, dispersées dans toute l'Europe, qu'il faut certainement le chercher: nous ne désespérons point de pouvoir l'identifier un jour." "M. Yriarte's hopes," writes Herbert Cook, in n. 3928 of the "Athenæum," "have been fulfilled. The portrait of Federico Conzaga by Francia has been found . . . in an English country house. A few days ago [January, 1903] there arrived from Gloucestershire, from the home of Mr. A. W. Leatham, for exhibition at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, a portrait of a boy by Francia. Of its history nothing was known, except that the father of the present owner bought it from the Napoleon collection, and it was supposed to

[1] Francia's own expression.

represent one of the Medici. . . . The picture shows a boy about ten years old, seen to the waist, holding a dagger in his right hand; . . . the long fair hair falls from beneath a cap placed jauntily on the side of the head." After a careful study of the picture from the points of view of age, date, style, and details, Mr. Cook identifies it with the long lost original painted by Francia between July 29 and August 10, 1510.

I have mentioned this episode not only on account of its connection with the subjects discussed in the present chapter, but also because the name and the fate of Federico ought not to be unknown to visitors and students of Renaissance Rome. This handsome youth, whose courteous demeanor and bright, gay fellowship won for him the favor of the whole city, is in fact the connecting link between the leading personages of my book, having been befriended by Michelangelo as well as by Raphael, by Agostino Chigi, and by the future Pope Paul III. We may take also for granted that Vittoria Colonna, then only twenty years of age, and whose husband, the Marchese di Pescara, had just fallen into the hands of Gaston de Foix as prisoner of war, tendered him the same hospitality in her ancestral palace by the church of Santi Apostoli, which she herself was to receive in her widowhood at the court of Mantua. The youth must have been possessed of extraordinary winning powers, considering that even the Pope, a warrior of uncouth manners and iron will, was wont to yield to his wishes and to abide by his directions.

Stazio Gadio, the youth's preceptor, who kept Isabella informed almost daily of his doings, and whose correspondence was published in 1886 by Alessandro Luzio,[1] relates,

[1] "Federico Conzaga ostaggio alla corte di Giulio II," in *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria*, vol. ix, a. 1886, pp. 508–582.

among other incidents, how the Pope, having been struck down with pernicious fever while shooting pheasants in the marshes of Ostia in the worst period of the year (August 17–20, 1511), was brought back to the Vatican in a dying condition. The news of the case had already thrown Rome into a state of excitement if not of actual revolt. The physicians having prescribed a restorative, the half-dead pontiff cursed them for their interference, roaring all the time, "Buttate questi medici marrani dalle finestre!" Neither the solicitations of the duke of Urbino nor the threats of the bishop of Torea having succeeded in making him unlock his jaws, the help of Federico was sought as a last resource, and he succeeded so well in his attempt that by the end of the month Julius II was actually able to have a game of cards (giuoco di tric-trac) with his favorite, while the court orchestra was thundering in the next hall.

It seems that the likeness of Federico was introduced by Raphael in the "School of Athens" at the request of the Pope. According to Vasari's version, we ought to identify him with the young man bending over the hexagonal figure which Bramante is drawing on a slate. The opinions of experts, however, differ very much on this point.[1]

Federico had the honor of being portrayed once more by the divine artist after Isabella had been obliged to part with the original picture by Francia. This second one was begun in January, 1513, the subject posing in his military attire, and wearing a toque which his mother had expressly sent from Mantua. However, on the 19th of the following month, Raphael made a bundle of the costume and of the canvas, and sent them back to the palace with the excuse that he was so worried and distracted by other thoughts that he could not possibly finish the work. The worry to

[1] Müntz, *Raphael*, Paris, 1886, p. 346.



A DETAIL OF THE "SCHOOL OF ATHENS" WITH THE LIKENESS OF FEDERICO CONZAGA

which Raphael alludes was the precarious state of health of Julius II, his friend and protector, who in fact died the day after this letter was written.

As regards the intercourse between Federico and Michelangelo, the letters of his tutor mention only occasional visits to the Sixtine chapel, — where the artist was painting the ceiling, — made in company with Alfonso d' Este, duke of Ferrara. It is not, however, of this period in the career of the Florentine master that I was speaking, but of his keen appreciation of antique models, of which there are still other instances besides the one mentioned in the opening sentences of this chapter.

The late Baron Liphart, for instance, purchased in Florence, and his heirs have removed to Russia, a bas-relief representing Apollo and Marsyas, copied from the well-known Medicean cameo. The group, although imperfect, bears the stamp of the artist's primitive manner. In the attitude of Apollo we foresee that of the David, while the Marsyas, with hands tied behind his back and with bent body, may be taken as the prototype of the many figures of slaves which Michelangelo placed around some of his tombs.

Another characteristic of his early works is that he attacked the marble with the chisel, without the help of a sketch or of a clay model. The marble was to be his clay, — a fact which speaks highly of the tremendous power with which the youth was already endowed. His inexperience, however, prevented success, and the Liphart group, just mentioned, marks another failure in this audacious practice. By filing to excess certain parts of Apollo's body, so as to make the figure more slender and graceful, he made the god's silhouette so lean and feeble that he must have given up his work in an unfinished state.

Quite different, on the other hand, is the treatment of the medallion representing "La Madonna col Figlio e San Giovannino" owned by the Royal Academy, London. If we add to this alto-rilievo the Kneeling Cupid of the South Kensington Museum, we have exhausted the list of the master's productions known to exist in the British isles, — because the figure of the Dead Christ in terra-cotta, exhibited by Sir J. C. Robinson in 1889 at Burlington House, and attributed by its owner to Michelangelo on account of its resemblance to the Pietà in St. Peter's, has been since recognized as the work of a Spanish artist.

Three other early works of Michelangelo are less known to art students, — the Pietà of Palestrina, the church of Mary Magdalen, and the Lion of Capranica.

Capranica is a village perched on a peak of the limestone mountains behind Palestrina, twenty-eight hundred feet above the sea, and so named from the goats (*capre*), in which the district was particularly abundant. It owes its fame to Domenico Pantagato, who was made cardinal by Pope Martin V in 1426 in recognition of his great learning, and who, according to the fashion of the age, became known in church and literary circles as Domenico da Capranica. His nephews and descendants were inscribed in the golden book of the Roman patriciate, not as Pantagati, but as Di Capranica, and so the old name was altogether forgotten. The connection between the village, the patrician family, and Michelangelo is partly traditional, partly historical.

Tradition, accepted by Piazza, Cecconi, and other local chroniclers, says that Michelangelo, having purposely inflicted a mortal wound on the model who posed for him as Christ on the cross, in order to study the play of the muscles of a dying man, and having thereby incurred the

wrath of Leo X, fled first to Palestrina, and then to Capranica, places which at that time enjoyed the feudal rights of immunity. Here he whiled away the long days of exile



The house of Domenico da Capranica, one of the few surviving specimens of the Renaissance domestic architecture in Rome

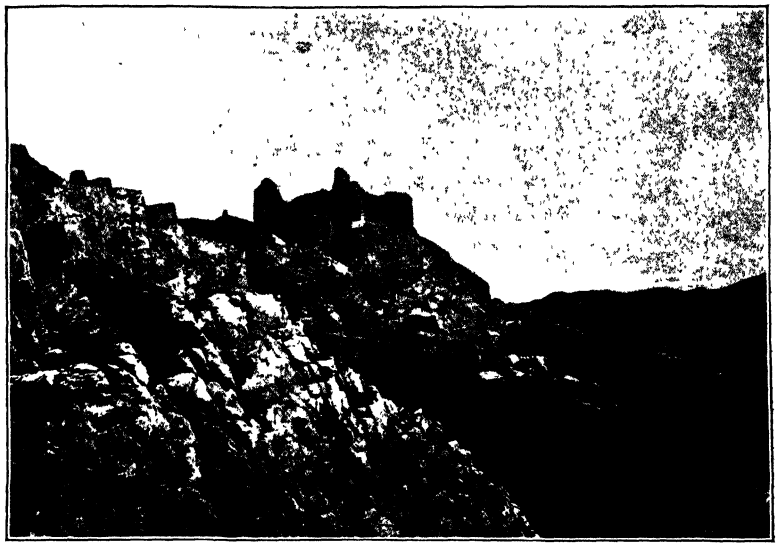
by striking the rock with his chisel and creating figures of men and beasts; and also by designing and erecting a beautiful church to a "repentant" saint.

This vulgar story may have originated from Vasari's hint about Michelangelo's "skinning corpses for the sake of anatomical studies," and from the two sonnets in which he prays for pardon of his sins. The same story, at all events, has been told again in regard to Guido Reni's famous Crucifixion in the church of San Lorenzo in Lucina.

If the archives of the Congregation of San Girolamo della Carità, which were bought by the Italian government and placed at the disposal of students in 1875, had not been kept so long in a damp and mouldy place, and had not been robbed of their most precious contents — for instance, the record of the trial of Beatrice Cenci — by a literary thief, we could satisfy our curiosity on these points, because the Congregation acted as public notary in all criminal cases. At all events, even if the tradition of Michelangelo's flight to the mountains of Præneste for this or for any other cause is utterly groundless, the fact remains that traces of his work are to be seen in either place.

The church of Mary Magdalen, which he designed in the Ionic style, and which was very much disfigured in 1750, contains this inscription: "MDXX. Julian Capranica, nephew of two cardinals, both born in this village, one of whom would have been Pope but for an untimely death, has raised this church as a memorial to his illustrious kinsmen." Hewn out of the living rock on the right side of the nave stands the figure of a lion, holding the Capranica shield with its forepaws and looking towards the entrance door with its mouth open; no holy water has ever been put in the mouth, — as intended by the artist, — because children are afraid to trust their hands in the formidable jaws. The visitor is also shown in the sacristy of the same church the profile of young Æolus, — an allusion, perhaps, to the exposed location of the village, — with the inscription, MICHAEL · A · FECIT.

I have been told of the existence of a third work by the same master, — a small but powerful picture of Mary Magdalen, which must have been surreptitiously done away with, because for some years it has not been seen on the feast of the patron saint, hung above the entrance door.



The mountains of Prænestc, where Michelangelo is said to have taken shelter in the year 1520

In the baronial palace of the Barberini, built over the remains of the temple of Fortune at Palestrina, we may see another and greater work of art, sketched rather than sculptured in the virgin limestone, and representing the descent from the cross. With the exception of Antonio Nibby, who attributes the group to Bernini, all the historians of Palestrina recognize it as a powerful reminder of Michelangelo's visit to their city.

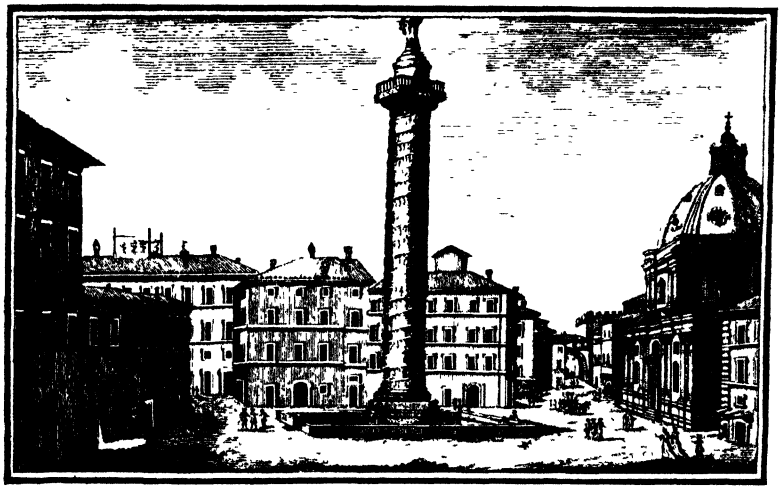
Besides the great works of architecture, painting, and sculpture, too well known to be mentioned in a book of this kind, Michelangelo has left other traces of his artistic life in Rome, not less interesting because they are less spoken of. Such, for instance, are the bridge of Santa Maria, the square and palaces of the Capitol, and the bastion of the Belvedere. And here I must observe, that if he found himself exposed occasionally to the conflicting influences of the court, to the machinations of rivals and

enemies, and to the ascendancy gained by the Sangallist party over Paul III and by the party of Vignola over Julius III, the trust, the admiration, the affection of the people of Rome, represented by its municipal magistrates, never suffered change or diminution. Whenever I have found his name mentioned in the minutes of the meetings of the City Council, it seems as if the usually rude and gruff style of the scribe assumes a kinder tone and searches for more polished phrases.

The shower of gold which fell on the "Grande Mendica" at each return of the Jubilee was, as I have remarked in the preceding chapters, the only inducement capable of rousing the state and the municipality from their constitutional torpor as regards the accomplishment of works of public utility. On these occasions Michelangelo was appealed to for help and advice. In the sitting of the Council of July 27, 1548, Battista Teodorini, the chief magistrate, announced the will of Paul III, that the Ponte di Santa Maria — the old Æmilian bridge — should be repaired for the coming Jubilee. To meet the heavy charge thus imposed upon them, the Council resolved to levy a special tax on the leading bankers, the Ruspoli, the Odescalchi, the Olgiate, the Cavalieri, etc., and also on seventy-seven grocers and apothecaries; and in order that the money should be spent "wisely and honorably," under a "vigilant eye," they appealed to Michelangelo, "homo singularissimo," whose genius and integrity had been commended by the Pope himself. The artist consented and set to work at once, with the view of strengthening the foundations of the bridge; but the prelates appointed by the Pope to hasten the preparations for the Jubilee grew impatient at what they considered to be an excessive caution on the part of the architect, and at last they took away his commission and put Nanni

di Baccio Bigio in his place. Retribution was not long in coming. The bridge finished in haste by Nanni was swept away by the next inundation (September 15, 1557). Having been built again for the Jubilee of 1575, it collapsed in the inundation of 1598. The present generation has substituted for the old bridge a structure so clumsy and grotesque in outline that we cannot help expressing the hope that it may soon share the fate of its predecessors.

We find the master interested also in the column of Trajan, not so much from an appreciation of its archæological



The enclosure round the pedestal of Trajan's column, built in accordance with Michelangelo's suggestion in 1575

value, as for the sake of his own health. It seems that on the occasion of the advent of Charles V in 1536, Paul III not only had removed from the pillar the ignoble structures which concealed its lower half, such as the church of San Nicolao de Columna, the belfry of the monastery of the Spirito Santo, and the house of the Della Vetera family, but had laid bare the pedestal down to the level of the old Forum. The cavity became a receptacle for the refus

the neighborhood, so that Paul III, "ad providendum quod dicta columna immunditiis et spurcitiis non foedaretur" (to provide against the accumulation of filth), put the excavation in charge of the Della Vetera family, the head of which assumed henceforth the title of "custode della Colonna." These people accepted the salary without the least concern for the duties attached to it. The condition of the place went from bad to worse, and the neighboring houses became so infected with the obnoxious emanations that Michelangelo, one of the nearest sufferers, took up the case and presented a design to the Town Council for enclosing the excavation with an ornamental wall. The proposal was accompanied by a declaration of his willingness to share one half of the expense. By eighty-six votes against four the Council accepted the suggestion in the sitting of August 27, 1558, but, in spite of the overwhelming majority, that cavity continued to taint the district up to the Jubilee of 1575.

The Bastione di Belvedere, which towers in frowning greatness at the northeast end of the Vatican gardens, and commands the approach to the Borgo from the upper valley of the Tiber, was begun by Antonio da Sangallo the younger, and finished by Michelangelo after Antonio's death, which took place on September 30, 1546. This great piece of military engineering must not be considered by itself, but as part of a great scheme conceived by Paul III to protect the city against a hostile invasion from the sea. The Pope could not forget that on August 20, 1534, the fleet of the infidels, commanded by Barbarossa, had cast anchor at the mouth of the Tiber to renew its supply of water, and that, if its leaders had thought of it, they could have stormed and sacked and plundered the city, and carried the Pope himself into slavery, without any possibility of defence on

the Christian side. This point has not been taken into due consideration by modern writers; the fortifications of Rome, designed or begun or finished at the time of Paul III, have nothing to do with the sack of 1527, with the Connétable de Bourbon or King Charles; all the bastions, that of the Belvedere excepted, point towards the seacoast, which was constantly harassed and terrified by Turkish or Barbary pirates. These would appear with lightning-like rapidity, in more than one place at a time, and carry off in chains as many unfortunate men, women, and children as they could lay hands upon. One of the worst records of the kind is the landing of three Algerian privateers at Pratica di Mare, on May 5, 1588, almost within sight of Rome. The pirates took the villagers unawares while peacefully attending to their fields or to their cattle, and carried into captivity thirty-nine men, twenty-eight women, and thirty-five hired farm-hands, mostly from the Marca d' Ancona. To prevent the recurrence of such disasters, the seacoast was then lined with watch-towers, the guns of which could warn the peasants of the approach of suspicious sails.

Sangallo's plan for the defence of Rome included the demolition of certain parts of the Aurelian walls and the construction of a new line on a more strategical basis, with eighteen bastions and two citadels, that of Sant' Angelo and another at the Lateran at the east end of the city. Of this great scheme, begun by Paul III and abandoned by his successors, we have interesting remains in the Bastione del Priorato on the Aventine, in the Bastione dell' Antoniana, behind the baths of Caracalla, and in the walls behind the Vatican, of which the Bastione di Belvedere is the most imposing part. We must remember that in those days the casino of the Belvedere of Innocent VIII was not connected with the Vatican palace by what [illegible] all the corridor

of the Tapestries and the Galleria de' Candelabri. The casino stood by itself on a spur of the ridge called Monte degli Spinelli, and contained the most celebrated statues yet found in Rome, — the Nile, the Tiber, the Laocoön, the Apollo, the Cleopatra, the Hercules, and the Torso, — set up in niches of verdure, in a grove of lemon-trees.

It was probably the desire to place these treasures out of reach of danger that suggested the advisability of fortifying the Belvedere in preference to other sections of the Vatican gardens. It must have been a bitter disappointment to Michelangelo, whose works of defence at Florence (1529) had made him the leader of military architects, to see the work entrusted to his rival Antonio; but he did not give way to recriminations, at least before the Pope and the public, and kept his own counsel, waiting patiently for his chance. A passage in Antonio's life by Vasari seems to hint at a revenge taken after his death. "While Paul III was building the new bastions," he says, "Antonio began also the gate of Santo Spirito, a splendid stone structure coupling strength with beauty of design. After his death, however, some one tried to have the gate demolished, but the Pope would not hear of it." Was this some one Michelangelo, or another member of the committee on the fortifications? There were many of them, and all eager to have their authority felt, — the president, Cardinal Tiberio Crispo, governor of the castle of Sant' Angelo; Captain Gianfrancesco Montemellino, military engineer; Alessandro Vitelli, strategist; Vincenzo Gioardi, artilleryman, and others, — but I do not think Michelangelo capable of so mean an action as to have suggested the demolition or the disfigurement of a work of art, which we still admire in spite of its unfinished state. What I cannot understand, however, is how he could have accepted such an inferior position

as the one offered to him after Sangallo's death. It was not he, the "excellentissimo" and the "divino," but the intriguing Jacopo Meleghino who was given the direction of the work, with Michelangelo for assistant, or "giovine"! To understand the strangeness of such an arrangement, we must remember who Meleghino was, and by what artful means he had succeeded in winning the favor of Paul III.

Born at Ferrara in the third quarter of the fifteenth century, he had entered the service of the future Pope during his administration of the see of Parma, not as "staffiere," or valet, as Milizia asserts him to have been, forgetting that he was of noble descent, but as an auditor or accountant. And when Cardinal Alessandro was exalted to the throne, in 1534, Meleghino was first named keeper of the antiques collected in the garden of the Belvedere, and later general accountant of the Reverenda Fabbrica di San Pietro. It is possible that being brought in contact with the marvels of ancient art in the Belvedere, and into familiarity with the great men engaged in the rebuilding of St. Peter's, he may have gained a certain aptitude and a certain fame, especially after inheriting a considerable part of the designs and cartoons of Baldassare Peruzzi, whom he had nursed in his last illness by command of the Pope.[1] This sentiment of admiration was not shared, at all events, by Sangallo, who once called him to his face "architetto da motteggio," nor by Vasari, who denies his competency in architecture, and attributes to him an injudicious mind. And yet to this courtier was given the succession of Antonio as "architectore della fortificatione di Borgho," with the same monthly salary

[1] One of the sketch-books of Baldassare, now in the municipal library at Siena, bears the following autograph: "Given by me, Baldassare Peruzzi, to Messer Jacopo Meleghino and Messer Pier Antonio Salimbeni." The rest of the drawings and papers were inherited by his son Sallustio. They are now preserved in the Gabinetto delle Stampe e Disegni of the Uffizi, Florence.

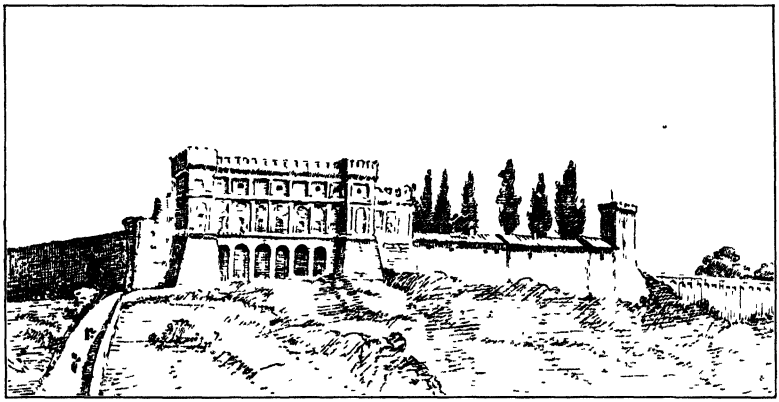
of twenty-five scudi; and Michelangelo, the proudest man of the age, accepted the place of "ragazzo" or assistant to him. Contemporary writers wonder at this preposterous state of things. A letter addressed by Prospero Mochi (the surveyor of the works of fortification) to Pier Luigi Farnese, nephew of the Pope, on March 2, 1547,[1] informs us that while officially Michelangelo was subjected "stava a obedientia" to Meleghino, practically he had the absolute and independent management of the works.

The Bastione di Belvedere was finished in March, 1548. Michelangelo disappears from the scene as a military architect, and the task of completing the fortifications of the Borgo is given to Jacopo Fusti Castriotto from Urbino, the designer of the fortresses of Sermoneta, Paliano, Anagni, and Calais. Poor Meleghino ended his career as those generally do whom fortune exalts capriciously above their proper station in life. Deprived of his appointments at the death of Paul III, and reduced to penury, he sought the help of Cardinal Ippolito d' Este, and, having entered the priesthood, was appointed incumbent of the parish of San Cristoforo di Campignano in the diocese of Perugia. The date and place of his death remain unknown to the present day.

We have just seen that Michelangelo had accepted an inferior position, knowing very well that Paul III trusted him alone, and would be ready to sanction any measure advocated by him, with or without the approval of Meleghino. Michelangelo was not an easy man to deal with; the motto of the noblest of Roman families, "Columna flecti nescio," ought to have been his. Such was the experience undergone by the deputies of the Fabbrica di San Pietro after his appointment to the direction of the work on January 1,

[1] Quoted by Rocchi, at page 280 of his beautiful work, *Le piante iconografiche e prospettiche di Roma nel secolo XVI.* 1902

1547. If they had expected to find him a man of the same gentle temper as were his predecessors, Raphael, Fra Giocondo, and Baldassare Peruzzi, they soon realized their mistake. A document in MSS. H, II, 22 of the Chigi Library,



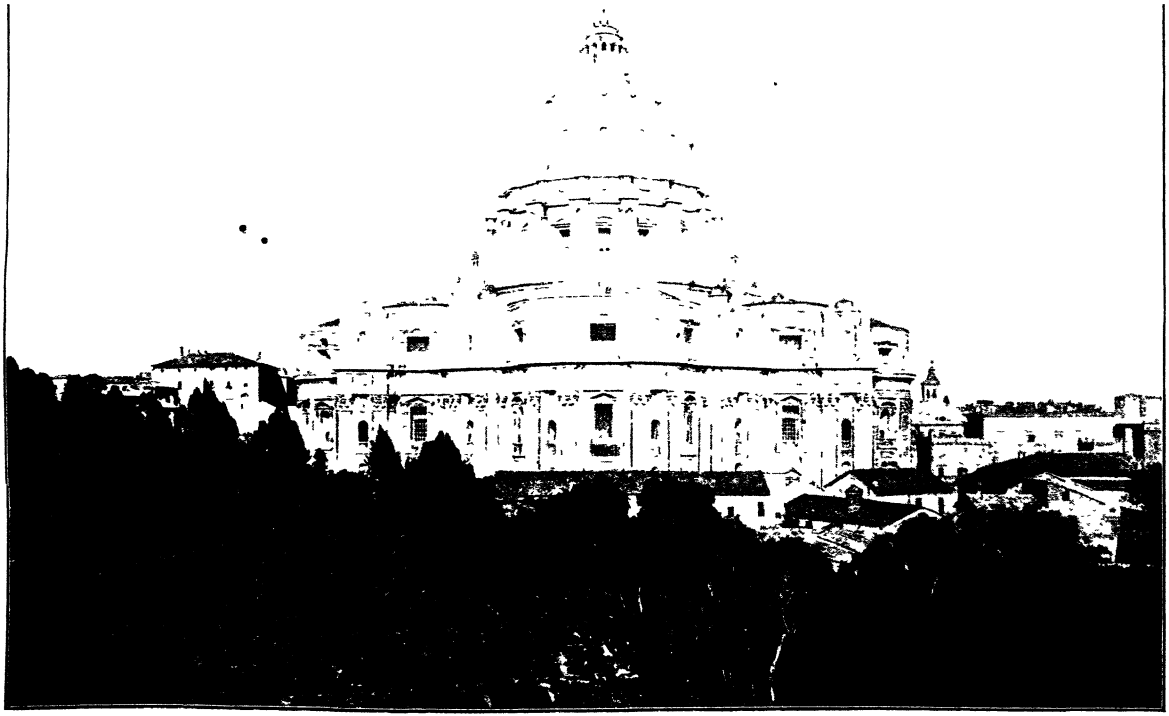
The Belvedere of Innocent VIII, from a sketch by Martin Heemskerk made in 1536, seven years before the beginning of the fortifications by Michelangelo

already published by Fea, contains the following candid acknowledgment of the state of affairs on the part of the poor deputies: —

"From the year 1540, when the rebuilding of St. Peter's was resumed with new vigor, to the year 1547, when Michelangelo began to do and undo, to destroy and rebuild at his own will, we have spent 162,624 ducats. From 1547 to the present day (1555), during which time we deputies of the Fabbrica have counted absolutely for nothing, and have been kept by Michelangelo in absolute ignorance of his plans and doings, — because such was the will of the late Pope Paul III, and of the reigning one (Julius III), — the expense has reached the total of 136,881 ducats. As regards the progress and the designs and the prospects of the new basilica, the deputies know nothing whatever, Michelan-

gelo despising them worse than if they were outsiders. They must, however, make the following declaration to ease their conscience: they highly disapprove Michelangelo's methods, especially in demolishing and destroying the work of his predecessors. This mania of pulling to pieces what has been already erected at such enormous cost is criticised by everybody; however, if the Pope is pleased with it, we have nothing to say."

I do not think that greater praise has ever been bestowed on the "divine artist" than that which these disconsolate deputies unconsciously attribute to him. Any reader conversant with Baron Geymüller's "Les projets pour la Basilique de St. Pierre," with the set of engravings in Salamanca, — Lafreri's "Speculum Romanae magnificentiae," — with Martin Heemskerk's sketches, and other such documentary evidence, must be ready to acknowledge that, had the patchwork put together by Sangallo, Bramante, Fra Giocondo, Peruzzi, and Labacco been allowed to stand, St. Peter's would appear to us now under a worse garb than Æsop's crow. Michelangelo had already conceived the glorious outline of the cupola which was to be raised to double the height of the dome of the Pantheon; he could already see the gilt angel with outspread wings soaring in the pure Roman sky above the globe which now supports the cross; and as Bramante's pilasters were obviously inadequate to stand the weight, he destroyed whatever obstacle barred his way, to the great mortification of the Fabbricieri, who could think only of the financial side of the case; and when Cardinal Cervini, the future Pope Marcel II, once attempted to remonstrate, the man of iron gave this answer: "I am not, and will not be, obliged to tell either you or any of the deputies what I expect to do. Your only business is to collect and administer the funds, and see that they are not



SAINT PETER'S

As it would have appeared if Michelangelo's plan of a Greek cross had not been altered by Carlo Maderno into that of a Latin cross

squandered or stolen; as regards plans and designs, leave that care to me."

It seems that the overseers of the building were not above accepting bribes from the various contractors, and that they would occasionally shut their eyes just when their fullest vigilance was required. On one of these occasions Michelangelo wrote them the following letter: —

"To the overseers of the Fabbrica di San Pietro. You know very well I told Balduccio not to send the supply of lime [cement] unless of the first quality. The fact that he has sent a very inferior article and that you have accepted it makes me suspect that you must have come to an understanding with him. Those who accept supplies which I have refused connive with and make friends of my enemies. All these pourboires and presents and inducements corrupt the true sense of justice. I beg of you, therefore, in the name of the authority with which I have been invested by the Pope, not to accept henceforth any building materials that are not perfect, even if they come from heaven" (se ben la venissi dal cielo).

There is no doubt that such stern inflexibility of character, united with the consciousness of his own artistic value and with an undisguised disgust at the intrigues and corruption of the people by whom he was officially surrounded, must have embittered the feelings of many, and actually put his life in danger. Those were times when every artist carried, as it were, his life at the point of his sword, which he must be ready to unsheathe at the least suspicion of offence; for this reason there is more to learn about artists, their work, and their career, in the reports of the criminal courts, than in any other set of contemporary documents.

To illustrate this point, so characteristic of artist life in Rome in the sixteenth century, I translate from the original

minutes of the Notaro dei Malefizii the following particulars concerning the murder of one of Michelangelo's friends and fellow workers, Bartolomeo Baronino.

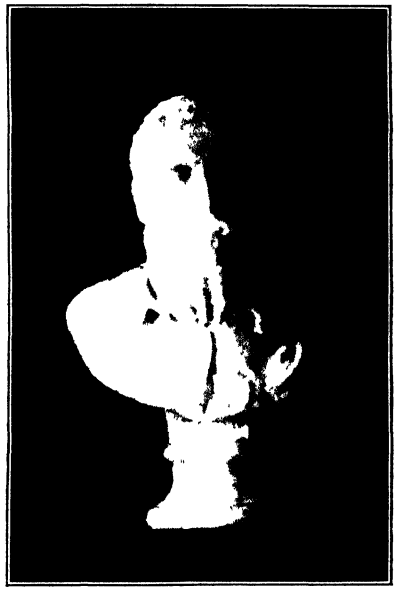
Born at Casal Monferrato, Baronino had come to Rome quite young, in search of fame and fortune; and fortune must have been ready to smile upon him, as we find him Sotto-maestro delle Strade at twenty-five years of age, general contractor for the paving of the streets at thirty-one, a protégé of Paul III at thirty-three, his adviser in the famous meeting of Busseto in 1543, when he received from the Emperor Charles V himself the insignia of count palatine, and assistant to Michelangelo in the works of the Farnese palace in 1549.

After the death of Paul III, Julius III entrusted Baronino with the superintendence of the building of the Villa Giulia, in which Michelangelo himself, Bartolomeo Ammannati, Giorgio Vasari, and Giacomo Barrozzi da Vignola also took a leading share.

The fate that befell Baronino towards sunset on the 4th day of September, 1554, is best told by an eye-witness, Genesio Bersano, from Piacenza, in the evidence given at the inquest held at the deathbed of the victim.

"This afternoon, an hour before sunset, Baronino and I, having taken supper in the hostelry adjoining his vineyard, came to the fountain at the corner of the Via Flaminia, where we were joined by Riccio, the head gardener, and other workmen. On parting company, past the church of San Giacomo degli Incurabili, and just while we were rounding the corner of the house of the Provveditori di Castello, I heard footsteps behind us, as if some one was making haste to overtake us. There were two men; the taller of the two caught Baronino by the right arm and struck him with a poniard on the left side. I ran to the

assistance of my friend, crying, 'You traitor!' but at that moment the accomplice caused me to trip and fall headlong on the pavement, while the wounded man was seeking shelter in the house opposite, the door of which happened to stand ajar. The murderers ran away in the direction of the Piazza dell' Ortaccio [now called di Monte d' Oro]. We had seen both of them while eating in the hostelry by the Villa Giulia; in fact I remember that on leaving the place Baronino wished them a good appetite, a greeting which I believe they left unanswered. Yes, I could easily recognize the murderer from his black beard and heavy brows, but not his accomplice."



The bust of Bartolomeo Baronino in the Palazzo de' Conservatori

The officer tried to question the dying man at once, but he received no answer. The second attempt, on the following morning, was more successful. Baronino said that he had certainly recognized in both his murderers the men he had greeted in leaving the hostelry; both, however, were unknown to him. "I am not aware," he said, "of any enemy or rival, but I cannot help suspecting Giovanni Antonio, the antiquarian, who has been haunting the Villa Giulia of late, in the hope of selling some of his marbles to his Holiness. I know him to be a bad man, and badly prejudiced against me, as if I had been influencing the Pope not to listen to his proposals."

Giovanni Antonio Stampa, the suspected antiquarian, was subjected to the torture, without eliciting from him any acknowledgment of guilt. Suspicion fell also on Giacomo Barrozzi da Vignola; but if the police of Julius III did not succeed in bringing the crime home to any one at the time it was committed, it would be useless for us to investigate the matter further, after such a lapse of time. Baronino's bust has been placed among those of eminent Italians in the Protomotheca of the Capitol.

In describing Michelangelo's transformation of the central hall of the baths of Diocletian into the church of the Madonna degli Angeli, Vasari says that the great master did not disdain occasionally to undertake works of minor importance, such as now fall into the domain of industrial art. He furnished, in fact, the design for the ciborium of the Blessed Sacrament in the same church, cast in metal by Giacomo del Duca and inlaid with precious stones by Giovanni Bernardi da Castel Bolognese. This beautiful object, known by the name of "Ciborio Farnesiano," because it was designed and cast at the expense of Cardinal Alessandro, is now exhibited in the Museo Nazionale at Naples, but without the intaglios and the small columns of lapis lazuli, stolen, I believe, at the time of the first French invasion. Vasari could have mentioned other productions of the goldsmith's art, made from the designs of Michelangelo. Such was the dinner service described in a despatch (July 4, 1537) of Girolamo Staccoli to the duke of Urbino, whose interests he represented in Rome. The original sketch of the central piece, showing an oval vase with masks and festoons round the body, and a figure in full relief on the cover, found its way into the Fountaine collection, and later (1884) into that of Sir J. C. Robinson. We do not know whether this beautiful service is still in existence, or whether it disap-



THE FALL OF PHAETHON INTO THE RIVER ERIDANUS

From a cartoon by Michelangelo, engraved by Béatrizet

peared in the crucible of an eighteenth century goldsmith. If it still exists, we ought to find traces of it in the "guardaroba" of the ex-grand dukes of Tuscany, on account of the marriage to the grand duke Francis II of Vittoria, daughter of Francesco Maria II, the sole heiress and the last representative of the house of Urbino.

Documents lately discovered in the archives of the Vatican throw light on another peculiarity of Michelangelo's character. Whenever the apostolic treasury was laboring under difficulties and could not meet its obligations in ready money, the artist was always willing to accept any transaction that would satisfy the Pope without endangering his own interests. When he undertook, for instance, the painting of the "Last Judgment" in the Sixtine chapel, Clement VII promised him a remuneration of twelve hundred scudi a year during his lifetime. I do not know whether the negligence of the treasury in meeting this engagement had the effect of disheartening the artist; the fact is that at the death of Clement VII in 1534 the "Last Judgment" was not begun. Paul III, however, won back the good will of Michelangelo, and by renewing the promise of the twelve hundred a year settled the financial side of the question. The promise is expressed in a letter addressed by the pontiff on September 1, 1535, "dilecto filio Michelangelo de Bonarotis patritio Florentino," in which he says that half of the yearly allowance, viz., six hundred scudi, would be paid in cash; for the other half he was given a life interest in the revenue of the ferry of the river Po between Piacenza and Codogno. Who would ever have thought of Michelangelo owning a ferryboat on the mighty river of the North! I wonder if this unexpected connection with the old Eridanus gave him the inspirations for the powerful composition of the "Fall of Phaethon" into that stream, of

which there are three editions, — the first by Lafreri, the second by Béatrizet, the third by Losi.

The Giudizio was finished in 1541. The public was allowed to behold this striking production of a master genius on Christmas Day of that year. The question to be asked is this: Must we consider the "Last Judgment" as an absolutely original artistic conception, or as a repetition of a subject which had already been treated by older artists, and of which Michelangelo had seen and studied more than one specimen? There is no doubt that at least one great and beautiful Judgment was known to him, — the one painted by Pietro Cavallini in the church of Santa Cecilia in Trastevere, the rediscovery of which in the spring of 1900 created such a sensation in the world of art. The fresco had remained concealed behind the stalls of the choir since 1530, when Pope Clement VII granted the adjoining convent (formerly of the Benedictines) to the nuns of Santa Maria di Campo Marzio. In removing the central part of the stalls, a group was first discovered representing the Redeemer within a halo of angels and cherubim, with the Virgin Mary on the right, the Precursor on the left, each followed by six apostles. The subsequent exploration of the wall below the line of the apostles left no doubt that the subject of the composition was a "Giudizio Universale" in the fullest meaning of the words. Under the feet of the Redeemer there is an altar with a cross and the instruments of the passion, guarded by four angels sounding the silver trumpets. On the right of the altar are the hosts of the blessed, led to heaven by the holy deacons Lawrence and Stephen. The blessed are marshalled into three groups, — men, women, and ecclesiastics, — each in turn led by one of the cherubim. On the opposite side of the altar are three archangels pushing the condemned into the fire of hell.

This vast composition was at once recognized as the work of a great master of the end of the thirteenth century, born and educated in Rome, where even in the darkest period of the middle ages feelings of pure classic art were kept alive by existing specimens of Greek or Greco-Roman workmanship, in spite of the pernicious Byzantine influence



Detail of the Giudizio of Pietro Cavallini in Santa Cecilia

which had invaded the east coast and the south of the peninsula. The apostles and angels of Santa Cecilia were manifestly outlined and sketched from works of statuary and from bas-reliefs of the Golden Age, in which Rome was still rich in those days.

The Santa Cecilia "Judgment" must be classed chronologically the third among the great "Giudizii" of mediæval

Italy, being later than those of Sant' Angelo in Formis and Torcello, which date respectively from the eleventh and the twelfth centuries. Its authorship is unquestioned; it is the work of Pietro Cavallini, called by Lorenzo Ghiberti "Nobilissimo maestro (il quale) dipinse tutta di sua mano Santa Cecilia in Trastevere." Although inspired in a certain measure by the prototypes of Sant' Angelo in Formis and Torcello, Cavallini's Giudizio is quite new as regards the grouping of the angels, of the blessed and the condemned, and prepares us for the coming great scenes of Santa Maria Novella and of the Camposanto di Pisa. It is a great title to glory for Michelangelo to have made an absolutely new use of such an old subject, so that even the paternity of the conception has been attributed to him.

On February 21 of the year 1513 Pope Julius II came to the end of his life without having seen the realization of one of his most cherished projects, — the erection of a mausoleum under the dome of the new basilica of St. Peter's, the splendor of which was to surpass that of all past and present structures of the same kind. To that effect he had given full powers and unlimited means to Michelangelo. In fact, if we are to believe the words of Vasari and Condivi, the rebuilding of St. Peter's had been undertaken and urged forward by Julius II mostly in order to provide his future mausoleum with suitable surroundings. And so great was his anxiety to have his wish fulfilled that even on his deathbed he made the Cardinals Antonio Pucci and Pietro Grossi della Rovere promise that they would not rest in their efforts until the work was completed. Only one of the four sides of the structure was ready at that time; the others were never begun, in spite of the willingness of Michelangelo to keep his promise. And so the mortal remains of Julius II began their curious wanderings from

end to end of the basilica. They were first laid down in the Cappella di Sisto IV, the site of which corresponds to that of the present Cappella del Coro. Here the body was discovered and profaned by the lansquenets of Charles V on May 7, 1527, and robbed of the pontifical ornaments and jewels, so that when the grave was opened by order of Paul V on February 10, 1610, the bones were found collected in a heap, with shreds of the robe and of the hood. The remains, transferred to a wooden coffin, were buried again near the bronze grave of Sixtus IV. Fifteen years later Urban VIII again disturbed the rest of the two kinsmen Della Rovere by ordering the removal of their tombs to the Cappella del Sacramento. It was on this occasion that the two exquisite candelabra modelled by Antonio Pollajuolo, and which stood at the opposite ends of the bronze grave, were taken possession of by the chapter, gilded, and set up on their present clumsy pedestals. No epitaph recorded the name of Julius II in this new recess until 1780, when the present small and almost unreadable inscription was set in the pavement at the expense of an obscure sacristan of the church.

The side of the mausoleum which Michelangelo had completed was set up in the right transept of the church of San Pietro in Vincoli, a church which had been saved from destruction and restored to its present state by the Della Rovere family.

What is Michelangelo's individual share in this much debated work of art? If we exclude the Prophets, the Sibyls, and the Virgin Mary, the work of Raffaelle da Montelupo, the recumbent figure of the Pope attributed to Maso del Bosco, the Leah and the Rachel attributed to Scherano da Settignano, there is nothing left for Michelangelo himself but the Moses and the general outline of the tomb. Both

have been subjected to severe criticism. Milizia calls the Moses a poor imitation of the Torso di Belvedere, a figure in a senseless attitude, with a satyresque head and a style of dress only befitting a baker's boy. The verdict of public opinion is that the architecture and general scheme of the monument are not up to Michelangelo's fame, while the Moses, the work of his own chisel, and the other statues and ornaments sculptured by Raffaele, Maso, and Scherano under his supervision, may be safely classed among the best works of the period. According to the original design the tomb was to have been decorated with forty statues, and about as many reliefs, in bronze. Some of these accessories still exist, among them the figure of Victory crushing a slave under her feet, now in the council chamber of the Palazzo Vecchio at Florence, and the two other figures of slaves, offered by Michelangelo to Roberto Strozzi, in token of gratitude for the care he had received at his hands during a severe illness. Jacques Androuet du Cerceau saw them, about the year 1579, in the château of Ecouen, then the property of the Connétable de Montmorency, a friend and client of the Strozzi. In 1625 they had been removed to the castle of Cardinal Richelieu, in the province of Poitou, and thence the hero of Fontenoy (1745), Marshal Richelieu, transferred them to his palace in the Faubourg du Roule, Paris. Francesco Cancellieri saw them in 1823 in the shed of a marble-cutter near the Louvre, having been sold at auction in 1793. They are now exhibited in one of the rooms of the Renaissance department of the Louvre.

Three "bozzetti," or models, of the Moses, all considered original, have been described, — one in the Potocki Museum at Warsaw, purchased in France, where all the models and sketches bequeathed by Michelangelo to Antonio Minio are known to have been taken; another, also in terra-cotta, in

the public library at Ferrara, to which it was presented by Cardinal Riminaldi in 1779. Vasari mentions a third, modelled in wax, presented by Pierino da Vinci to Luca Martini, the only representation of which is to be found, I believe, in a rare copperplate by Béatrizet.

The last and least known incident in the story of the Moses is its temporary removal from its seat, for the sake of obtaining a plaster cast, which took place in 1816, at the request of the prince regent of England. The pontifical government, then under heavy obligation to the allied powers for the restoration of 1815, could not refuse the permission, and the Moses was brought forward about sixteen inches and raised on a higher plinth. The statue seemed to have gained so much in artistic effect by the change, that a meeting of the Accademia di San Luca was summoned to discuss the problem. The academicians agreed in their verdict (June 26, 1816) that the statue should be kept in its new place, especially as this was found to agree to perfection with the original sketch by Michelangelo, then in possession of one of their number, the painter Wicar from Lille.

Vasari says that the Jews of his day used to crowd around the figure of their leader every Saturday, and gaze at his powerful countenance, and place themselves again under his protection. These weekly assemblies were discontinued at the time of the persecution of Pius V. The Jews are once more free to-day to pay their homage to the prophet, but they seem to have lost all interest in the custom.

Much has been said about Francesco Amatore da Castel Durante, surnamed Urbino, the faithful servant who for the space of twenty-seven years had not given Michelangelo cause for a single complaint, and of whom his master wrote to Vasari: "Messer Giorgio, my dear friend, it is hard for

me to write; however, I must give you a line in answer to yours. You know Urbino died;[1] it is a mark of God's great goodness, and yet a bitter grief to me. I say a mark of God's goodness because Urbino, after having been the stay of my life, has taught me not only how to meet death without regret, but even to long for it. For twenty-six years I have had him with me, and have always found him perfect and faithful. I had made him a rich man, and looked upon him as the staff and prop of my old age, and he has gone from me! . . . He had no desire to live, but was only distressed at the thought of leaving me, laden with misfortunes, in the midst of this false and evil world!" Urbino's wife was Cornelia Colonelli; they had a boy to whom Michelangelo stood godfather, and of whom he writes to the widow: "It would not be advisable to send my godson here, because I have no womankind about me, nor a suitable establishment. The child is too young and delicate yet, and some accident might happen to him, which would distress me very much."

I feel that such sentiments, expressed in letters which were strictly intimate, and never intended to be made public, are a great testimonial to Michelangelo's delicacy and tenderness of soul.

Urbino was once the hero of an adventure, of which Flaminio Vacca, the artist, gives the following version: At the time of Paul IV (1555–59) the head keeper in charge of the vineyard of Orazio Muti, which occupied part of the valley between the Quirinal and the Viminal, through which the Via Nazionale now runs, found a great treasure of gems and coins and gold. No particulars are given about the age and quality of the find, and therefore we do not know whether it had been buried there at the time of the

[1] December 3, 1555.

barbarian invasions or in the more recent sack of 1527. Orazio Muti happened to visit his vineyard that morning, and finding no traces of the gardener, suspected something was wrong, and the suspicion became certainty when he saw a hole around the edge of which were scattered fragments of vases of metal and a few gold coins. Warning was sent at once to the police, and also to all bankers and money-changers in the city, to be on the lookout for the absconder. Now it happened that on the same morning Michelangelo had sent Urbino to exchange a number of gold pieces of a kind which were no longer in use. The banker to whom they were offered had Urbino arrested at once, and on his declaration that they had been given him by his master, Michelangelo also was put in prison, and questioned by the magistrate.

"What is your name?" was the first question.

"I have been told my name is Michelangelo Buonarroti."

"Where are you from?"

"I have also been told I was born in Florence."

"Do you happen to know a Messer Orazio Muti?"

"How can I have speech with a dumb man [muto]?"

At this point several cardinals sent warning to the magistrate not to make a ridiculous blunder; but although the artist was set at liberty at once, poor Urbino had to stay in jail for several days. The real thief was traced to Venice; but when Orazio Muti brought his complaint before the Serenissima, the latter had already bought the treasure and given the man the freedom of the republic and a substantial remuneration.

Michelangelo spent the last years of his life in the house Via de' Fornari, n. 212, in which he died on February 18 of the year 1564. The house was demolished in 1902; but the loss is not great, because there was nothing left of the origi-

nal structure, it having been modernized from eaves to roof by Prince Alessandro Torlonia, long before its former ownership had been established beyond doubt by Benvenuto



Michelangelo's best known portrait, from an engraving by Antonio Lafreri

Gasparoni in 1866. I say beyond doubt, because its site is indicated in an official deed of June 12, 1555, concerning the cutting of the same Via de' Fornari through the block of gardens and houses which at that time separated the forum

of Trajan from the Piazza de' SS. Apostoli. The "Casa del magnifico Michelangelo Buonarroti" is described by that document as adjoining the church of Santa Maria di Loreto on one side, and the Palazzo Zambeccari-Bonelli on the other, both of which landmarks are still standing.

On Saturday, February 19, 1564, the day after the death of the master, the house was entered by the fiscal deputy, Angelantonio de Amatis, bent on the sad mission of making the inventory of Michelangelo's belongings, in the interest of his nephew and heir, Leonardo, who had been warned of the fatal turn of his uncle's illness too late, and was still on his way from Florence to Rome. Let us follow in the footsteps of the magistrate together with Michelangelo's friends, Tommaso de' Cavalieri, Daniele Ricciarelli da Volterra, Jacopo del Duca, and Diomede Leoni da Siena, whose acquaintance we have already made or shall soon make. We enter the room from which the body has just been removed to the parish church of the Santi Apostoli, and we note the following details, telling a great and noble tale of frugality, and modesty, and simplicity.

The bed in which the mighty spirit "Domini Michaelis Angeli Bonarote florentini, sculptoris excellentissimi" had parted a few hours before from the mortal body, had an iron frame, one mattress stuffed with straw, three mattresses stuffed with wool, two woollen covers, and one of kid-skins. At the top of the couch there was a canopy of white linen, held by a wooden rod.

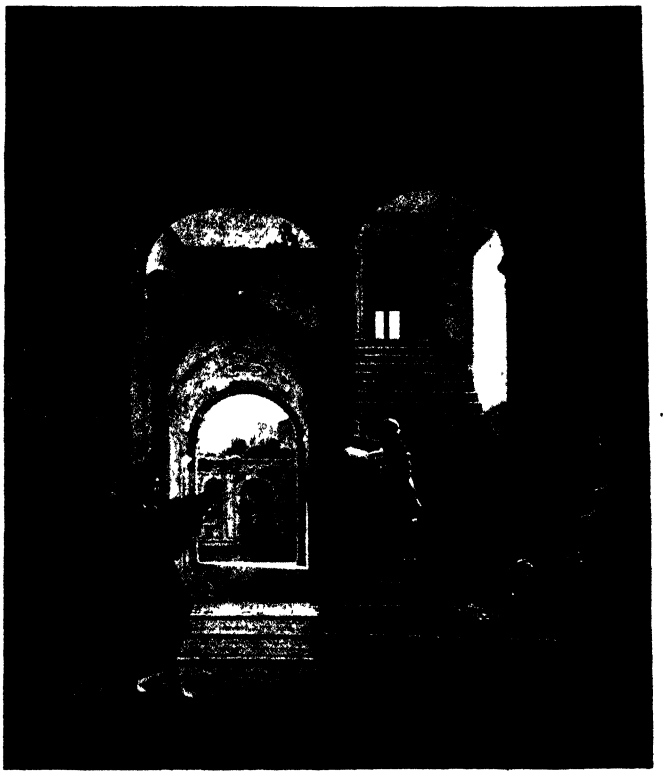
On the right of the bed stood a wardrobe containing his clothing and part of his underwear and household linen. There were two overcoats, one gray, one reddish brown, lined with fox-fur; a cape of the finest black Florentine cloth, lined with satin; a satin blouse (camisciuola), with

red silk ribbons; two hats of black "ermisino;" and other articles, the description of which I find almost impossible to render from the conventional phraseology of the inventory. The linen and underwear comprised eight bed-sheets, eight tablecloths, nineteen shirts which had been worn, five new ones, two flannel shirts, fifteen handkerchiefs, and eight towels.

The description of the next room, formerly occupied by the faithful Urbino and latterly by Antonio del Francioso da Castel Durante, contained nothing characteristic. In the cellar no wine was found, but a small cask of vinegar and five jars of water, probably from the Trevi fountain, the only drinkable water at that time. Michelangelo's mount, which was found tied to the manger in the stable, is described as a "ronzinetto piccolo di pelo castagnaccio," a small chestnut pony. The last three paragraphs of the inventory refer to the marbles, the cartoons, and the money. There were in the studio three unfinished pieces of statuary, a St. Peter and a Christ, both larger than life, and a smaller Christ carrying the cross; the first cartoon, made of various sheets pasted together, showed the plan of St. Peter's in the shape of a Greek cross; the second, the plan of the same church by Antonio da Sangallo; the third, fourth, and fifth, sketches of windows and other architectural details. The last is described as a "great cartoon on which are sketched the figures of our Lord Jesus Christ and of the glorious Virgin Mary his mother," and was claimed by Tommaso de' Cavalieri as a present made to him by Michelangelo long before his death.

In the strong-box of polished walnut, besides a file of private papers, there were 8190 gold ducats and about two hundred scudi, mostly tied up in handkerchiefs and small bags, or else placed inside jugs of copper or majolica.

Pending the arrival of Leonardo, the money and the cartoons were deposited in the safes of the banking house of Roberto Ubaldini & Company. Leonardo received his share



View of the vestibule of Michelangelo's house at the foot of the Capitol

on the 27th of February, and Tommaso de' Cavalieri his cartoon on the 7th of the following month.

The house in which the master had lived in retirement for so many years with no one to cheer his long vigils, the house which ought to have been transformed into a shrine sacred to the memory of the greatest genius that Italy has

ever produced, was sold by the heir to Martino Longhi, the architect, on December 14, 1584. It could not have fallen into more evil hands. Martino himself was not a bad man, but his eldest son, Onorio, can be safely proclaimed one of the worst scoundrels of the age. The police archives of the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century contain the records of at least twenty-five street brawls in which Onorio took a leading part, striking defenceless women and boys, throwing blame on innocent people, and perjuring himself before the magistrate with astounding effrontery. In 1611 I find another Longhi in possession of the historical house, Stefano the sculptor, whose name is associated with the tomb of Paul V, the Borghese chapel in Santa Maria Maggiore, the Cappella Clementina in St. John the Lateran, the monument of Cardinal Cusano in the church of Santa Maria in Vallicella, and other works of the time. In a sworn declaration made on May 28, 1611, apropos of another escapade of his disreputable kinsman, Onorio, he declares himself to be the "owner of the houses formerly belonging to Michelangelo Buonarroti, located in the Rione di Trevi, next door to the one inhabited by Onorio himself."

With the destruction of the block in which these houses once stood, accomplished, as I have stated above, in the spring of 1902, the last trace of Michelangelo's residence in Rome has disappeared. In 1872 the same fate befell his other house, located at the foot of the Capitol at the first turn of the Salita delle Tre Pile.

The vaulted halls of the temple of Hercules at Tivoli (the so-called villa of Mæcenas of old guide-books), which he and Daniele da Volterra used for a studio when heat or plague or malaria made life impossible in Rome, have been turned into an iron foundry. Of the four giant cypresses in

the Chiostro della Certosa, planted, according to tradition, by his own hand in 1563, only one is left standing, the others having been thrown down by a tornado in 1886. The outline of the dome of St. Peter's, drawn on the marble floor of the nave of St. Paul's, was obliterated in the memorable fire of July, 1826. His very body was stolen away from the provisional tomb in the church of SS. Apostoli (where it had been laid to rest pending the erection of a great mausoleum in St. Peter's), enclosed in a bale of wool and taken out of the city by stealth!

Roman guide-books describe a cenotaph erected to Michelangelo's memory in the cloisters of SS. Apostoli, having upon it the recumbent figure of a bearded old man. This curious identification was suggested for the first time in 1823 by Filippo de Romanis. Nicola Ratti, however, has proved to our satisfaction that the monument pertains to Filippo Eustachio da Macerata, a distinguished physician, whose likeness to Michelangelo is indeed striking.

The only reminiscence of his personality to be found among us is the wonderful bust in the Conservatori palace, a bronze head upon a bust of bigio morato, which tradition ascribes to Michelangelo's own hand. The tradition is unfounded. Guglielmo della Porta likewise may be left out of the question, on account of the following passage in Vasari's "Life" (p. 260, ed. Lemonnier): "Of Michelangelo we have no other portrait but two in painting, one by the hand of Bugiardini, and the other by Jacopo del Conte, with one of bronze in full relief by Daniele Ricciarelli." Neither of the painted portraits recorded by Vasari is now known to exist, but the Capitoline head is beyond doubt the one modelled by Daniele da Volterra. It is a fine bold work, full of character, and stamped with every mark of originality. It represents the great man considerably past

middle age, with the fracture of his nose — which he suffered from Torregiano in his youth — distinctly marked. The bust was presented to the museum of the Capitol about the end of the eighteenth century by a Roman antiquary



Bust of Michelangelo, by Daniele da Volterra

and dealer, Antonio Borioni. Several replicas of it are known to exist, all cast in bronze towards the end of the sixteenth century. Such is the one offered to the University of Oxford by Mr. W. Woodburn; a second now in the Bargello, Florence, wrongly attributed to Giovanni

Bologna; and a third exhibited by Mr. Bendeley at the Musée Retrospectif in 1865, and described in vol. xix of the "Gazette des Beaux Arts," pp. 330, 331.

Vasari tells us in the "Life" (p. 260, ed. Lemonnier): "About that time [1562] the Cavaliere Leone made the portrait of Michelangelo in a medal, very lifelike, on the reverse of which, and to humor him, he represented a blind



Michelangelo's portrait, modelled in wax, by Leone Aretino

man led by a dog, with these words around: DOCEBO INIQVOS VIAS TVAS ET IMPII AD TE CONVERTENTVR [which is the fourteenth verse of the Miserere]; and because this pleased Michelangelo greatly, he gave Leone a model in wax by his own hand of Hercules crushing Antæus, and some of his drawings."

Of this medallion by Leone Leoni d' Arezzo there is a fine example in silver, seemingly of the original period, and

if so unique, in the South Kensington Museum. The bronze specimens are less rare.

I have mentioned this small but interesting portrait because in 1881, while visiting my late friend Charles Drury-Fortnum at his villa at Stanmore, I was shown the original model from life, executed in 1562 by Leone. It is modelled in wax, of flesh color, in gentle relief, on a black oval piece of slate. The admirable and careful modelling of the features denotes the painstaking touch of a superior hand, and gives them a more lifelike expression than that conveyed by the medal. The artist's name, LEO, so conspicuous on the medal itself, is nowhere apparent on the wax; but on the back of the oval there is a label written by a sixteenth century hand containing the words, "Ritratto di Michelangiolo Buonaroti, fatto dal Naturale da Leone Aretino suo Amico."

CHAPTER V

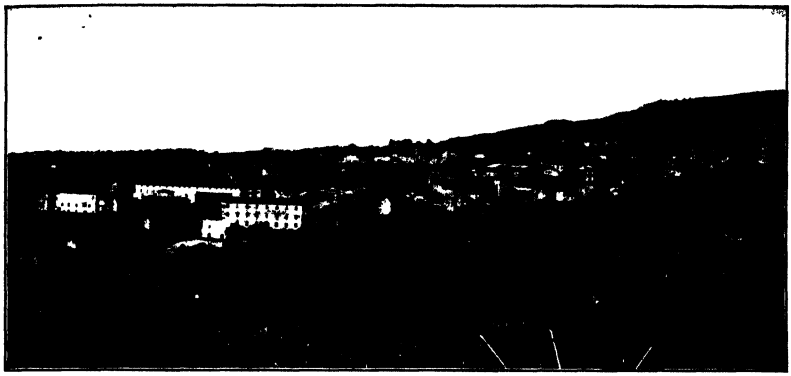
VITTORIA COLONNA

WHENEVER we consider the life of great men to whom a place of honor has been given in the history of humanity, we find that the psychological moment of their career coincides with their first meeting with a power almost equal to their own — with a kindred spirit capable of appreciating and discussing the higher problems of life and art. No words can describe their intense satisfaction at having found at last a being by whom they are understood, with whom they can converse without having to explain phrases or sentiments, the deficiency of speech being supplemented by the fulness of thought. There is no greater desire than that of meeting such a congenial mind, no greater happiness than having found it, no greater sorrow than to part from it. Hermann Grimm, speaking of this psychological moment in the life of Michelangelo, quotes the instances of the friendship between Goethe and Schiller and between Byron and Shelley, adding that no such equal-minded friend was granted to Dante, Shakespeare, or Beethoven; but to my mind the great men have found the long-sought-for happiness only when the ideal *woman* has stepped across their path. We cannot conceive the greatness of Dante without Beatrice, of Petrarch without Laura, of Raphael without Margherita, of Tasso without Eleonora, and for the same reason we cannot separate Michelangelo from the sweet and noble figure of Vittoria Colonna.

Born in 1490, the daughter of Prince Fabrizio — on

whom the dignity of Constable of Naples had just been conferred by Ferdinand the Catholic — and of Agnesina di Montefeltro, betrothed from childhood to Francis Ferdinand d'Avalos, marquess of Pescara, she married this young and gallant leader of armies at the age of seventeen. Tradition connects these early events of her life with the castle and township of Marino, where she is said to have spent her honeymoon. No more ideal place could have been chosen by the bride for her retreat after the nuptial ceremony than this picturesque stronghold, from which the Colonna family still derives its ducal title. Conversant as she was with the Latin and Greek languages, we can picture her taking solitary walks in the wooded glen, — still called the Parco dei Colonna, — watered by the Aqua Ferentina, where the various tribes of the Latin confederacy used to hold their assemblies in the early days of Rome. And in following the path by the brook towards its springs her thoughts may have wandered back to the tragic fate of Turnus Herdonius, the chieftain of Aricia, who was drowned at the "Caput aquae Ferentinae" by order of Tarquinius Superbus, and also to the great meeting of the confederates which preceded the battle of Lake Regillus. These springs are still rising in a clear volume at the base of a great mass of rock crowned with evergreens, and there are rustic and moss-grown seats around, which seem to invite the visitor to rest in solitude, and to recall the events of the past.

Vittoria, besides her knowledge of classic literature, wrote with equal grace in Italian prose and verse. Her poems were first printed at Parma in 1538, under the title of "Rhymes of the *divine* Vittoria Colonna," which title, however exaggerated, bears testimony to the great veneration in which she was held even in her lifetime by her countrymen. The poetical vein with which she was gifted was no less



View of the village of Marino, the birthplace of Vittoria Colonna

captivating to them than the grace of her person; because in those happy days of the first quarter of the sixteenth century no one could shine in society unless he was a follower of the muses. Every one indulged in rhymes: a pious cardinal like Bembo, a grave historian like Giovio, a spirited warrior like Julius II, an artist like Michelangelo. Vittoria wrote also a pamphlet on the "Passion of the Redeemer," printed at Bologna in 1557, which, owing to the search made for it by the dreaded Court of the Inquisition at the time of Paul IV, has now become a bibliographical curiosity.

The first parting between bride and groom was caused in 1511 by the outbreak of war on the part of the Holy Alliance, formed by the republic of Venice, Pope Julius II, and King Ferdinand the Catholic, to drive King Louis XII out of Italy. The beginning of the campaign was not favorable to the marquess of Pescara, he having fallen into the hands of the French leader, Gaston de Foix, at the battle of Ravenna (1512). A few years later, however, he took his revenge on the plains of Pavia, where the French were utterly defeated and their leader and king, Francis I, was made a prisoner of war. Alas! the news of such great

achievements did not bring joy to the heart of Vittoria. As Gaston de Foix had paid for the victory of Ravenna with his own life, so the victory of Pavia was destined to put an end to Pescara's career. The young hero lingered some time after the battle, under the tender nursing of his wife, but his wounds were of too serious a nature to be healed by human skill. He died at Milan on the night of December 2, 1525, in a palace near the church of San Nazaro, by the Porta Romana, which he had bought of Giangiacomo Trivulzio two years before the fatal battle. His will, written by the notary Caimi, an authentic copy of which is preserved in the Colonna archives at Rome, is a document of intense historical interest, which I believe has never been published. Pescara's body was transferred from Milan to Naples, and buried in the church of San Domenico Maggiore with stately ceremonies, as became the "generalissimo" of the armies of the Emperor Charles V.

After this cruel event, Vittoria, who had been left a widow in the prime of life, of beauty, and of personal attractions, vowed to keep herself faithful to the memory of the husband of whose help and love she had been so prematurely deprived. The sentiments which she cherished to the end of her life vindicate Pescara from the charges brought against him by several historians. He is accused of having plotted against Charles V, because the emperor had taken away from his keeping Francis I, his royal prisoner of war. He is accused, furthermore, of having betrayed to the emperor his fellow conspirators, and of having turned informer as soon as he discovered how little chance there was of carrying the conspiracy through. But if Pescara had really been a double traitor, the young widow would have behaved in a different way. We know that she led almost a monastic life, wandering from convent to convent, and

seeking comfort in seclusion. "It seems to me," she says in one of her plaintive sonnets, "that the sun has lost the brightness of its rays, that the stars are paling, the trees losing their mantle of verdure, the fields their flowers, the waters their purity, the breeze its freshness, since the one I loved has left me alone!" Such a manner of life, away from the daily intercourse of society, raised her religious feelings to a high strain, and prepared her to feel the influence of Juan Valdés, one of the most determined and least suspected promoters of reform in Italy, — so little suspected, in fact, that Pope Paul III had attached him to his own court. And yet the unfortunates who had listened to his exhortations, like Carnesecchi, were soon to be burned alive! Vittoria was introduced to Valdés by the duchess of Francavilla, and, like so many enlightened Italians of the period, she did not dream of doing wrong in listening to the denunciations of the reformer against the corruption of the Curia.

It may seem strange, but it is certainly a fact, that the Rome of Paul III was just as strong a centre of reforming tendencies as were Naples, Ferrara, Lucca, Bologna, and other such intellectual centres. One could have repeated with the poet, "Thy greatest enemy, O Rome, is at thy gates!" And yet these Italian advocates of the purification of the church were all zealous Catholics, and, far from considering themselves adversaries of the Holy See, they thought they were working for its final triumph. Their heresy, if I may use such a term, was altogether unconscious.

It was at this juncture that Vittoria met Michelangelo for the first time, and it seems that after such a long period of sorrow and solitude (1525–36) the pure and intellectual intercourse with the great man raised her spirits once more and made her life more cheerful. The following five

years, which she passed in Rome, mark the happiest period in the life of both.

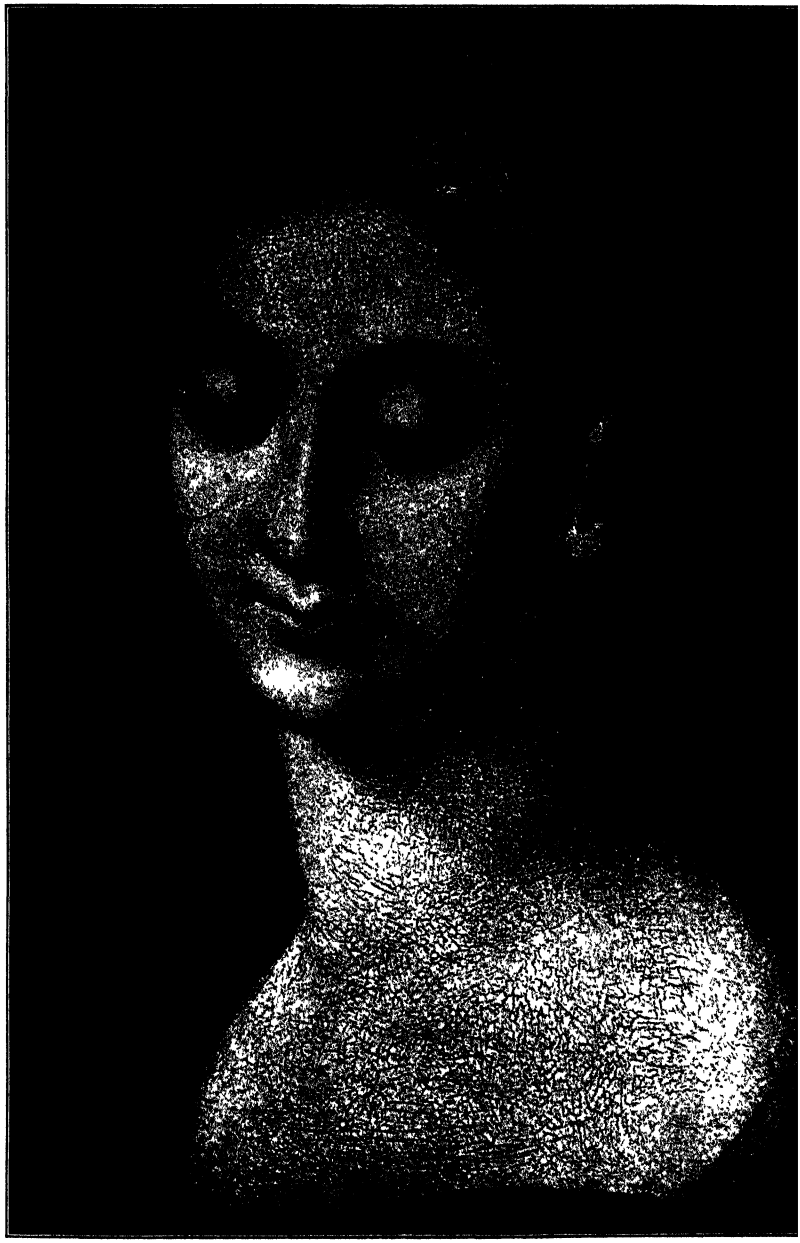
Few specimens remain of Vittoria's correspondence with Michelangelo. A letter written by her apropos of a sketch of a crucifix, which the master had submitted for her approval, begins with the graceful address, "Unico maestro Michelangelo et mio singularissimo amico" (Unique master and my most special friend), and ends with a request to be allowed to keep the design as a dear remembrance of their friendship.

At this period of her life Vittoria appears to us like a masterpiece of Greek statuary which, after the lapse of centuries, has found no equal. Little short of perfection, she must be considered as the typical representative of the great Italian lady of the sixteenth century, on account of her powerful intellect, sincere piety, unremitting spirit of charity, purity of mind and body, and lifelong devotion to the memory of her lost husband.

Trollope, Ferrero, Müller, Benrath, Grimm, Reumont, Corvisieri, Luzio, Rodocanachi, Amante, Fontana, and others have spoken so exhaustively of her connection with the work of reformation in general, and with the spreading of the doctrines of Juan Valdés in particular, that I could very well disregard this chapter of her life, were it not for the fact that the hasty burial of her body in the church of Sant' Anna de' Funari and its subsequent disappearance are distinctly connected with her alleged deviation from the Catholic faith.

Vittoria had already expressed her belief in the necessity of a reformation, in the sonnet beginning, —

> Veggo d' alga e di fango omai si carca
> Pietro, la nave tua, che se qualche onda
> Di fuor l' assale e intorno la circonda
> Potria spezzarsi e a rischio andar la barca.



THE PORTRAIT OF VITTORIA COLONNA BY PONTORMO
THE GALLERIA BUONARROTI IN FLORENCE

"I see thy ship, O Peter, so overladen with mire that she is in danger of sinking at the first attack of the waves!" Other allusions to the same subject have been collected by Trollope in "A Decade of Italian Women," vol. i, p. 352; but Vittoria had written many other poems in a Valdensian spirit, which are lost. When Pietro Carnesecchi was brought before the Inquisition, twenty years after the death of the marchesa, he distinctly stated that he had read them.

Q. "Have you heard, directly or indirectly, the Lady Marchesa di Pescara express doubtful or evil opinions concerning our faith?"

A. "It seems to me I have read in some of her sonnets that she believed in absolute predestination, but I am not so sure."

And again, in the cross-examination of February 19, 1567, Carnesecchi repeated that the doctrines with which the lady had been imbued by Bernardino Ochino, Alvise Priuli, and Marcantonio Flaminio had been more than once hinted at in her poems; but the fact is that these compositions, tainted with a heretic spirit, are not to be found in the printed editions.

Another point of interest in this period of her life is the battle she fought in favor of the reformed body of Franciscans known by the name of Capuchins. The Capuchins, instituted by Matteo da Boschi and Francesco da Cartocceto in 1525, had met with difficulties since the beginning of their conventual life; and it was only out of fear and respect for Caterina Cibo, duchess of Camerino, who had given them shelter, that the general of the Franciscans, Quiñonez, and the cardinal protector of the order, Pucci, abstained from having recourse to extreme measures.

The interest taken by Vittoria in the case of the Capuchins arose from three causes: from her intimacy with

the duchess of Camerino; from her belief that the austere spiritual life led by the members of the new order would be an object-lesson to the corrupted secular clergy; and lastly, from the fact of her being herself a disciple of Fra Bernardino Ochino of Siena, who had become general of the order in 1538, and had enlisted among the reformers. The correspondence of Vittoria contains many letters in favor of these humble followers of St. Francis, addressed to Cardinal Contareno, Ercole Conzaga, Agostino Trivulzio, and Eleonora della Rovere, duchess of Urbino. We read in one of them the following sentences: "The wicked men accuse our poor Capuchins of being Lutherans because they preach the freedom of the spirit; but if the Capuchins are Lutherans, then St. Francis himself must be considered a heretic. And again, if preaching the freedom of the spirit against the influence of evil must be considered a fallacy, then it is a fallacy to follow the gospel, in which we find the precept, *Spiritus est qui vivificat.*" There is no doubt that Vittoria, shocked by the corruption of the clergy and the general relaxation from ecclesiastical discipline which prevailed in central and southern Italy from the time of Leo X to that of Clement VII, advocated the reformation of the Catholic Church with all the fervor of a believer, and with the exquisite tact of the grand lady.

The letters exchanged with Marguerite de Valois, queen of Navarre, prove that community of ideas had brought about a great intimacy between the French reformer and the Roman poetess; not that Vittoria meant to go as far as Marguerite in her disregard of the Curia, — quite the contrary! Vittoria desired an amelioration in the moral condition of the Catholic world to be brought about by the church itself, not by those who defied its authority, or had enlisted among its enemies; at the same time she

displays in her correspondence a spirit of tolerance towards the dissenters that seems at least three centuries in advance of her age; and she was not alone in this. The most beautiful women of the century — Giulia Conzaga, duchess of Traetto, Costanza d' Avalos, duchess of Amalfi, and Isabella Manriquez, sister of the cardinal of that name — were no less ardent followers of Juan Valdés. Isabella was obliged to flee across the Alps to escape prison or the scaffold; but the persecution of the other ladies began, happily, only after their death, as we shall presently see.

The centre of this religious movement had been transferred from Naples to Viterbo, where one of the leaders, Cardinal Pole, resided as papal delegate from 1541 to 1545, and where Vittoria herself lived in the monastery of Santa Caterina in 1543 and 1544. Reginald Pole, son of Richard and of Margaret of Salisbury, niece of the two kings Edward IV and Richard III, had been obliged to leave England in haste to escape from the wrath of Henry VIII, whose behavior toward Anne Boleyn he had dared to condemn. Paul III made him a cardinal in 1536, and this extraordinary distinction conferred on the young prelate made King Henry so furious that he not only sent to the scaffold Pole's brother and mother (the latter seventy-one years old), but promised a reward of fifty thousand scudi to any one who would take the cardinal's life. Whether these particulars are absolutely correct or not, there is no doubt that he was the victim of several dastardly attempts — thrice at the hands of Italian, twice of English emissaries. Each of the Italians was pardoned in his turn by Pole; the Englishmen, however, were branded with hot iron and sent to prison.

The basic principle of the reformers congregated at Viterbo, in Cardinal Pole's residence, was the well-known

doctrine of "justification by faith," a doctrine which had been advocated in the conference of Ratisbon by the Catholic delegate Contareno, as well as by the Protestant leader Melanchthon. Prominent among the sympathizers with Juan Valdés in the meetings at Viterbo were Cardinal Morone, Giulia Conzaga, Alvise Priuli, Pietro Carnesecchi, Vermigli, Occhino, and Vittoria; and it was only the high social standing of the majority of these personages that prevented the Inquisition from taking immediate steps to suppress the movement.

The history of the attempted reform in Italy cannot be impartially and exhaustively written until we shall be allowed to consult the original documents preserved in the archives of the Sant' Uffizio, above all those connected with the ghastly periods of Paul IV and Pius V. These archives, however, are practically inaccessible. We know that Paul III drew from them the minutes of the trial of Cardinal Pole, at the request of King Philip II, and Paul IV those of the trial of Carnesecchi, at the request of Catherine de' Medici; but these must be considered as exceptions to the rule, the strictest jealousy being exercised in guarding the secret of the trials and executions of dissenters from the opinions of the Curia.

There are fortunately other sources of information, with which the works of Amabile, Corvisieri, Berti, Gaidoz, Benrath, Gherardi, Fontana, Manzoni, and De Blasiis have made us familiar; such are the fourteen volumes of trials of the Sant' Uffizio (a. 1564–1659), now in the library of Trinity College, Dublin; the state archives of Bologna, Mantua, Ferrara, Venice, and Naples; the archives of the Governatore di Roma, and the diplomatic reports of the ambassadors of the Serenissima.

How, when, and by whom the splendid set of volumes at

Trinity College was abstracted from the Palazzo dell' Inquisizione is still a matter of conjecture. Madden in his work on "Galileo and the Inquisition," printed at Dublin in 1863, asserts that it was smuggled away by a French officer of General Oudinot's army, after the capture of Rome in 1849, and taken to Paris, where it was purchased by the Duke of Manchester. The duke is said to have sold it to an Irish Protestant clergyman, the Rev. Dr. Gibbings, for the sum of five hundred pounds. He in his turn disposed of it to



The Loggia of the Pope's palace at Viterbo, where Cardinal Pole resided as legate from 1541 to 1545

a Dr. Wall, through whose bequest it ended its peregrinations in Trinity College. Silvestro Gherardi, minister of public instruction at the time of the republican government of 1848–49, says[1] that while the archives of the Inquisition were being removed, in April, 1849, from the

[1] *Il processo di Galileo*, in *Rivista Europea*, 1870, fasc. i, p. 4.

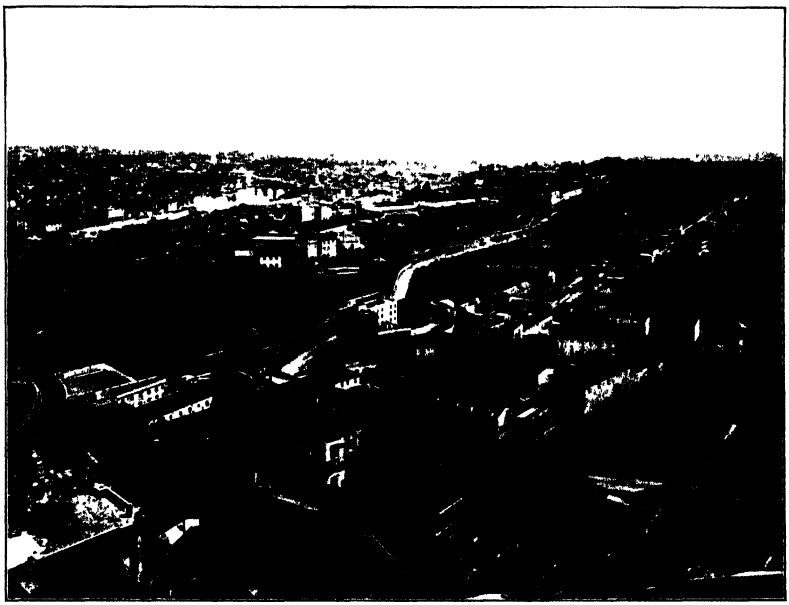
Sant' Uffizio palace to that of Sant' Apollinare, thefts of documents were undoubtedly committed, but none of such magnitude as to involve the loss of sixty-four large and weighty volumes.[1] The supposition that probably comes nearest the truth is that the theft was committed at the time of the first Napoleonic invasion.

Next in importance to the Dublin volumes comes a "summary of the processes of the Sant' Uffizio, instituted in the time of Paul III, Julius III, and Paul IV,"[2] compiled from the most secret original documents, for the use of Giulio Antonio Santorio, cardinal of Santaseverina and "consultor" to the Holy Inquisition. The cardinal's nephew and heir, Paolo Emilio, made a present of the "Compendium" to Father Antonio Caracciolo, a member of the order of the Teatins, the same order to which the terrible Paul IV had belonged before his election. It contains an alphabetical list of one hundred and twenty names of heretics, or persons alleged to be so, including many so illustrious and honorable and universally respected that it seems to have become a craze with the dreaded court to suspect even the noblest and holiest men of the period. The Sacred College, for instance, is represented in the persecution list by no less than thirteen members, Bembo, Badia, Contareno, Cortese, Di Fano, Fregoso, Pole, Simonetta, Sadoleto, Sacripante, Sfrondato, Madrucci, and Morone; the episcopate by eleven bishops and archbishops; the aristocracy by Ascanio Colonna, his sister Vittoria, the Duchess of Camerino, and Renata d' Este. We learn also from the "Compendium"

[1] The Trinity College set comprises fourteen volumes of religious trials in matters of faith; ten of bulls and briefs from the time of Boniface IX to that of Pius VI; and about forty concerning denunciations and trials in matters of witchcraft and crime in general.

[2] *Compendium processuum Sancti Officii Romae, qui fuerunt compilati sub Paulo III, Julio III, et Paulo IV.*

the fact that the famous book "Beneficio di Cristo verso i Cristiani" (the simple possession of which has brought many victims to the scaffold) was not written by Paleario, as commonly asserted, but by a Benedictine monk of San



A bird's-eye view of the palace and prisons of the Inquisition, taken from the top of the dome of St. Peter's

Severino named Don Benedetto, a disciple of Flaminio, who himself revised the proofs of the Modena edition.[1]

A careful study of the "Compendium" (published by Corvisieri in vol. iii of the "Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria") shows that the object its compiler had mostly in view was to lay before Cardinal Santorio the facts connected with the associates of Vittoria Colonna, because while the other heretics have only their names registered, with perhaps one or two references to the original minutes of the trial kept in the archives of Rome, every individual

[1] Printed by Antonio Gadaldino, at the instigation of Cardinal Morone.

who had been directly or even indirectly associated with the Marchesa di Pescara is considered worthy of much greater consideration. Evidently the deceased lady had become the nightmare, the incubus of the Inquisitors! Ascanio Colonna is accused of having yielded to the influence of his sister, assisted by Pole and Ochino; Fra Bernardo de' Bartoli of having been sent by the marchesa to Modena to spread the new doctrines from the pulpit; Cardinal Bembo of having been an assiduous visitor at her palace; Guido Giannetto, Girolamo Boni, Gianbattista Scoto, of the same familiarity with her; Isabella, a Spanish lady, of having been prompted by her to discard any belief in the intercession of saints; the nuns in whose convents she had found hospitality after the death of Pescara, to have become tainted with her fallacies; Vittore Soranzi, bishop of Bergamo, "Lutheranus maximus," to have corresponded with her by letter; and she, the purest and noblest of women, to have entertained for Cardinal Pole an affection which was not purely spiritual! The most dangerous witnesses seem to have been the ignorant, superstitious, easily influenced nuns of San Silvestro in Capite, among whom the accused had lived in 1525; those of San Paolo at Orvieto, where she had resided in 1531 and 1544; those of Santa Caterina at Viterbo, of whom I have spoken above; and, worst of all, the Santuccie nuns of Santa Maria in Julia, in whose company she spent the last days of her life.

How little those judges, who had the power of torturing the body of their victims, as well as of casting opprobrium on their memory, understood the religious revival, the spirit of purification of the church which pervaded the peninsula in the time of Paul III, and which was hailed with joy by so many illustrious cardinals, bishops, prelates, and by the intellectual portion of the aristocracy! The Inquisitors

believed their victims to be conspiring for the overthrow of the Catholic Church, while their only aim was its elevation above worldly and political influences. In dealing with these questions we must remember that the Italians who raised their voices against the Curia, before and during the



Cardinal Pole

Reformation, were, so to speak, more orthodox than the Curia itself, and that the reforms they demanded did not pertain to dogma or creed, but only to morals and discipline. The fact is, that in such matters it was difficult then, as it is now, to keep an even mind and to judge of men and events in an impartial spirit.

In the early part of the nineteenth century, for instance, it became the fashion in England to represent Dante as one of the precursors of the Reformation. Two Italian refugees, who were also men of great distinction in the literary world, Ugo Foscolo and Dante Gabriel Rossetti, encouraged this pretension, — Foscolo in his well-known articles in the "Edinburgh Review" of 1818, and Rossetti in a work entitled "On the Anti-Papal Spirit that produced the Reformation." Rossetti maintained that after the dispersion of the Albigenses, numerous sects were formed in Italy, notably the Pastorelli, the Flagellanti, and the Fraticelli, who prepared the way for Wycliffe, Huss, and Luther. Side by side with this was a literary secret society to which Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio belonged. Their object was to promote civil and religious liberty, of which Beatrice, Laura, and Fiammetta were the symbolic types. Their language was a jargon, the secret of which is lost. St. Catherine of Siena's exhortations to Pope Gregory XI have also been viewed in this light. Rossetti's statements about the secret sects in the middle ages are devoid of foundation, and as for the denunciations by Dante and St. Catherine of the mismanagement of the church, they by no means imply unsettled faith or revolutionary designs. "It is," writes Dean Church, "confusing the feelings of the middle ages with our own, to convert every fierce attack on the popes into an anticipation of Luther." "We protest," writes James Russell Lowell, "against the parochial criticism which would degrade Dante into a mere partisan, which sees in him a reformer in embryo, and would clap the *bonnet rouge*, the Phrygian cap of liberty, upon his heavenly muse." From the very first appearance of the "Divina Commedia" the church recognized that the attacks of Dante were the voice of a friend, and that it would have been an absurdity

to condemn a poem which was the most eloquent expression of its own essential ideas. And yet I doubt very much whether the Inquisitors of Pope Caraffa, in the heat of the persecution of the heretics, with eyes and reason blinded by the fierceness of the struggle, would not have found in the "Divina Commedia" enough evidence to have the poet convicted, and made to share the fate of other enemies of the church.

A reminiscence of these cruel times is to be found in the monument raised lately in the Piazza di Campo de' Fiori to the memory of Giordano Bruno. When, a few years ago, the anti-religious and anti-clerical societies determined to erect in Rome a memorial of what they called the moral downfall of the papacy, they selected as representative of their extremist views the figure of Bruno, who had been burned at the stake in the same market-place of Campo de' Fiori. The choice was not a happy one, and the absurdity of the plan will be manifest to any one who remembers the fact that the philosopher of Nola was as much of a believer as the most devout Catholic, and that he gave up his life not



The statue of Giordano Bruno in the Campo de' Fiori

for any question connected with the doctrines of the church, but for its moral purification.

I must now investigate another point of the controversy, with which Vittoria Colonna is personally connected; namely, the influence which Renée de France and Calvin may have exercised upon her and upon Italian reformers in general, from the ducal castle of Ferrara, in which they had established their headquarters.

There is an incident in the career of Calvin which has not yet been satisfactorily explained by his biographers, — his sudden flight from the field of battle in the autumn of 1535, just after the publication of the preface to his incendiary treatise, "The Institutes of the Christian Religion." What was his purpose in fleeing from France? Although rather shy by nature, as he acknowledges himself to be in the preface to the Psalms (natura timido ac pusillo animo me esse fateor), he did not habitually shirk responsibilities. Did he wish to await developments without exposing himself to undue risks? or did he feel the necessity of seeking a milder climate than that of Alsace to strengthen his failing health? I believe the true reason of his flight into Italy to be the one stated by Emmanuel Rodocanachi in his excellent volume on Renée de France. Calvin was planning to startle the world with a master stroke, — the creation of a Protestant state in the very heart of the peninsula, face to face with Rome. And he had reason to anticipate success in the state of Ferrara, ruled at that time by Duke Ercole II and his wife Renée, daughter of King Louis XII and Anne de Bretagne.

In her new residence the young duchess had surrounded herself with secretaries, almoners, poets, readers, of French extraction, all imbued with the reforming principles of the court of Navarre, the leading spirit of which, Mar-

guerite, was the best friend and the most faithful correspondent of Renée. Calvin, therefore, repaired to Ferrara, under the assumed name of Espeville, accompanied by Canon Dutillet, one of his ardent disciples. They were kindly received by Renée, and provided with money and the necessaries of life. Little or nothing, however, is known of their meetings, which generally took place at night and in the presence of very few witnesses; but from a passage in a letter written by the reformer two years later in which he says, "I have noticed in you a great fear of God and a faithful affection to the pure principles of the faith," there is no doubt that the duchess had made Calvin her spiritual adviser. A Franciscan monk, questioned by the Inquisition, testified to having assisted one night in Lent at a religious meeting in the rooms of the duchess, when a Frenchman unknown to him spoke words of fire against the authority of the Church and the supremacy of the Pope. Was this violent interlocutor Calvin himself or his official representative at the court of Ferrara, Clément Marot? Though we cannot answer this question, there is no doubt that the voice of Calvin was listened to with great complacency by the citizens of Ferrara. The partisans of the Reformation, or, to speak more exactly, the enemies of the See of Rome, were very numerous there, and a spirit of criticism, almost revolutionary, prevailed in the class-rooms of its university. The Ferrara professors were not strong on orthodoxy, and the doctrines of the German innovators found great credence among them,—so much so that a member of the faculty, named Manzolli, had offered to Duke Hercules II a book entitled "The Zodiac of Life," in which the monks were called brutes, the Pope an atheist, and Luther an avenger.

Considering this state of things, and considering also

that however devoted the lower classes were to the form and liturgy of their church, the religious movement in Germany had certainly attracted the attention of the intellectuals, we cannot wonder that Calvin should have believed it possible to establish at Ferrara, by a *coup de main*, the same government which in like manner he succeeded in establishing a few years later at Geneva. All these plans of Calvin fell to the ground on Good Friday, April 14, 1536, owing to the imprudence of one of his followers. On that day, while the parish priest of the church of St. Francesco was presenting the cross for the veneration of the faithful, a young man of twenty, named Zannetto, or Jeannet, attached to the court of Renée as a choir-boy, burst out with the most violent blasphemies. He was imprisoned the same night, and was denounced to the court of the Inquisition. This apparently unimportant event was the cause of the failure of Calvin's scheme at Ferrara. The French and the Venetian ambassadors took up the cause of the youth against the Spanish minister and the papal nuncio, and soon after all the cabinets of Europe were busying themselves with the fate of Zannetto, because he was considered to represent not an individual but a principle. I shall not tire the reader with the particulars of this diplomatic and religious controversy, in which Pope Paul III, Francis I, and other potentates took a prominent part. It ended in this way: On July 14 the principal actor in this drama of Ferrara, a man who had been imprisoned by the Inquisition as a leader of the movement, and whose name that dreaded court kept secret, escaped from his cell and was never arrested again. Who was this leader? If certain insinuations of the process are to be believed, the escaped prisoner was Canon Bouchefort, the *alter ego* of Calvin; but we know better from a passage of Muratori, overlooked by the historians of the Reforma-

tion. Muratori says that the prisoner was Calvin himself, and that he was set free by a party of horsemen engaged by the French ambassador and the Duchess Renée, while he was being transferred from one jail to another. Such was the end of the dream of Calvin so far as Ferrara and Italy were concerned.

It was at this anxious moment and under the pressure of these burdens that Renée sought help and comfort in Vittoria Colonna, who spent about ten months at the court of the Este, in a Calvinistic entourage. Vittoria's intimacy with the duchess is proved by the fact of her having been chosen as a godmother to the first-born child of the ducal couple, the famous Eleonora d' Este, the inspirer and the evil genius of Tasso.

If we ask why the Reformation, which found so many illustrious supporters, ended in absolute failure so far as Italy is concerned, the answer can easily be given. Reformation, as I said above, was a luxury for the nobility, the higher clergy, and the intellectuals. The lower classes, forming the overwhelming majority of the population, uneducated and illiterate as they were, saw in the innovators the enemies of their country, of their parish priests, of the Pope himself; and besides, they were profoundly attached to the external form of their faith, so appealing to southern imaginations. Theological controversies on abstruse points left the average Italians absolutely unconcerned: either they followed the worship of their forefathers or they followed nothing. Moreover, the Italians have never taken up such disputes in the gloomy and tragic manner of other nations, beyond the Alps; no religious war of any importance has ever been fought in their country; and even the Inquisition, however eager to show its zeal under the eyes of the Pontiff, found fewer victims in the States of the

Church than in other Catholic countries. When an Italian came back to his native city from his pilgrimage *ad limina* his purse may have been empty and his health out of order but his faith had not been shaken like Luther's. This marked indifference among the lower, and this thirst for reformation among the upper classes, led to this remarkable result, that Italy is a land which has produced more heresiarchs and fewer heresies.

I have been obliged to enter into these details because without them it would have been impossible for my readers to understand the mystery of the hasty burial and subsequent disappearance of Vittoria's body. The lady felt the first symptoms of the fatal malady in January, 1547, while an inmate of the Convent of Sant' Anna de Funari, which then stood surrounded by the remains of the "Porticus Pompeianae" (the gardens and colonnades attached to the theatre of Pompey the Great). She had entered this last station in her monastic pilgrimage in January, 1545, and from this date onwards all her legal acts are signed "actum Romae in ecclesia Sanctae Annae in Regione Arenulae." As the illness grew more alarming, and fears of a fatal issue arose, Vittoria was removed to the palace of the Cesarini, her nearest kinsmen.[1] This palace still exists, although thoroughly modernized, and faces the Teatro Argentina on one side and the Piazza Strozzi on the other. Here she dictated and signed her will, containing among others the following clause: "I desire that soon after my death, the abbess of the convent [of Sant' Anna de Funari], where I have found hospitality lately, shall select my last resting-place, and shall bury my body in the monastic manner." Vittoria died at the seventeenth hour of the 25th of Feb-

[1] Giulia Colonna, Vittoria's cousin, had married Giuliano Cesarini, the head of that powerful family, and standard-bearer or gonfaloniere of the S. P. Q. R.

ruary, 1547, after having signed a will and a codicil, the originals of which are to be found in the protocols of the notary Piroti in the Archivio Notarile di Roma.

Condivi gives a pathetic account of Michelangelo's last sight of her beloved face. "In particular, he greatly loved the Marchesa di Pescara, of whose divine spirit he was enamoured, being in return dearly beloved by her. He still preserves many of her letters breathing honorable and most tender affection. . . . He, for his part, loved her so that I remember to have heard him say that he regretted nothing except that, when he went to visit her upon the moment of her passage from this life, he did not kiss her forehead or her face, as he did kiss her hand. Her death was the cause that oftentimes he dwelt astonied, thinking of it, even as a man bereft of sense."[1] Marcantonio Flaminio, who also was present at the fatal moment, in a poem exuberant with feelings of love and admiration declares her loss to be a public calamity.[2] The room in which the admirable woman died opened on the garden of the palace, the name of which (Palazzo Argentina) is still attached to one of the neighboring streets.

The body was undoubtedly removed to the church of Sant' Anna, according to the provision of her will; but such was the cowardly fear which seized all those who had been associated with the deceased lady, lest the Inquisition should involve them in the disgrace with which her memory was threatened, that the coffin was abandoned in a corner of the chapel, without any display of those impressive ceremonies with which the Catholic Church is wont to

[1] Translation of Christopher Hare, *The Most Illustrious Ladies of the Italian Renaissance*, p. 306.

[2] *M. Antonii Flaminii Forocorneliensis carmina.* Padua, 1727, Book IV, p. 113; Book V, p. 149.

honor its dead. And yet she had been kind and grateful to them for their miserable hospitality to the very day of her death, leaving fifty scudi to be distributed "inter illas quae magis fuerunt assiduae in infirmitate dominae testatricis." Every one of the executors appointed by the will disappeared at the last moment. The abbess[1] and the nuns abandoned the chapel and withdrew to the most secluded part of their establishment, and even Cardinal Pole, I am sorry to say, renounced his "protectorship of the will" (la protezione del testamento) — he who, on March 5, had written to Cardinal Madruccio a letter mourning over the loss of his "mother in Christ" and his "most faithful adviser." See the "Epistulae Reginaldi Poli," printed at Brescia in 1752, Book IV, n. 81. Praise, then, be given to Lorenzo Bonorio from Città di Castello, an old and faithful client of the Colonna, who dared to face the situation and see that the wishes of his beloved mistress were carried into execution. His letters to Vittoria's brother, Ascanio, the head of the family, contain the following details, by means of which we have been able to rediscover, after three and a half centuries, the missing remains of the marchesa.

The body was enclosed in a wooden coffin coated with tar, and left on the floor of the church, against the left-hand side wall, until at least the fifteenth day of the following March. At that date Bonorio was still waiting for instructions from Ascanio Colonna, who had taken refuge at Avezzano from the troubles of the so-called "guerra del Sale;" but they never came, — the only document pertaining to the case being Ascanio's letter of au-

[1] The name of this feeble abbess was Donna Filippa. She had taken the place of Donna Massimilla de Scipioni (who died June 18, 1546), and governed the establishment till the end of 1550. At the time of the death of Vittoria it counted about forty inmates.



THE VESTIBULE OF THE GALLERIA DEGLI SPECCHI IN THE COLONNA PALACE, ROME

thorization to a Messer Pietro Diaz to take possession of Vittoria's inheritance. Left to his own devices, Bonorio announced in a last letter that he had determined to have the coffin enclosed in an outer one, covered with black velvet, and placed in a grave hollowed out of the side wall of the church, at the height of five or six feet above the floor. Were these plans carried into execution, or did something happen in the mean time which forced Bonorio to remove the remains to a safer place?

The outer case was surely made, as is proved by the following passage of the last-mentioned letter, dated March 5: "I have found at the bank only one hundred and seventy scudi of gold [the bulk of Vittoria's money was deposited in Venice], of which one hundred were given to the physicians, and seventy advanced for the cover of embroidered velvet. However, as these are insufficient to meet the expense, either you must forward the balance, or I shall be compelled to sell the silver I have at hand."

When the church and convent of Sant' Anna de Funari were condemned to destruction in 1887, to make room for the new Via Arenula,[1] the late Commendatore C. L. Visconti and myself were commissioned by the City Council to watch the demolition of the edifice with the utmost care, in the hope that the remains of the marchesa might be found in some remote place of concealment. Our vigilance, however, led to no results; and although every brick and stone was duly examined down to the level of the foundations, not only did we not come across the coffin coated with tar, but we found no grave at all. It is true that in consequence

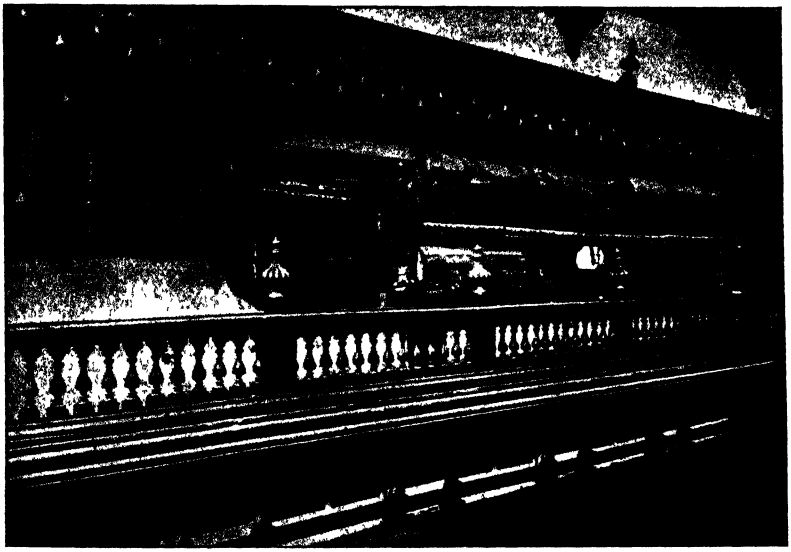
[1] The convent and church, originally called Santa Maria in Julia, were the headquarters in Rome of the Knights Templars. The Grand Master, Jacopo della Molara, in 1293, made a present of both to a pious woman from Gubbio, named Donna Santuccia Terrebotti, the founder of a reformed order of Franciscan nuns, named from her the *Santuccie*.

of a Bull of Pope Pius V, issued in 1569, all the bodies buried in churches *above* the level of the floor had been lowered, and in many cases thrown into the common fosse under the nave; but considering that when these things happened and this desecration of ancient graves took place, Marco Antonio Colonna, the nephew of Vittoria, was the hero of the day, that the laurels he had won at the battle of Lepanto were still fresh, and that city and Pope alike were heaping upon him distinction upon distinction and privilege upon privilege, we cannot accept the theory that the precious relics of his aunt should, just at that time, have been treated with contempt and thrown into the common "ossarium." Moreover, such an act would have been against the canons of the Church itself.

We must, besides, take into consideration the fact that the church of Sant' Anna was modernized at the beginning of the seventeenth century by the architect Girolamo Rainaldi; but the changes made at that time were only superficial, and concerned the decoration of the chapels and altars more than the structure of the building itself, as is proved by the fact that the frescoes of Pierino del Vaga survived the transformation without injury.

There remained two surmises to be taken into consideration: First, that the coffin had been secretly removed from Rome before or when the posthumous trial against the marchesa was initiated by the Inquisition; secondly, that it had been concealed somewhere within the precincts not of the church but of the cloisters of Sant' Anna. Our exploration of 1887 having shown that the latter was not the case, the attention of those who wished the problem solved was directed to other cities, ancient fiefs of the Colonna, such as Marino, the birthplace of Vittoria and Paliano, the chief stronghold of the Connétable Ascanio; but nowhere

was a clue obtained. The merit of having found at last the original coffin coated with tar, and the authentic remains of Michelangelo's dearest friend, belongs to Dr. Bruto Amante, the well-known biographer of Giulia Conzaga. From his memoir, "La Tomba di Vittoria Colonna," published by Zanichelli at Bologna in 1896, I gather the following remarkable particulars: Starting with the consideration that Vittoria expresses more than once in her poems



The sacristy of the church of San Domenico Maggiore, at Naples, where the remains of Vittoria Colonna were found

the wish to be reunited to her beloved husband in their last resting-place, that the husband had been buried in the church of San Domenico Maggiore in the city of Naples, and that Naples was at the time of her death a much safer place from the grip of the Inquisition than Rome or Marino or Paliano, Dr. Amante began his investigations in the sacristy of the above-mentioned church, which contains not less than forty-five coffins of illustrious members of the

Neapolitan aristocracy, mostly from the house of Aragona. These coffins are located all round the walls, above the screens and wardrobes containing the sacred vessels and induments, in a sort of gallery or balcony, of which the tops of the wardrobes form the floor. Here he discovered, much to his surprise, not one but two coffins inscribed with the name of the hero of the battle of Pavia. The upper of the two, very large, with a sword and a pennant nailed on the lid, bears the following epitaph: (Here lies) "Ferdinand d'Avalos of Aquino, Marquess of Pescara." The lower and smaller one shows likewise the words, painted in black on a white scroll: "Francis Ferdinand d'Avalos of Aquino, Marquess of Pescara, vicar-general in Italy of His Majesty the Emperor, died in the year of our Lord one thousand five hundred and twenty-five."

Dr. Amante was therefore confron'ed with two coffins belonging to the same individual, as proved by the sword and the pennant nailed on the first, — the insignia of a general, — and by the precise date 1525 inscribed on the other. There was only one way to solve the riddle, viz., to examine the contents of each. Having obtained leave from the archbishop, as well as from the minister of public instruction, and secured the help of several men of science, he opened first the lower and smaller of the two. There were the remains of an individual of the male sex, of middle size and age, with traces of dark hair on the skull. Such characteristics led them to believe that the legend of the scroll spoke the truth, and that the coffin really contained the remains of Vittoria's husband, who had died in 1525. Inside the upper coffin they found the long-lost bier, coated with tar, with the skeleton of an individual of the female sex, about fifty years of age. The skeleton was still partially enveloped in a shroud of coarse linen, also besmeared

with tar. A closer analysis of the contents revealed the fact that the woman had been laid to rest dressed in a shirt of the finest linen, with a lace collar fastened round the throat by three bands or lacings. The sleeves also were fringed with lace. There were traces of other articles of underwear which I find rather too technical to be described in a paper of this kind. The hair, unmistakably blonde, was covered by a silk hood. These particulars (and many others of lesser value) were registered in a document, dated December 9, 1894, and signed by Angelo Zuccarelli, professor of anthropology in the University of Naples; by Father Maiella, rector of San Domenico; by Signor di Maio, representative of the minister of public instruction; by Dr. Amante, the discoverer, and by other witnesses of repute.

I must acknowledge that the vague tradition of the transfer of Vittoria's body from Rome to Naples, and of her interment in one of the churches of that city, had never died out among the descendants of Ascanio Colonna; and the late Prince Don Giovanni Andrea used to repeat over and over again, while Visconti and I were engaged in the fruitless search of 1887 at Sant' Anna de Funari, that we were wasting our time, because he knew the body of his illustrious ancestor was to be found in Naples.

After the interesting story I have related, the reader will probably suppose that the discovery of Vittoria's grave was welcomed with a thrill of enthusiasm from one extremity to the other of the Peninsula; that the Italian literary and historical societies celebrated the event in a manner befitting its importance; and that a monument to her, or maybe to both heroes of my story, must have been raised in the capital of modern Italy, and, more precisely, in that Piazza Arenula which occupies the site of the church and convent of Sant' Anna, demolished in 1887. None of these things

have come to pass. The coffins of the most cultured lady and of the most valiant knight of the sixteenth century still lie half forgotten in the sacristy of San Domenico Maggiore, and the site of the expected monument in the Piazza Arenula has been usurped by the statue of a playwriter, whose name can hardly be known beyond the walls of his native city. It is really surprising how modern Rome seems to have lost the recollection of the august men and women to whom she owes her greatness. If we except the memorials raised in honor of the founders of modern Italy, — Victor Emmanuel, Cavour, Garibaldi, and Quintino Sella, — which are beautiful and worthy of the great names they bear, all the other public squares of the city have been given up to monuments of outsiders of modest fame, or of no fame at all. The last of these memorials had actually so little *raison d'être* that — to avoid a hostile demonstration and a public scandal — it was unveiled by stealth at two o'clock in the morning and in the presence only of half a dozen policemen.

CHAPTER VI

RAPHAEL

AFTER nearly four centuries of biographical research, and the publication of a stupendous number of volumes and pamphlets, many incidents in the life of Raphael still remain shrouded in mystery. They have been transmitted to us, through the lapse of time, more as popular legends than as facts established by contemporary evidence. We have not succeeded, for instance, in discovering the text of his will, although every archive has been searched and ransacked in quest of it, especially by Adam Rossi;[1] and yet we know that Raphael, already in the grip of death, dictated such a document to his notary on or about the fourth day of April of the year 1520, because mention of its existence occurs in other legal papers of the time.

Another dubious side of Raphael's career is the one concerning his love entanglements, two of which have become especially conspicuous: his betrothal to Maria Bibbiena and his liaison with the handsome girl from the Trastevere known as the "daughter of the baker." There were probably others, notwithstanding the attempts made by certain biographers to depict him as an angel on earth, a forerunner of St. Louis Conzaga, worthy of being canonized on the altars of his Church. I have read with patience the sixteen heavy articles published on this subject by the journal "Il Raffaello" in 1879,[2] but I cannot say they lift

[1] Compare *Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, vol. i, a. 1888, p. 3.

[2] "Il Raffaello," *Rivista d' Arte*, published at Urbino by Elpidio Righi.

by one inch the veil which darkens this side of the master's life. To the formal charges brought forward by Giorgio Vasari, Simone Fornari da Reggio, and Missirini, the apologist of the "Raffaello" opposes the evidence of Mario Fabio, Celio Calcagnini, Marcantonio Michiel, Fulvio and Paolo Giovio, not to mention more recent writers who have likewise expressed opposite views on the morality of his life in general, and on the cause of his death in particular.

The impression left on the impartial reader by these conflicting statements is that Raphael was a youth exceedingly shy in the presence of the fairer sex, and the readier, therefore, to give his whole soul to the one who would help him overcome his timidity, and to feel the fascination of her charms. Between the conventional, frigid, measured love of Maria Bibbiena and the simple, straightforward passion of the Fornarina, he chose the one that was more consonant with his own nature; and without openly breaking the faith given to Maria in July, 1514, he delayed the fulfilment of his pledge from month to month, from year to year, until it was too late to make matters right.

There is no doubt that Maria died of a broken heart and of wounded pride at having the date of her marriage thus indefinitely postponed, and a low-born girl, a baker's daughter, preferred to herself, the niece of the powerful cardinal Bernardo Divizi and a cherished friend of the Pope. Her personal attractions, besides, were considerable, if we may trust the evidence of Comolli, who calls her a "bella et dignitosa fanciulla." The cardinal, it seems, had goaded Raphael into asking her to be his wife (the expression used by Vasari is that he had harassed the artist with his scheme of marriage for a number of years) until he could refuse no longer without compromising his artistic career.[1] The

[1] It is probable, if not certain, that Raphael owed to the influence of Car-

betrothal took place about the first day of July, 1514; at least this is the date of the letter in which he announces to Simone Battista Ciarla his formal engagement; but, having already pledged himself, soul and body, to his fair model, whom he had raised to the glory of the altars in so many masterpieces, he found a way of postponing the final issue, until the death of Maria made him a free but not a happy man. The wording of the epitaph of the unfortunate girl — buried in the Pantheon almost side by side with Raphael — is such as to make us feel that the survivor must have repented of his conduct; it being, however, too late to mend the wrong he had done, he made a public avowal of his guilt. The inscription, freely translated, says: "We, Baldassare Turini da Pescia and Gianbattista Branconi dall' Aquila, testamentary executors and recipients of the last wishes of Raphael, have raised this memorial to his affianced wife, Maria, daughter of Antonio of Bibbiena, whom death deprived of a happy marriage," etc.

As regards the second and truest love of Raphael, the accounts given by his early biographers rest more on tradition than on facts. We only know the girl to have been

dinal Bibbiena his commission for the cartoons of the tapestries. A MS. volume in Prince Chigi's library, marked H, II, 22, containing notes on the reconstruction of St. Peter's, collected by order of Pope Alexander VII, shows the following entry under the date June 15, 1515: "The reverenda Fabbrica di San Pietro to pay 300 ducats by order of Bernardo Bibbiena, cardinal of Santa Maria in Portico, to Raffaele da Urbino, on account of the Cartoons for the Tapestries, which are to be forwarded to Flanders." Another sum of 134 ducats is registered on December 20, 1516, to the same purpose. The drawing of the cartoons must have required at least nineteen months of work, and yet the artist received only 434 ducats in remuneration. As regards the tapestries themselves, Vasari and Baldinucci pretend to establish their cost at seventy thousand scudi; the author of the *Vita di Raffaele* at sixty; Cardinal Pallavicino at fifty: all quite wide of the truth, because Paride de' Grassi, the Pope's diarist, on the first day they were exhibited in the Sixtine chapel, entered their cost at two thousand scudi each.

of humble birth, most likely the daughter of a baker living in the Trastevere, somewhere between the churches of Santa Dorotea and Santa Cecilia. Attached to her dwelling was a small kitchen-garden, enclosed by a wall so low that any passer-by could catch a glimpse of the inside by raising himself slightly on tiptoe. Here the baker's daughter often came, perhaps in search of herbs and flowers, perhaps to spread the household linen in the sun; and here, on the other side of the wall, many young artists, attracted by the fame of her beauty, would halt on their way home and endeavor to obtain speech with her.

It now seems certain that the Fornarina's name was Margherita; yet the identification rests on the authority of one document only, viz., of a copy of the Giunta edition of Vasari of 1568, formerly owned by Giuseppe Vannutelli and now in Florence, the marginal notes of which were probably written by one who had known Raphael in his lifetime. This anonymous commentator has written the name twice in connection with Vasari's passage: "Marcantonio [Raimondi] made a number of prints for Raphael, which the latter gave to his assistant Baviera, in consideration of the services rendered by him to the young woman whom Raphael loved up to the hour of his death, and whose lifelike portrait he had painted (che pareva viva viva)." On the margin of the leaf the anonymous scholiast wrote, first: —

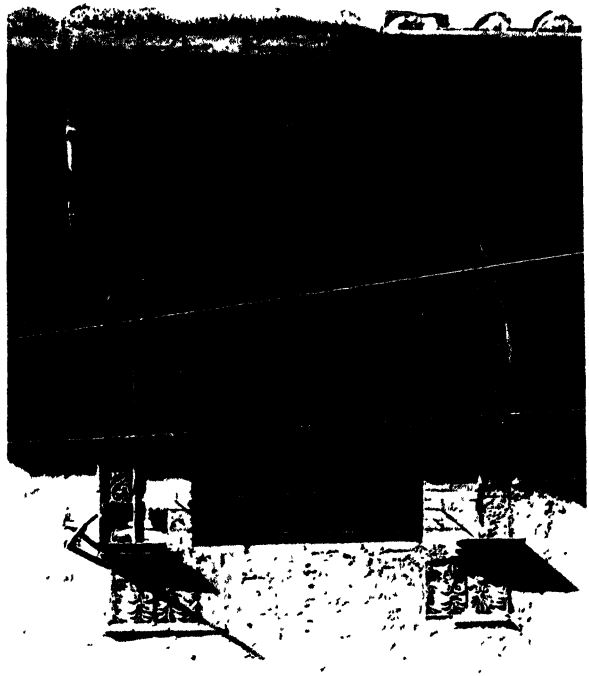
"Servitore di Raffaello chiamato il Baviera" (Raphael's servant, named il Baviera); and again,

"Ritratto di Margherita donna di Raffaello" (portrait of Margherita, the love of Raphael).

Shall we accept the name as genuine, or shall we repeat with the poet Aleardi: —

"il vero
Tuo nome il mondo non conobbe mai:
e io pur l' ignoro povero poeta.
Pensa però che in fra le genti noto
Suona il nome gentil di Fornarina,
più che quello di molte imperatrici."

Roman tradition points out as the home of the girl a modest house near the corner of the Via di Santa Dorotea



The window of the so-called house of the Fornarina, by the church of Santa Dorotea

and the Porta Settimiana, the ground floor of which is actually occupied by a bakery called "il Forno della Fornarina;" but this is all the evidence we can produce in favor of the tradition. No document has yet been found to prove the veracity of the charming legend, and the Santa

Dorotea house, however dear it may have become to artists and poets, has no claim whatever to the consideration of the conscientious biographer. The archives of the Peretti family, to whom this and the adjoining lands belonged at the end of the sixteenth century, contain no mention of her name. They show, in fact, that the whole space between the church and the villa of Agostino Chigi (La Farnesina) was but a stretch of vegetable gardens.

Two other houses are pointed out by tradition as having been inhabited by the young woman. One stands among low surroundings in the Vicolo del Merangolo,[1] near the church of Sant' Egidio in Trastevere; the other one is the Palazzetto Sassi in the region of Parione, of which I have given a description and an illustration in chapter iii (p. 126). The house in the Vicolo del Merangolo may or may not have been erected by the master to keep his beloved one near him, while engaged in painting the loggia of Chigi's villa; but the impious hand of an eighteenth century restorer has obliterated every vestige of its former aspect, so that we must leave the question unsolved.

As regards the Sassi palace, in the Via del Governo Vecchio, n. 48, it would be vain for us to attempt any identification of its various parts, as described in the sixteenth century documents, because it has likewise undergone a transformation at the hands of the architect Mercandetti. The beautiful court and loggia, represented on page 127, have been demolished; their statues, first removed to the Farnese palace, are now in Naples; and I have not been able to discover what fate has befallen the mosaic of the floor of the court, which represented a well-stocked fish-pond.

On the left side of the vestibule of this palace a modern reproduction of a much older tablet is set into the wall,

[1] Now called Vicolo del Cedro.

on which these words are engraved: "Tradition says that the one who became so dear to Raphael, and whom he raised to fame, lived in this house."

RAPHAELI · SANCTIO
QVAE · CLARVIT · DILECTA
HIC · FERTVR · INCOLVISSE

The tradition is not absolutely groundless. We can produce in its support the evidence of the census taken by order of Leo X in 1518, in which one of the houses pertaining to the head of the Sassi family, Messer Benedetto, is said to be occupied by a *baker* from Siena named Francesco. This house, facing the Via di Parione, was separated from the palace by a narrow space, so that, if Francesco was the father of the Fornarina, the tablet practically would speak the truth, the more so if we assume it to have been removed to its present location when the house of the baker was made a part of the new building.

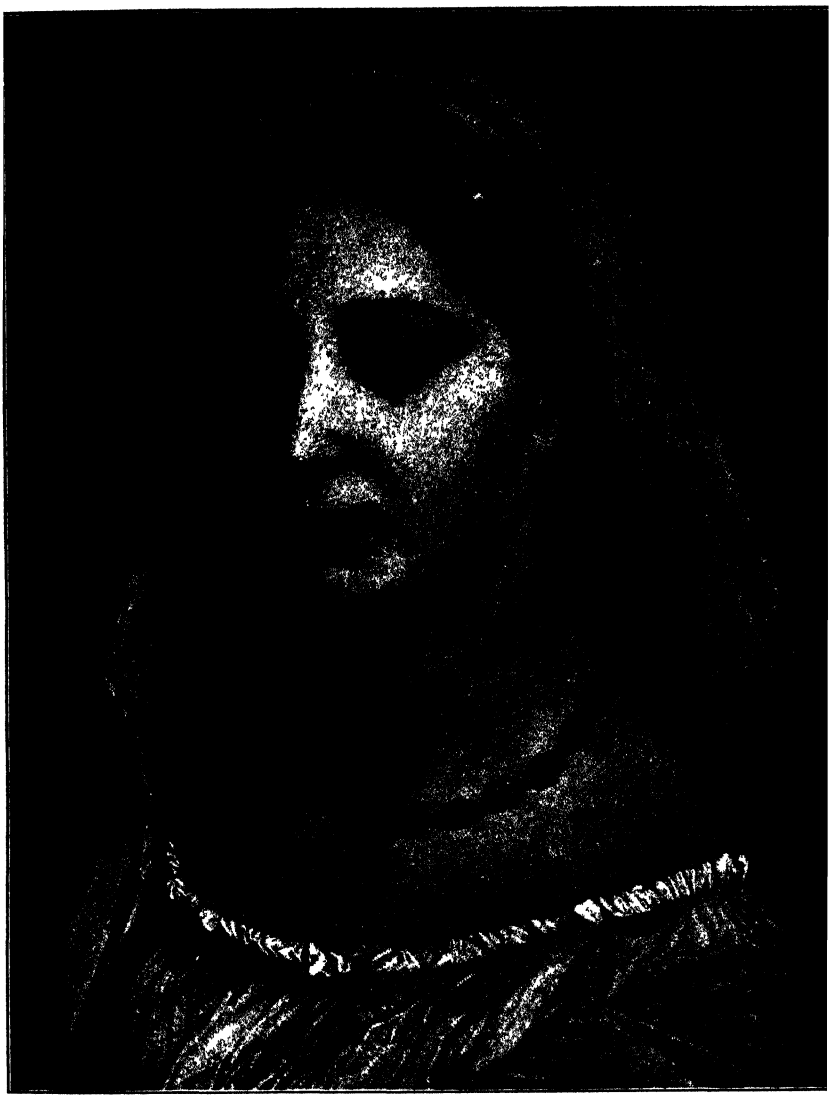
These, then, are the abodes which tradition assigns to the Fornarina, as if the fair inspirer had followed Raphael in his artistic rounds, changing residence so as to be near the places in which, during the nine years of their liaison, the artist lavished the treasures of his genius. In 1511 he was working in Agostino Chigi's villa, and the legend shows us the beautiful model living in the Via di Santa Dorotea; again, he undertakes the painting of the Transfiguration in the palace now marked n. 3 in the Piazza di Sant' Apollonia, and the girl is found to be living in the Vicolo del Merangolo close by; lastly, he begins the Stanze and the Loggie, and the model watches his coming and going on the Via Papale — the Pope's highway — from the windows of the Sassi house. During these nine years Raphael repaid the love of Margherita with immortality. He reproduced

her likeness in the fresco of Heliodorus, in the Madonna di San Sisto, in the Transfiguration, in the Parnassus under the attributes of Clio. Vasari says[1] that he also painted several portraits of her, of which three are alleged to be existing: one in the Uffizi, one in the Barberini, the last in the Pitti gallery. The Barberini portrait shows a type of courtesan so vulgar that many critics deny it to be the work of the master; yet we have in favor of its authenticity the words of Alexander VII, who in his "Commentaries" says that the only genuine, but otherwise indifferent, portrait of the *meretricula* was the one which, from the house of the Santafiora, had passed into that of the Boncompagni, and which bore the name RAPHAEL VRBINAS written in gold letters on the band encircling the left arm of the girl. The picture became the property of the Barberini at the time of Cardinal Francesco the elder, about 1642. We doubt whether it represents the Fornarina, and we are sure — notwithstanding the praises bestowed upon it by Gruyer and Müntz — that it is not the work of Raphael, but of one of his pupils or imitators. It is enough to cite the evidence of the bracelet, with the signature of the artist, a vulgarity of which he was never guilty; in fact that bracelet can safely be proclaimed a later addition, considering that it shows no pressure or relief on the flesh of the arm.

The painter of the Barberini picture, whoever he was, has left a replica of it in the Villa Lante on the Janiculum. This charming suburban retreat[2] was built by Giulio Romano

[1] Compare Vasari, *Lives*, vol. viii, p. 36, note 1, ed. Milanesi; Quatremère, *Vie*, pp. 118, 190-192, 385-393, 430; Farabulini, *Saggi di nuovi studii su Raffaele*, p. 232; Quandt, *Notizie intorno al ritratto originale della Fornarina*, Florence, vol. i, p. 207; Costa, *L'ultima decade di Raffaello in Roma*, Montecassino, 1876, p. 82.

[2] The ridge of the Janiculum between the churches of San Pietro in Montorio and Sant' Onofrio had not then been enclosed within the line of the modern fortifications.



THE DONNA VELATA IN THE PITTI GALLERY

Considered to be the best existing portrait of the Fornarina

in 1524 for Baldassare Turini da Pescia, whom I have mentioned above as one of the executors of the will of Raphael. The frescoes of the walls, not injured by damp or neglect, were removed some time ago to the Borghese gallery, so that there are only the ceilings left to bear testimony to the original decoration. One of these contains four medallions, interwoven with arabesques, representing Dante, Petrarch, Poliziano, and Raphael; the medallions of the other show four nameless female portraits, one of which is undoubtedly a replica of the Barberini Fornarina. And as these decorations were executed between 1530 and 1540 by the pupils or "garzoni" of Giulio Romano, we are induced to attribute to one of them the authorship of the Barberini likeness.

If we turn our attention from it to the "Donna Velata" of the Pitti gallery, how naturally the feeling comes that we are at last before the real object of Raphael's love. The beauty of the woman is great, but it is not the beauty of a courtesan, and reminds us at the first glance of the type glorified in the Madonna di San Sisto. Her style of dress becomes a daughter of the people raised to a higher and more refined state, of the class which we now call *minenti*. The generous instincts of Raphael, revealed in so many incidents of his life, must have prompted him to satisfy the natural ambition of a fair woman, — that of appearing becomingly dressed. Hence we see the "Donna Velata" wearing a rich gown over a shirt of fine white linen, a necklace made of a set of oval medallions, and a pendant fastened to her brown hair, all, however, in chaste style, and totally unlike a parvenu in Sunday attire.

I mention in the last place the alleged portrait of the Uffizi, reproduced in the illustration on page 241, simply to state that it is now acknowledged to be the work of Se-

being engraved on a marble slab and placed on the grave of Maria. As regards the Fornarina, Raphael willed that "all' amata sua si desse modo di poter vivere onestamente," that to his dear companion of nine years should be given enough to live honestly and comfortably.

The subsequent fate of Margherita was a matter of conjecture until 1897, when certain fortunate inquiries made by the late Antonio Valeri put us in the way of discovering the truth.[1] After the heart-rending scene in the Piazza del Pantheon, when, beside herself with grief, she was driven away by the mourners, the girl fell into a kind of lethargy and a melancholy mood, from which she was roused only by the determination to enter a monastery and lead for the rest of her days the life of a recluse. This resolve was carried into execution, with the help of Cardinal Bibbiena, and the sorrowing woman was received into the congregation of Sant' Apollonia, near the church of Santi Margherita ed Emidio in Trastevere.

The congregation or "conservatory" of Sant' Apollonia, which has long since ceased to exist, was one of those houses instituted in Rome by the score, towards the end of the fifteenth century, as homes of refuge for fallen or repenting women whom society had expelled from its pale. This one, called *Casa santa di Paolozza*, because it had been founded by Paola de' Pierleoni in the time of Nicholas V, was noted for the strictness of its rules. The Fornarina, although artistically sacred, was morally no longer fit to live among her relatives; and so on the eighteenth day of August in the year 1520, four and a half months after the death of Raphael, she stepped over the threshold of

[1] Antonio Valeri, "Chi era la Fornarina" in *Vita Italiana*, a. 1897, xvii. Compare *Archivio storico dell' Arte*, vol. iv, p. 445; Alfred von Reumont, "Nota sul ritratto della Fornarina" in *Archivio società romana di Storia patria*, vol. iii, a. 1880, p. 233; Gruyer, *Les portraits de la Fornarina*, Paris, 1877.

a lifetime prison. This important fact was discovered by Valeri in a sheet torn from the ledger of the Institute, which contains the names of the postulants to whom admission was granted under the pontificate of Leo X, viz., between 1513 and 1521. On the eleventh line of this fragmentary document the following entry is to be found: —

"*a di 18 Augusti 1520*
Hoggi e stata recenta nel nrō Conserva
torio maª. Margarita vedoa, figliola del
quondam Francescho Luti da Siena"

(To-day, August 18, 1520, Margarita, daughter of the late Francesco Luti da Siena, a widow, was received into our institution.)

In reading these lines we cannot help remembering, first, that a baker from Siena, named Francesco, lived in a house in the Via di Parione, which, according to the tablet referred to above, was also the home of the Fornarina; secondly, that the Fornarina's name was Margherita. The case is one of circumstantial evidence; still, comparing these facts with the entry in the ledger of Sant' Apollonia, it seems to me evident that the name of Raphael's mistress was Margherita Luzzi. As regards the appellative of "widow," it becomes a woman who for so many years had been the loving and faithful companion of the master, whose mortal remains had just been laid to rest under the mighty dome of the Pantheon.[1]

When the news of his death became known the learned

[1] The verses 9 and 10 of the epitaph over his grave

VIX · ANNOS · XXXVII · INTEGER · INTEGROS
QVO · DIE · NATVS · EST · EO · ESSE · DESIIT

("He lived thirty-seven full years [there is a play on words that I cannot render into English] and died on the same day he was born") must be interpreted in the sense that he came into the world and left it on the same calendar day of the church, namely, on Holy Friday, which in 1483 fell on the 28th of March, and in 1520 on the 6th of April.

men of the age, both at home and abroad, mourned over the loss of an archæologist of great promise, more than over that of the prince of painters: an expression of feeling which, however strange it may appear, can be explained on the ground that as a painter he was above praise, while as an archæologist he was a fresh and startling revelation. With all the vigor and passion of youth he had turned his studies towards the monuments of the past; and under the powers granted to him by Leo X he had taken up the task of saving those monuments from further desecration, and of reconstructing at the same time the plan of ancient Rome.

Marcantonio Michiel, in a fragment of a letter inserted in the "Diaries" of Marin Sanudo, says that the master had come to a premature end "amidst the universal regrets of learned men, for whom he was preparing a volume, like the Cosmography of Ptolemy, on the edifices and ruins of Rome, in which their style, aspect, and decorations were so justly portrayed that one felt as if one were living again in the golden days of the empire. Unfortunately, only one out of the fourteen regions of Augustus had been described completely when death interrupted the work." Another letter, addressed on June 29, 1532, to the duke of Mantua by Fabrizio Peregrino, his agent in Rome, says: "In a few days will be published a plan of Rome, designed by Raphael, a beautiful and exhaustive work." The event was celebrated also by poets like Castiglione and Germanico, and by historians like Paolo Giovio, Celio Calcagnini, and Andrea Fulvio.[1]

In all these accounts, praises, and regrets there is a decided exaggeration. Ignorant as he was of classic lan-

[1] Compare Rodolfo Lanciani, *La pianta di Roma antica e i disegni archeologici di Raffaello Sanzio*, Rome, Lincei, 1895.

guages, so that he could not read Vitruvius without the help of his guest Fabio Calvo, Raphael cannot be called an archæologist, and the alleged plan of Rome, with the authorship of which he has been credited, is but a poor production in comparison with others published in the first half of the sixteenth century. The following considerations may help the reader to understand the error of judgment committed by Michiel, Peregrino, and others in speaking of the dead man as an archæologist.

Raphael had been brought in contact with the productions of Greco-Roman art, not only by his love for the beautiful, but by duty as well, having been appointed successor to Fra Giocondo da Verona in the superintendency of antiquities (Commissariato delle Antichità) on August 27, 1515. In the brief of nomination Leo X insists especially on the importance of putting an end to the practice of burning into lime statues, inscriptions, and architectural marbles; but the evil was too deeply rooted in Rome to be conquered by the efforts of a single man, especially as he had to contend, first of all, with the Pope's treasury, which, by levying a percentage on the product of lime-kilns, made itself an accomplice in the continuation of the shameful practice. I have published in the first volume of the "Storia degli scavi e de' musei di Roma" the text of an agreement, dated July 1, 1426, by which the Apostolic Chamber authorizes certain Roman citizens to destroy the remains of the Basilica Julia, with the condition that half the produce of the kiln should be given, in the name of the Chamber, to Cardinal Giacomo Isolani for his private use. I have mentioned this particular espisode in a long tale of disaster, because the kiln of 1426 was rediscovered in my presence on September 10, 1871, in the middle nave of the basilica, filled with half-charred marble carvings. The

east of the nave was occupied by a layer, two or three feet deep, of fragments of statues, inscriptions, cornices, capitals, columns, and pedestals, ready to be turned into lime. Fra Giocondo da Verona says that many noblemen prided themselves on having had the foundations of their palaces built of pieces of ancient statuary.

In the fulfilment of his task the young commissario allowed himself occasionally to overstep the limits of his powers. He seems to have made himself particularly obnoxious to a Gabriele de Rossi, who had just brought to a close certain successful excavations in the "Domus Severiana" on the Palatine, and in the Lamian gardens on the Esquiline. We do not know the cause of the controversy, which dates from the year 1517: the fact is that in a will signed in the same year, De Rossi inserted a proviso that, in case after his death some high official (*aliquis superior*) should attempt to rob his heirs of the collection of antiques, — their legitimate property, — the city magistrates were authorized to interfere and eventually to remove the statues and busts to the Palazzo de' Conservatori. The "somebody" whose violence was feared by the dying collector was undoubtedly Raphael, who is known to have actually taken possession of the marbles by force; but Leo X, called upon by the city magistrates to protect the rights of the testator and eventually of the city itself, gave judgment against his too energetic commissario.

However, if we are compelled to deny to him the title of archæologist, we must acknowledge that the scheme he conceived, three or four years before his death, for the thorough illustration of the antiquities of the city, gives him an additional claim to glory and to the gratitude of men of science. In fact, the scheme was so perfect that it is practically the same taken up again, after an interval of three

and a half centuries, by the Berlin Academy of Sciences, and by the Accademia reale dei Lincei of Rome, to which we owe respectively the publication of the "Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum" and of the "Forma Urbis."[1]

To carry his design into execution, Raphael, who was not a learned man and whose time was absorbed at all events by other duties, secured the collaboration of the three best specialists of the day, — Jacopo Mazocchi for the inscriptions, Andrea Fulvio for the topography, and Fabio Calvo for the map of the city; and he lost no time in obtaining from the Pope the privilege for each of the three to publish his own section of the "Archæologia Urbis" within a stated period, safe from competition and from acts of piracy or plagiarism. The brief of Leo X granting Mazocchi the copyright of the "Epigrammata" is dated November 30, 1517, but the book was not published before April, 1521. That the scheme of this book was inspired by Raphael — although he could not decipher its contents — is proved by the fact that the inscriptions are not grouped in it by subjects (sacred, imperial, military, naval, domestic, etc.), as is the case with the Berlin Corpus, but topographically, that is to say, according to the site and quarter of the city where they had been found, or where they were located, an arrangement which is noticeable also in the companion works by Fulvio and Calvo.

The date selected for the publication of these last two was the fateful year of the sack, 1527. We all know that the "Antiquitates" of Fulvio did really appear at the beginning of that year, but very few are acquainted with the strange vicissitudes of Fabio Calvo's map, the issue of which is generally assigned to 1532. I have myself discovered the truth,

[1] *Forma Urbis Romae: consilio et auctoritate regiae Academiae Lyncaeorum delineavit Rodulphus Lanciani Romanus.* Forty-six sheets with a copious index.

as it were by accident. While perusing one day my notes on the topography of Rome of the first half of the sixteenth century, I was astonished to find one labelled as follows: "Piante 1527: M. Fabius Calvus. Antiquae Urbis cum regionibus Simulachrum. Anno a partu Virginis M. DXXVII mense aprili. Ludovicus Vicentinus Romae impressit: quod opus Ptolemaeo Egnatio forosemproniensi ante caelandum dederat. (Biblioteca Vitt. Emm. collez. rom. 3. G. 21.)"

As I had fresh in my memory the words of Eugène Müntz, the learned author of "Raphael Archéologue," "En retrouvant à la bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Beaux-arts la *première* édition de cet ouvrage, Rome, 1532, in folio," etc., I went immediately to the Biblioteca Vittorio Emmanuele to ascertain whether I had made a mistake in transcribing the title and the date. This was not the case. The copy in the Vittorio Emmanuele, which I consider unique, is really dated a few days before the sack. The story of its existence can be reconstructed in the following manner: —

When Raphael began to feel the fascination of architectural and archæological studies, he called to his side an interpreter of Greek and Latin texts, who could reveal to him the secrets of ancient life and teach him the precepts of Vitruvius. This old man from Ravenna, who lived in seclusion in the painter's house, repaid his kindness with advice on questions connected with his "Commissariato delle Antichità", and with his scheme for the description of the ancient city. Their joint work, so far as the map is concerned, as well as the text by Fulvio, was ready to appear at the beginning of 1527. The text was actually published in February, the map in April. On the 6th of May Bourbon's army stormed the walls of the Borgo, and began its deeds of arson, pillage, and massacre. Even the penniless author of the "Simulachrum" was not spared by

the frenzied invaders, and he was left to die of his wounds in a wayside hostelry (probably) of the Via Flaminia, because he could not pay the ransom. In this great disaster the edition of the map, which was kept for sale in the shop of Ludovico Vicentino, suffered such irreparable damage that the copy in the Vittorio Emmanuele, as far as I know, is the only one which escaped destruction. Such being the case, no wonder that the agent of Mantua, Peregrino, should have announced to his master the reprint of the "Simulachrum" of 1532 as a totally new work inspired by Raphael.

Fabio Calvo has another claim to consideration, that of having been one of the tutors of the young prince Federico of Mantua, who has appeared in every chapter of this book as a messenger of friendship and goodwill between its leading personages. A letter of Maddalena Tagliapietra informs his mother how the boy had secured the tuition of a "master Fabio da Ravenna, a man already advanced in years, who never tastes wine, and eats only once in a day, very learned in Latin, even more in Greek, and who is engaged at present in translating from Greek into Latin a work on medicine [Hippocrates] which will be of great value to practitioners." The love and admiration for the ruins and for the works of art which were daily coming to light in the excavations of the city must have cemented this strange friendship between the gray-haired, gruff old stoic and the bright youth from Mantua. In regard to the Laocoön discovered in the month of June, 1506, in the Vigna of Felice de Fredis, near the Sette Sale, he writes to Isabella, "How I wish I could send you, or at least show you, this group, *cosa excellentissima et opra divina.*" There is no doubt about the veracity of these sentiments, because the Laocoön appears again in the chronicle of Federico's residence in Rome as exercising upon

him a real fascination. It happened in this way: Caradosso, the rival of Benvenuto Cellini, had won the good graces of the prince by chiselling a medallion for his master Ippolito Tebaldeo, and refusing any compensation for the work, although it was valued at one hundred ducats. This act of kindness made Federico anxious to secure for himself a specimen of Caradosso's art, and he begged leave from his mother to ask the goldsmith for a reproduction of the group of the Laocoön "of solid gold, in full relief, with the children and the snakes not cast but chiselled;" but the marchesa, alarmed at the expense which such a work would involve, refused her consent. A second request of the young admirer of the Laocoön to have the group reproduced by Caradosso in a plaquette to be worn on his hat had no better success. The idea appears rather inconsistent with the good taste shown by Federico in other details of his attire — a Laocoön on a hat! But he may have been led into temptation by Ippolito Tebaldeo, who wore on his own toque a reproduction of the group of Hercules killing Cacus.

All the learned men of the period seem to have sought the honor of explaining to Federico the wonders of the ancient and the modern city. The company he preferred, however, was that of Bernardo Accolti, surnamed the "unico Aretino," who showed him the Flavian amphitheatre, the Forum, and the Capitol, much to the delight of Isabella, who wrote, "Praise to you for the interest you feel in antiquities, a sure token of gentleness and refinement of mind." This "pious" Bernardo (brother to Pietro Accolti, cardinal of Ancona, and next-door neighbor to Raphael) was considered as great a man in the field of poetry as Raphael himself in the field of art. In fact, no literary genius of the age, which counted Ariosto amongst its stars, made more

impression on Leo X than the "unico Aretino," who was actually made duke of Nepi. It is said that whenever he felt suddenly inspired by the genial muse, and ready to extemporize, the Pope, whose guest he was at the time, would order the gates of the castle of Sant' Angelo to be thrown open to the people, that they might delight in hearing the captivating melodies of his lyre. Federico saw also the transfer of the statue of Apollo to the garden of the Belvedere, — a statue which had been discovered by Julius II at Grottaferrata while he was engaged in fortifying the abbey, — and of the so-called Cleopatra, which the same Pope had purchased from the Maffei; and he was present at the finding of the colossal statue of the Tiber, which took place in January, 1512, in the foundations of a house adjoining the monastery of la Minerva.

One of the last occurrences in Raphael's personal intercourse with Federico took place in July, 1512, on the occasion of a dinner given at the Vatican to his uncle, Alfonso d' Este. The duke, having expressed the wish to see something of the curiosities of the place, was led with his attendants to the Sixtine chapel, where Michelangelo received him upon the highest platform of the scaffolding, where he was engaged in painting those terrible figures of prophets and sibyls, and while the two were deep in their conversation Federico took the rest of the party to see the "stanze che dipinge Raffaello da Urbino," in one of which, named from the Scuola d' Atene, he himself had been portrayed by the artist.

The best instance of Raphael's power to assimilate the spirit of classic art and derive inspiration from classic models is to be found in Marcantonio's famous engraving of the Judgment of Paris.[1] This prince of the engravers of

[1] Bartsch, xiv. n. 245; Thode, *Die antiken in den Stichen Marcantons*, p. 24;

the golden age, said to have been born at Bologna in 1488, had served his apprenticeship under Francesco Francia. Vasari says that while wandering one day in the Piazza di San Marco at Venice, where he had gone to perfect his



The Judgment of Paris, by Marcantonio, from a reprint by A. Salamanca

studies in 1508, he saw a Flemish merchant exhibit certain prints of Albrecht Dürer. The sight of these beautiful plates, sold at high prices, suggested to him the idea of imitating some of the most popular, forging the signature of the German master, in which scheme he succeeded so well that no one who was not an expert could tell which were the originals and which were Marcantonio's imitations. Hence a lawsuit brought by the wronged artist, which ended in a decree restraining the forger from making use of Dürer's signature. Vasari's story seems to have no

Gruyer, *Raphael et l'antiquité*, ii, p. 99; Pulszky, *Beitrage zu Raphaels Studium der Antike*; Goeler v. Ravensburg, *Rubens und die Antike*, p. 142; Loewy, *Di alcune composizioni di Raffaello ispirate a monumenti antichi*, Rome, 1896.

foundation of truth, considering that the first meeting of the two masters had already taken place at Bologna in 1506.[1]

Having come to Rome in 1510, Marcantonio became once the favorite pupil of Raphael and the engraver of his works, such as the Lucrezia Romana, the Slaughter of the Innocents, the Judgment of Paris, Venus emerging from the Bath, the Five Saints, and the Saint Cecilia. The fame of his success called to Rome several competitors, such as Marco Dente da Ravenna and Agostino Musi Veneziano, to whom also praise is due for popularizing the paintings and drawings of Raphael. I will not touch the question of the extreme licentiousness of some of these plates, nor of the greater or lesser share of responsibility which rests with the designer and with the engravers. The blame must be cast on Giulio Romano rather than on Raphael. I do not think the controversy mature yet for a solution.

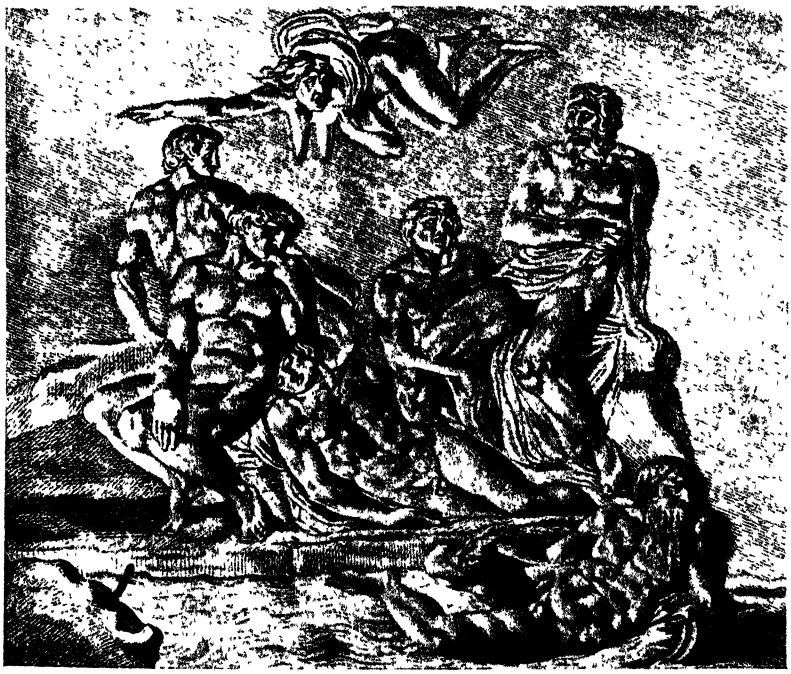
After the master's death Marcantonio published some designs of Giulio, of Baccio Bandinelli, and of other artists, and he would have prospered in life but for the sack of 1527, which left him in penury and distress, so that he died soon after his escape to Bologna.

To come back, however, to the Judgment of Paris, there is no doubt that Raphael, in furnishing the drawing for this plate, had actually before his eyes the bas-reliefs of two sarcophagi, one of which is now preserved in the Villa Medici, the other in the Villa Pamphili. I do not know where Raphael may have sketched them; probably in the vestibule of a mediæval church like the Aracœli, or in the court of a patrician house like that of the Capranica della Valle, or in the show-room of a dealer like that of Giovanni Ciampolini in the Via di Balestrari. The fact is that while imparting to

[1] Benjamin Delessert, *Marcantonio Raimondi*, Paris, 1862; Charles Ephrussi, *Albert Dürer et ses dessins*, Paris, 1862.

his composition the stamp of originality, he copied the models in their most minute details, such as the group of the aerial gods, that of the fluvial and sea gods, the landscape with the grazing cattle, the attitude of the three contending Beauties, the staff of Paris, and the helmet of Minerva.

The impression created among artists by Marcantonio's plate after Raphael's design was unprecedented, and has lasted to the present day. Reproductions of it, total or partial, are without number. It appears in a Limoges plaquette of enamelled grisaille, now in the Imperial Museum at Vienna; in three cameos of the same collection; in the reliefs of a silver ewer designed by Rubens for King Charles I; in



The recumbent figure of a river god, modelled by Michelangelo in a clay bas-relief, formerly in the Gherardesca palace, Florence

three works of Rubens himself described by Goeler von Ravensburg; in a majolica plate of the Art Museum at Milan; in the frontispiece of Rosini's "Antiquities," etc. Stranger even is the fact that Raphael himself and some of his pupils should have borrowed motives for other compositions from the same plate. Thus the figure of the river god at the right-hand corner appears again in the fresco of Heliodorus, and perhaps it is not by chance that the portrait of Marcantonio himself is seen in the opposite corner of that magnificent composition, among the bearers of the state chair upon which sits Pope Julius II.

The illustration on page 257 represents the recumbent figure of another river god in exactly the same attitude, modelled by Michelangelo, in a terra-cotta bas-relief formerly in the Gherardesca palace at Florence. The engraving from which the illustration is taken bears the following legend: "Cavato da un bassorilievo in terra-cotta appresso i signori conti della Gherardesca, opera di Michelagnolo Buonarroti."

Quite interesting is the way in which Raphael has interpreted the Jupiter group, on the right-hand corner of the Medici sarcophagus. The Greco-Roman artist who modelled it had made the feet of the Father of the Gods rest upon a piece of cloth, held at both ends by the figure of Cælus (Heaven). Raphael, seeing the cloth swollen in the manner of a sail inflated by the wind, thought the figure holding it to be Æolus, and in this guise he reproduced it in his own design, with open mouth and in a flying attitude, thus transforming the classic Jupiter, whose throne rests on the solid sphere of Heaven, into a Jehovah borne through the skies by wind and clouds. Vasari had already been struck by this new way of treating the figure of the Eternal Father, and called it accordingly "a God in the style of Jupiter."



THE VISION OF EZEKIEL, IN THE PITTI PALACE

Its best expression is to be found in the Vision of Ezekiel of the Pitti gallery, which, if not the work of Raphael's own pencil, is certainly a contemporary copy of the lost original. At all events, the type of Jupiter, as expressed in the Medici sarcophagus, had made such a marked impression on Raphael's mind that we find it repeated once more in one of the spandrils of the "Loggia della Farnesina."

Raphael is known to have gone a step farther in this matter of imitating the antique; he took a cast of a Greek relief, and reproduced it bodily in one of his best and less known masterpieces, viz., in the bronze panel of the Woman of Samaria, in the Chigi chapel at Santa Maria del Popolo.

The fate of this gem of art and of the shrine in which it is set is worthy of being related. Agostino Chigi — the prince of finance of the first quarter of the sixteenth century, whose career will be described in my next and last chapter — had commissioned Raphael to design and erect his tomb in the above-mentioned family chapel; and by a will dated August 28, 1519, he had entrusted to Antonio da San Marino, the goldsmith, the care of superintending the finishing of the work. The master having died in the subsequent year, the work was taken up by Lorenzetto, who pledged himself to complete Agostino's mausoleum, as well as that of his brother Sigismondo, in the space of thirty months from the signing of the contract (February 10, 1821). Lorenzetto, driven away from Rome by the plague and by the ill-will of the uncouth Pope Adrian VI, left the work unfinished. At the time of his death, which took place in 1541, the statues of Jonah and Elias were still stored in his studio at the Macel de' Corsi, and the medallion of Agostino was in the hands of one of the testamentary executors.[1]

[1] Compare Gnoli Domenico, "La sepoltura d' Agostino Chigi nella chiesa di S. Maria del Popolo," in *Archivio storico dell' Arte*, a. 1889, pp. 316–326.

It was only in 1552 that Agostino's son Lorenzo settled the accounts with Lorenzetto's heirs. The Jonah and the Elias were placed in their niches; Cecchino Salviati finished the altar-piece, begun by Sebastiano del Piombo; Francesco Vanni painted the David and the Aaron in the lunettes; and the chapel, to the decoration of which all the great masters of the age had thus contributed, was opened for service in 1554.

The Chigi family in the mean time, ruined by the eccentricities of Lorenzo and pressed by creditors, retired to Siena in 1573, and the chapels at Santa Maria del Popolo and at Santa Maria della Pace were abandoned to their fate, in spite of the treasures they contained. Their roofs gave way; rain filtered through the cracks of their vaulted ceilings; pieces of plaster and a layer of dust covered their altars, and hid the frescoes from view. This state of things lasted until the year 1626, in which the future Pope Fabio Chigi again took possession of both shrines, and found that even the grave of Sigismondo had been usurped by an outsider, the Cardinal Antoniotto Pallavicino. Poor Cardinal Antoniotto, whose bones had found no rest for over a century! Having been buried in the apse of San Pietro Vecchio in 1501, he was left in possession of his beautiful grave for a brief time only, because that section of the old Constantinian basilica was soon levelled to the ground by Bramante, and the tomb was removed to the choir of Santa Maria del Popolo. Cardinal Sauli in 1624 transferred it from the choir to the Chigi chapel, which was then considered "res nullius." Two years later Fabio Chigi once more removed it, and it now appears to have found a well-earned peace in the first chapel of the left aisle of the church.

The commission to restore Raphael's creation to its former splendor was given by Fabio to Lorenzo Bernini, under



The Woman of Samaria, a panel by Lorenzetto in the chapel at Santa Maria del Popolo

whose guidance many changes were made, and not very happy ones. For instance, the panel modelled by Raphael and cast in bronze by Lorenzetto, which formed the principal ornament of the banker's tomb, was removed from its place, and turned into an altar-front or "paliotto." The bas-relief represents the Redeemer sitting by the well and having speech with the apostles, who have just returned from the city, bringing with them food and wine. From the city also, but from a different gate, emerges the Woman of Samaria at the head of a group of men eager to see the Prophet. All the traditional forms and types of Christian art are cast aside in this beautiful composition: one is tempted to believe that it represents a gathering of men



The Danzatrici Borghese, now in the Louvre



Maidens hanging a Wreath on a Candelabra, a companion panel to the Danzatrici, formerly in the Villa Borghese, and now in the Louvre

and maidens on the banks of the Ilissus, rather than a scene from the Gospel. Raphael's inspiration from the antique was well brought into shape by Lorenzetto, who had spent most of his younger days in restoring the antiques which the patricians were then gathering in their gardens and palaces. The Woman of Samaria needs only the thyrsus to become a Bacchante; her figure, in fact, is not sketched but actually moulded from a Greek original, with only slight touches in secondary details to make it har-



A Bronze Replica of the above, now in the Salle des Caryatides

monize with the rest. The original has been pointed out by Loewy: it is the beautiful bas-relief of the dancing girls known as the "Danzatrici Borghese," because it belonged to the collection of that family before its removal to the Louvre by the French invaders of 1793. The same scheme occurs in another relief formerly preserved in the Capranica della Valle palace, and now in the Galleria degli Uffizi, which must have been known to Lorenzetto, the architect of the Capranica della Valle palace and the restorer of its archæological collections.

Another bas-relief preserved, like the Danzatrici, in the Villa Borghese, belonging probably to the same monument, and now also exhibited in the Louvre, has had the honor of being copied — if not actually moulded and cast — by a sixteenth century sculptor, who may be the same Lorenzetto, the great admirer of the Danzatrici. It represents two maidens in the act of hanging a garland on a candelabra, while a third is approaching the group from the left, carrying a fresh supply of flowers in her hand. I must mention in the last place another replica of the Danzatrici, also cast in bronze by a Renaissance artist, which forms part of the Wallace collection at Hertford House, and which has lately given a charming subject for discussion to Claude Phillips, W. Thode, and Étienne Michon.[1]

I propose now to take the reader to the house inhabited by Raphael in the last period of his life, which, I grieve to say, has not yet been transformed into a shrine sacred to his memory.

Pope Alexander VI, wishing to provide the Vatican with

[1] Compare Claude Phillips, "A Bronze Relief in the Wallace Collection," in the *Burlington Magazine* of February, 1904, pp. 111–124; Thode, *ibid.* March, 1904, p. 215; Étienne Michon, *Un Bas-relief de bronze du musée du Louvre*, Paris, 1905.

a better approach from the bridge of Sant' Angelo than that afforded by the narrow and tortuous Carriera Sancta (the present Borgo Vecchio), opened in 1499 a new road through orchards and gardens, which he called "Alessandrina," a name now replaced by that of Borgo Nuovo. Privileges were granted to owners of property on either side of the street, provided they would erect houses within a specified time, with façades at least forty-three feet high. Now it happened that the trustees of the hospital of Santo Spirito, whose property, named "Il Palazzo della Stufa," had been cut through by the new street, not being able to stand the expense of rebuilding it, sold it, on June 5, 1500, to Adriano Caprini of Viterbo, apostolic prothonotary and secretary to the cardinal of Capua, on condition that he should make a yearly contribution of twenty-four ducats to the hospital, and complete the building within the time stated in the papal edict. Adriano Caprini, who had already met Bramante, during the latter's stay at Viterbo for the reconstruction of the sanctuary of the Madonna della Quercia, gave him the commission of designing the new house; in this work Bramante was probably assisted by Raphael, who was at that time occupying his leisure hours in the study of architecture.

On the 7th day of October, 1517, the brothers Caprini sold the mansion to Raphael for the sum of 3600 ducats. Vasari, with his habitual carelessness, speaks twice of this transaction, giving the reader to understand that Raphael himself had commissioned Bramantè to design the new façade (per lasciare memoria di se' fece murare un palazzo a Roma in Borgo Nuovo, il quale Bramante . . . etc.). The discovery of the title deed[1] settles all controversy on this

[1] Made by Adamo Rossi in 1844 in the Archivio Urbano of Rome, *Diversorum*, vol. xxx.

point, because in October, 1517, the old architect had been dead three years. Vasari's passage, therefore, must be interpreted in the sense that Raphael became in 1517 the owner of a palatial residence, the designs for which had been furnished to the vendor by Bramante.

Would it be possible after the lapse of four centuries to identify its site and perhaps to find traces of the studio in which the divine artist painted his last canvases, and of the room in which he gave his last farewell to the Fornarina? To answer these two questions satisfactorily we must follow the transfers of the property from hand to hand until our own times.

First of all, it is not true that the property had been left by the dying artist to Cardinal da Bibbiena, as it were in expiation of his behavior towards the latter's niece Maria; on the contrary, the executors of the will, pressed by creditors, headed by the duke of Ferrara,[1] sold it in October, 1520, to Cardinal Pietro Accolti, the nearest neighbor, with the approbation of Leo X. The property could not have fallen into better hands, the purchaser's lineage, culture, dignities, and appreciation of art making him the most suitable tenant of the late master's rooms. The rea-

[1] It seems hardly credible that the noble and wealthy duke should be so anxious to recover the paltry sum of forty ducats advanced to the deceased artist for a picture which he had left unfinished. More strange to me is the behavior of the executors in getting rid so hastily of a valuable property in order to pay such absurdly small debts, when it is an indisputable fact that Raphael had died a comparatively wealthy man. From April 1, 1514, he had drawn a salary of three hundred ducats a year for superintending the Fabbrica, which he deposited with the court banker, Simone Ricasoli; he had received furthermore a remuneration of twelve hundred scudi for each of the frescoes of the stanze. In a despatch of the ambassador of Ferrara, written the day after Raphael's death, the amount of the fortune left by him is set down at sixteen thousand ducats, of which six thousand was in houses and landed property. Vasari's story, therefore, concerning the cardinalship offered in compensation for the vast arrears due to him by the Camera, is without foundation.

son of this purchase must be found in the fact that the two palaces, that of Raphael and that of the cardinal, stood so close to each other that there had been complaints between the owners about the smoke of a chimney, which prevented the artist from working in his studio when the wind blew from the west. The two properties, in fact, were separated only by the humble dwelling of a Venetian named Bartolomeo Zon. The block was inherited in 1532 by Accolti's nephew Benedetto, a cardinal himself and archbishop of Ravenna, who was imprisoned in the castle of Sant' Angelo by order of Paul III, and set free in 1535 on the payment of a ransom or security of sixty thousand scudi.

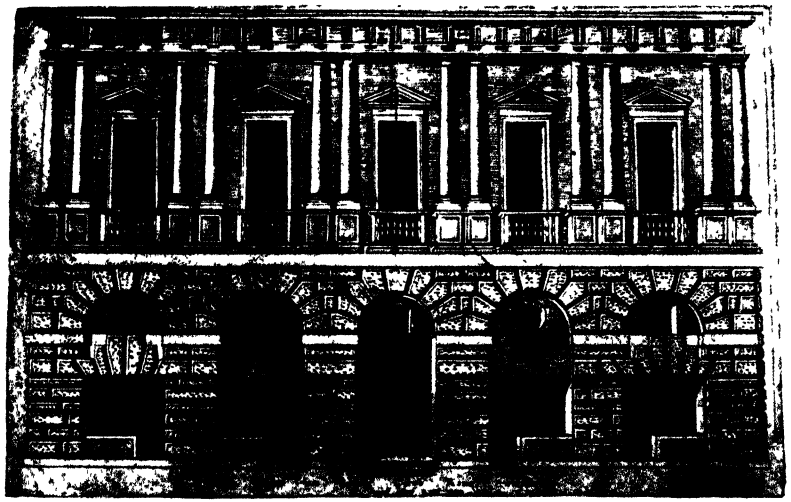
Cardinal Benedetto sold the property in 1540 for the insignificant sum of six thousand scudi to Benvenuto Olivieri, a banker of Florence, and in the deed the location and the boundaries of Raphael's dwelling are specified in a perfectly clear way.

"The property," it says, "is bounded by the Via Alessandrina [Borgo Nuovo] on the north; the piazza of Cardinal Salviati [Scossacavalli] on the east; the *Carreria Sancta* [Borgo Vecchio] on the south; and the houses of the bishop of Ancona on the north." We know, therefore, that the house of Raphael must be found within the area of the present Ospizio dei Convertendi, to which institution the block was bequeathed by Cardinal Gastaldi, the last private owner, in 1685.[1] The identification is made easier by the many drawings of the sixteenth century artists in which the block is represented in its original state. The one I have selected for my illustration is an engraving published by Lafreri in 1549, with the title "*Raph*[aelis] *urbinat*[is palatium] *ex lapide coctili Romae exstructum*," which must

[1] The property had passed from Benvenuto Olivieri to another Florentine banker, Strozzi, and later on to Cardinals Comendone, Spinola, and Gastaldi.

be understood in the sense that Bramante had made use in building of a new kind of masonry, called by Lafreri "lapis coctilis," and by Vasari "fabbrica di getto."

Identical with this print are the drawing by Palladio, published by Geymüller in his "Raffaele studiato come architetto," and another by Domenico Alfani (in the municipal



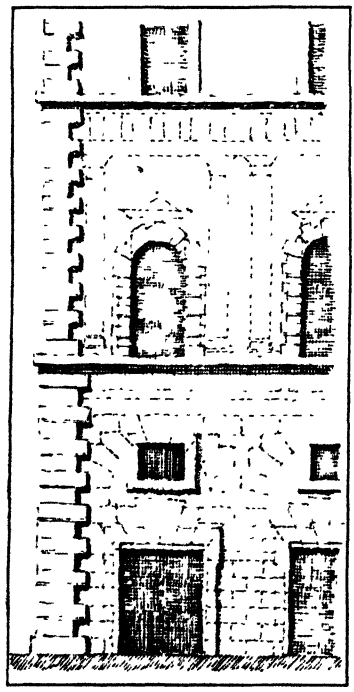
The house of Raphael in the Borgo, from an engraving by A. Lafreri

library at Perugia), who on visiting Rome in 1581 made a pilgrimage to the house and grave of Raphael, and entered notes of both in his sketch-book. The sketch of the house is interesting because it shows the ground floor already transformed by Cardinal Comendone into its present state.

I have been obliged to enter into these particulars in order to convince the reader that what I am now going to state in regard to Raphael's studio and bedchamber is not a matter of conjecture, but the simple and indisputable truth.

There is no doubt that very little is left of the original building, owing to the incredible negligence of Bramante,

who may have been a genial artist, but who was certainly a wretched builder. The foundations have been strengthened, propped up, or rebuilt *ex novo* not less than five times, — first by Comendone in 1582, second by Gastaldi in 1685, third after the inundation of 1805, again by Boldrini in 1848, and by Martinucci in 1870. And yet the principal part of the house — the atelier of the divine artist — has escaped destruction. The room occupies the corner between the piazza di Scossacavalli and the Borgo, with two windows on the former, and it is remarkable both for its size and height and for the beautiful wooden ceiling, which a committee of experts, appointed in 1889 by the city, declared to be "corretta grandiosa . . . opera di Bramante." The greed of the modern owners has ruined the artistic effect of the room by cutting it into two apartments, with the help of a partition wall, an obstacle which we hope soon to see removed. And here I must refer the reader to my friend Domenico Gnoli, the illustrious poet and historian, who entered this house for the first time in 1886. "I had for a companion in this visit," he says, "a young architect, the author of the national monument to Victor Emmanuel [Count Giuseppe Sacconi], and on crossing the threshold and raising our eyes to the ceiling, we



The house of Raphael (dotted lines), transformed into its present shape by Cardinal Comendone in 1582

were struck by the same idea. Considering how the height of the room is characteristic of an artist's studio, where a canvas of the size of that of the Transfiguration could be painted, it is impossible not to feel a thrill of emotion, not to bend one's knee in reverence, not to imagine the glorious youth, the most absolute and perfect incarnation of Italian genius, lying at the foot of his last creation, among his weeping pupils and friends. Poor Margherita is dragged away from the house of her lover; painters, prelates, and cardinals are coming and going with grief stamped on their countenances; and the Pope is sending every moment for news. It is the night of Good Friday, the anniversary of the Lord's death. Suddenly some cracks appear in the Loggie painted by the dead man, which seem to threaten ruin to the Vatican palace. Leo X runs for shelter, by the corridor of Alexander VI, to the castle of Sant' Angelo, while the sad news is spread through the city and the foreign ambassadors hasten to communicate it to their respective governments. Raphael is dead! The king of art is no more. Yet when a king dies his crown passes to another head; but where is a successor to be found who can wear Raphael's ideal crown?"

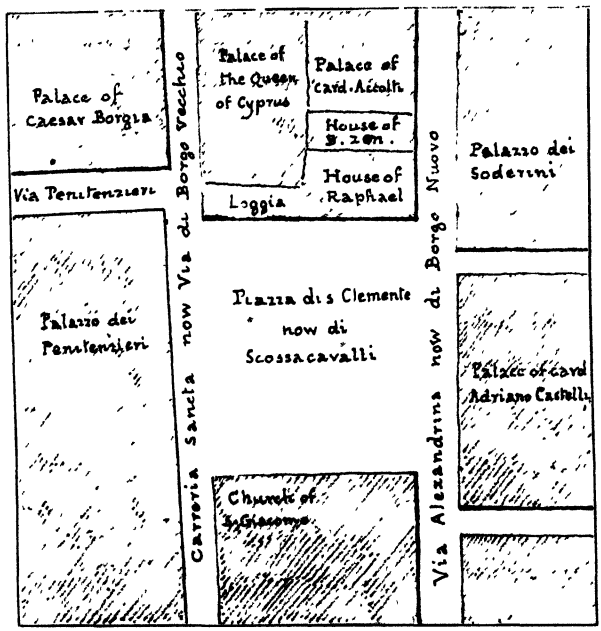
A door opening on the south wall of the studio led into a loggia which extended as far as the corner of the Borgo Vecchio. The loggia had six arches supported by stone pilasters, resembling in design and ornamentation those of the Vatican palace, named after Raphael himself. Here, in the cool of the evening, he must have found himself surrounded oftentimes by his own School of Athens, conversing with Bembo and Castiglione, while his old and austere guest, Fabio Calvo, would be explaining the rules of Vitruvius to Giulio and Lorenzetto. We must complete the group with the figures of Giovanni da Udine, il Fattore, and Marcantonio Raimondi discussing the move of a line or the value

of a tone of color, or laughing with Bibbiena and Messer Branconi dall' Aquila, the well-known keeper of the elephant presented to Leo X by the king of Portugal, a great beast which had the distinction of being portrayed by Raphael, and of giving its name to a street.

And what an impressive view they would behold from the loggia! There stood on the right side the Palazzo dei Penitenzieri, built by Cardinal Domenico della Rovere and decorated by Pinturicchio, facing the one designed by Bramante for the wealthy Cardinal Adriano Castelli da Corneto. How many tales of crime, how many deeds of violence, how many traditions of splendor and wickedness could be mentioned in connection with both places. From the gate of the first not long ago the handsome Cardinal Alidosi had emerged, to be murdered by Francesco Maria della Rovere's own hand in the streets of Ravenna; and in the garden of the second a tragical supper had taken place, which had cost Alexander VI his life, and his son Cæsar Borgia a cruel illness. The background was formed by the castle of Sant' Angelo, where Leo X had just caused Cardinal Petrucci to be put to death by strangulation, while he was examining with the help of glasses the scenes painted by Raphael for the representation of the *Suppositi* of Ariosto.

In the history of the Peninsula we find no drama which can stand a comparison for scenes of wickedness and grandeur, for civilization and barbarity, with the one enacted in Rome from the pontificate of the Borgia to the sack of 1527. Under Leo X, however, no rumors of war, no conspiracies, no political contingencies, no religious controversies could check the gay, careless, thoughtless spirit which prevailed in court circles, and especially among the Florentine element by which the Pope was surrounded. A

hunting party in the woods of La Magliana, a new play by Bibbiena, a fresh joke by Fra Mariano, the completion of a new masterpiece by Bramante, Raphael, or Marcantonio, a corrida or a tournament attended with loss of life, and other



Plan of view from Raphael's house

such wonders of the moment, aroused the interest of society more than the rumors of war or of an impending religious secession. In the midst of the joyous throng of masks celebrating the carnival, of the cavalcades of state in which each prince of the church rode at the head of a powerful retinue of courtiers, body-guards, and partisans, in the general thoughtlessness of the day, a keen observer would have noticed an unknown German friar, on his way from the Augustinian convent of Santa Maria del Popolo to the grave of St. Peter, casting horrified glances at such scenes of

moral depravation, amid such surroundings. The sack of 1527 was the outcome of the impressions which the unknown German friar carried away from Rome on returning to his native land.

Art, however, equally unconscious of the cruelties of the Borgia, of the warlike ambitions of the della Rovere, and of the gayeties of the Medici, had risen pure, noble, great, to heights never attained before ; Raphael's house had become its temple. Rome knew of but one artist, and considered that other painters, architects, and sculptors merely carried out his designs. While he himself was directing the reconstruction of St. Peter's, and painting the St. Michael and the Pearl for the king of France, and the Transfiguration for Cardinal de' Medici, princes, bankers, noblemen, prelates were soliciting other works from his hand. To no less strain was put the energy of his pupils, who were covering the walls of the Stanze and the ceilings of the Loggie with immortal paintings, building palaces and villas, laying out gardens, decorating façades and loggias with reliefs in gilt stucco, excavating ancient ruins, and scouring Latium, Campania, and Greece in quest of classic architectural motives. No such active workshop has been or will ever be known in the history of art.

CHAPTER VII

AGOSTINO CHIGI "IL MAGNIFICO" AND THE "CONTRADA DEI BANCHI"

AGOSTINO CHIGI, born at Siena about 1465, of Mariano and Margarita Baldi, was gifted by nature with such keen insight and exquisite tact in the art of trading, that before reaching his fortieth year he had become, financially, the most powerful man in the world. Republics and kingdoms, Christians and infidels, popes and sultans alike, showed the same anxiety to secure his help in monetary affairs, and the same willingness to entrust to him the collectorship of their revenues and customs. Not less "magnifico" does he appear in connection with art and artists, his name being inseparable from those of Raphael, Peruzzi, Giulio Romano, il Sodoma, Penni, Luciani, Lotti, Nani, whom he favored and enriched, and whom he led to the accomplishment of such beautiful works as the chapel in the church of Santa Maria della Pace, the chapel of our Lady of Loreto in the church of Santa Maria del Popolo, and the Casino and gardens by the Porta Settimiana (the Farnesina). By a curious but by no means unprecedented coincidence, while many of his contemporaries of dubious fame, or of no fame at all, have found their historians and their panegyrists, no record exists of the career of Agostino, if we except the three attempts made by Cardinal Sforza Pallavicino, Giuseppe Bonafede the Augustinian, and Angelo Galluzzi the Jesuit,[1] which are

[1] Pallavicino, *Vita di Alessandro VII*, Rome, 1849, vii, 1; Bonafede, *I Chigi Augusti*, Venice, 1660, p. 169; Galluzzi, *Duodecim virorum e gente, Chisia elogia*, MSS. in the Chigi Library marked R. V. e.

hardly worth mentioning. A biography, however, exists, written by Agostino's own nephew, Fabio Chigi, who, having been elected Pope in 1655, took the name of Alexander VII. This valuable manuscript, discovered by Professor Giuseppe Cugnoni in 1879 and edited in the following year,[1] supplies us with information concerning the splendid use which Agostino made of his boundless wealth, an object lesson to modern Crœsuses, who "pecudum ritu ad voluptatem omnia referunt."[2]

The Contrada dei Banchi, the Wall Street of the Renaissance, is among those which have suffered the most in the recent transformation of the city. A centre of life, business, and wealth — where real property had attained fabulous prices — over-crowded and congested, with its ill-lighted premises and ill-ventilated courts, it began to lose its prestige after the middle of the sixteenth century, viz., after the completion of the "piano regolatore" or street reform of Paul III. Rank, fashion, and "la haute finance" began to desert the populous quarters of Ponte and Parione to seek space, air, health, and sunshine in those of Trevi, Colonna, and Monti. And so it came to pass that the section of the city considered the most fashionable and desirable from the time of Innocent VIII to that of Paul III lost caste after the death of the latter, and the palazzetti, until then inhabited by bankers, merchants, and prelates, found tenants only among the lower classes of tradesmen. For this reason the Contrada dei Banchi, with the adjacent courts, lanes, and alleys, has kept its sixteenth century aspect till the present day, free from the changes which modern civilization has inflicted on more fashionable quarters.

[1] *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria*, vol. ii, a. 1879, pp. 38, 209, 475; vol. iii, 1880, pp. 213, 291, 422.

[2] Cicero, *Laelius*, 9.



THE HOUSE AND BANK OF BINDO ALTOVITI, ON THE TIBER

Destroyed in 1889

By the expression "the present day" I mean a period of time within my own personal recollection, because evil days have fallen lately upon this picturesque corner, depriving it of many landmarks and of many associations with a glorious past. The men to whom the city has entrusted the safeguarding of its archæological and historical interests cannot be called responsible for the damage done, because, when the piano regolatore was discussed and sanctioned in 1873–75, we had obtained a guarantee that the Contrada dei Banchi should suffer no alteration. In 1889, however, the Town Council was suddenly asked to sanction an alteration in the line of the new Corso Vittorio Emmanuele, and before we conservative men had recovered from our surprise the banks and the houses of the Martelli, of the Bini, of the Altoviti, of the Ricasoli, and the Oratorio dei Fiorentini had fallen under the pickaxe of the reformer.

Agostino's first move in business was to join forces with the Sienese banker, Stefano Ghinucci. Their aggregate capital did not exceed two thousand two hundred and fifty dollars, and the office they rented in the Via dei Banchi was quite unpretentious; yet they succeeded so well from the first, that on May 30, 1502, Agostino was able to enter a second partnership with Francesco Tommasi, with a capital of ten thousand dollars. Three years later he appears as the leading shareholder in the firm of Chigi, Spannocchi & Co., and in 1508 as the sole owner and manager of the most prosperous and extensive banking concern in the world, dealing with France, Spain, Germany, the Low Countries, England, and Turkey in every possible branch of trade, and monopolizing in Italy the three staple commodities, salt, wheat, and alum. The first was obtained by natural evaporation of the sea water in the salt-works of Ostia, Corneto, Camposalino, Cervia, and Manfredonia, and distributed

through every city, village, and hamlet of both the Pontifical and the Neapolitan states, in accordance with the number of the inhabitants of each, for which purpose Agostino was supplied with official statistics by both the Pope and the viceroy. Salt played a most important part in public life at that time, when a rainy summer would seriously affect the condition of the evaporation fields, and lessen or destroy their product, and when the total absence of roads made distribution in mountainous districts a task of no little difficulty. For these reasons the grant of a certain quantity of salt, free of duty, was considered an act of great liberality on the part of the Popes. When the people of Tivoli gave permission to Leo X to destroy 14,000 feet of the great stone wall which supported on either side their old Via Tiburtina, between the Sulphur Springs (*Aquae albulae*) and the mausoleum of Plautius Lucanus, that he might use the blocks for the rebuilding of St. Peter's, the Pope could not express his gratitude in a more becoming way than by granting them a yearly present of fifty bushels of salt (September 4, 1519). Agostino became also an exporter, and so keen was the competition in this special line of business that in the year 1511 he instigated Pope Julius II to declare war against Alfonso d' Este, duke of Ferrara, because he was selling the product of the salt-works of Comacchio to Lombardy and Piedmont at a lower rate than Agostino could afford to sell that of Cervia. Thus thousands of men were maimed or killed, and hundreds of villages burnt or pillaged, and the horrors of war spread over a considerable part of the Peninsula, and Louis XII and Ferdinand V and the Venetians compelled to take a share in the fight, for the sake of a small pond of brine. The fact, however surprising it may appear, is certified by Leonardo da Porto, Mambrino Roseo, and Francesco Guicciardini, three grave historians,

who, however, ignore Agostino's personal share in the event.

I regret to have to record that the last surviving evidence of the young banker's industry in this branch of business was destroyed not many years ago. The salt-works of Ostia, established by Ancus Marcius twenty-five centuries ago, to secure for the Romans the monopoly, and which were still worked in the same simple manner, by letting the sea-water flow from one evaporating pond into another until the brine was ready to crystallize, ought to have been respected as a national historical monument. The high-road followed by the Sabines and, indirectly, by the Umbrians and southern Etruscans to reach the "Salinae Ostienses" still bears the name of Via Salaria; and the name of *salara* was attached until lately to the old warehouses built by King Ancus at the foot of the Clivus Publicius near the Porta Trigemina. Repaired and enlarged from time to time by kings and consuls, by emperors and popes, they were a landmark of the Sub-aventine district from the year 625 B. C. to the spring of 1888. The historical though unpretending edifice was pulled down to connect the new Quartiere di Testaccio with the city by a convenient thoroughfare. The same fate has befallen the old salt-pans at the mouth of the Tiber. Those on the right bank were done away with in the sixteenth century; those of Ostia in 1874.

As regards the alum monopoly, it must be remembered that this substance, so essential to dyers of woollen or silk goods, could be obtained, previous to 1458, only from the Turkish mines of Rocca; hence the name of "allume di Rocca," which it still bears in popular language, and in the labels of certain old-fashioned apothecary shops. Now it happened that an excellent naturalist, Giovanni, son of the celebrated jurisconsult, Paolo de Castro, who had spent

many years in Constantinople as an agent and broker for eastern dye-works, was named by Pope Pius II governor of the so-called "Patrimony of St. Peter" in the year 1458; and when he visited for the first time the district of La Tolfa, near Civita-vecchia, he noticed that certain hills on the west side of the village were covered with a dense growth of Ilex Aquifolium, the characteristic feature of the alum mines of



The old channel connecting the Ostia salt-works with the sea. The pine forest of Castel Fusano in the background

Rocca. The coincidence he considered not altogether fortuitous. He caused a shaft to be bored through the rock, submitted the mineral to a chemical test, and was able to announce to Pius II the news that Christian Europe was to depend no longer upon the infidels for such an important industry, and that the income they used to derive from their mines of Rocca was henceforth to be transferred to the Holy See. Four years after the discovery of Giovanni de Castro, the alum works of La Tolfa were yielding a net revenue of ninety thousand dollars. Giovanni was honored

with a statue inscribed ALVMINIS INVENTORI, and rewarded with a lifetime allowance from the income of the mines, which, at the time of their farming by Agostino Chigi, had risen to one hundred thousand dollars a year.

The College of Cardinals, considering the discovery of Giovanni in the light of a miraculous gift of God, pledged itself by oath to devote the revenue to save Italy and Europe from the invasion of the Turks; hence the name of "allume della Santa Crociata" (alum of the Holy Crusade) given to the mineral in contemporary documents. It was shipped to all Mediterranean ports from the harbor of Porto Ercole, the property of which had been granted to Agostino by the republic of Siena, and for a number of years that small sea-town saw hundreds of vessels set sail towards every point of the compass, and come back in due time to Agostino laden with foreign merchandise. Alum was shipped as far as the port of Antwerp, where Agostino's agents, Diego de Haro and Juan de Mil, resold it to the cities of the Hanseatic League. The wholesale agency in London was technically named "Scalo d' Inghilterra." But alas! the golden days of the Tolfa mine were soon over. The Appiani of Piombino, having discovered another lode within their own territory, entered into a tariff war, with the result that the revenues of the Holy Crusade fell from a hundred to thirty thousand a year. Pope Paul IV pledged the mine to money-lenders for the sum of 133,330 scudi, issuing shares of one hundred scudi each at the enormous interest of ten per cent. After many other vicissitudes, of local more than of historical interest, the "République Romaine," the disreputable daughter of General Bonaparte, made a present of the Tolfa mines to her greedy elder sister the "République Française," which, needless to say, sold them at once to a Genoese firm, for 600,000 scudi. Since the

discovery of the process by which alum can be artificially produced, the value of the Tolfa works has nearly vanished; yet a journey across that picturesque district, on the road from Civita-vecchia to the Baths of Stigliano, could not fail to interest my reader, especially if learned in mineralogy. The rocks about the old quarry are said to contain gold, silver, iron, lead, and copper, although in quantities too small to attract speculation. The name of Agostino il Magnifico is still remembered by the villagers as that of the founder of their beautiful church of Santa Maria della Sughera.

I have just mentioned the raising of a loan of 133,330 scudi, and the issuing of shares called "Luoghi di Monte delle allumiere" at the time of Pope Caraffa, Paul IV. As the name still survives in Rome in the Monte della Farina, Monte della Pietà, etc., and as these institutions play a preponderant part in the financial history of the sixteenth century, I think I owe the reader a few words of explanation.

State securities or consols called "Luoghi di Monte" were issued for the first time by Pope Clement VII in 1533, to help the Emperor Charles V in his naval enterprise against the pirates of Tunis. Before that time, money was obtained directly from bankers on the guarantee of a corresponding value in jewels or gold or silver plate, which the money-lender was authorized to keep in his own safe until the debt was fully redeemed. I have found in the state archives[1] the account of a transaction of this kind which occurred in 1521 between Leo X and the brothers Piero and Giovanni Bini, Florentine bankers in Rome. It appears that the firm, having accommodated the Pope from time to time with loans

[1] Volume n. 409, pp. 240, 241. A copy of the same document is to be found among the Strozzi papers at Florence. See *Archivio storico dell' Arte*, vol. i, p. 271.

to the total of 156,000 ducats ($195,000), for which no special security was given besides the written acknowledgment of the august debtor, claimed a more substantial safeguard of their interests. The Pope granted it at once in the form of a motuproprio, dated September 25, 1521, and containing the following stipulations: First, the brothers Bini were authorized to sell to the highest bidder the offices of the papal Curia, as fast as they became vacant through the death of their present titular. Secondly, the proceeds of the sale up to the sum of 39,000 ducats ($48,750) were given to the Bini, the surplus to be divided in equal shares between them and the Apostolic Chamber. Thirdly, the compact was to last until the Bini had fully recovered their capital of 156,000 ducats and the interest. Fourthly, as a token of his good faith, the Pope entrusted to the firm the safe-keeping of the mitre of Paul II, the mitre and tiara of Julius II, and the "sacred pontifical silver vessels, including those used for the celebration of divine service!" (vasa argentea, etiam ad sacra ministranda deputata).

These three magnificent specimens of the skill of the goldsmiths and jewellers of the Renaissance were usually kept in the strong-room of the castle of Sant' Angelo, which the humanists of the period called pedantically the "Aerarium Sanctius" in imitation of the sacred treasury of the Temple of Saturn, which was never touched except in case of extreme peril. The description of the triregnum, or triple tiara of Julius II, occupies not less than four closely written pages in the inventory of the contents of that strong-room (May 30, 1572). This gorgeous head-gear was studded with 39 diamonds, 29 emeralds, 22 sapphires, 69 rubies, 27 balases, and 571 pearls, besides an inscription written in small diamonds, and punctuated with small rubies, which read: IVLIVS · LIGVR · PP · II · ANNO · VII.

The house and banking premises of the Bini, in which these affairs took place, were demolished in 1888. They stood at the corner of the Via del Consolato and the Via dei



The coat of arms of the Bini, painted by Pierino del Vaga on the ceiling of their banking premises

Banchi, near the little church of Santa Maria della Consolazione, a structure severe and heavy on the outside, enclosing, however, a court and a loggia so graceful and elegant in design that they were commonly attributed to Raphael or Lorenzetto. The hall, where the clerks and cashiers sat at their counters, had a vaulted ceiling, in the centre of which was one of the most captivating compositions of Pierino del Vaga, — two Cupids holding a round frame of fruit and flowers with the coat of arms of the Bini in the centre. Other such compositions by the same master are still to be seen in the Palazzo Baldassini, in the Via delle Cappelle, in the chapel of the Crucifix at San Marcello, and in the transept of the church of the Trinità del Monte — these last especially praised by Vasari. The materials of the portico, drawn, photographed, and numbered piece by piece before their removal, are now preserved in the garden of the Municipal Antiquarium at the Orto Botanico, where we hope to be able to set it up again as one of the last specimens of sixteenth century domestic architecture. Part

of the coat of arms of the Bini, detached from the ceiling and transferred to canvas, is preserved in the Palazzo de' Conservatori.

To come back to state bonds or "Luoghi di Monte:" the capital raised by their founder, Clement VII, was only $200,000, bearing an interest of ten per cent.; but having found out how easy it was to replenish the coffers of the Holy See by means of these loans, the burden of which could be distributed over a long period of years, Clement VII and his immediate successors increased the public debt to such an extent that all the revenues of the Pontifical States could hardly suffice for the payment of interest. It is said that from the time of Paul III to that of Paul IV, that is, in the short period of twenty years, the Apostolic Chamber had spent sixteen millions of dollars in subsidizing German princelets who had remained faithful to Rome, borrowing the money sometimes at twelve and a half per cent.

Another pernicious effect of the institution of the Luoghi di Monte was the gradual abandonment and depopulation of the Campagna. The Roman farmers, whose average income from tilling the soil did not exceed five per cent., and whose very life was in constant danger from bandits and malaria, grasped at once the chance offered them by the consols of earning double without risk or anxiety. Agriculture revived only towards the end of the eighteenth century, when the troubles with France and the outrageous impositions of the French invaders compelled Pope Pius VI to reduce the interest on the public debt (amounting to one hundred and thirty millions of dollars) to three per cent. In fact, for the space of four years no interest at all was paid on the bonds, and it was not till March 19, 1801, that the good Pope was able to announce the resumption of payments at the reduced rate of two per cent.

When Agostino Chigi opened his offices in the Contrada dei Banchi at the time of the Borgias, so general and so great was the ignorance of the court and of the public in financial matters, that a skilled and daring speculator like him could quickly gain control of the market without peril or fear of competition. Once only he seems to have run a certain amount of risk, when all his small rivals joined in a conspiracy to raise a panic among the "correntisti"[1] and take Agostino unawares. He himself addressed the excited crowd that besieged his counters, declaring himself ready to meet their demands, whether they preferred to be reimbursed in silver or gold, or in any kind of foreign currency which had a legal value in the Pope's dominions. The crowd withdrew without cashing a single cheque. Fabio relates another episode, connected with the fair of Foligno, where the best products of central Italy in every branch of industry were periodically brought to market. Agostino, happening to be present at one of these gatherings, bought the whole stock, asking for three days' grace to settle the accounts. At the end of the third day every article had been resold at a premium, and the heavy balance added to the yearly profits of the bank. Historians have attempted to give an estimate of his wealth, but Agostino himself, having once been asked by Leo X, whom he was fond of entertaining in his garden by the Porta Settimiana, if he could state within certain limits the amount of his fortune, said that the number and variety of affairs in which he was engaged, both in Europe and in the East, made the answer a difficult if not an impossible one. He could only say that besides the central house at Rome, he had a hundred branch houses in Italy, and five abroad, at Constantinople, Alexandria, Cairo, Lyons, and London. One hundred vessels sailed

[1] Holders of current accounts.

under his flag, from the docks and harbor of Porto Ercole; and twenty thousand men were in his pay.

In the inventory made by order of Clement VII in 1526, in consequence of certain differences which had arisen between Agostino's sons and their uncle and guardian Sigismondo, the following properties are mentioned: the farms and castles of Serpentara, Castel Giuliano, Fiorano, and Scorano, stocked with many thousand head of cattle; the cities of Porto Ercole, Atessa, Castel Vacone; the fishing of the lake of Fucino, which, together with that of Fogliano, supplied the market of Rome in the numberless fast days of the year; coined gold in cash, weighing four thousand pounds; a yearly income of $87,500, and so much silver plate and jewelry that it equalled in quantity that of all the Roman nobility put together. His bedstead was carved in ivory, encrusted with gold and studded with precious stones. The fixtures of the bathroom were of solid silver. The villa of Porto Ercole contained so much treasure that the Turks made a special but unsuccessful expedition to gain possession of it in 1544. His city stables held one hundred horses, including the famous Arabian thoroughbred, of which the Sultan of Turkey had made a present to the "gran mercante di Christianità."

Must we look upon all these details as a loud and vulgar display of wealth? Not in the least. The details sink into insignificance if we recall the munificent protection accorded by Agostino to art and artists, and the number of masterpieces the existence of which is due to him alone, and which still constitute the pride of Rome.

He was a born collector, Fabio says, and there was no more space left for pictures, statues, bronzes, busts, and "oggetti di scavo" in his various residences. Raphael, Perugino, Giovanni Barrili, Giulio Romano, Giovanni da Udine,

il Fattore, Lorenzetto, Bramante, Girolamo Genga, Baldassare Peruzzi, Sebastiano del Piombo, and il Sodoma were all in his employ at various times, and have left their names written in imperishable letters in Agostino's Farnesina, in his chapels at Santa Maria della Pace, at Santa Maria del Popolo, and at S. Caterina da Siena in the Via Giulia, and in his mansions at Rome and Siena. The protection afforded to these artists never failed even in the face of the ill-will of popes and cardinals. When Sodoma came to Rome in 1508 on the recommendation of Agostino's brother Sigismondo (for whom he had painted the front and the main hall of the palace at Siena), Agostino secured for him at once a commission to paint certain rooms in the Vatican, above the apartment of Julius II. Whether the Pope took a dislike to the newcomer, inexperienced in court manners, or whether he disapproved of his work, the fact is that poor Sodoma was dismissed, and the finishing or the doing over of his work entrusted to Raphael. Agostino felt the offence given to his protégé as a personal one, and commissioned him at once to paint his own bedroom in the villa near the Porta Settimiana. To this little court intrigue, therefore, we owe the creation of Sodoma's delightful masterpiece, the Wedding of Alexander and Roxana, of which I give a reproduction.

The only genius of the age with whom Agostino never came in contact was Michelangelo Buonarroti. Perhaps the proud nature of the artist made him loath to bend before wealth; perhaps the banker had recognized in the Florentine master the rival, if not the enemy, of Raphael, and having openly espoused the cause of the latter, he thought it a wise plan to keep them apart. And yet when the question came of settling a price for Raphael's frescoes in the chapel at Santa Maria della Pace, who should be named judge



THE "NOZZE DI ALESSANDRO" BY SODOMA, IN THE BEDCHAMBER OF THE VILLA OF AGOSTINO CHIGI

From the engraving by Mitterpock

(through the blunder of Agostino's head cashier, Giulio Borghese) but Michelangelo himself! I do not know whether he accepted the trust or how the matter ended; at all events, the premature death of the painter soon removed any cause of ill-feeling, if indeed any had ever existed between the two.

I wonder whether the story of the "visiting card" left by Michelangelo at La Farnesina is genuine, or whether it must be considered a new and revised version of the tale about Apelles at the studio of Praxiteles. At all events, the colossal head of Alexander the Great (?), sketched in charcoal by Michelangelo in the very room in which Raphael was painting the beautiful Galatea, was meant as a memorial to Daniele da Volterra, who in conjunction with Sebastiano del Piombo was painting at that time the lunettes of the same room. A comparative glance at the Galatea and at the charcoal head impresses us more as an object lesson on the difference of manner and style and feeling of the two great masters and rivals, than the hundreds of pages written on the same subject by their respective biographers.

Agostino's characteristic in connection with art was originality of conception. He gave the inspiring note; the artists adapted themselves to it to the best of their ability. The following instance shows how far he dared to go in the field of originality. It was customary in those days for the newly elected Pope to ride in state from the Vatican to the Lateran to take possession of the episcopal chair in that cathedral, "omnium ecclesiarum urbis et orbis mater et caput;" it was customary also for the City Council, for the magistrates of each ward or rione crossed by the cavalcade, for ambassadors, noblemen, corporations, etc., residing along the "Strada Papale," to make a festive display of loyalty,

by erecting stands, canopies, altars, and even triumphal arches at the entrance to each ward or in front of their respective residences. On the occasion of the "Solenne Possesso" of Leo X, announced for the morning of April 11, 1513, Agostino remembered that opposite his premises, spanning the street between them and the church of San Celso, had stood one of the triumphal arches of old Rome, erected in 380, in honor of Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius, as a suitable entrance to the Porticus Maximae, a covered way or colonnade which led from the Aelian Bridge to the southern gates of the city. It did not require great imagination on his part to restore the broken arch for the triumphal progress of his beloved Pope; but his originality manifested itself in the use of figures and groups of live men, women, and children, the fairest subjects to be found within the walls of Rome, in place of marble statues. The Pope rode the same white Arab horse with which he had been made a prisoner at the battle of Ravenna; so dear to him that a special staff of servants was detailed to attend to its wants and make life pleasant for it, until it died of sheer old age. I wonder what the thoughts of Leo, as a priest and as the head of the church, must have been in beholding the arch, on the frieze of which the following audacious distich had been engraved in letters of gold: —

OLIM · HABVIT · CYPRIS · SVA · TEMPORA · TEMPORA · MAVORS
OLIM · HABVIT · SVA · NVNC · TEMPORA · PALLAS · HABET

which, freely paraphrased, means: "Venus, the goddess of pleasure, had her sway under Alexander VI; Mars, the god of war, prevailed under Julius II; with thy advent, O Leo, the reign of the goddess of wisdom has begun." The live statues wore the attributes — and very little else — of Apollo, Mercury, and Pallas. There were also two nymphs, sur-

rounded by negro boys, one of whom "con audace faccia recitò alcuni versi," that is, had the courage to recite some verses while the Pope was riding through the arch.

As regards the personal appearance of Agostino, the best likeness known to me is to be found in a medallion formerly in the collection of Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni, from which it was transferred to that of Girolamo Odam. I do not know where the original is at present; but there is an excellent reproduction of it in Pier Leone Ghezzi's volume of original drawings, preserved in the office of the curator of antiques in the British Museum.

The reason why Agostino could secure at once a prominent place in patrician circles, and see his family inscribed in the Libro d' Oro long before his death, is to be found in the fact of his great wealth rather than in that of the ancient lineage of his race. A golden key has always had the power of opening the most obstinate doors of a Roman palace.

From the point of view of origin or descent, our patrician families form three classes: those the history of which goes back at least to the Byzantine period, as in the case of the Frangipane, the Massimi, and perhaps the Cenci, or to the middle ages, as in the case of the Colonna, Conti, Orsini, Caetani, Vitelleschi, Savelli, Della Valle, Doria, etc.; those which have obtained princely or ducal titles through their respective popes, like the Boncompagni, Ludovisi, Peretti, Borghese, Barberini, Rospigliosi, Altieri, etc.; and lastly those which had acquired wealth, power, and title long before one of their number had been raised to the pontificate. It is needless to say that all our sympathies are with this last class of active, straightforward, successful citizens, sprung mostly from the Contrada dei Banchi, who devoted their newly made fortunes to the protection of art and artists, to

the building of palaces and villas, to the gathering of pictures and marbles, to the exploration of ancient ruins, to the erection of chapels, churches, monasteries, and charitable institutions, through which things their names will live and be honored forever. I do not deny that as soon as these fortunate financiers were duly inscribed in the Libro d' Oro of the Roman Patriciate, flatterers and courtiers devised imaginary pedigrees, of which the volumes of Giovanni Battista Fentei "de prisca Caesiorum gente" and Carlo Strozzi "discendenza della Casa Barberina" fear no rivals for impudence and fertility of imagination. And even at the present day we find in fashionable almanacs hints at fabulous genealogies, in flagrant contrast with common sense, as if the living generations were ashamed to trace among their ancestors one of the honest speculators of the Contrada dei Banchi. A stranger, however, wandering through its main arteries and side lanes, from the Aelian Bridge to the Mint,[1] and from the "Immagine di Ponte" to the National Church of the Florentines, would have read on the brass plates the very best and most honorable names of Italy and Europe. Genoa was represented by the Pallavicini, Spinola, Gavotti, Negroni, Centurioni, and Cavalcanti; Como by the Odescalchi, Rezzonico, and Olgiate; Florence by the Ruccellai, Strozzi, Altoviti, Piccolomini, Pandolfini, Capponi, Monteauto, Gaddi, Bardi, Bandini, Ubaldini, and Boccacci; Germany by the Fugger, Furtembach, Engelhard, and Adler; Spain by the Fonseca, Nuñez, Cortez, Blaves; the Low Countries by Rumbhold Stellart; England by William Perin. The career of these "mercanti in Corte di Roma" was generally the same. Provided with a little

[1] This historical edifice, designed by Antonio da Sangallo the younger, is still in existence (although devoted to other purposes) at the corner of the Vie de' Banchi Vecchi and de' Banchi Nuovi.

capital ($2250 in the case of Agostino Chigi), and with letters of introduction to prelates of the papal court, they would open a counter for a special quality of goods of foreign make, — tapestries, brocades, silks, caps, stockings,



The entrance to the Chigi chapel in the church of Santa Maria del Popolo, with the tomb of the princess Mary Flaminia († 1771) by Paolo Poji

gloves, feathers, playing cards, perfumes, furs, musical instruments, ribbons, and the like. These shops were known by the name of "Calcettarie" or "Berrettarie," although

stockings and feathered caps formed but one item of their stock. No sooner had these newcomers realized a certain profit than they would secure, through their friends at court, the collectorship of tolls at one of the gates of the city, or at one of the landings of the Tiber. The third step was to obtain the administration of the Gabella della Carne, dello Studio, del Vino, etc.; the last was to build a house, a palace, a villa, and a chapel, and decorate them with a profusion of ancient and modern works of art. One instance shall answer for all.

The firm of Odescalchi & Co. is mentioned for the first time in 1520, apropos of certain business transacted and of a legal paper signed "in calcettaria d. Bernardini de Odescalchis et sociorum." Bernardino and his associate Rezzonico, men of ancient lineage and good social standing in their native country, had just left the shores of the lake of Como and set up a counter for silks, tapestries, and velvets on the ground floor of the house of Michele Lante, at the corner of the Via del Pellegrino and the Piazza di Campo de' Fiori. The house, which still exists, slightly modernized, was known in the seventeenth century as the "Casa di Matthia Corvino," from a painting which represented that valiant king of Hungary (1458–1490) defeating the Infidels, under the shape of the Devil.[1] Here the firm prospered and was joined in due course of time by other Odescalchi, Giovannantonio, Giovanbattista, and Francesco. In 1563 the house had come under the management of "Tommaso e Girolamo Odescalchi e Compagni," whose special business is described in the official ledger as follows: "To import from foreign manufacturers the cloth called stametta, and retail it in Rome, together with other articles." The merit of having

[1] A copy of this curious fresco is preserved in Codex xlix, 39 of the Barberini section of the Vatican library.

given the family a place in Roman society belongs to Paolo, a prelate of great distinction, bishop of Penne and Atri, auditor of the Apostolic Chamber, private secretary to Pope Paul IV, and the moving spirit of the league against the Turks which led to the victory of Lepanto. And to what use did the young and successful prelate put the fortune acquired by himself in the service of the Holy See, and by his kinsmen in the "calcettaria" at the corner of the Via del Pellegrino and the Campo de' Fiori? In 1561 I find him already in possession of one of the most beautiful gardens of the city, in that section of the Janiculum which was occupied in ancient times by the "Horti Getae," and in more recent times by the Villa Corsini. In 1565 he purchased from the Marchese Alberico Cibo-Malaspina, prince of Massa, another garden lavishly decorated with ancient statues and busts, which occupied the part of the present villa Borghese nearest to the Pincian hill. But the foundations for a museum intended to place the family on a level with other patrician collectors were laid only in February, 1572, with the purchase of the valuable collection of statuary formed by Giuseppe della Porta, and kept by Giuseppe's son and heir, Rodolfo, in a storeroom adjoining the Odescalchi premises in the Via del Pellegrino. The collection is described as containing "marble statues perfect or in a fragmentary state, busts, heads, hermæ, and other antiquities," besides "a modern, perfect, life-sized Venus leaning on a vase," which must have been modelled by Della Porta himself. Paolo Odescalchi's successors and heirs took such good care of this collection and endeavored to improve and enlarge it in so liberal a way that, at the extinction of the family in 1713, that is to say, after the purchase of the museum of Christine, queen of Sweden, it could scarcely find proper room in the magnificent palace of the Piazza

dei Santi Apostoli. My own copy of the inventory, made by a public notary on November 9, 1713, comprises eighteen closely written folio sheets, not to mention the large volume published in 1751 by Nicola Galeotti under the title of "Description of the Antique Gems formerly in the Possession of Queen Christine, and now preserved in the Odescalchi Museum." Alas! the death of the last male descendant of Bernardino (Livio I, nephew of Pope Innocent XI), which took place in the night between September 7 and 8, 1713, signed, as it were, the death warrant of the collection. The title and the possessions of the family passed into the hands of Livio's nephew, Baldassare Erba of Milan, and the new branch sold all the antiques to King Philip V of Spain, in exchange for the modest sum of twenty-five thousand doubloons (about $75,000).

One of the great drawbacks in commercial enterprises, and at the same time one of the great advantages to bankers, was the variety of coins having legal value in Rome, or tolerated there. Monetary transactions were carried on promiscuously in florins, ducats, scudi, testoni, corone, crazie, morapesini, carlini, giulii, etc., the exchange for which varied in different cities. This state of things was but natural in Rome, the lazy indigent, to the support of which the whole world was wont to contribute. The yearly receipts of the Dateria Apostolica alone (for collation of ecclesiastical benefices, and for matrimonial dispensations) amounted to $350,000, not to speak of the contributions for the jubilees, which may be valued at two millions for each period of twenty-five years. These oblations, the Peter's pence included, came from every corner of the earth; hence the necessity for the dwellers in the Contrada dei Banchi to keep themselves acquainted with their respective values, and with the fluctuations of the interna-

tional and interprovincial markets. The following curious episode of the sack of 1527 illustrates my point: —

There was in the city, in the Contrada di San Martinello near the present Monte della Pietà, a shop belonging to Pirovano & Bosio, a prosperous firm of linen drapers from Milan, who, on hearing of the approach of the Constable of Bourbon's army, and of the probable plunder of the city, hastened to conceal, wall up, or bury in various holes and hiding-places the contents of their safe. Strange to say, the old-fashioned stratagem succeeded beyond their expectations. Rome was stormed on the morning of May 6, 1537, and for eight days made to suffer horrors which no pen can describe.

One of the partners, Pirovano, died of the plague before the retreat of the Lansquenets; Bosio, the survivor, caused the hiding-places to be searched in the presence of a notary, and they were found to contain the following varieties of coins: 1181 Romani gold ducats, 21 Turkish, 96 of Mirandola, 393 of the Camera, 3 scudi del sole, 6000 giulii, and 1400 grossi.

The Farnesina has become famous in popular tradition more from the three Lucullean feasts offered within its precincts to Leo X than for the priceless art treasures it contained. The splendor and originality of these banquets has remained unequalled even in our days of money kings and railway magnates. The first of the three was given in an outbuilding intended for the stabling of horses and for the housing of coaches. Raphael himself had furnished the design for it, and its remains can be seen at the present day facing the Corsini palace, at the north end of the gardens, near the church of San Giacomo in Settimiana. The unfinished state of the building had been so skilfully concealed

by means of Flemish tapestries, oriental carpets, and cupboards filled with gold plate worthy the ransom of a king, that Leo X on beholding the sight said to Agostino that in the face of such magnificence he almost regretted the good old days of intimacy and familiarity, when he and Agostino sat at informal meals, unfettered by court etiquette; to which gentle speech Agostino replied that just on account of these recollections of former days he was daring to receive his Holiness in a manger, and lifting the nearest piece of tapestry, he showed his guest the boxes and stalls which lay concealed behind. The building was demolished or rather reduced to its present state at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

A few months later the second convivial gathering was held in the loggia or coffee-house, projecting on the Tiber at the south end of the garden, near the spot at which the mausoleum of Sulpicius Platorinus was discovered in 1880.[1] Sigismondo Tizio, the Sienese historian, who was present on the occasion, says that the price of three fish alone amounted to two hundred and fifty crowns; and that, to prove to the guests that the same silver plate was not used twice in the course of the meal, the dishes were thrown into the Tiber, where they fell into nets spread below the surface of the water. The loggia was demolished in 1883.

The third dinner, given in the main hall of the Casino on the 28th of August, 1519, on the feast day of Sant' Agostino, presented two original features. In the first place each of the twenty cardinals or foreign representatives was served on silver and gold plate bearing his particular coat of arms, crest, and motto, with such accuracy on the part of the butlers that not one single mistake occurred in the course of the meal. In the second place each guest was served with

[1] See *Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 265.

fish, game, fruit, vegetables, delicacies, and wines peculiar to his own country. These supplies had been brought to Rome by messengers timed to arrive simultaneously from the four corners of the earth, on the eve of the banquet.

Agostino, always on the alert to win the favor of the great, had been particularly attentive to Federico Conzaga, since his first arrival at the court of Julius II, entertaining him and his tutors in the "palazzotto non anchor finito et molto richo di adornamenti," as the villa is described in one of the letters to Isabella. The banker had begun corresponding with the house of Mantua in 1508, when he is known to have offered to Federico's mother an intaglio representing the head of a goddess, which she declares in her letter of thanks "havemo posto nelle delicie nostre." Federico was even asked to visit the alum works at La Tolfa, which he did in December, 1511, in company with Cardinal Petrucci; and as the season for shooting game was then at its height, even his valets and outriders were served with wild boar, deer, and partridges, and the pick of the fish ponds of Corneto. Historians, however, suspect that these acts of kindness may have been suggested to Agostino by innate generosity as well as by personal interest, considering that the banker was at that time seeking the hand of Margherita, a natural daughter of the Marchese Francesco of Mantua. The marriage fell through on account of the objection of the girl to link her fate to a much older man — Agostino had reached his forty-fifth year — and her place was taken by Francesca Andreozza, as we shall presently see.

Federico's behavior on these occasions was that of a young man in advance of his age, as far as pleasantness and dignity of manners were concerned. On the eve of his departure from Mantua, Isabella had loaded the boy with holy relics, to

insure him against the dangers of a ride through mountains, forests, and fords; among these relics mention is made of a "bracelet with the Gospel of St. John, to which grave and wise persons attach much virtue." She ought to have insured him also against other dangers, arising from the low condition of public and private morality in Rome, — dangers which the boy's tutors, Gadio and Grossino, seemed to take pride in challenging with their charge on every possible occasion. The appreciation of right and wrong must have been very uncertain indeed in the first quarter of that century, if we may judge from the delight taken by Gadio and Grossino in informing the marchesa of every dangerous step which they had induced her son to take; and from the satisfaction which she manifests on hearing the news. On January 19, 1512, Federico was taken to the church of St. Sebastian outside the Walls to see "an extraordinary number of courtesans riding in male attire, and filling the church during the service hours."

In a letter dated December 18, 1512, Gadio relates to the marchesa how he had taken the boy to the Aracœli to witness the tearing of the limbs (squartamento) of a priest convicted of several murders. The most surprising testimony in connection with the customs of the period is supplied by another letter, addressed to Federico's father on January 11, 1513: "On the day of the Epiphany Master Federico was invited by the cardinal of Arborea to witness a theatrical performance in his palace. It took place after supper in the main hall, where his Eminence sat between the Spanish ambassador and Federico, while the front rows were occupied by several Spanish bishops and prelates, and by the leading Spanish courtesans in Rome. The piece, written in Castilian by Juan de Lenzina, proved a failure. . . . On the following Sunday Federico was entertained at

supper by his uncle, Cardinal Conzaga, in company with Cardinals Aragona, Pauli, Cornaro, and the bishops of Salerno, Tricarico, and Spalatro, while the jester, Frate Mariano, and Madonna Albina, the courtesan, were asked to keep the company in good humor." I will not follow the marchesa's correspondent into the description of further details; they are so crude that Gadio himself feels the necessity of mitigating some particulars in a later letter addressed to the mother. At all events, we cannot help wondering at the fact that a boy only twelve years of age should be compelled to witness scenes worthy Trimalchio's supper under the roof of his own uncle, the cardinal of Mantua. No wonder that when, after three years of compulsory sojourn in Rome, Federico, delivered from his bonds by the death of Julius II, hastened back to his beloved mother, he should have been acknowledged as a model of courtesy, good manners, chivalry, artistic taste, and precocious licentiousness; that he should have been possessed, in short, of all the virtues and the failures by which his splendid rule has been marked in history.

The beautiful villa in which these events took place was not destined to remain long in the possession of the Chigi. A powerful neighbor and rival, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, the future Pope Paul III, had set foot on the same bank of the Tiber, and bought property in the same neighborhood of the Porta Settimiana, eighteen years before the banker from Siena had laid the foundations of his own villa. With the purchase of the garden of Mario Cuccini by the banker, and of that of Agostino Maffei by the cardinal, they had become neighbors; and as both were striving for the same goal, namely, the accumulation of wealth as a means of gathering art treasures, of protecting art and artists, and of leaving their names connected with monu-

mental buildings, it soon became evident that eventually one of the two would be left alone in the field.

The election of Alessandro Farnese to the pontificate (13 October, 1534) and the shameful behavior of Agostino's eldest son and heir, Lorenzo, soon brought matters to a climax — the old contrast between a hard-working, money-saving, honest, generous father and a dissipated son. Lorenzo and his brother and sisters, Alexander, Margherita, and Camilla, had not been born in wedlock. Agostino's legitimate wife, Margherita Saracina, died childless in 1508. Three years later, while a guest of the Serenissima in Venice, he fell passionately in love and ran away with a beautiful girl, Francesca Andreozza, whom he did not marry until the 28th day of August, 1519, that is to say, only eight months before his death, the marriage ceremony being performed by the Pope in person. Of this beautiful woman there was but one memorial in Rome, a tablet bearing her name "Francisca Chisia," seen by Galletti in the church of San Pietro in Montorio, and now lost.[1] She survived Agostino hardly seven months, and the fact that the children were thus left to the mercy of outsiders may account for their subsequent behavior. Suffice it to say that Lorenzo, who had already been put under the guardianship of Andrea Bellanti and Filippo Sergardi, was publicly proclaimed "prodigo e furioso," prodigal and a maniac (November 29, 1553), and the administration of whatever could be saved from the creditors was taken away from him.

The villa in the mean time had been sublet to various personages, among them Alfonso Piccolomini d' Aragona, duke of Amalfi (September, 1549), for the yearly rental of four hundred dollars.

The transfer of the much coveted property to the Farnese

[1] See Forcella, *Iscrizioni delle chiese di Roma*, vol. v, p. 258, n. 720.

was made at last on July 6, 1579, under the following circumstances: The "prodigo e furioso" Lorenzo having come to an early death, the estate, overburdened with liabilities, was divided into so many portions among direct and collateral heirs, that nothing was left of the original entail save the villa by the Porta Settimiana. And yet out of respect to the memory of the founder of the family, none of the disappointed heirs thought of parting with the property, unproductive though it was. However, the secret agents of Cardinal Alessandro, the powerful multi-millionaire nephew of Paul III, succeeded ultimately in winning to their side one or two heirs, and on their application to the "Tribunale dei Nobili" the villa was put up at auction on December 14, 1577, and knocked down to the cardinal at the ridiculous price of ten thousand five hundred dollars. The other Chigi, who were not in the conspiracy, at once brought an action before the Capitoline court to nullify the contract; but after many years of legal contest the cardinal put an end to the case by extorting from the old pontiff, Gregory XIII, a brief in his favor. And I am sorry to say that public opinion in a certain way sanctioned this conclusion of the affair, and that the name of *Farnesina* has entirely cast into oblivion that of *Chigiana*, by which the villa was known before the transfer.

On the death of Elisabetta, wife of King Philip V of Spain, mother of Charles III, king of the Two Sicilies, and last representative of the Farnese dynasty, the villa became the property of the Bourbons of Naples, together with the palace by the Campo de' Fiori (recently purchased by France), the Palatine gardens, the Villa Madama, and the castle of Caprarola. It was used as an academy of painting in the first half of the nineteenth century, and then the last king of Naples, already banished from his state, made a

gift of it to one of his Spanish supporters; so it has come to pass that modern emblazonments of the Bermudez family in cheap "scagliola" have supplanted, both on the ceilings and on the pavements, the glorious old shields of the Chigi and the Farnese.

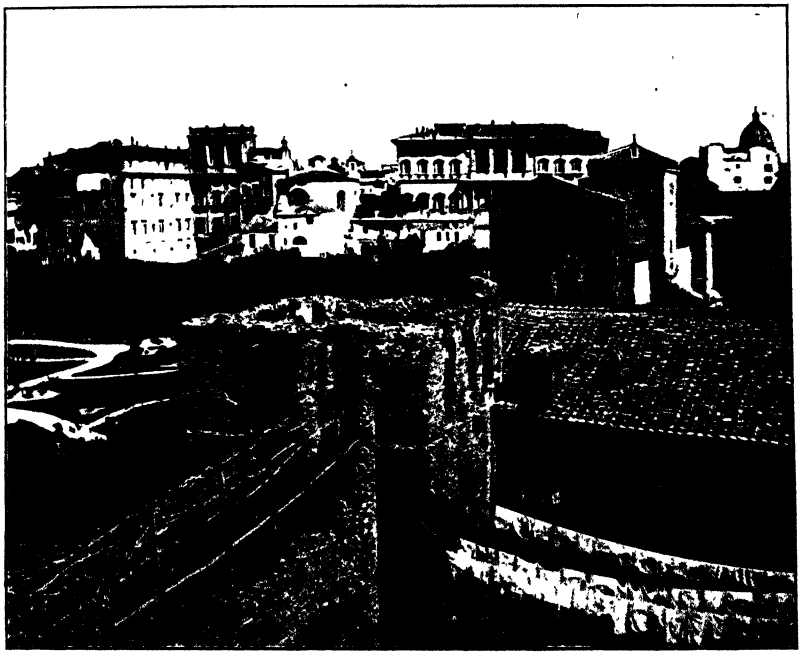
I must go back now to that passage in Agostino's biography which relates to the number and quality of horses bred on his farms or kept in his stables. "He would rear *mannos*, *Asturcones*, and other such thoroughbreds, some for use, some for show, which were constantly lent by him to cardinals and other dignitaries." The word *mannus* applies to a French breed of carriage-horses known since the time of Horace for their speed and power of endurance, the possession of which was considered a luxury and an evidence of wealth, while the name *Asturco* indicates a riding-horse bred on the hills of northern Spain, and especially useful in the hunting-field.

Now as we know that Agostino was not particularly fond of sport, as is the case with men of his temper and occupations, we must interpret the statement of the biographer in the sense that popes, cardinals, ambassadors, and other dignitaries were allowed to make use of his hunters and carriage-horses, on the occasion of the meets for which the reign of Leo X has become justly celebrated.

The hunts in the Roman Campagna — an ideal place for sport — were first organized at the time of Eugenius IV (1431–1447) by Cardinal Ludovico Mezzarota Scarampo, a warrior more than a churchman, the wealthiest man in the country, and a great breeder of horses and dogs.[1] It is true

[1] Cardinal Scarampo, known for his victory over the Turks at Belgrade and for his naval exploits at Rhodes, was also an inveterate gambler. He is said to have lost at one deal with King Alfonso of Naples eight thousand gold pieces. Having died of a broken heart in 1465, in consequence of the election of his rival, Cardinal Barbo, to the supreme pontificate, he was buried in the church

that the sacred canons forbade clerics to take up sports and pastimes of this kind, but in those happy days such little deviations from the rules were easily forgiven. Another



The Palazzo Farnese overlooking the garden of Agostino Chigi. A view of the district by the Porta Settimiana, taken before its modern transformation

name written in golden letters in the annals of sport is that of Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, the Nimrod of the sacred college, whose tomb in the church of Santa Maria del Popolo ranks among the most perfect works of Sansovino (1505), and whose memory is still preserved in Rome in the name of the

of San Lorenzo in Damaso, clad in state robes, with the episcopal cross and ring, and other valuable jewels. The grave was violated for the sake of plunder by Antonio Tocco, a canon of the same church, and the mortal remains of Scarampo were abandoned to their fate for the space of forty years. The beautiful memorial in the sacristy of the canons was erected in 1505, at the expense of the archbishop of Taranto, Heinrich Hunis.

street (Vicolo d' Ascanio) which led to his kennels and mews in the Campomarzio. An eye-witness, Cardinal Adriano Castelli da Corneto,[1] has left a description of a hunt given by him in the district of the Sulphur Springs on the road to Tivoli, in which the following remarkable piece of information is to be found: "There was present at the meet a Gueldrian named Libs, the inventor of a fearful engine of destruction, such as not even the Cyclops could have devised for the use of Jupiter. It consists of a tube of metal loaded with sulphur, natron, and ground charcoal, the mixture being sealed on the top with a lead bullet. Sparks, fire, thunder follow the shot. The porcupine falls as if struck by lightning."[2] According to Cardinal Adriano's statement, therefore, this man Libs must be considered as the inventor, not of portable firearms in general, which had been used in warfare long before the date of the hunt at the Sulphur Springs (1505), but of a new pattern of fowling-piece, more adapted for the shooting of game. His name, however, is not mentioned in Dutch or German biographical dictionaries.

The popes themselves had more than once taken an interest in hunts, but as simple spectators. Pius II, Piccolomini, mentions the sport in his commentaries. Paul II, Barbo, arranged a hunt for Borso d' Este, who had come to Rome to be crowned duke of Ferrara, followed by a pack of hounds and a string of falcons. A medal was struck for the occasion, showing a hunting scene with the motto: SOLVM IN FERAS PIVS BELLATOR PASTOR (the pious shepherd wages war only against the wild beasts). At the time of Sixtus IV, his nephew, Count Girolamo Riario, had planned

[1] The builder of the Palazzo Giraud-Torlonia near St. Peter's, whose career I have mentioned in *New Tales*, p. 279.

[2] I have gathered excellent information on this subject from Count Domenico Gnoli's paper, "Le Caccie di Leone X," published in the *Nuova Antologia*, vol. xliii. series iii. February, 1893



PART OF THE TOMB OF CARDINAL ASCANIO SFORZA IN THE CHURCH OF SANTA MARIA DEL POPOLO

A celebrated work by Sansovino

a similar entertainment for Duke Ernest of Saxony in the woodlands of Campo di Merlo (April 10, 1480). Leo X, however, was the first pope to enlist a regular body of huntsmen, that is to say, to surround himself with the retinue of men, dogs, horses, and snares necessary to ensure success to a regal sport. He took it up, not as a pastime, but as a regular occupation; and not satisfied with a morning's run in the outskirts of the city, he would scour for weeks at a time the whole country between Rome and the sea, in accordance, as he said, with the advice of court physicians. And indeed, no better cure could he have found to counteract his unwholesome corpulency, and the paleness of his flabby cheeks, than constant exercise in the open. The cardinals who followed him in the field, Ludovico d' Aragona, Sigismondo Conzaga, Ippolito d' Este, Marco Cornaro, Alfonso Petrucci, and Alessandro Farnese, were always ready — as it becomes true sportsmen — to exchange the purple robe for a gray jacket of Flemish cloth, the mitre for the Spanish sombrero, the pastoral for the spear. Leo himself wore a costume which threw his master of ceremonies, Paride de Grassi, into fits of despair. De Grassi complains above all of the riding-boots because, he says, how can people pay homage to his Holiness and kiss his foot if he goes about attired in this fashion?

Leo did not actually follow the hunt on horseback; he was too stout to stand the strain of the chase; and therefore he sat on a stand, from which a good view of the field could be obtained. From this point of vantage the good man gave the order for the fray to begin in the same manner in which the ancient magistrate used to wave the white napkin as a starting signal for the chariot races. With a monocle to help his defective eyesight, Leo watched the details of the hunt, shouting words of encouragement or

reproach, warning the men of impending danger, and taking care that the laws of the field should be strictly respected, and fair play given to the sylvan host of foes. Clouds gathered round his brow if the hunt did not prove a success; but if game had been plentiful, and no accident had marred the events of the day, the courtiers knew how to take advantage of his good humor, and many briefs of personal advantage to them were submitted for his signature in the hunting-field. A sad story is told in connection with this state of things.

There was in the entourage of the Pope a young nobleman, Celso Mellini, who had made himself prominent by taking up the cause of his fellow citizens against a foreigner, a Belgian, the celebrated Christopher Longeuil, who had written or uttered certain derogatory remarks against the S. P. Q. R.[1] Whether on account of his success in this affair (Longeuil had been obliged to leave Rome and Italy for the time being) or of his personal attractions as a poet, orator, and conversationalist, young Mellini was asked to join the hunt arranged for November 7, 1519.

A few days afterwards, while the Pope and his guests were still disporting themselves at La Magliana, Mellini won so heartily the good graces of the assembly by extemporizing a set of flattering verses, that the Pope then and there conferred upon him an ecclesiastical sinecure in Sicily worth several thousands a year. Although it was already late at night, and although a storm was raging in the lower valley of the Tiber, Celso Mellini, eager to carry the good tidings to his parents, started homewards with two or three followers. The rain was so blinding and the wind so violent that at

[1] This curious chapter in the chronicles of Rome at the time of Leo X has been admirably illustrated by Gnoli in his memoir, *Un giudizio di lesa Romanità*



THE PORTRAIT OF LEO X ENGRAVED BY ANTONIO LAFRERI

the ford of a small stream, which had temporarily overflowed its banks, rider and horse were carried away by the flood before the followers could render any assistance. Leo X was grieved beyond measure at the loss of Celso, and in memory of the event caused a bridge to be built over the fatal stream. The bridge has been much altered by later restorations, but the stream still bears the name of "Fosso di Papa Leone." It crosses the road to La Magliana near the Iron Bridge, which connects it with the road to Ostia on the other side of the Tiber.

The meets in the Roman Campagna were organized in the French style, and from France came the best huntsmen, gamekeepers, and dogs. Famous among all was a pack of hounds, sent as a present to the Pope by King Francis I, in February, 1517, under the care of a Monsieur de Bordigle. To try the skill of the dogs a "canata" was given at La Magliana for the space of six days, in the course of which many wild boars were let loose from their cages, and followed over hills or plains, through forests or marshes. This "canata" and the hospitality offered to the French envoy at the inn of the Croce Bianca in the Piazza di Campo de' Fiori cost the Pope's treasury over a thousand ducats.

To ensure the success of a hunt the head-keeper was first instructed to ascertain which section of the forest or of the maremma was likely to give the best sport; then this section was enclosed with sheets of canvas, each sixty feet long, six high, fastened together with wooden hooks, and held upright by means of forked poles. These implements were noiselessly brought near the line of the intended enclosure on the eve of the hunt and set up at daybreak. Men were allowed to talk only in whispers, and only on the line of the paths through which the game might escape into the neighboring woods. Then, at a sign given from the Pope's

stand, and transmitted from glen to glen by the sound of horns, bands of archers, halbardiers, mousquetaires, game-keepers, and peasants enlisted for the occasion, would raise a great cry, followed by the firing of guns and the beating of drums, so as to worry the game into a run towards the hunting field where the sportsmen were waiting with their spears and javelins.

A visit to La Magliana, the hunting-lodge of the popes of the Renaissance, gives the student or the tourist the opportunity for a pleasant afternoon drive on the Via Campana, which follows for about six miles the right bank of the Tiber, amidst scenes of great rural beauty.[1] The name is a derivation from the classic "Fundus Manlianus," the suburban farm of the Manlian family, known in history since the year 390 B. C., when Marcus Manlius Capitolinus saved the Capitol from the night attack of the Gauls.

Its site was marked in the middle ages by a church of San Giovanni de Magliana, now destroyed. The foundation of the hunting-lodge is attributed to Sixtus IV, but the oldest wing now visible, the graceful portico in the style of Baccio Pontelli, dates from the time of Innocent VIII (1484–1492), as shown by the inscription *Innocen*(tius) *Cibo Genuen*(sis), *p. p. VIII*, engraved on the lintel of the doors. A stone bench runs around the sheltered walls of the portico, upon which the old pontiff must have often sat warming himself in the sun, and enjoying the rest which was denied to him in the Vatican.

Of Alexander VI, Borgia, the following anecdote is related: As he was riding towards La Magliana, December 12, 1492, while his antagonist and rival, Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, was still entrenched in the castle of Ostia, the keepers of the hunting-lodge fired a mortar to announce his approach.

[1] The return can be made by following the road to Ostia, across the Tiber.

Pope Borgia, seized by panic and fearing an ambush by Della Rovere's partisans, rode back in abject terror to the Vatican as fast as his hunter could carry him. By a curious turn of fate the name of the man of whom Pope Borgia was so much in fear is the most conspicuous of all at La Magliana, being engraved on the frieze of the new palace, and emblazoned on the architraves of the windows and in the centre of



The portico of Baccio Pontelli in the castle of La Magliana

the vaulted ceilings. After the brilliant pontificate of Leo X La Magliana was practically abandoned by the court. The shield of another Medici pope, Pius IV, is carved on the fountain of the courtyard, and that of Sixtus V is painted in the hall nearest to the second landing of the stairs. This is the last record of a pope having resided in this suburban retreat, which was sold at the beginning of the next century to the nuns of Santa Cecilia. It has fallen now into private hands.



The fountain of Pius IV in the court of La Magliana

As we approach it from the last rise of the road over the Monte delle Piche we cannot help being impressed by the present loneliness of the place, so strikingly in contrast with the brilliant records of the past. And yet abandonment has kept La Magliana free from desecration until quite recent times. We, the living generation, are responsible for it. When the nuns of Santa Cecilia leased the building to the Civitavecchia Railway Company in the last years of Pius IX, the workmen turned the Consistorial Hall into a dormitory and mess-room, driving pegs into the walls painted by Lo Spagna, and blackening with the smoke of their cooking the beautiful carved ceiling. After the opening of the railway and the departure of the laborers the lower part of Spagna's frescoes was found much injured by the driving of the pegs. The preserved figures, those of Apollo and the nine Muses, were removed to Rome, and are now exhibited in the Pina-

coteca of the Conservatori palace; but the finest work of art of La Magliana, the image of God in a halo of cherubim, painted by Lo Spagna in the apse of the chapel from the cartoons of Raphael, was purchased by President Thiers in 1872 and placed in the Louvre. The Peruginesque paintings of the same chapel, representing the Annunciation and the Visitation, transferred likewise to canvas, were still waiting for a purchaser at the time of my first visit to La Magliana.

I am glad to state in the last place that Michelangelo's name may also be mentioned in connection with this farm. In the correspondence of the master published by Daelli[1] we find a letter addressed to him in the year 1510 by Francesco Alidosi, cardinal of Pavia, begging him to contribute to the decoration of the chapel, and suggesting as a subject for the fresco the Baptism of our Lord. An indirect allusion to this request — which Michelangelo evidently declined, since no traces of his work exist or have been known to exist in the chapel — is to be found in the glazed tiles with which its floor is paved, and which show the Alidosi crest, an eagle with outspread wings, in conjunction with the oak and the name of Julius II.

The head-huntsman of the glorious Medici days, Domenico Boccamazza, having lived to a green old age, published in 1548, twenty-seven years after the death of Leo, a treatise on the hunting in the Campagna, of which the only printed copy existing lacks the title; but from a manuscript copy in the Chigi library we infer it to have been *Il cacciator signorile*, "The Sporting Gentleman." What most astonishes the reader of this book, so charming in its simplicity, is the regret expressed by the author at the depopulation of the forests and the wanton destruction of game, the joint

[1] *Carte Michelangiolesche inedite*, p. 14.

result of the abuse of firearms and of the indifference shown by the later popes, as well as by landowners in punishing the poachers. "Alas," he says, "the days in which we true sportsmen had only to step into the nearest woods to find plenty of stags and deer and wild boars are a matter of the past. The greed of the peasants and the invention of new and vulgar instruments of death have almost destroyed their race."

If a man so competent in his own line of business had reason to complain of the disappearance of game at the time of Paul III, what can we say now after three and a half centuries of ruthless wholesale destruction, when, save for the flight of a few migratory birds, no living animal is left to enliven the solitude of our forests? When we read, for instance, in the map of the Campagna, published by Innocenzo Mattei at the time of Alexander VII, the words "macchie e selve di damme" (forests of deer), engraved on the site of the now desolated farms of Conca and Campomorto, we almost doubt the truth of the statement. And again, when we read in the diary of a journey made to Nettuno about 1540 by a lady of rank — a diary discovered by Ademollo among the Strozzi papers in Florence, and published in 1886 — that pheasants, hares, deer, and stags haunted the ruins of Porto d' Anzio in such numbers that with only two cross-bows at their disposal the party could bring back to Nettuno a cartload of game, we can hardly believe the record.

Domenico Boccamazza ends his treatise with a prayer for the advent of a "principe cacciatore" who would bring back the golden days of Leo X, and enforce again the laws of fair sport. The "principe cacciatore" has come to us at last.

King Victor Emmanuel III, who in the short period of



THALIA

One of the nine Muses, painted by Lo Spagna in the Consistory Hall at La Magliana

six years has brought his kingdom to a degree of prosperity unprecedented in history, inherited from his father, Umberto il Buono, a love for the royal preserves of Castel Porziano. The latest acquisitions have increased the area of the beautiful property to a total of twenty thousand acres, with a sea frontage of nine miles. Here the stone-pine, the oak, and the ilex tower above the arbutus, the myrtle, the arborescent rosemary, and other sweet-scented maritime shrubs, under the shade of which the smaller game finds a retreat. Here stretched along the old Via Severiana — the high-road between Ostia, Laurentum, and Lavinium — the Silva Laurentina, so named from the laurel trees which grew especially near the pond, still called Pantano di *Lauro*. Strange influences were attributed to these trees. Whenever the Emperor Vitellius felt, with a change in the weather, the coming of a thunder-storm, he would seek refuge in the Silva Laurentina, because, as Pliny remarks, the trees were non-conductors of electricity. Hither also repaired the Emperor Commodus at the outbreak of the plague in the year 189, his physicians being of opinion that the powerful perfume exhaled by the forest would counteract the spreading of the contagion.

The imperial Laurentine farm — now once more the property of the rulers of the country — was also known for its breeds of elephants and peacocks. The first are mentioned on the tombstone of a Tiberius Claudius, "procurator Laurento ad Elephantos,"[1] and also in Juvenal's Satires, XII, v. 101, while we are informed by the *Liber Pontificalis* that a section of the estate was called *Pavonaria*, from the breed of peacocks raised upon it.

Elk, wild boar, and deer have now succeeded the elephants and the peacocks of imperial times in the peaceful

[1] *Corpus Inscript. Latin.* vol. vi, n. 8583.

enjoyment of these sylvan retreats, under the personal vigilance of our king. And as the same thing may be repeated in connection with the other royal preserves from the Astroni near Naples to the snowy crags of the Gran Paradiso, where the few surviving specimens of the ibex or bouquetin are saved from extermination by the king's keepers, we are justified in considering that the prayer of Leo X's head-huntsman has at last been granted.

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