THE DECORATION OF THE PAULINE CHAPEL:
WITH REFERENCE TO THE WORKS OF
GIOVANNI BAGLIONE

By

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Abstract

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The Decoration of the Pauline Chapel: with reference to the works of Giovanni Baglione examines the carefully considered role Catholic art played in the doctrinal battle during the later Counter Reformation period of the early seventeenth century. The frame for this discussion is the frescoes Giovanni Baglione contributed to the Pauline Chapel in the Basilica of S. Maria Maggiore in Rome built by Pope Paul V (1605-1621). Baglione's frescoes are discussed to challenge the previous labels associated with his artistic style in order to demonstrate how the art of the chapel can be seen as both a symptom of contemporary events, and as the personal chapel can be seen as both a symptom of contemporary events, and as the personal reaction or individual interpretation of those events by one man; the chapel's creator Paul V. The concepts of art as a symptom and as a reaction are explored by combining a discussion about Baglione's artistic style, with a discussion about the chapel's iconography and pictorial programme, in order to reveal how the chapel reflects Pope Paul V's personal reaction to the theological differences between the Catholic Church and the Protestant reformers at this time.

Dedication

I dedicate this accomplishment to:

My Loving Husband
Tobias Owen Person

&

My Ever Supportive Parents
William and Sally McElroy

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Introduction

16 May 1605, Paul V ascended to the papal throne over a gilded opposition, and he inherited a weakened, yet still powerful empire that was in the middle of consolidation during the later part of the Church's Counter-Reformation. With the agenda of promoting Catholic unity, Pope Paul V began his papal building campaign, as was the fashion of each pontiff to leave a mark on the Catholic world. One such project, his funerary chapel, was built in S. Maria Maggiore, the church where he served as chaplain in the beginning of his ecclesiastical career, and this, among other glowing attributes, made the church an excellent location for a chapel that acts as a silent testimonial to Paul V's achievements.[1] With a goal of emphasising visual demonstrations of faith, and following in the traditions of Sixtus V and the decoration of the other chapel's, the décor of the Pauline chapel was designed to illustrate Paul V's convictions surrounding the affairs between Church and state, and to counter damaging Protestant accusations against the Roman Catholic Church.[2]

The first aim of this thesis is to create a detailed survey of Giovanni Baglione's contributions to the Pauline Chapel in order to challenge the label that his artistic style is a variant of Counter-Mannerism.[3] To date his work has not attracted much historical attention or academic study save for one major and very recent book by Maryvelma Smith O'Neil's *Giovanni Baglione: Artistic Reputation in Baroque Rome* published in 2002.[4] Most of the research surrounding Baglione's individual contributions to art in

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[1] Ludwig Von Pastor, *The History of the Popes: From the Close of the Middle ages,* Dom Ernest Graf (ed.), London, 1937, Vol. 25, 41.

[2] Evonne Anita Levy, *Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque*, Berkeley, 2004, 187.

[3] Giovanna Perini, 'Emilian Seicento Art, Literature and the Transition from Fifteenth', *Drawing Relationships in Northern Italian Renaissance: Patronage and Theories of Invention,* Giancarla Periti (ed.), Hants and Burlington, 2003, 38.

[4] Maryvelma Smith O'Neil, *Giovanni Baglione: Artistic Reputation* in *Baroque Rome,* Cambridge, 2002.

seventeenth century Rome and the relation of his work and style to that of his contemporaries has been published in the past twenty-five years. O'Neil's book is described as a pioneering work that introduces Baglione to the world, as no such survey of Baglione's life had ever been published before.[5] But as the critic Ian Verstegen stated, the text falls short of elevating his artistic reputation, and therefore the argument is essentially incomplete.[6] O'Neil entices the reader to speculate, in the face of contemporary evidence, what the label for Baglione's style should be. However, she does not provide a label herself, which leads Verstegen to complain that 'one would like to hear more of this, and also the reasons why we have been so susceptible to ignore it'.[7] Chapter one of this thesis will use Baglione's contributions to the Pauline chapel as a frame of reference within which to compare him to his contemporaries, and to discuss an alternative label and category for the style in which he painted.

The second goal of this thesis is to use Baglione's contributions as a tool to examine the contemporary climate surrounding the chapel's creator pope Paul V, in order to gain an in-depth understanding of his policies and personal faith. Within chapter two the subject matter of Paul V's policies is discussed and how their visual representation, and style in which they are presented, affects their meaning and emphasis. To do this, the discussion incorporates to ways of examining art, one by examining art as a *symptom* and by exploring its ability to contribute to a current debate, and to be an active force in communicating an point of contention, and the second is the concept that art can be a *reaction* to or an indicator of the current state of a debate. The Pauline Chapel has been

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[5] Ian Verstegen, '*Giovanni Baglione: Artistic Reputation in Baroque Rome* by Maryvelma Smith O'Neil', *Reniassance Quarterly*, 57: 1, Chicago, 195-196.
[6] Verstegen, '*Giovanni Baglione',* 196.
[7] *Ibid.,* 196.

examined before in the context of Counter-Reformation Catholicism, and again very recently, by Steven Ostrow in *Art and Spirituality in Counter-Reformation Rome,* published in 1996. However, as the critic John Drury writes, 'Ostrow's text is not a monograph, nor an exhaustive treatment of the Pauline Chapel, although he discusses in detail the decoration, methodology and importance of the chapel and in its location in Church history'.[8] Finally within chapter three the discussion will shift from what was portrayed, meaning the subject-matter, to how the subject matter relates to the chapel's sponsor and creator, Paul V and his place among his papal contemporaries.

Ostrow's text refers to the Pauline chapel as an expression of the contemporary polemic arguments, which are essentially the components of Paul's pontificate. This thesis takes a similar position, but takes a more in-depth look at how the ideological debates of the time are represented within the chapel by utilizing artistic style as the medium of comparison. The investigation reveals how Paul V's personal spiritual and political positions can be viewed through Baglione's contributions. This investigation examines how art visually represents the ideological conditions in a specific period of time, how it can be seen as a symptom of its production and also seen as a reaction to the circumstances and people involved in the project.

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[8] John Drury, '*Art and Spirituality in Counter-Reformation Rome: The Sistine and Pauline Chapels in S. Maria Maggiore.* (Review)', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 50: 1, 1999, 131-177.

Chapter One

Giovanni Baglione and the Pauline Chapel

In 1605 Giovanni Baglione was commissioned to join a group of artists engaged on the sumptuous adornment of Pope Paul V's chapel, which was dedicated to the veneration of Mary, Mother of God, as the *Debellatice dell'heresie*, or 'the one to conquer over heresy'.[9] This chapter will investigate Baglione's contributions to the Pauline Chapel, and provide an analysis of his style that challenges the current characterization of his work. Previous analysis of his work by O'Neil mentions only in passing the frescoes by Baglione completed for the chapel, whereas this chapter goes into detail to make connections between his work, the chapel's overall theme, and the work of his contemporaries.

Section one of this chapter introduces the two fresco groups Baglione contributed to the chapel project. The subject and iconography of each fresco is outlined, and then each subject is linked to the chapel's theme of the Virgin's triumph over heresy. In section two Baglione's contributions are considered with reference to the chapel's original programme which reflects both Paul V's personal devotion to the Virgin, and the chapel's overall theme.

Section three then presents the artistic style of Baglione's works through a stylistic analysis of the other three contributing artists. The stylistic diversity represented within the chapel is also discussed by Ostrow, who, through his own assessment and research placed each artist into a stylistic category. Section three builds on Ostrow's

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[9] Steven F. Ostrow, *Art and Spirituality in Counter-Reformation Rome: The Sistine and Pauline Chapels in S. Maria Maggiore,* Cambridge, 1996, 210 and 375. The term *Debellatice dell'heresie* was bestowed upon the Virgin by Vittorelli. A. Vittorelli, *Gloriose Memorie della B.ma Vergine Madre di Dio; Gran parte delle quali sono accennate, con Pitture, Statue, & altro nella maravigliosa Cappella Borghese dalla Santita di N.S. pp.Paolo V, edificata nel Colle Esquilino,* Rome, 1616, 2 and 67, as cited by Ostrow.

findings by adding further visual and scholarly examples from the Pauline Chapel, in order to discuss how the categorization of the four contributing artist's should be altered, and how a new stylistic categorization for Baglione's artistic style is needed.

Section One: The Contributions of Giovanni Baglione

This section will first discuss the group of nine frescoes that greet the observer before entering the chapel in the vault of the chapel's vestibule, and second, the group of three frescoes located in the entrance arch directly over one's head as you enter the chapel.

Upon entering the church of S. Maria Maggiore, and moving toward the apse along the basilica's southern aisle, Baglione's contributions at the chapel's entrance come conspicuously into view.[10] This group of nine frescoes has three main elements, four trapezoidal frescoes that depict Fathers of the Church, four small oval frescoes that depict canonised popes, and finally a lantern fresco at the centre of what is, overall, a cross-shape composition (Fig. 1).[11] This fresco group introduces the fundamental themes of the chapel, which, as Ostrow comments, serves as a visual panegyric of the Virgin as the Queen of Heaven, and embodies Catholicism's polemical stance regarding the Virgin's divinity.[12]

The four trapezoidal frescoes depict four Fathers of the Church, two Greek and two Latin, representing stalwart champions of the Virgin Mary and alluding to Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholic unity. They are depicted because of their efforts to

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[10] O'Neil, 109.
[11] *Ibid.,* 112. See Appendix II
[12] Ostrow, 210.

promote and defend her perpetual virginity and divine maternity.[13] All four figures are shown seated in the act of reading or writing and in the company of angels, who are providing divine guidance for their saintly intercession. The presence of angels within the four images strengthens each saint's theological validity and contribution to Church history. The Council of Trent had provided a basis for such representations in 1546 by emphasising that the validity of scripture rested on 'the examples of the orthodox Fathers', who received with piety and reverence the words of God, which are dictated to them orally through Christ, his representatives, angelic bodies, and the Holy Spirit.[14] In support of this idea an inscription also accompanies each image providing identification and contextual information about the subject's association with the chapel's theme.[15]

To represent two Greek Fathers of the Church, St. Gregory Nazianzus and St. Athanasius were chosen. St. Gregory (Fig. 2), who is closest to the chapel entrance, lived in the fourth century and, with an eloquence of tongue and a hunger for defending the Church, was known for his campaign to restore orthodoxy to the Church of Constantinople.[16] This same passion inspired him to compose numerous important texts, one of which is quoted in the Latin inscription below him that reads, 'QVI SACTAM MARIAN DEIPARAM NON CREDIT EXTRA DIVINITATEM EST' ('He who does not accept Holy Mary as the Mother of God, is cut from the Deity').[17] St. Athanasius (Fig. 3), who is closest to the nave, lived in the late third and early fourth centuries and

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[13] Vittorelli, 276. Ostrow, 210 and 339.

[14] Rev. H. J. Schroeder, *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent,* Binghampton and New York, 1960, 17.

[15] Schroeder, 17.

[16] See Appendix II. O'Neil, 112.

[17] St. Gregory of Nazianzus is quoted in his inscription from his Epistle to 'Cledonio Prete' or fiftieth oration. Vittorelli, 280. The inscription for St. Gregory Nazianzus and St. Jerome do not appear within the Bozio programme (See Appendix I below) for the chapel's decoration, therefore their inscriptions in the chapel are not outlined. Ostrow, 192, 210, 280-283 and 340.

served as the bishop of Alexandria. He also compiled many apologetic, dogmatic and polemic texts defending the Church against the heresy of Aryanism. His accompanying inscription comes from his *Epistola ad Edictetum,* and reads 'EX VERGINE SOLA CORPVS CHRISTI ORTVM TRAHIT' ('The body of Christ takes its beginning only from the Virgin').[18]

The Latin Fathers, St. Jerome and the pope St. Gregory the Great, are depicted on the right and left, respectively, as one prepares to enter the chapel.[19] St. Jerome (Fig. 4), who lived in the late fourth and early fifth centuries, is renowned for his translation into the Vulgate, the early fifth century version of the Bible in Latin. He is also famed for his scriptural commentaries, and also his epistles, from which the accompanying inscription is an excerpt: 'VIRGO PERPETVA, MATER ET VIRGO' ('Ever a Virgin, Mother and Virgin').[20] St. Gregory the Great (Fig. 5), who lived in the late sixth century, was influential in the formation of the medieval Church and the political power of the papacy in European affairs. He also wrote numerous letters, tracts, and scriptural commentaries, one of which, on the first book of Kings, provides the accompanying inscription, which reads 'MERITORVM VERTICEM, VSQUE AD SOLIVM DEITATIS EREXIT' ('She raised up a pillar of merits all the way to the throne of God').[21]

Baglione's four oval frescoes occupy the spaces between the four arms of the

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[18] Both Vittorelli and Severano attribute the inscription of St. Athanasius to his dogmatic tract on Christological written to the bishop of Corinth, entitled *Epistola ad Edictetum.* G. Severano, *Memories acre delle sette chiese di Roma altri luoghi, che si trovano per le strade di ess*e, Rome, 1630, 710. See Appendix I. Ostrow, 210 and 339-340. Vittorelli*,* 61.

[19] See Appendix II. O'Neil, 112.

[20] St. Jerome is known for his labours on the Vulgate, which he translated directly from the Hebrew Tanakh rather than from the Greek Septuagint, which is the Greek version of the Hebrew Bible. St. Jerome is quoted from his text *Apologeticum ad Pammachium.* See Appendix I. Ostrow, 210.

[21] St. Gregory the Great's inscription is quoted from his commentary on the birth of Samuel as a foreshadowing event to the birth of Christ. See Appendix I. Ostrow, 211 and 340. Severano, 709. Vittorelli*,* 276.

cross (Fig. 1).[22] These four ovals are painted in *grisaille*, which sets them apart visually from the larger frescoes depicting the Fathers of the Church, and they have figures delineated in layers of semi-translucent white paint applied to a vibrant azure background.[23] They depict vignettes featuring popes that were canonised as a result of their signal victories over heresy, and each of these events actually occurred in the basilica of S. Maria Maggiore itself.[24] The four popes depicted are Gelasius I, Gregory the Great, Martin I, and Leo IV. The two of Gelasius I and Martin I show each pope defending the divinity of the Virgin, and they thus represent that pope's role as defender of Mary and Orthodox Church tradition.[25] Those of Gregory the Great and Leo IV show the invocation of Mary as the protector of the Roman people, and they portray two historical examples of when the icon *Madonna Salus Populi Romani* was used to rescue Rome from plague and affliction.[26] The icon referred to in both scenes is actually located in the Pauline Chapel, and will be discussed later in this chapter, and again in chapter three.

The first two scenes represent papal defense of Mary's perpetual virginity and divine maternity. This can be seen in the historical event that took place in 496 when pope Gelasius I gathered the heretical writings of the Manicheans, a group that rejected Mary's role as the Mother of God, and burned them in front of S. Maria Maggiore (Fig. 7).[27] The other depicted historical event took place in 649 again in S. Maria Maggiore, when an assassin attempted to murder pope Martin I because he excommunicated the

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[22] See Appendix II.
[23] Ostrow, 191-192.
[24] O'Neil, 115. Ostrow, 211 and 340. Severano, 709. Vittorelli, 280.
[25] Ostrow, 211-212.
[26] *Ibid*. pp. 211-212.
[27] Cesare Baronio, *Annales,* Vol. VI, 496, Antwerp edition 1602- 1658. Ostrow, 211 and 340.

patriarchs of Constantinople who had rejected orthodox doctrine concerning the Virgin (Fig. 8).[28] The assassin was thwarted when the pope invoked the name of Mary, causing the antagonist to be struck blind before he could reach the altar.[29] Church historians comment that the pope 'was defended by God for praying to Mary'.[30]

The other two scenes depict the triumphal invocation of Mary and her icon, which can be seen in the historical event of c.590, when pope Gregory the Great led a procession through the plague-ridden streets of Rome with the icon the *Madonna Salus Populi Romani* (Fig. 9). During the procession, Gregory had a vision of the Archangel Michael, who signaled the end of the pestilence.[31] The second fresco depicts a subsequent invocation of the same icon in c.850, when Leo IV again invoked the Virgin to deliver Rome from pestilence, and again the icon proved its efficacy, to which Church historians commented that through 'the favour of God and of Mary, the city was liberated' (Fig. 10).[32]

To complete the decoration Baglione painted a 'trompe l'oeill' lantern fresco that includes a dove surrounded by the radiant rays of heaven (Fig. 1). An accompanying inscription reads 'ASTITIT REGINA A DEXTRIS TUIS IN VESTITV DEAVRATO CIRVNDATA VARIETATE', thus labeling the image with the passage from Psalm 44:10 that reads, 'The queen stood on the right hand, in gilded clothing, surrounded with variety'.[33] The image of the dove is associated, in the Catholic artistic tradition, with the presence of the Holy Spirit but here it is also used by Baglione to illuminate Mary's

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[28] Ostrow, 212.
[29] Baronio, Vol. VIII, 649. Ostrow, 212 and 340.
[30] Vittorelli, 283.
[31] Baronio, Vol. VIII, 590. Ostrow, 212 and 340. Severano, 724-725.
[32] Vittorelli, 283, as cited by Ostrow, 212 and 340.
[33] Ostrow, 192.

relationship and divine connection with Christ. He does this by visually connecting his fresco in the vestibule with imagery in the basilica's apse. The vestibule fresco alludes to the apse mosaic's depiction of the Madonna in gilded robes accompanied by the dove, who is shown positioned at the right hand of God. Thus the inscription displayed in the vestibule is a direct illustration of the apse's imagery, and the dove motif in the vestibule functions as a reference, both ichnographically and religiously, to the overall theme of the basilica.

The fresco group painted by Baglione in the chapel's interior entrance arch is composed of three narrative frescoes. These frescoes illustrate divine punishment for heresy by depicting scenes of the Virgin's divine vindication and the punishment of heretical leaders who had once claimed to be Christians but had then turned against the Church.[34] The subjects from left to right (as one looks into the chapel) are the emperor Leo V the Armenian, the emperor Julian the Apostate, and the emperor Constantine V Copronymus.[35] All three scenes are extremely violent and show murderous acts carried out in the name of faith, acting, as Ostrow suggests, to portray the Virgin as the 'vindicator of insults and the punisher of enemies of her honour'.[36] They are executed with an intensity and vigour not seen in the vestibule series, and with dynamic chiaroscuro and contorted figures that give them a strongly persuasive power.[37]

The first of these frescoes shows the iconoclast emperor Leo V (Fig. 11). After becoming emperor, he quickly reinstated the policy of intolerance towards the veneration of icons and the vigilant campaign against the decrees of the Second Council of Nicaea as

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[34] *Ibid.*, 229.
[35] O'Neil, 111-112.
[36] Ostrow, 229. Vittorelli, 69.
[37] O'Neil, 112.

a continuation of his predecessor emperor Leo III. Leo V's reign from 813 to 842 began the second historical phase of iconoclasm.[38] Extremely unpopular, Leo V was murdered at the high altar of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, on Christmas Day 820; an act which his mother had foreseen in a vision telling that his campaign against the Virgin would to lead to his demise.[39] The fresco's composition depicts the cavernous interior of Hagia Sophia, and, as in the vision, the floor of the great church runs red with the blood. As revenge is exacted upon the iconoclastic tyrant, his mother looks toward the heavens in acknowledgement of the divine source of retribution.[40] The scene is accompanied by the inscription 'DEIPARA MATRILEONIS IMP[ERATORIS] ARMENI OSTENDIT SANGVINE TEMPLVM REPLETVM ET LEONIS NECEM' ('The Mother of God reveals to the mother of Emperor Leo the Armenian the blood-filled temple and the murder of Leo').[41]

The second scene is a round fresco depicting the death of the emperor Julian the Apostate, who was killed by the hands of Sts Mercurius and Artemius (Fig. 12).[42] Julian, who reigned from 355 to 363 was the last pagan emperor of the Roman empire. He was later to be labelled the 'Apostate' by the Church because of his attempt to revive pre-Christian paganism throughout the empire, and because of his persecution and iconoclastic acts. He was slain during a military campaign against Persia, but Church history instead tells that St. Basil has a vision of the Virgin dispatching Sts Mercurius and Artemius to kill the emperor, which is the scene depicted in Baglione's fresco. The

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[38] Ostrow, 231.
[39] Ostrow, 231.
[40] *Ibid*., 231-232 and 346. Severano, 706. Vittorelli, 137-138.
[41] The inscription seen in the chapel differs from the inscription provided in the Bozio programme (See Appendix I below), which is: *Virgo Matri Leonis Armeni Imp. occisi ob impietatem sanguine sacrarium repletem praedict*. Ostrow, 232, 282 and 346.
[42] O'Neil, 112.

apostate emperor is shown fatally wounded and falling off his pagan altar as the two saints hover above him, while St. Mercurius gestures toward the cupola to suggest the Virgin herself was responsible for the event. The inscription for the image reads 'VIRGO MANDATE VT IVLIANVM TELO TRANSFIGANT' ('The Virgin orders that they pierce Julian with a lance').[43]

The image that completes this trio of frescoes depicts Constantine V Copronymus, the iconoclast emperor who banned not only religious icons, but also relics, the veneration of saints and intercessory prayer (Fig. 13).[44] During his reign he led a ruthless campaign against monasticism, and cults devoted to the Virgin, and also ordered the denunciation of all images of Christ.[45] Although secular history records that Constantine V died on the battlefield against the Bulgars in 775, Baglione's scene shows the emperor's demise as retribution for his acts against the Virgin. It depicts onlookers raising their eyes toward heaven begging the Virgin for mercy as he lies in his bedchamber tortured with an intense fever, which is described as a divine fire inside him.[46] The inscription reads 'CONSTANTINVS COPRONYMVS IMP[ERATOR] FLAMMIS ARDENS ET EIVLANS VIRGINEM PLACARI EXPOSCIT' ('Emperor Constantine Copronymus, burning with fire and wailing, implores the Virgin to be appeased').[47] Having completed an iconographical description of the frescoes Baglione contributed to the Pauline Chapel, the next section moves on to discuss the

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[43] The inscription seen in the chapel differs from the inscription provided in the Bozio programme (See Appendix I below), which is: *Virgo SS. Mercurio, et Arthemio mandat, Iulianum cantra Persas praeliantem telo tranfigant.* See Appendix I. *Ibid*., 229, 282 and 345.

[44] O'Neil, 110. Ostrow, 230-231.

[45] Ostrow, 230.

[46] *Ibid*., 230 and 345. Severano*,* 707- 708. Vittorelli, 135-136.

[47] The inscription seen in the chapel differs from the inscription provided in the Bozio programme (See Appendix I), which is: *Copronumus Imp. se viventem flammis amburi exclamat, Virgonemque eilans placari exposcit.* Ostrow, 282.

iconographical differences between Baglione's finished contributions and the original subjects made in the chapel's programme by Tommaso Bozio and Francisco Bozio.

Section Two: Baglione's Contribution to the Chapel's Imagery

Pope Paul V employed Tommaso Bozio and Francisco Bozio to create a programme for the chapel's decoration that would embody its theme of the Virgin's role in overcoming heresy. Their programme included a wide range of subjects, it featured a description of the specific scene the was to be painted of each subject, and the inscription that was to accompany each image. This programme, which is included in this thesis as Appendix I, was very thorough in its description, but, in the end Baglione's contributions differ greatly from the original scheme. The reasoning behind Baglione's additions and substitutions to the Bozio programme has not been previously investigated in-depth and it is not my intension to assess why or who made these changes, instead I intend to explore how these amendments affected the overall message of the chapel, and to evaluate how the treatment of the subjects contributes to a later assessment of Baglione's style in section three.

Paul V established a theme for the chapel that resonated with his personal dedication to the Virgin by emphasising her role in the redemption process, and in doing so aligned the theme of the chapel with the overall theme of the basilica and the Catholics Church's goals.[48] This led to the chapel's theme of Mary, Mother of God encapsulating the dogmatic views of both the Catholic Church and Paul V himself. It has been noted by his biographers, that Paul V acknowledged the Virgin as the most important intercessor

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[48] *Ibid*., 167 and 210.

for humanity and held a fervent personal devotion towards her.[49] The theme of his chapel reflects this devotion by representing the Virgin both as the Queen of Heaven and as the one who will triumph over heresy.[50] To realise this theme, Tommaso Bozio and Francisco Bozio were entrusted with devising a programme of pictorial adornments for the chapel that would exemplify these goals. Their programme drew on a complex arsenal of historic examples and subjects deriving from both Eastern (Byzantine) and Western Catholic traditions, which included Old and New Testament references and ecclesiastical works by Greek and Latin authors, in order to outline the subjects for twenty-six frescoes and establish their accompanying inscriptions.[51]

Ostrow describes the programme as providing straightforward narrative direction, although he comments on its complexity when assessing the historical and theoretical knowledge needed to connect each subject to the chapel's theme.[52] The programme serves a dual function. First, it brings together a great number of historical figures, which are all included for their individual applicability to the overall theme. Second, when considered collectively, it weaves together a variety of historical subjects to present a cohesive testimonial of the Church's position on a variety of contemporary issues. The programme also effectively transforms decrees of the Council of Trent into an applicable means of further promoting Counter-Reformation renewal and unity.

The historical complexity of the Bozio programme has been explored by previous scholars, and it is particularly relevant here as the launching point for future discussion

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[49] Ostrow, 170-171, 331, and 359. Pastor, Vol. 25, 46.
[50] Pope Pius V, *Catechism of the Council of Trent for Parish Priests issued by order of Pope Pius V,* translation and notes by J. A. McHugh and C. J. Callan, New York and London, 1934, 491. Ostrow, 170-171, 331, and 359.
[51] Ostrow*,* 186- 189. See Appendix I.
[52] *Ibid*., 190.

relating to the chapel's theme and its overall applicability to contemporary Church issues that centred around the Virgin.[53] The programme uses the Virgin as a force of unification between Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholic ecclesiastical and theological sources.[54] It bolsters unification in several ways, one of which is by stating that both Latin and Greek Church Fathers should be depicted together. Previously, it was an uncommon occurrence for Greek Church Fathers or Eastern Orthodox saints to appear in Roman décor and yet the programme presents all saints, whether Eastern or Western, in equal esteem.[55] For, as we have seen, the vestibule frescoes depict the eastern saints Gregory of Nazianzus and Athanasius alongside St. Jerome, and St. Gregory the Great (Fig. 1). Moreover, I suggest that the most significant scene inside the chapel that embodies Church unification is the image of St. Cyril, executed by Guido Reni, who represents the reconciliation of the Eastern and Western bishops and the end of the schism in Rome.[56] The Bozio programme thus weaves together the individual achievements of a range of Eastern and Western saints to demonstrate ideological commonalities.

Baglione's fresco subjects, however, frequently differ from the Bozio programme. In the vestibule, seven of the nine frescoes differ from the proposed scheme. The subjects of St. Gregory Nazianzus and St. Jerome replace the original subjects of St. John Chrysostum and St. Augustine.[57] The other amendments by Baglione are the additions of the four oval frescoes and the lantern fresco; the Bozio programme having specified just the four major frescoes (Figs. 6-10). The additional contributions by Baglione follow a similar but more elaborate pattern. The four popes depicted, when viewed as part of the

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[53] *Ibid.*, 190.
[54] R. Po-Chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal 1540-1770,* Cambridge, 1998, 162.
[55] Hsia, 162.
[56] Ostrow, , 217 and 342. Vittorelli*,* 147-151.
[57] See Appendix I.

decoration as a whole, promote the Church's goals of renewal and unification. The inclusion of these figures also draws on the rich history of the chapel's icon, *Madonna Salus Populi Romani,* thus helping to create a theological foundation for the icon that is located in the chapel. Supplementing the theme is the lantern fresco that declares Mary as the Immaculate Queen of Heaven, a sentiment on which the chapel was founded, and which also links the exterior basilica imagery with the decoration on the chapel's interior.

Of the remaining twenty-two frescoes outlined in the original scheme only two other images differ, these are two executed by Guido Reni depicting the sacred queens St. Pulcheria of Byzantium and Blessed Cunegunda of Poland, and the other St. Radegunda of France and St. Ediltrude of England.[58] These subjects were condensed into one image, with the omission of the St. Radegunda, to accommodate the representation of St. Cyril discussed previously. The accompanying inscription was adapted those now depicted and then illuminates the unifying trait between all three figures, the fact that they all persevered their virginity in life, even into matrimony.[59] Ostrow speculates that an explanation for these substitutions can be seen in the political implications of the queens' nationalities in the contemporary context of when the chapel was built, thus promoting further reconciliation between parts of the Catholic Europe in a time of strain.[60] All three nationalities represented by the three virginal queens act a visual compass, thus drawing together from the western most, England, and from the eastern most, Byzantium, back to the central figure, in the center of Europe. The inclusion of the St. Cyril fresco, known for representing the theme of reconciliation, is both potent and topical when assessing the

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[58] Ostrow, 418-419.
[59] The inscription included with the image of St. Cyril has no reference to the Bozio Scheme. Ostrow, 215 and 341. See Appendix I.
[60] Ostrow, 218.

meaning of chapel as a whole, and is increased in meaning when depicted opposite the fresco of the virginal queens.[61]

Baglione's amendments to the vestibule frescoes affect the overall interpretation of the chapel because they alter the collective meaning of the group. The substitution of St. Gregory of Nazianzus for St. John Chrysostum is cohesive with the original Bozio programme of the chapel, since each was regarded as one of the Three Holy Hierarchs of the Eastern Orthodox Church (the third being St. Basil). Both subjects could have supported the chapel's theme equally because of their individual devotion and vigour, and I believe the substitution in favour of St. Gregory creates a more impactful image group. In addition, the group is strengthened by the inscription above the chapel entrance, 'He who does not accept Holy Mary as the Mother of God, is cut from the Deity'.[62] The strength and meaning of the quote from his epistle increases the impact of fresco group's focus on the Virgin, and conversely the presence of St John Chrysostum, whose is image is used more often to depict reform, due to his efforts a reconciling the Constantinople with Rome during the late fourth and early fifth centuries which led to massive reform of Eastern Church practices, would have detracted from the fresco group. A representation of St. John Chrysostum was then included within the chapel, in what I argue is a more applicable reference to reform and reconciliation, by his inclusion in the fresco of St. Cyril by Reni, discussing previously.[63] Its reads, 'The Virgin instructs St. Cyril to reconcile discord between Eastern and Western bishops over St. John Chrysostum'.[64]

Second, the substitution of St. Jerome for St. Augustine, also seems cohesive with

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[61] *Ibid.,* 220.
[62] i*bid.,* 192, 210, 280-283 and 340.
[63] *Ibid.,* 216-217.
[64] *Ibid.,* 217

the Bozio programme as both are Latin fathers of the Church. While the presence of both figures would have made a strong statement, the presence of St. Augustine would also have referenced his non-literal approach to scripture, which I believe would have detracted from both efforts to re-emphasise reliance upon scripture, and from the cohesive message of the group.[65] I am suggesting that the figure of St. Jerome acts more as an anchor for the vestibule group, as he communicates a reliance upon faith, and, above all from his quotation, the simple 'truth' communicated by the chapel, that the Madonna will always be a virgin and the mother of Christ.[66] All the figures in the group explore different facets of devotion to the Virgin, but it is not until the threshold inscription on the image of St. Gregory Nazianzus that the full message of the chapel's interior warning against the perils of non-belief in the Virgin is revealed and then punctuated by Baglione's frescoes in the arch.

Last, the four oval frescoes in the vestibule group are not mentioned in the original Bozio programme, and the reason for their addition can only be speculated. It is my suggestion that the addition of the frescoes supplements the chapel's focus on the Virgin, and therefore strengthens the connection between the chapel and the church of S. Maria Maggiore as a whole both by filling space and by giving the opportunity for more stylistic diversity to be expressed. Their addition also provides specific examples of how the church has influenced the reception of the Virgin in the past, thus applying these implications to the present conflicts. Although, the identity of who is responsible for these changes is unknown, the vestibule fresco group can only have been strengthened by the addition of the four oval frescoes. These frescoes by Baglione represent the biggest

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[65] C. Herbermann, et al (eds), The Catholic Encyclopedia: an international work of reference on the constitution, doctrine, discipline, and history of the Catholic Church, New York, 1907, Vol. 2.
[66] Ostrow, 210.

changes to the original programme, and I suggest that they not only act to complete the vestibule group, but they provide contemporary relevance to the themes presented in the chapel, and thus positively alter the reception of chapel.

Section Three: Baglione's Artistic Style in Context

This section discusses Baglione's artistic style by examining the combinations of the other artists and their respective artistic styles represented within the chapel, and the four distinct stylistic 'schools' of artistic tradition they represent. This discussion is aided by a contemporary critique on painting, *Considerazioni sulla Pittura*, which was written by the art critic and collector Giulio Mancini in 1619.[67] Mancini's text provides both contemporary and contextual information regarding artistic style and taste in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Although the work is biased toward Mancini's own opinion of current tastes, he nevertheless provides evidence for his claims through correspondence and other observations. By using Mancini's observations and his descriptions of contemporary artistic trends, Baglione's style can be compared and contrasted with the styles of the other three artists that contributed to the chapel, Giuseppe Cesari, known as Cavalier d'Arpino (1568-1640), Lodovico Cigoli (1559-1613), and Guido Reni (1575-1642).[68]. Each of the three artists will be briefly introduced and their contributions to the chapel will be outlined, then Mancini's critiques will be discussed, followed by Ostrow's observations, and finally, Baglione style will be discussed in light of all three portions.

First, Cavalier d'Arpino was entrusted by Paul V to oversee the decoration of the

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[67] Giulo Mancini, *Considerazioni sulla Pittura,* A. Marucchi and L. Salerno (eds), Rome, 1956- 1957, Vol. 1, 108-111.
[68] See Appendix I. O'Neil, 109. Ostrow, 204.

chapel's interior and he earned this post due to his prominent status and the numerous papal projects with which he had previously been involved. For the chapel he completed nine frescoes, four of them depicting the great prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel. He also painted two large frescoes above the altar, one depicting St. Ignatius the third bishop of Antioch with St. Theophilus of Antioch, and the second St. Ireneus with St. Cyprian, and also two round frescoes depicting St. Luke with the Virgin, and St. John the Evangelist with St. Gregory the Wonderworker and, finally, a narrative scene depicting St. Gregory Thaumaturgus.[69]

Lodovico Cigoli, the second artist, executed the dome fresco, which depicts the Assumption of the Virgin.[70] He was presumably selected because of the success of his altarpiece in St. Peter's and because his patron Cardinal Scipione Borghese who was the nephew of pope Paul V, whose family name is was Camillo Borghese.[71]

The final artist was Guido Reni, whose previous successes, prior to his work in the chapel, included other commissions for Paul V such as the decoration of his private chapel at the Quirinal Palace. Reni contributed eight frescoes, one depicting St. Cyril, and St. Pulcheria with the Blessed Cunegunda and St. Ediltrude. He also painted frescoes of St. Francis, St. Dominic, St. Ildefonso, St. John Damascene, and two frescoes of Narses and Heraclius.[72]

All four artists who executed the Bozio programme; Baglione, D'Arpino, Cigoli, and Reni, Mancini described in his contemporary scholarly critique and all four artists

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[69] See Appendix I. Ostrow, 213-216 and 280-283.
[70] See Appendix I. *Ibid*., 236-244 and 280-283.
[71] Herbermann, Vol. 11.
[72] See Appendix I. Ostrow, 217-227 and 280-283.

can be placed into one of his stylistic 'schools'.[73] First, Mancini described that there are four main 'schools' of painting into which almost all contemporary artists working in Rome could be grouped.[74] These four 'schools' are those the Caravaggists, the Carracci school, the Roman Counter-Mannerists, and the fourth is somewhat of a catch-all, which has the vague label of the Florentine school.[75]

Mancini asserts that for paintings to be most effective, meaning to produce the most desirable aesthetic response from one's audience, works from the same school of artists should not be displayed together, but instead works from a variety of different 'schools' should be displayed.[76] It must be stated that Mancini's discourses and critiques were aimed at creating a guide for the display of individual paintings, and were intended as a type of stylistic guide for the art collector of the time, which most often referred to a palace or gallery hall, and not to a chapel with frescos or immovable paintings. This said, contextual information can be gleaned as to the reception and use of images, and what they reveal about contemporary tastes.

In the case of the Pauline chapel, an analysis of contemporary taste provides a dimension to help investigate the individual works of each artist due to what information was included in the Bozio programme. The programme provided the name of the artist who was to complete each image, and a detailed iconographic description for each image, but it did not provide any information relating to stylistic preference or stylistic conformity. The four artists were selected prior to the publication of the Bozio

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[73] Mancini, 108-111.
[74] Mancini, 108-111.
[75] Lilian H. Zirpolo, *Ave Papa/Ave Papabile: The Sacchetti Family, Their Art Patronage, and Political Aspirations*, Toronto and Ontario, 2005, 35.
[76] Michael Bury, 'Giulio Mancini and the organization of print collection in early seventeenth century Italy', Christopher Baker, Caroline Elam, Genevieve Warwick (eds), *Collecting Prints and Drawings in Europe, c. 1500-1750,* Hants and Burlington, 2003, 81.

programme, and the personal style of each artist was therefore also known, but it unclear, through any record, the level of consideration given as to who would complete each work, or on whose part this influence was allowed, i.e. Paul V, the Bozio brothers, the artists themselves, etc. [77] The decoration of the chapel itself is a continuation and an homage to the papal building projects dating back to Sixtus V, when a group of artists would come together and create somewhat cohesive stylistic unity in order to communicate a greater theme, which will we further explored in chapter two.[78] With these facts in consideration, the purpose of this analysis is to look at the slight differences between each artist's style, and to identify what information about contemporary style can be learned as a result of the works approved and completed within the chapel.

Now, Ostrow combined Mancini's categorization with his own analysis and observations, which resulted in, what he identifies as, a further reading of the chapel's overall theme.[79] He uses the four 'schools' described by Mancini to label each of four contributing artists of the Chapel, and place each into a corresponding category. To begin, Ostrow states that the first school of the Caravaggists is not represented within the chapel.[80] The second, the Carracci school, Ostrow uses to identify the works by Reni, whose style he describes as a 'version of Carracci classicism'.[81] The categorization of Reni's style is less problematic in relation Mancini's guidelines, as Reni himself was an actual pupil of the Carracci school in Bologne, where he was educated in the school's tradition of figural grace, elegance, refinement, and clarity.[82] His extraordinary powers of

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[77] It is not the intent of this investigation to decipher why each artist was selected for the project, this is due to a lack of space in the length of the investigation.
[78] Pastor, Vol. 26, 377.
[79] Mancini, 108-111. Ostrow, 209.
[80] Ostrow, 209.
[81] Mancini, 108-111. Ostrow, 208 and 367.
[82] Herbermann, Vol. 3.

composition and conception, and his skill of draughtsmanship can be seen in his frescoes of Narses and Heraclius.[83] Reni's strong classicism is evident in his other contemporary works, for example his fresco of *Aurora* of 1614 (Fig.14), which depicts a parade of classically draped figures that invoke a carved Roman frieze.[84] Connections can be draw as well between the style of Reni and that of his teacher Annibale Carracci, a good example of which can be seen in Annibale's *The Choice of Heracles* of 1596, (Fig.15), in which Reni's roots in Classicism can be identified.[85] Mancini also noted that Reni's contributions to the chapel were greatly praised, and that the Catholic Church regarded him in his early days as possessing great purity in colour, as a composer with dramatic force, and as one of the greatest masters of his time.[86]

Ostrow uses the third school, Roman Counter-Mannerism, to categorize the works of Cavalier d'Arpino.[87] Ostrow uses Mancini's assessment of d'Aprino in conjunction with his own visual observations to make this categorize of his style.[88] Mancini described d'Arpino's works as academic in construction, and commented that his compositions capitalize on balance, symmetry, and have a strong classicism.[89] His works possess many the traits consistent with the mannerist style, for example space within the image is flattened and somewhat compressed, and the colour usage is bright, mood invoking and slightly arbitrary. From my observations, d'Aprino's four frescoes depicting the prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel painted in the pendentives of

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[83] See Appendix I. Ostrow, 217-227 and 280-283.
[84] Guido Reni, *Aurora,* 1614, fresco, Casino Rospigliosi, Palazzo Pallavicini, Rome. (Fig.14)
[85] Herbermann, Vol. 3. A. Carracci, *The Choice of Heracles,* c.1596, Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples. (Fig.15)
[86] Herbermann, Vol. 12. Mancini, 108-111. Ostrow, 208 and 367.
[87] Perini, 38. Ostrow, 209.
[88] Ostrow, 209.
[89] Mancini, 108-111. Ostrow, 208-209.

the dome best illustrate the mannerist style within the chapel.[90] The expression, colour, and feel of the these frescoes is similar to the his *Christ Taken Prisoner* of 1597 (Fig.16), in which the out-stretched arms and turned heads show a resemblance to the his later works in the Pauline Chapel.[91]

The fourth 'school' Mancini describes as the comprising Domenico Passignano, Cigoli, Baglione, and Bronzino the Younger, he described that the main trait of the fourth school is the colour expression.[92] Ostrow agrees and elaborates that Cigoli and Baglione fall into this fourth category, but he finds that the main trait of this school is best described by Florentine *disegno*.[93] Mancini describes that this colour expression draws on the cool, pearly colors associated with, for example, Correggio's works, and that the works of the fourth school are an example of the more vivid colour palette found in the traditions of Florentine artists.[94] Cigoli's dome fresco shows many similarities to Correggio's *Assumption of Virgin* dome fresco in the Cathedral of Parma (Fig.17).[95] The soft spiraling clouds ascend into the heavens, and seem to communicate a heavenly glow and demonstrate the gravitas of the assumption scene at the same time. Cigoli achieved the same feelings associated with Correggios's colour use, as one can almost feel warmth and light filtered down into the chapel, but this effect is achieved through the use of paint alone, which helps Cigoli to be categorized into the fourth school. Ostrow's observations of the dome fresco's planning and execution also exemplify the fourth school through

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[90] See Appendix I. Ostrow, 213-216 and 280-283.

[91] Cavaliere d'Aprino, *Christ Taken Prisoner* (1597), Staatliche Museen, Kassel, (Fig.16)

[92] Ostrow, 208 and 367.

[93] Ostrow, 208. In Florence, *disegno*, meaing drawing or design, was viewed as the essential beginning of any artistic project, and as the primary means for making art approximate nature.

[94] Mancini, 108-111.

[95] Correggio, *Assumption of Virgin* of (1526–1530), Cathedral of Parma, (Fig.17)

what he labels as Florentine *disegno,* and this can be seen through a carefully thought-out, organized, and seemingly mathematic illusion and execution of the space.[96]

Mancini and Ostrow also classify Baglione's style with the fourth school along with Cigoli's, although Mancini adds the caveat that Baglione might sometimes be considered in the third 'school' as well, and Ostrow comments that Baglioni's style is better described as a 'variant of Counter-Mannerism', than placed into one of the four groups.[97] If the fourth school is represented by the dome fresco by Cigoli, either through Mancini's trait of colour expression or through Ostrow's *disegno*, both categorizations or at least either in isolation, does not fully correlate with Baglione's artistic style and tendencies. Baglioni's contributions to the Pauline Chapel alone warrant a more complete categorization and observation of his style, because his frescoes demonstrate a more dramatic use of colour than Cigoli and a very different use of design than his Florentine contemporaries in the fourth school. Ostrow's suggestion that Baglioni's style is a variant of the third school of Roman Counter-Mannerism is also problematic, because Baglione's works are more dramatic and fluid in comparison to those of d'Arpino, which exhibit some severity and hardness of form and arrested motion.

Baglioni's categorization in the fourth school is problematic and is discussed as such by both scholars. He does not show enough similarities to fit in any of the four schools, but instead is a combination of several schools. Mancini himself even states that Baglione 'worked in his own particular style without following in anyone else's tracks', because he adopted the key traits of the Carraggists, the Carracci school, and the Counter-Mannerists, Mancini's 'schools' would be more descriptive with the inclusion of a fifth

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[96] Ostrow, 208.
[97] Ostrow, 339.

category, one that describes post-Carravaggesque Mannerism.[98] A classification on which Baglioni teeters over the course of his artistic career, as some of his later works seem to fall squarely into the Counter-Mannerist category for example his *An Allegory Of Charity And Justice Reconciled* c.1622 (Fig.18), or represent the Carracci school for example his *Hercules at the Crossroads* c.1640-1642 (Fig.19). But his many works contributed to the chapel provide a versatile sample of his work in relation to his contemporaries who also worked in the same space.

Baglioni's classification as a post-Carravaggesque Mannerist adequately addresses the disparities of the other fourth categories, in that it communicates that the expression found in Caravaggesque naturalism and can be combined with the classical training of the Carracci school, and Mannerist colour.[99]

Baglione's style exhibits similarities to the work of his contemporaries, this can be seen in his the narrative scenes which communicate a complex story through a compositional layering of figures to suggest drama, a key trait in the emotional expression found in Caravaggesque naturalism.[100] The three narrative frescoes represent a common stylistic trend in Counter-Reformation art, one that can transform a space, like the chapel, into a comprehensible, believable, and effective education vehicle.[101] During the Counter-Reformation period of Catholic renewal, the narrative scene provided, as Hsia stated, an 'ineffable experience of the miraculous and supernatural,' and uses 'the idioms of naturalism to convey a sense of hyper-reality of the suffering and redemption

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[98] Mancini, 108-111. Ostrow, 209.

[99] Ostrow, 208 and 339.

[100] Ostrow, 208 and 339.

[101] The chapel's art and its function to education will be explored furthering chapter two. Herbermann, Vol.4.

of human flesh.'[102] These narrative frescoes demonstrate Baglione's artistic progress away from the artificial conventions of the 'Mannerist' and send his style in search of a more adequate label to convey the complexity of human emotion necessary to promote Catholic renewal.[103]

Bert W Meijer agrees with Ostrow that Baglione is a variant of Counter-Mannerism, he suggested that Baglione's works during the time of the chapel commission were executed in his post-Caravagesque period, and are stylistically closer to works of d'Aprino and the Counter-Mannerists.[104] But it is my contention that Baglione's move away from Mannerism goes beyond that of the third school, and that his use of realistic details and dramatic action demonstrate a style closer to the Carracci school and the interactive scenes of the Caravaggists, than to d'Arpino.[105] Considerable similarities between Baglione's style and the works of Caravaggio's followers can be observed in colour use, dynamic action and lighting. For example the dramatic action and detail can be seen in the fresco depicting the death of Leo V, where the assassin that occupies the centre of the composition, closely resembles the central figure in Caravaggio's *Martyrdom of Saint Matthew,* c.1600 (Fig.20). The central figure stands with his arms spread wide and wields a sword down at the emperor, who unstably occupies the foreground of the composition.

Baglione's style also demonstrates a very careful study and emulation of artistic traditions from antiquity. Emile Mâle makes a strong argument for the contorted figure of Emperor Constantine Copronymous exhibiting the same sculptural intensity as the

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[102] Hsia, 159 and 163.
[103] Herbermann, Vol.12.
[104] Bert W. Meijer, 'Giovanni Baglione in S. Maria Maggiore', *Master Drawings,* 31: 4, 1993, 416-417.
[105] Zirpolo, 35.

famous *Laocoön* statue (Fig. 13).[106] A comparison of the two works reinforces Mâle's observation: the emperor reclines slightly in an exaggerated *contrapposto*, and extends one arm above his head to display his open body frame and muscular physique. It has been noted elsewhere that Baglione found this sculpture particularly compelling in his frequent visits to the Vatican.[107] By drawing on his historical artistic training and a renewed reverence and reliance upon great works of antiquity, Baglione's style uses these key traits of Mancini's second school of the Carracci Academy, adapts them, and employs them in his own style.

Conclusion

The style Baglione employed within the chapel demonstrate his range artistic talents, but they make is difficult to place his style under one of the four categories Mancini proposes. The proposed fifth category of post-Caravagesque Mannerism more fully explains his artistic tendencies, and it better explains that his works are not simply counter to Mannerist traits, but instead they draw on these traits and combine them with the traits of the other schools. His contributions to the chapel liberate him from the label of a 'Counter-Mannerist' or as a variant of Counter-Mannerism. Although the stylistic diversity of the chapel, and the many stylistic schools it represents, are complicated by Mancini's contemporaneous attitudes toward art, the real focus of this discussion has been to show that Baglione place among his contemporaries gives a better definition of his style. And the employment of his style as a post-Caravagesque Mannerist will be used in chapters two and three to describe the function of art and its impact on the

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[106] The observation and similarity of Baglione's figure to *Laocoön* is referenced from Emile Mâle, *L'Art religieux après le Concile de Trent,* Paris, 1932. O'Neil, *Giovanni Baglione*, 111-112.
[107] *Ibid.*, 112.

propagandistic qualities within a space. Also the discussion about style will be used in relation to the power of a space to communicate a complex message, iconography, and its ability of emphasise the ideology that a space represents.

Chapter Two

Images in Catholic Counter-Reformation Art

The decoration of the Pauline Chapel provides the basis for a discussion of how art, and the styles employed to create it, can represent two interconnected concepts regarding its meaning and function. The first concept is that art can function as a *symptom* or contribution to ideological debate and the second concept is that art can be seen as a *reaction* to those same debates. The art cannot be viewed independently as either a *symptom* of circumstance or as a *reaction* to it, but rather, the two concepts are two separate tools, or ways of examining, that can be used to make observations about the function of art and its impact on the propagandistic qualities within a space. Here the decoration will be examined as a *symptom* of current Catholic Counter-Reformation theology, thus utilising the two concepts to examine how the chapel's décor creates a link between contemporary artistic style and the ideological debates employed to represents them.

In section one the two concepts, art as a *symptom* and as a *reaction*, are defined and explained, and then the remainder of this chapter is devoted to exploring the art and style of the chapel and how the two concepts can be used to explain how it communicates contemporary ideological debates. Section two of this chapter discusses ideology in relation to three themes of contention that appear in the Pauline Chapel decorations: expressions of papal authority, the Catholic concept and use of sainthood, and the Catholic use of images in worship. Section three then discusses contentious arguments surrounding the contemporary roles for the Virgin, and the use of her image in relation to

the chapel's décor.

Section One: Two Concepts of Examination

The origin of the term *symptom*, describes that art has the ability to contribute to a current debate, and its ability to be an acting force in arguing a point. It relates to the active role art can take in creating and propagating contemporary attitudes. While the concept of art as a *reaction* describes its ability to be seen as an indicator of the current state of a debate, meaning it can represent the invocation of an intellectual response or argument. Art as a symptom is an active investigation, that focuses on what art can effect, while seeing art as a reaction is a static investigation that focuses on what art represents up until its point of creation. Both concepts and types of investigation are pertinent and important in examining how art visually represents the ideological conditions in a specific period of time, and in the case of the chapel, this relates to the long-established visual expressions of Catholic ideology.

The concept of my dual examination is based on a theory proposed by Roelof Van Straten, a scholar who had sought to simplify the 'Iconographical Analysis Scheme' created by his predecessor Erwin Panofsky. Van Straten's states that the task of cultural history is 'to discover the cultural, social, and historical background of subjects in art, and to explain from the background why a certain subject was chosen by a certain person (artist or patron) in a certain place and at a certain time (period), and why the subject is represented in a particular way,' meaning the style in which it was presented[108] The concept that art is a active force in creating and maintaining contemporary ideology and that it also represents the culmination of cultural development up until that point, allows

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[108] Roelof Van Straten. 'Panofsky and ICONCLASS'. *Artibus et Historiae*, 7: 13, 1986, 170.

for a more complete analysis of both the time period and the art in question.[109] The concept that art is both a *symptom* of ideological debate and a *reaction* to it, relate in the case of Pauline Chapel, to a single broad dispute: the conflict between the Catholics and Protestants which is discussed in sections two and three.

Section Two: Catholic Ideology

In the Pauline chapel, and the decorative scheme for the chapel's decoration, there are several common themes I have identified that will provide a basis for examining how art and style both contribute to, and represent, the overall Catholic ideology of the time. The three most prominent themes of contention are expressions of papal authority, the Catholic concept and use of sainthood, and the Catholic use of images in worship. It must be stated that these three points for examination are broad, and while it is not possible here to explain the diversity and variety of religious views present within Reformation and Counter-Reformation ideology, this section discusses the three themes in relation to a basic understanding of the conflict, and each is explained in as much detail as space and the argument allows.

With regard to the first point of ideological contention, that of papal authority, 'the Catholic Church had not faced a crisis of this magnitude, since the doctrinal disagreements between the Roman and Eastern Orthodox churches in the fourth and fifth centuries'.[110] During the sixteenth century, however, Protestantism had questioned the Catholic emphasis on consensus, authority and antiquity, principally by attacking the

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[109] Van Straten, 170.
[110] Lewis William Spitz, *The Protestant Reformation, 1517-1559,* New York, 1985, 309.

primacy of the papacy.[111] The foremost doctrinal difference the Protestants advocated was justification by faith alone, and, although they also had differing theories about the construction of a Godly society, their perception of power was altogether different and separate from their perception of faith.[112] The Reformation was an attack on the norms of authority and the Catholic Church contested this by illuminating the usefulness, importance, and necessity of a single leader of the Church body.[113] Thus, Catholicism also proclaimed that new and independent thinking was evil, and sought a return to its founding principles and a restoration of the 'pure Church'.[114] To put it as simply as possible, Catholicism promoted papal authority, while Protestantism dismissed this authority, so that each side formulated its new identity in relation to the other and, in doing so, created a reciprocal relationship based upon the assertions of the other.

It is important to emphasise that Catholic devotion to the papacy was, and still is, a central theme of the Church. Such loyalty can be summed-up in a statement by St. Ignatius of Loyola when he said 'I will believe that the white that I see is black if the hierarchical Church so defines it'.[115] For Catholic Christendom the pope was the sole patriarch of the Western Church and, by virtue of his position as successor of St. Peter, was the Vicar of Christ upon earth.[116] The basis for linking the pope's appointment to the lineage of St. Peter came from the *Petrine Texts*, a historic Church document outlining the jurisdiction and justification of the pope.[117] For these reasons there were strict

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[111] Bruce Gordon, *Protestant History and Identity in Sixteenth-century Europe,* Aldershot, England, Brookfield, 1996, 3.
[112] *Ibid.*, 5.
[113] Hsia, 12.
[114] Gordon, 3.
[115] Colin Cheyne, *Knowledge, Cause, and Abstract Objects: Causal Objections to Platonism*, Springer, 2001, 214.
[116] Herbermann, Vol. 12, 261.
[117] Herbermann, Vol. 12, 269.

guidelines governing the representation of the pope's image. When discussing papal authority and art, Gabrielle Paleotti in his *Discorso* of 1582, had given specific advice, using the decrees of the Council of Trent and Church history, for how the pope should be represented.[118] He explained that the pope should be depicted with great reverence so such images could have the credence of a silent preacher providing testimony to the great deeds of the past.[119] The effect of this decree had a symptomatic effect on future images of the pope, which worked to further contribute to and solidify the words of this decree.

It is no coincidence therefore that images support the papacy and portraits of many popes were included in the decoration of the Pauline Chapel and that the style of portraying a pope became an important tool in communicating this point. Baglione painted four oval frescoes depicting four particularly influential popes: popes Gelasius I, Martin I, Gregory the Great and Leo IV. It is these frescoes that set the mood for the understanding of the entire chapel (Figs. 7-10). The style and subject matter of these frescoes educate the viewer by representing moments of conversion, or interaction with the divine that inspired the faith of each pope. Depicting the holder of the highest office in Christendom as a pious and humble intercessor of God, not only strengthened the perception of papal authority but also presented it as a central theme of the greatest contemporary significance.[120] Baglione's style punctuates this point by eliminating colour from his composition. By painting these frescoes in grisaille he effectively eliminated all distractions from the ideological message they were suppose to be portraying. The observer of these images was thus meant, consciously or unconsciously, to consider the

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[118] Gabrielle Paleotti, Discorso Intorno alle Imagini Scare e Profane, Bologna, 1582. Anton Willen Adrian Boschloo, *Annibale Carracci in Bologna: Visible Reality in Art after the Council of Trent*, translated by R. R. Symonds, New York, 1974, 36.
[119] Boschloo, 36.
[120] Pastor, Vol. 25, 46.

individual papal contributions of each pontiff, both on a personal level when evaluating their own faith, and on a higher level to indicate the Church's standing as a whole.

Baglione then utilizes style within the vestibule frescoes to aid in communicating the ideological message by demonstrating a very different treatment of the subjects, this time in the four frescoes of the Fathers of Church (Figs. 2-5). The vestibule frescoes fuse together Western and Eastern artistic conventions, as Baglione style draws on the history of S. Maria Maggiore itself for inspiration. The style he employs within these frescoes shows the influence of Eastern traditions seen in both the basilica's mosaics and also in the icon of the Madonna. These traditions reflect a less naturalistic approach, they involve a much less dynamic use of space, and less illusionistic and geometric skills which create a lesser degree of compositional depth. Baglione's style adapts these conventions, which for example, can be seen in the treatment of each subject, who occupies a truncated space in the extreme foreground of a composition making him the unmistakable focus (Figs. 2-5). Baglione's style also draws on representations of figures and facial modeling found within the basilicas artistic traditions. The facial modeling of the four saints, especially those of Sts Jerome (Fig. 4) and Gregory the Great (Fig. 5), also show strong similarities to the Byzantine icon of the Madonna (Fig. 6). Within these frescoes Baglione uses style as a tool to communicate and connect current ideologies with the former strength of the Catholic Church. The style of these frescoes draws the message of the basilica as a whole and the ideological message of the chapel closer together.

The second point of ideological contention to consider is the Catholic Church's veneration of saints, and its use of saints in doctrine and décor. Protestant leaders had

explicitly rejected the role of the saint as a divinely selected authority through which God relayed messages from heaven to earth. Instead, Protestant theology declared the Bible alone to be the sole legitimate basis of authority, so that no other authority or intercession was necessary.[121] These claims are obviously more complex, but for the reason of using these points to cite examples within the chapel's décor, the essence is that the Protestant's took issue with not just the primacy of the papacy, but also the legitimacy of papal beatification and canonisation of saints.[122] They also took issue with the wrongful display, promotion, and use of their images in cult worship, and conversely, the Catholic Church sought to promote these facets which are central to there doctrine.[123]

In Catholic doctrine spiritual solidarity is reached through the communion with saints and the art of the chapel worked to contribute to this argument. The saints are the earthy intercessors for God and the embodiment of supernatural intervention, and so the Catholic Church viewed them as God's ideally constituted subjects, and as imitable prototypes.[124] Therefore, the art of the Catholic Church during the Counter-Reformation period sought to reflect the increased emphasis on the role of saints in worship and devotional practices as a reaction the current ideological tides. Also, the concept of sainthood features strongly in the Pauline Chapel, reflecting both Catholic Church's traditions of décor, and the Church's reiterated views on the subject during the Counter-Reformation.

To explore these images of saints further, and the style in which they are portrayed, it is helpful to turn to the work by R. Po-Chia Hsia, who divides the depiction

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[121] Gordon, 3-4.
[122] Sergius Michalski, *The Reformation and the visual arts: The Protestant image question in Western and Eastern Europe*, London, New York, and Routledge, 1993, 34-35.
[123] Michalski, 34-35.
[124] Levy, 118-119.

and use of saints into two categories, that of 'teaching' saints and that of 'hero' saints.[125]

These same categories, I argue, underpin the images of saints in the Pauline Chapel, and aid to an understanding of how they contributed to contemporary attitudes. The frescoes correspond particularly well with Hsia's definitions, for example, the 'teaching' saints are those who produced influential and educational texts for the Church that inspired a return to primary scriptures, and representations of such 'teaching' saints are seen in the four large vestibule frescoes executed by Baglione (Figs. 1-5).[126] The style of the these frescoes, discussed previously, further strengthens the teaching ability of each saint by drawing on both Eastern and Western artistic traditions, thus creating a visual representation of the importance of combining Eastern and Western Church scholarship together into contemporary ideological debates.

Hsia's category of the 'hero' saint is a modern invention, but is used to denote those saints celebrated for their influential and triumphant acts either to spread or protect the Catholic faith. [127] This was a very important theme in the Catholic Church's reaction during the Counter-Reformation and it used art to promote these protectors.[128] Baglione depicts two such 'hero' saints in his painting of Sts. Mercurius and Artemius, a frescoe that communicates how the two men were dispatched to defend the Catholic faith by eliminating the emperor Julian the Apostate, who was an obstacle to Catholic progress (Fig. 12).[129] Baglione depicts the vindicated Church in the 'heroic' style of a grandiose history painting, and draws on the conventions present in Carracci classical training to express valor and triumph. He paints the two men hovering over the dying body of the

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[125] Hsia, 127-137.
[126] *Ibid.,* 127-137.
[127] *Ibid.,* 127-137
[128] *Ibid.,* 127-137
[129] O'Neil, 112.

emperor who sits upon his pagan altar, which represents the Church's obstacle. The fresco used both style and subject matter to represent the role of the 'hero' saint as someone who rescues the Catholic Church and, I suggest, this concept leaves the viewer of the chapel hoping for the role to be filled in the current conflict. The chapel presents the 'heroic' saint as an inspiration, which during the period of Catholic renewal became a model of theological virtue and veneration.[130]

The third point of ideological contention is the use of images in worship. Protestant reformer and leader Martin Luther had commented that the display of images contradicted the fundamental reliance upon scripture alone for inspiration.[131] On the purely doctrinal basis of justification by faith alone, the Protestants rejected the saint's role as the intermediary between God and man, and sought to eliminate the cult worship of saints and the distribution of their images and images of the pope.[132] The early seventeenth century was on the later end of the brief period of iconoclasm that was provoked by the words of Martin Luther, Ulrich Zwingli and John Calvin, but even though the most significant insurgencies had concluded by the late 1560's their attitude persisted into the current period. Although the views of all three men and their followers vary substantially and space does not allow in-depth examinations of each, the simplified and over-all views of the Reformers led to consequential destruction and removal of such 'graven images' during the Protestant Reformation was an act to 'purify' the church interior, and to strip any image or object of its symbolic or perceived power.[133] Therefore they systematically eliminated the need for devotional images, while simultaneously

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[130] Hsia, 134.
[131] *Ibid*., 31.
[132] *Ibid.,* 160.
[133] *Ibid.,* 31, 76, and 190.

attacking one of the major institutions in the Catholic faith.

In 1502 Luther published *Christianimus, Papismus, und Calvinismus,* a text that outlines his stance on the classification and use of all images.[134] His text endeavoured to separate secular art from spiritual art, through which he defined that *historicae imagines,* or secular images, meaning civic portraits and history images not relating to religion, were exempt from the iconoclastic text that outlines his stance on the classification and use of all images.[135] All images depicting religious figures, Christ included, were stripped of their symbolic power, deemed useless, and in some cases were removed, damaged or even destroyed.[136]

Luther's definition of spiritual art differed from the Catholic Church's views on the same subject. To the Church, as the *Catholic Encyclopedia* still makes it clear, spiritual art was any form of 'fine arts utilised in the service of the Church', in 'harmony with Christian ideals and principles'.[137] Thus the Catholic definition of such art was all-encompassing; it includes portraits and history works as long as they are in the service of the Church's ideology.[138] The major point of contention between Luther and the Catholic Church is that the Church endeavors to combine history with spirituality in all theological matters. This means that the Church utilises *Historia Sacra,* meaning sacred history and defined as historical accounts created around biblical events, to describe the Church's documentation of history as a combination of the spiritual and the 'secular'.[139]

Within the Catholic tradition, sacred history was communicated by depicting

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[134] Michalski, 190 and 217.
[135] *Ibid.,* 190 and 217.
[136] Harold O. J. Brown, *Heresies: The Image of Christ in the Mirror of Heresy and Orthodoxy from the Apostles to the Present*, New York, 1984, 212.
[137] Herbermann, Vol. 3, 710.
[138] *Ibid,* Vol.3, 710.
[139] Eric W. Cochrane, *Italy 1530-1630,* London and New York, 1988, 187. Ostrow, 244.

specific saints, or the Virgin, or Christ himself, to encourage piety and devotion. Moreover, during the Counter-Reformation such images would come to communicate visually the doctrine that all the faithful could understand, regardless of their education level.[140] The Council of Trent itself had further legitimised the use of such images by emphasising their devotional properties, and in doing so created a theological shield against Protestant accusations of idolatry and their strong iconoclastic tendencies.[141]

The Pauline Chapel defends the Catholic use of images ironically by utilising images and their subjects to combat Protestant iconoclasm, and therefore the images in the chapel can be examined as both contributing symptoms to the debate, and as a reaction to the debate. The chapel again uses style to connect the somewhat contemporary acts of iconoclasm, to Church's iconoclastic enemies of the past. This can be seen in Baglione's depiction of emperor Constantine V, who reigned during the first period of iconoclasm 730-787 and emperor Leo V who had a similar intolerance toward images, although Leo V's campaign was less successful than his predecessor Constantine V's (Figs. 11 and 13).[142] Both Eastern emperors 'detested icons', and both developed a number of theological arguments outlining why the use of images was not permissible, a topic to which the chapel contributes by using images as a tool.[143] The art of the chapel, the paintings and sculptures together, directly contribute to the further development of this point of contention by referencing Church historical figures that opposed iconoclasm as a means of illustrating the Church's prior resilience to such attacks. For example in the story of Gregory the Great, he counsels his bishops that it was correct to prevent

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[140] Hsia, 155.
[141] Michael A. Mullett, *The Catholic Reformation*, London, New York, Routledge, 1999, 205.
[142] Brown, 217.
[143] *Ibid.,* 214.

wrongful adoration of images, and that all images should be preserved as 'books for the illiterate' (Figs. 5 and 9).[144] Images of this context should be viewed as direct reactions to current circumstance, and the theme of iconoclasm is prominently featured within the chapel, and illustrated as a road to demise. The chapel's art acts to promote Catholic ideology relating to the use of images and icons, and furthermore, Baglione's frescoes work to further this end, both in subject matter and style.

Section Three: Catholic Ideology of the Virgin

The art of the Pauline chapel finds perhaps its most powerful ideological convictions in its representations of the Virgin, for whom the chapel is dedicated, where the chapel's theme is derived, and whose role was a major point of contention in the Catholic-Protestant conflict. In this section, the four main doctrinal roles of the Virgin in Catholicism are outlined in relation to the style and subject mater that represent each role. The Virgin's roles are as the *Mater Misericordiae,* the *Mediatrix,* the *Salvatrix,* and the *Redemptrix.*[145] These four roles are well-established concepts in Catholicism that have been discussed previously by scholars such as Ostrow, who examined the links between art and spirituality, but this section moves well beyond previous discussion by contrasting these roles with contemporary Protestant theology. This section then explores the visual presentation of the four roles within the chapel, by principally utilising the works of Baglione, and how his style presents these roles as symptoms of a larger Catholic agenda, and as a reaction to contemporary ideological debates.

'The Blessed Virgin Mary is the mother of Jesus Christ, the mother of God' and,

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[144] *Ibid.,* 212.
[145] Ostrow, 167-168.

as Maas makes clear, this is the fundamental premise of her role in Catholicism.[146] The Virgin has four main doctrinal roles in Catholicism that emanate from her position as the mother of God.[147] Again, the vastness of the this doctrinal argument cannot be awarded due space for an in-depth discussion, and as the minutia of the arguments is continuously in debate even today, the arguments will be distilled for observational use when discussing works of the chapel. Her role as *Mater Misericordiae*, or Mother of Mercy, refers to her literal role as the 'mother of God', meaning her divine motherhood and, also to her symbolic role as mother to all mankind; her spiritual motherhood.[148] The gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, as well as supplemental texts provided by theological saints, such as Ignatius of Loyola and Cyril of Alexandria, all proclaim that Mary is the spiritual mother of all God's children.[149]

The Virgin's role as *Mediatrix,* or 'mediator', is also intrinsically linked to her position as the 'mother of God', and is also dependent on her relationship with Christ.[150] Her position as mother is what grants her the power to mediate the grace and mercy of God.[151] She is known as the 'merciful intercessor before Christ, and [as an] advocate for Christian souls', and she was thought of as being 'exceptionally persuasive'.[152]

These two roles work to legitimise the Virgin's most important functions as *Salvatrix* and *Redemptrix,* meaning that she that she is pivotal figure in seeking salvation and gaining redemption.[153] These powers of salvation and redemption are demonstrated by her divine Assumption after the death of her corporeal body. These characteristics are

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[146] Herbermann, Vol. 15, 448.
[147] Ostrow, 167 and 168.
[148] Herbermann, Vol. 15, 468.
[149] Herbermann, Vol. 15, 468.
[150] Herbermann, Vol. 15, 470. Ostrow, 167
[151] Herbermann, 470. Ostrow, 167.
[152] Ostrow, 167 and 168.
[153] *Ibid.,* 168-170.

summarized by C. De Koninck in his essay on *The Dogma of the Immaculate Conception*, who says that Mary was the prototype of redeemed humankind, the exemplar of restored life, who offered all mortals hope of salvation because, just as she had been welcomed into eternal life, all men are welcomed into the eternal kingdom when the Blessed are resurrected during the Last Judgment.[154] Although the Church was careful to make it clear that the Virgin could not actually grant redemption herself, and that she was only an integral part of the journey to salvation, the power of her intercessions were not to be refused, 'especially at one's hour of death', which solidifies her collaboration and importance in the divine plan.[155]

The Virgin's four roles gained all the more significance in post-Tridentine Catholicism in response to Protestant arguments against the Virgin.[156] The period of Catholic renewal (1560-1648) witnessed reinvigorated emphasis on the Virgin, and a doctrinal battle was waged to defend her 'long recognised role as the advocate and co-redemptrix' against attacks.[157] A number of papal bulls and texts defending the Virgin were published in this period to provide clarity and formal guidance on her and her attributes. For example, Pope Pius V in 1568 incorporated the term *Ave Maria* into the Roman Breviary, and he also amended the closing line of the Breviary into the new, and still correct, form that reads, 'Holy Mary, Mother of God, pray for us sinners, now and at the hour of death'.[158] Paul V's predecessor, Clement VIII, then issued a papal bull in 1603, in response to the Antitrinitarian sects that condemned anyone who rejected the

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[154] C. De Koninck, 'The Immaculate Conception and Divine Motherhood, Assumption and Co-redemption', E. O'Conner (ed), *The Dogma of the Immaculate Conception*, Notre Dame, 1958, 363-365. Ostrow, 168 and 331.
[155] Ostrow, 168.
[156] *Ibid.,* 169.
[157] *Ibid.,* 169.
[158] *Ibid.,* 169 and 330.

perpetual divinity of the Virgin.[159] These sentiments were furthered by the subsequent publication of nineteen other papal bulls and the publication of the Catechism of the Council of Trent, both which provided further clarity on the role of the Virgin.[160]

The members of the Protestant Reformation, however, held contrasting views about the Virgin, but the over-all claim was that her veneration was akin to idolatry and devoid of scriptural basis.[161] The reform leaders and theologians, Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin, all subscribe to a redefinition of the Virgin's role, although each professed rather different theological objections for this redefinition. Luther, for example, praised Mary for bringing Christ into the world, but makes no reference to her intercessory role in the redemptive process.[162] His theology instead transferred all of her attributes of grace, mercy, and at times vengeance, to God himself.[163] Throughout Zwingli's writings he upheld a belief in the perpetual virginity of the Mary, but did not grant her any further role in the process of redemption or salvation.[164] In fact, he concluded that no special devotion was due to the Virgin at all, and that the greatest honour to be given to her was the relation to her divine Son.[165] Calvin's stance focused on his opposition to flamboyancy and unnecessary pageantry and he was a vehement fighter of idolatry.[166] He denied that she held any redemptive power because the saving blood of the Redeemer flowed from God and God alone, and in the same vein, also took issue with the importance placed on intercession with her.[167]

[159] Herbermann, Vol. 14, 115.
[160] Ostrow, 169 and 170.
[161] *Ibid.,* 169.
[162] Richard Marius, *Martin Luther: The Christian Between God and Death*, Cambridge, 2000, 96.
[163] Marius, 96.
[164] W. P. Stephen, *Zwingli: An Introduction to His Thought,* Oxford, 1994, p. 58.
[165] Stephen, 58.
[166] Bernard Cottret, *Calvin: A Biography*, Cambridge and Edinburgh, 2003, 282.
[167] Cottret, 282. Stephen, 58.

In the chapel, the various roles of the Virgin and the oppositions to them were then translated into visual representations that contributed to the contemporary debate on the subjects. The first role of the Virgin as the Mother of Mercy is a theme that can be observed in the several explicit frescoes by Baglione in the chapel's interior entrance arch. In his fresco of the emperor Constantine V, the emperor directly invokes the Virgin's mercy and gazes toward heaven. The inscription states that he 'implored the Virgin to be appeased' from his pain and suffering (Fig. 13).[168] The same theme of invoking the Virgin to ease suffering is also reflected in the fresco of Leo V, in which his mother is depicted raising her hands towards heaven to acknowledge the Virgin's divine intervention (Fig. 11). This fresco also illustrates the concept of the Virgin's divine and spiritual motherhood by giving the figure of Leo V's mother equal importance in the composition than that of her dying son, thus communicating that her actions are as important to the narrative. [169] Both images use art to present the negative example of condemning actions, and illustrate that even those who are most wicked are forced in the end to reconcile with the Virgin and with God himself.[170] The style in which Baglione presents both frescoes draws on the Catholic Counter-Reformations goal of creating an emotional response to art in order to communicate the ideological themes. The style of these frescoes, unlike his frescoes of the vestibule, capitalizes on the strong artistic traits of the Caravagesque followers to add drama and gravitas to the severity of each narrative. The backgrounds are dark and foreboding, and the light of the scenes directly illuminates the central figure in a holy and unnatural way.

The Virgin's role as mediator is evident in all the paintings in which the subject's

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[168] Ostrow, 230 and 345. Severano, 707- 708. Vittorelli, 135-136.
[169] Ostrow, 231-232 and 346. Severano, *Memories,*706. Vittorelli, 137-138.
[170] Ostrow, 231-232 and 346. Severano, 706. Vittorelli, 137-138.

petition her for mercy, and thus the subject of each fresco epitomizes the point that art is a symptom, because of its intent to contribute to a contemporary argument. This trait is perhaps most apparent in the two frescoes by Baglione of the emperor Constantine V and the emperor Leo V since both figures are invoking the Virgin in the hour of death, and petitioning for her powers of mediation to provide eternal mercy.[171] It has already been discussed how style was used to heighten the gravitas in scenes concerning the Virgin's invocation within the chapel's interior, but the vestibule frescoes use style in another way to help communicate this theme. The frescos of popes Gregory the Great and Leo IV communicate the invocation through stylistic conformity, meaning due to Baglione's transformation of colour into a single and unified set of tones, the message of the invocation was increased (Figs. 9-10).[172] The two scenes depict a past time when the invocation of Mary was triumphal and successful in Catholic enterprise and how the reaction to such events can provide a visual solidification of their effects. Both popes invoked the icon of the Virgin, the *Madonna Salus Populi Romani,* for salvation and redemption, and therefore both frescoes represent, directly and indirectly, her role as mediator and intercessor.[173] Directly the frescoes illustrate the past reaction such an invocation had in a similar situation, and indirectly they refer to the actual presence of the Madonna icon in the chapel. The image of *Madonna Salus Populi Romani* itself will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Three.

Finally the Virgin's role in granting salvation and redemption are depicted through representations of her special relationship to Christ and her bodily

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[171] Ostrow, 230 and 345. Severano, 707- 708. Vittorelli, 135-136.
[172] Baronio, Vol. VIII, 590. Ostrow, 212 and 340. Severano, 724-725.
[173] Ostrow, 212 and 340. Vittorelli, 283.

Assumption.[174] One example is in the lantern fresco painted by Baglione in the vestibule, which shows a dove surrounded by the radiant rays of heaven (Fig. 1). The dove in flight represents the crucial link between the contemporary controversies over the Virgin's role in the redemptive process. First, the dove was traditionally 'the symbol of the Ascension of Christ', and the soul 'freed from the toils of the flesh and entered into rest and glory', which is also associated with the glorification of martyrs and saints.[175] But in the case of this fresco, Mary's connection to the image is made explicit through the inscription proclaiming her ascension to the right hand of God, and that she is the Queen of heaven.[176] Thus the fresco attempts to legitimise Catholic reverence of Mary as having a vital role in the redemptive process by associating her ascension directly with the ascension of Christ. His representations of the Virgin's assumption also links stylistically and thematically the vestibule frescoes with the decoration of the chapel's interior dome fresco by Cigoli. A link that is perhaps obvious but both frescoes do present the divine relationship between the Virgin and her son in different ways and each acts to contribute to the viewer's participation in communicating the role of Virgin and to legitimise her role in redemption and salvation.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the art of the chapel is an indicator of the contemporary ideological debates about a range of matters relating to the papacy, sainthood and the use of images. All three facets of which aid in the discussion of how art and style can be used to contribute to and illustrate a reaction to said debates, can be viewed in tandem as actively

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[174] De Koninck, 168-170.
[175] Herbermann, Vol. 5, 144.
[176] Ostrow, 192.

contributing to the progress of these debates in contemporary times, by contemporary viewers. The success and prevalence of art during the Counter-Reformation period was used to promote Catholic ideology and dispute of Protestant allegations. Its function as a visual medium to communicate connections between the church's artistic and historical past, and current debates, and it transforms the Pauline chapel into an example, a sort of window for the 'cultural history' of the time. The art of the chapel, seen through the works and artistic style of Baglione, helps convey the ideology of early seventeenth century Catholicism, by relating the subject-matter in debate with the end result of the chapel's production. Within chapter three the discussion will shift from what was portrayed, meaning the subject-matter, to how the subject matter relates to the chapel's sponsor and creator, thus shifting the symptoms of production and the reactions to said circumstances to the people involved in the project.

Chapter Three

The Vision of a 17th Century Pope

On Sunday morning, 27 January 1613, a grand procession embarked from S. Maria Maggiore carrying the icon of *Madonna Salus Populi Romani.* Its staging marked the momentous occasion of the icon's relocation to the Pauline Chapel from its previous position in the basilica.[177] Paul V regarded the occasion as the culminating moment of his spiritual life because his funerary chapel had been completed, and now the Marian icon of his youth would be displayed near his tomb, where he would rest for eternity in its watchful presence.[178]

This chapter will discuss how the subject matter and décor of the chapel relate to the chapel's sponsor and creator, Paul V, and how further insight can be gained by discussing the décor as a symptom that contributed to his over-all vision for the chapel and as a reaction to the circumstances and people involved in the project. Again the two concepts, art as symptom for contributing to these arguments and art as a reaction to them, are utilized to examine the link between the chapel's décor, and the contemporary artistic styles used to portray them.

Section one of this chapter, analyses the political and spiritual atmosphere during the papacy of Paul V (1605-21), and the state of Catholic Church when he took office in 1605. Section one outlines Paul V's place among other reform popes, the creation and dissemination of post-Tridentine scholarship, and the contemporary climate surrounding educating and re-eduating Catholic followers. Section two then explores how Paul V's

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[177] Anonymous, Relatione della translatione della S.ma Imagine della Madonna in S.ta Maria Maggiore fatta dalla S.ta di N. S.re Papa Paolo V, unpublished handwriting, Archivio Capitolare di S. Maria Maggiore, Fondo Cappella Borghese, misc. III, fasc. 11, no. 51. Ostrow, 118 and 313.
[178] Ostrow, 118 and 133.

policies on Church scholarship, education, and art were affected by the contemporary climate, and how his policies can be identified and measured through the art and style of his chapel. Section three then explores how the art and style of the chapel reflect Paul V's personal faith, and how the chapel magnifies his adherence to doctrine and his intense devoutness with regard to the Marian theology.

Section One: The Catholic World Under Pope Paul V

Paul V came to the papal throne around half a century from the onset of the period of Catholic renewal known as the Counter-Reformation. The Council of Trent, which marked the beginning of this period, had provided Catholicism with the boost of confidence necessary for reform by providing a basis for Catholic unity and faith through the institution of the Church.[179] The success of the Council in finding common ground on so many pivotal theological issues was overwhelming, and work was soon undertaken to publish the Council's decrees and to promote a revival of theological scholarship.[180] The concepts of unity and renewed faith were then further propagated by the great reform popes Pius V (1566-1572), Gregory XIII (1572-1585) and Sixtus V (1585-1590), and their successors Clement VIII (1592-1605) and Paul V.[181] As a reformist pope himself, one of Paul V's initial acts was to send all bishops back to their posts abroad, which was a reinforcement of a Council decree, and a continuation of Sixtus V's policy of receiving regular reports of 'effective watchfulness' from all corners of the Catholic world.[182] Paul V also promoted reform efforts in Protestant strongholds areas such as the Netherlands,

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[179] Herbermann, Vol. 4, 440.
[180] Cochrane, 189. Herbermann, Vol.4, 442.
[181] Herbermann, Vol.4, 441.
[182] Pastor, Vol. 26, 88-89.

which had been initiated by Sixtus V and continued under Clement VIII.[183] In some sense, the collective achievements of Paul V and those of his predecessors cannot be separated, and what were labours of one pontiff came to fruition during the reign of another. Catholic renewal thus became like a machine, which each member toiled to move forward.

The policies of Paul V grew out of the experience he gained in adapting the roles of his predecessors, but his efforts gave rise to a new phase of Catholic renewal. 'The age was one of the greatest for theology the world has ever known' and the zeal for Catholic renewal 'manifested itself in literature in many characteristic forms'.[184] The body of texts produced at this time redefined heretical behaviour and provided practical instruction of the re-education of the clergy.[185] As an end result, the Church armed itself with written theological justification for their anti-Protestant campaigns and their other policies. This reiterated the Church's foundational texts, strengthened the reliance on canonical scripture, and even provided a comprehensive list of prohibited written works.[186] Contemporary historians such as Cesare Baronio (1538-1607) worked feverishly to provide arguments supporting Post-Tridentine reforms, and to support a singular coherent vision of the Church. Scholars now referenced and utilised the works of past theologians such as St. Thomas Aquinas, in conjunction with current theologians such as Ignatius of Loyola (1491-1556), while they were making contemporary additions to the Church's sacred history. Paul V's continuation of reform of liturgical books also saw the

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[183] Ibid., Vol. 26, 84.
[184] Herbermann, Vol.4, 444.
[185] Hsia, 12 and 42.
[186] Cochrane, 190. Council of Trent Fourth Session, Decree concerning the Canonical Scriptures, Eighteenth Session, Decree concerning the choice of books, and the rules concerning prohibited books Ten Rules concerning prohibited books drawn up by the Fathers chosen by the Council of Trent and Approved by Pope Pius. Schroeder, 17-19, 125-126

publishing of the Rituale romanum (1607), and other texts such as the Constitutions by Ignatius of Loyola, a lifetime body of works, declaring absolute allegiance to the papacy, and numerous other works by Cardinal Roberto Bellarmino (1542-1621).[187] During this period of renewed scholarship, which combined past theology with the more recent decrees of the Council, the secular and spiritual roles of the Church were also heavily debated and papal supremacy over monarchical jurisdiction was reemphasised, although it met with increasing opposition. Counter-Reformation popes were particularly concerned about Protestant leaders, so much so that Paul V made it a policy priority to prevent further territory from passing into Protestant hands.[188] The 'ecclesiastico-political' struggle came to a head in his dealings with the Republic of Venice.[189] On this, his successor pope Gregory XV, was later to comment that 'the best results had been hoped for from the use of spiritual weapons which Paul V took up for the defence of the Church's freedom'.[190] Among such spiritual weapons was Paul's decree of excommunication, a tactic that even the great reform pope Pius V had not used whilst facing similar difficulties with Venice.[191]

Paul V's policies regarding Venice, however, reflect new trends in theological scholarship that sought to strengthen papal supremacy by re-establishing the foundations of the Church and the jurisdiction of the pope. The pope thus demonstrated, through his pious persistence throughout the conflict, that papal policy and loyalty was expected above all else and that this was an integral part of his personal agenda. Another way in which Paul V championed Catholic restoration was by systematically promoting

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[187] Pastor, Vol. 25, 225. Herbermann, Vol.4, 444.
[188] Pastor, Vol. 25, 403-408.
[189] Ostrow, 111.
[190] *Ibid*., 181.
[191] *Ibid*., 181-182.

educational institutions within the Catholic community.[192] In particular, he promoted

education that combined devotion and teaching, thus strengthening the faith of Catholic

believers and also gaining some ground that was in danger of being lost to reformers.

This education programme also concentrated efforts on both social and civic

improvement.[193] It transformed religious congregations involved in such work into

pioneers, well equipped to execute the goals of reform and the goals of the pope.[194] Chief

among the groups who responded to Paul V's call to educate was the Jesuit Order.[195] The

Jesuits were the most significant mendicant order in early modern Catholicism and one of

the most influential sources for Catholic education that thrived under the endorsement of

Paul V.[196] The views of the Jesuits and their many followers vary, and space does not

allow for an in-depth analysis of the all of their beliefs, instead the information that will

be discussed was elected because of its connection to the papacy of pope Paul V, and his

interactions with the order. Paul V chose to bolster and endorse the Order as a means of

strengthening the Church internally.[197]   The Order remained true to its foundational

doctrine: to educate, convert, and stop the spread of Protestantism, to which, in the eyes

of Paul V it was greatly successful.[198] Graduates of Jesuit institutions were strong in

Christian doctrine, educated in the Latin classics, and were poised to utilise sacred history

as a weapon against enemies of the Church.[199] The Order also provided a unifying force

for education during the Counter-Reformation, and it was responsible for educating a

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[192] Pastor, Vol. 26, 375.
[193] *Ibid.,* 331.
[194] Cochrane, 187. Pastor, Vol. 25, 101
[195] *Ibid.,* 277.
[196] Hsia, 26.
[197] Pastor, Vol. 26, 335.
[198] *Ibid.,* Vol. 26, 335.
[199] Christopher Carlsmith, 'Struggling toward Success: Jesuit Education in Italy, 1540-1600', History of Education Quarterly, 42: 2, 2002, 217. Cochrane, 187. Ostrow, 244.

majority of the clergy and lay elite of Catholic Europe.[200] Paul V himself raised the order to the rank of an autonomous order in 1606, a distinction that in effect granted papal approval to all of its actions.[201] He supported it, and other institutions; in order to secure a reliable means to disseminate both Church doctrine and his own policies.

In addition to Jesuit contributions to education, the order made a substantial impact upon the conception of art and architecture, and in the use of art to educate, with an emphasis on visual learning.[202] Jesuit teaching taught that art and architecture should be used to express theology, and this is typified by the rich décor of the Gésu, the headquarters of the Jesuit Order in Rome, executed by Giuseppe Valeriano (1542-96).[203] There, the decorative paintings covering the chapels and nave reflect the unprecedented emphasis on the part of the reform popes Gregory XIII and Sixtus V to make faith visible, a trend that was continued and strengthened under Paul V.[204]

Section Two: Paul V's Policies and the Pauline Chapel

This section discusses how Paul V's policies on Church scholarship, education, and art reflect the contemporary climate, and how his policies can be identified and measured through the art and style of his chapel. Paul V, like the pontiffs before him, was a major patron of the arts but, as Pastor notes Paul V was unique in having an acute 'artistic understanding' of contemporary taste, so much so, that he insisted upon

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[200] Hsia, 31- 32.
[201] Pastor, Vol. 25, 278.
[202] Levy, 34.
[203] Rudolf Wittkower, 'Problems of the Theme', Baroque Art: The Jesuit Contribution, Rudolf Wittkower and Irma B. Jaffe (eds), New York, 1972, 2-3. Howard Hibbard, 'Ut picturae sermons: TheFirst Painted Decorations of the Gesù', Baroque Art: The Jesuit Contribution, Rudolf Wittkower and Irma B. Jaffe (eds), New York, 1972, 33. Levy, Propaganda, 187.
[204] Levy, 187.

employing particular artists for his chapel.[205] Paul also used art to educate through carefully considering the impact each image would make upon the chapel, this again relates to the function of art as an ideological reaction, and it is also a very deliberate strategy on Paul's part. [206] Using art to educate fundamentally relates to the display and use of images, which as we have seen was a matter of much controversy and theoretical disagreement. The images in the chapel are partly a symptom of promoting the further use of images, and equally they communicate Paul V's own reaction to these points of contention.

First, Paul V's policies on scholarship can be seen in the themes and styles employed in the chapel, and how they relate to scholarly renewal. The chapel used art to display images that educate and communicate rudimentary lessons for those less educated. The chapel's representations of identifiable saints, scenes of devotion and narrative circumstances closely correlates with the political and cultural imperatives of his pontificate. The Pauline chapel emphasises in its decoration, Paul's devotion to scholarship, through which he supported all his policies. Contemporary scholarship's return to scripture, and to the 'pure Church', is especially evident in the chapel's décor. Thus, the chapel displays a diverse array of subjects and styles, which not only reflect with equal esteem both Greek and Latin sources, but also have an intimate resonance with current events. By portraying specific figures in the chapel Paul V wanted to associate his own policies and persona with the great historical figures of the Church's past.

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[205] Pastor, Vol. 26, 410. Ostrow, 5.
[206] Pastor, Vol. 26, 410. Ostrow, 5.

For example, through Baglione's portrayal of the Greek 'Father of Orthodoxy' St. Athanasius, he associated himself with the saint's unwillingness to compromise the Catholic faith, which was the overarching theme of Paul's papacy.[207] This image is an example of art as a symptom, because Paul V included it as a means of fostering further debate about the connection between Eastern and Western Church scholarship. The inclusion of this image also creates links between the Council of Nicea, attended by St. Athanasius, and the Council of Trent, which strengthened Paul's reliance upon doctrinal decrees, as both councils were important ideological benchmarks in the Church's history.[208] The style of the fresco completed by Baglione also draws on the same argument of the connection between Eastern and Western, but this time in terms of artistic tradition. Once again Baglione's consideration of style mixes the facial modeling and prominent eyes of the figure, which is reminiscent of the Byzantine style and the icon of the Madonna within the chapel (Fig. 6).[209]

Similarly, through the portrayal of the Latin Church father St. Jerome, Paul V associates his own scripturally theological policies on scholarship with those of Jerome, thus promoting reliance upon scripture in emulation of his.[210] Also by portraying the Fathers of the Church, Paul demonstrates his personal reliance upon their spiritual treatises, the kind of treatises cited in the inscriptions below their authors, to which Paul V himself frequently turned to help him formulate his own theological policies.[211]

The decorations of the chapel, in particular the two fresco groups by Baglione mentioned previous, present a straightforward and easily accessible way of disseminating

[207] Ostrow, 210 and 339-340.
[208] Herbermann, Vol. 2, 37.
[209] Ostrow, 211-212.
[210] Herbermann, Vol. 8, 341.
[211] Pastor, Vol. 25, 46.

the various genres of scholarship renewed and encouraged by Paul V.[212] One such genre evident in the chapel focused on disseminating secular Church history and sacred Church history as a means of justifying the Church's actions in relation to current events and threats. Visually and stylistically this concept can be seen in the narrative scenes by Baglione, for example in his depiction of emperor Constantine Copronymus, who is shown being consumed by an internal fire because he denied the power of the Virgin (Fig. 13). Conflicts in the Church's past, in the time of Constantine Copronymus, illustrate similar ideological issues that were surfacing in the current Catholic-Protestant conflict, thus it was to the advantage of Paul V to display and acknowledge the perspective gained through these previous experiences to help assuage current conflicts. These narrative scenes demonstrate how art and artistic themes are presented as a reaction to contemporary policies. This scene used Church history to give contemporary applicability to essentially identical conflicts, thus creating justifiable links between Paul V's actions and policies on such issues and actions of the past.

Another genre of scholarship supplements historical documents to give them contemporary applicability, thus relating the texts directly to contemporary conflicts through new treatises on existing texts. Good examples of these works come from Cardinal Robert Bellarmino who was charged by Paul V's predecessor Clement VIII with the important task of amalgamating the decrees of the Council of Trent into a complete theological manual to serve as a guide for renewal through education.[213] The visual representations of this can be seen in the vestibule frescoes of the Church fathers (Figs. 2-

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[212] Hsia, 164.

[213] Roberto Bellarmino's text Theological Corollaries Deduced from the Philosophical Principles was published in 1616. Cochrane, 191. Josephus De Guilbert, *The Jesuits: their Spiritual Doctrine and Practice*; a historical study, translated by William J. Young, George E. Gnass (ed.), Chicago, 1964, 247.

5), and in the oval frescoes of popes who had similar policies amidst previous conflicts (Figs. 7-10). Paul's policy to promote scholarship as a means of ending the current conflict can be seen through the visual associations he makes between himself and the reformers and theologians of the Church's past.

The art of the Pauline Chapel can be seen as contributing to the promotion of Paul V's policies, but I also suggest that the construction of the chapel itself is a reaction to the current state of Catholicism and the location where Paul V himself projected he fit into that state. The connection between the Sistine chapel of Sixtus V and Pauline chapel ,both in the S. Maria Maggiore, is also a reaction through which Paul V presents himself and his papacy as having equal, if not greater, importance than the artistic contributions of his predecessor Sixtus V. In a similar way he presents himself positively in relation to the great reform popes, thus elevating his own status and placing himself, at least visually, as the equivalent of Sixtus V. Paul's new chapel not only uses art to education the public, but it also closely followed, as it is often noted, the design and decoration of the chapel of Sixtus V, which was build in the corresponding position on the other side of the church. Paul especially tried to emulate Sixtus V and continued many of his papal endeavours. Like Sixtus, Paul thought above all else of the completion of St. Peter's, which, for Sixtus, 'was at the very heart of all his artistic interests during the whole of his long reign'.[214] As a chaplain of S. Maria Maggiore who had been appointed by Sixtus, Paul V had each day watched the progress of the Sistine chapel's construction, and upon becoming pope had resolved to create its counterpart in the church's left transept.[215] Sixtus began the construction of his funerary chapel in 1585, and Paul started his twenty

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[214] Pastor, Vol. 26, 377.
[215] *Ibid.,* Vol. 26, 403.

years later in 1605 as its architectural twin. By examining the funerary chapels of both men the theme of continuation and emulation can be especially well observed. To achieve his vision for the chapel Paul hired the architect Flaminio Ponzio, who had previously collaborated with Domenico Fontana on the design of the Sixtus' chapel.[216] Ponzo and his patron mirrored the appearance of Sixtus' chapel, and also established a correlation between the themes of the two chapels. The Pauline chapel is dedicated to the Virgin's triumph over heresy, whilst the Sistine chapel is dedicated to her personal triumph and her divine maternity. The chapels are also similar in that each houses the tombs of two popes. Pius V and Sixtus V are buried in the Sistine chapel, where large marble statues of each mark their graves. Clement VIII and Paul V are both interred in the Pauline chapel. The huge marble monuments in the Pauline chapel copied those in the Sistine chapel, the likeness of Clement VIII emulated that of Pius V, and the statue of Paul V exactly reproduced the 'attitude' and posture of the kneeling Sixtus V.[217]

Through these similarities, Paul V used his chapel to connect the policies of his papacy with those of his predecessors, but in emulating them, he also surpassed them. As in Sixtus' chapel, the dome of the Pauline chapel, as Pastor observed, 'rises from a short Greek cross, but all else [about the Pauline chapel] is on a broader and more massive scale'.[218] Both chapels adopt a very distinct combination of styles and aesthetics within the planning and decoration, but the Pauline chapel presents a much more overwhelming pictorial programme.[219] Both chapels use their decoration to convey sacred history, but as Baglione himself wrote in his Lives of Artists (1642), it was the opinion of most people

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[216] *Ibid.,* Vol. 26, 385.
[217] *Ibid.,* Vol. 26, 406.
[218] *Ibid.,* Vol. 26, 403.
[219] Hibbard, 33.

that the 'chapel of Paul V far surpasses that of Sixtus V'.[220] The Pauline Chapel was richer in decoration, materials and colour, thus making it more closely relate to the aesthetics of the basilica and than its counterpart.[221]

Section Three: Paul V's Personal Faith

This section explores how the art and style of the chapel reflect Paul V's personal faith, and how the chapel magnifies his adherence to doctrine and his intense devoutness to Marian theology. This section first explores his faith in relation to his personal devotion to the Virgin and to her image, the icon Madonna Salus Populi Romani (Fig.6). The decorations of the chapel function as a *symptom* or a contribution to ideological debates about he Virgin, and they also can be seen as a *reaction* to the current state of Catholicism and how those ideological changes correspond with Paul's own personal faith. Second, this section considers how past heretical movements are portrayed within the chapel's décor, and how their portrayal reflected Paul's goals in relation to his own faith and his defense of Catholicism.

Paul's political and theological policies were, as we have already seen, closely tied with the reinterpretation of sacred texts, and such interpretations in the early seventeenth century occupied themselves with Marian theology among other topics. For example, this period produced a new reinterpretation of supposed Marian prophecies in the Book of Genesis and elsewhere, which characterised the Virgin as a woman, as a divine mother, as the defeater of sin, and as having an integral part of the redemptive

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[220] Pastor, Vol. 26, 405. Giovanni Baglione, Le Vite de' Pittori, Scultori et Architetti dal pontificato di Gregorio XIII del 1572 in fino a tempi di Papa Urbano Ottavo nel 1642, edizione commentata a cura di Jacob Hess e Herwarth Röttgen. Ristampa anastatica / scritti da Gio. Baglione, Rome 1642, Vatican City, 1995.
[221] Pastor, Vol. 26, 405 and 408.

process.[222] The focus on Marian theology occupied writers and theologians, and can be seen as having close parallels in Paul's personal faith, and, in the case of his chapel, also in the relocation of the venerated icon of the Virgin. Paul V, it has been said, was 'unable to do enough for the glorification of the heavenly Queen', for which the chapel's theme and the whole of Santa Maria Maggiore are dedicated.[223] He consistently demonstrated his fervent devotion to Mary Mother of God, and never let an hour pass without invoking her divine personage.[224]

He described Mary's spiritual motherhood in his own work, the Immensae Bontiatis, 'as the Mother of Mercy for the Christian people and diligent petitioner' on behalf of men.[225] To continue this outlook Paul V built the Pauline Chapel and used its art to demonstrate the powers of the Virgin as a divine force, a project which he spared no expense.[226] Paul's devotion also centered on the Marian icon of Madonna Salus Populi Romani, which he had admired since he was appointed as chaplain.[227] This image is believed to have been produced by St. Luke himself as a direct portrait of the Virgin Mary, although its actual age and origin are uncertain.[228] It had been invoked over the centuries by the Church to heal, save, and convert in the ways recorded in Baglione's painting of Gregory the Great and Leo IV (Figs.5, 9 and 10). Its illustrious history had, moreover, served to enhance its prestige. The procession of the icon in January 1613 took the same historic route that Gregory the Great had taken with it in c.590, again Leo IV had taken with it in c.850. This time the people of Rome displayed their devotion to

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[222] De Koninck, 363-412. Ostrow, 168 and 360.
[223] Pastor, Vol. 26, 411.
[224] Pastor, Vol. 25, 46.
[225] Ostrow translates the quote for Immensae Bonitatis. Ostrow, 167 and 330.
[226] Pastor, Vol. 26, 409.
[227] Pastor, Vol. 25, 41.
[228] Ostrow, 120.

Mary and her image in an unparalleled way.[229] Moreover, just as the icon had been invoked in the past to cleanse Rome of pestilence, Paul now invoked it again but this time to deliver Rome from a crisis of faith rather than from physical torment.

Paul uses the Marian icon as a source of inspiration and in relocating the icon to his chapel, he contributed to current ideological debates on how images are used in worship. The contemporary authority of the icon, despite all or its past controversies, defends the Virgin's divine motherhood, and the divinity inherent in her role in the redemptive process. [230] The icon adds a unique dimension that separates the Pauline chapel from the chapels of his predecessors, most notably that of Sixtus V. The icon represents a combination of Paul V's early experience in the Church and his personal devotion, which together aid the chapel's goal to further Catholicism.

Heresy is also a major emphasis in the chapel's decoration, where the images reference past heretical movements for the same reason as the Marian icon is displayed: to create associations with the Church's past that reflect Paul's faith and further Catholicism. It references the past in an effort to assign contemporary applicability to the Church's position towards heresy.

The chapel's theme and décor reference Church history and past heretical movements by portraying Paul's goals in relation to his own faith and his defense of Catholicism. The chapel's references to past heresies had a strong correlation to efforts of Paul and his predecessors. He wanted to present his current policies on heresy as a continuation of the policies of his most recent predecessor Clement VIII, who through the Roman Inquisition presided over by Cardinal Roberto Bellarmino, tried and executed the

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[229] *Ibid.,* 118 and 313.
[230] Michalski, 31-33.

heretic Giordani Bruno in 1600. Bruno's Copernican scientific beliefs, among others, made him especially unfavourable in the eyes of the Church, but he was ultimately deemed a heretic because he held contrary views to all major tenets of Catholic doctrine, including a non-belief in the virginity of Mary.

The chapel presented the concept that punishment for heretical behaviour was carried out by an external divine force, and not a worldly force such as the Church militia, or the pope himself. Paul V achieves this message by utilizing style and narrative in such a way that he effectively removes the responsibility of enforcing doctrine from the Church, and instead associated himself, and the Church, as the facilitator of such laws, not the enforcer. The Church's past efforts to show strength and determination during ideological attacks can been seen, for example, in the chapel's reference to the Manichean heresy of the fifth century, referenced by Baglione's fresco of Gelasius I (Fig. 7).[231] Baglione depicts Gelasius in a combination of the classical elements of anatomy seen as a trait of Carracci training, with the dramatic action and transcendental lighting associated with a heightened sense of emotional drama found in more contemporary Caravaggeque works. This combination of styles effectively helped Paul demonstrate that the Church was simply an instrument in the suppression of heresy by communicating that classical training and the meticulous study of anatomy as a divine source, which effectively removed the responsibility from the corporeal hands of the Church and placed the punishment of heretical behaviour under divine jurisdiction.

The chapel is not alone in depicting such references, but I argue that what is unique here is in how the depictions relate the controversies facing Paul V with the

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[231] Several examples were his excommunication of Venice, discussed Ostrow, 210-211 and 339-340. Vittorelli, 61.

heresies in the Church's past. A reference to the Manichean heresy, and the Church's triumph over it, reiterates the Church's continuing struggle to extinguish heresy. Paul's strong character and piety matched well with his penchant for decorum and his absolute adherence to doctrinal minutiae.[232] I suggest one of the reasons behind the inclusion of Gelasius burning the heretical texts of the Manicheans, was that it demonstrates that any belief even slightly different from Catholic doctrine was considered heretical.[233]

Conclusion

The images in the chapel were directly influenced by the experiences and policies of Paul V, whose personal agenda can be seen through the subjects, their visual arrangement, and their style within the chapel. He was reacting to contemporary conflicts by making policies and decisions based on the political and religious climate of his papacy, and these political and spiritual policies correspond with images in the chapel and act to contribute to the contemporary debates around the subjects. The icon, the frescoes, the inscriptions, the attitude, mood, and feeling of the chapel are all testaments to his personal perception of Catholicism and the promotion of the faith during his reign.

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[232] Ostrow, 211 and 340.
[233] *Ibid.,* 211 and 340.

Conclusion

The decoration of the Pauline Chapel visually documents the theological debates of the time in which it was produced, and no place is this more visible than in the complex combination of artistic styles seen in the works by Giovanni Baglione. Through assessing his works in comparison with a further visual assessment of the other contributing artists of the chapel, the categorization of the four contributing artist's is altered, and a new stylistic categorization for Baglione's artistic style is created; a category that describes his tendencies as a post-Carravaggesque Mannerist. Through a new description of Baglione's style, I suggest that more complete rendering of the chapel's meaning and interpretation can be assessed, thus causing us to revisit past scholarship that describes it and Paul V's relationship to it.

Two concepts of examining art were introduced as a means of using style to communicate how art can be a *symptom* of contemporary attitudes, and has the ability to contribute to a current debate, and how art can be seen as a *reaction* and how it has the ability to be an indicator of the current state of a debate, or how it can evoke an intellectual response or argument. Two concepts were used to explain how the art of the chapel communicates contemporary ideological debates relating to expressions of papal authority, the Catholic concept and use of sainthood, the Catholic use of images in worship and the roles of the Virgin. This new and different understanding of the chapel's decoration does not rely strictly on iconography to communicate doctrine as Ostrow's describes, but instead, as we have seen in the works by Baglione, style plays an equally important role in the discussion of the chapel's impact and theme. The discussion of how the subject matter and décor of the chapel relates to the chapel's sponsor and creator Paul

V, transforms the overall vision of the chapel into a visual affirmation of the political and spiritual atmosphere during the papacy of Paul V, that way we view Paul V in relation to other reform popes, and his creation and dissemination of post-Tridentine scholarship in relation to other contemporary and past pontiffs.

The use of style to further communicate Paul's goals represents, what I believe, is a calculated expression and collection of images to achieve the over-all purpose for building his funerary chapel. Whether this style emulated another sources, as seen in comparing the Sistine and Pauline chapels of S. Maria Maggiore, or whether it was utilised to make a statement about how contemporary circumstances relate to the past, as seen in Baglione's references to Byzantine art and Church unity, style adds to the chapel's meaning in a contemporary context. By concentrating on both style and ideological arguments as the focal points for this analysis, insight was gained into Baglione's personal style, and how Paul V's policies on Church scholarship, education, art, and his personal faith, can be assessed through Baglione's contributions to the chapel.

The Programme for the Fresco Cycle in the Pauline Chapel

Tommaso Bozio, The Programme for the Fresco Cycle in the Pauline Chapel, unpublished
handwriting, 4 pages, Bibl. Vall., MS. O.57, fols. 377-378v [fol.377r]

Al Sig.Civoli

Nella Cupola si dipingerà la Vision della Apocalypsi c.12: cioè Una Donna vestita di Sole, sotto I piedi la Luna, intorno al capo una corona di dodici stele, incontro S. Michele Archangelo in forma di Combattente, intorno le tre hierarchie distinte ciascuna in tre ordini, sotto abasso esce un serpente colla testa schiacciata come al c. 3 del Genesi. Intorno i dodici Apostoli. Tal Donna significa è la Chiesia, come vuole Andrea Cesariense e S. Methodio.

E la Madonna, come S. Bernardo nel detto cap. 12 con molti latini. E litteralmente non meno significa la Chiesia, chè la Madonna; che dal Principio dal Mondo manifestata coll'Incarnatione agl'Angioli combatte sinoal fin del Mondo, Triomphando in cielo. E così la prima prophetia detta nel crear del Mondo, et ipsa conteret caput tuum contra il serpente significante di Demonio, a lei appartiente. Dipingeransi insieme gl'Apostoli, che partcolarmente insieme con lei vivente combatterono contra il Demonio, e suoi seguaci.

Nel Arcone dell'Altare Maggiore

Nel Tondo si dipinga S. Luca, che più ampiamente, e particolarmente scrisse della Madonna: e si depinga in atto de scrivere. La cartelle dirà S. Luca contra Haereticos laudes Virginis enarrat. Ne Quadrangoli, in uno SS. Ignatio e Theophilo Patri archi Antiocheni. La cartella dirà SS Ignatius, et Theophilus Patriarchae Antiocheni pro Virgine contra Haereticos scribunt, appare ciò nell'opere loro. Nell'altro, SS. Ireneo, et

Cypriano. La cartella dirà SS Irenaeus st Cyprianus Viginis hostes expugnant, appare ciò nell'opere loro.

Nel Sordino: Si depinga S. Giov. Evangelista, che d'ordine della Madonna dia à S. Gregorio Thaumaturgo una formula della fede contra gl' heretici. La cartella dirà: Formula fidei S. Gregorio Thaumaturgo iussu Virginis contra haeretico datur. Cosà testifica S. Gregorio Nysseno nel sermone in lode del Santo, et è nella quinta synodo gererale. [fol. 377v] cap. 7

Ne quattro cantoni sotto la cupola van depinti i quattro propheti maggiori, cioè Isaia, Ieremia, Ezechiel Daniel. Isaia con una cartella, che dica, Ecce Virgo concipiet, et pariet filium

Al Cavalier Giuseppe (cap. 31, cap. 44, cap. 2)

Ieremia con cartella, che dica, Creavit Dominus novum super terram: Foemina circumbadit Virum. Ezechiel: lo scritti sia Porta haec clausa erit – Vir non transiet per eam. – quoniam Dominus Deus Irsaël ingressus est per eam. La cartella farà tre rivolgimenti. Daniel. Abscissus est lapis do monte sine minibus – percussit satuam in pedibus eius - factus est mons magnus, et inplevit universam terram. Nell'arcone à man destra nel contro dell'Evangelio. Nel tondo Christo adirato, che mostri voler fulminare il Mondo.

Al Sig. Guidi

Nell'uno do quadrangolli S. Domenicho can altri do suoi supplicanti. Nell'altro S, Francesco nel medesimo modo. La Cartella dirà, Virgo iratum toti mundo Christum placat, merita SS. Domenici, et Francisci proponeus. Nell'uno dei sordini sarà Narsete, che secondo era consigliato dalla Vergine vince Totila e Gotthi, e libera l'Italia dal giogo

loro. La cartella dirà, Virgo ( ) Nell'altro Heraclio Vincitore, che dia il Re à Persiani vinti, portando nell'insegna la Imagine della Vergine. Heraclius Imaginem Virginis gestans, toto Oriente recepto, Persis victus, Regem dedit. Theophanes in Miscella.

[fol. 378r]

Nell'Arcone opposto corno dell'epistola in mezzo della capella Nel Tondo in cima sarà depinto lo Spirito Santo. Ne quadrangoli, in uno saran depintoe due Imperatrici, l'una dell Oriente, S. Pulcheria, l'altri dell'Occidente, S. Chunegunda, che conservorno verginità in matrimonio.

La cartella dirà SS. Pulcheria Orientus, Chunecundis Occidentis Imperatr. In matrimonio Virginitatem in honorem Deiparae servant. Nell'altro saran depinte Radegunda Regina de Franci, et Ediltruda d'Angli, che renunciado a Regini, che possedevano, et à mariti Re, si fan monarche. Radegundis Gallicorum Francorum, Ediltruda Anglorum Reginae, Regibus maritis, ac regnis exemplo Virg. Virginitatem intra sacra septa servant.

Nell'uno so sordini sarà S. Giovanni Damasceno, al quale si restituisce la mano tonca, colla quale havea difesa l'imagine della Madonna. Surio nella sua vita. Reddit Virgo manum truncatam S. Ioanni Damasceno, qua scribens pro imaginibus ipsius pugnarat. Nell'altro S. Idelphonso Archivescovo di Toledo. S. Idelphonosum qui haereticos pro Gloria Virg. Confutarat, sacra veste ornate. Surio nelle vite de santi sudetti. [fol.378v]

Al Sig. Baglione

Nell'Arcone all'entrar della Capella Nel Tondo si dipingeranno nella nubi o cielo. SS. Mercurio, et Artemio, che a comandamenti della Vergine con Dardo uccidano Giuliano Apostata combattente contra Persiani. la cartella dirà Virgo SS. Mercurio, et Arthemio mandat, Iulianum contra Persas praeliantem telo transfigant. da una banda saranno S. Basilio vestito da monarche con altri de'suoi, che prieghi la Madonna.

S. Helladio nella sua vita. Card. Baronio nel 4.Tomo. Nell'uno quadrangoli, sarà Copronymo Imperatore, che informa di piangente et abrugiato verso il cielo, e circostanti gridi. la cartella dirà Copronymus Imp. se viventem flammis amburi exclamat, Virginemque eiulans placari exposcit. Nell'altri sia Leone Armeno ucciso in una Sacrestia piena di sangue. la cartella dica Virgo Matri Leonis Armeni Imp. occisi ob impietatem sanguine sacrarium repletum praedicit. Zonara, Cedreno, Glyca, et altri dicono sudette cose nelle vite de'Imperatori. Ne quattro Sordini avanti s'entri in capella, posto sotto la cupoletta, si degingeranno quattro Dottori, due Greci, e due Latini, perchè nella Sacrestia son depinti gl'altri quattro. Questo son SS. Athanasio, Giovan Chrysostomo, Augustino, Gregorio Magno. La Cartella di Santo Athanasio dirà

The following additions appear in the copy in ASV, Fondo Borghese, Ser. IV, 232, fol. 25v:

[La Cartella di Santo Athanasio dirà] Nova Eva mater vitae appellatur

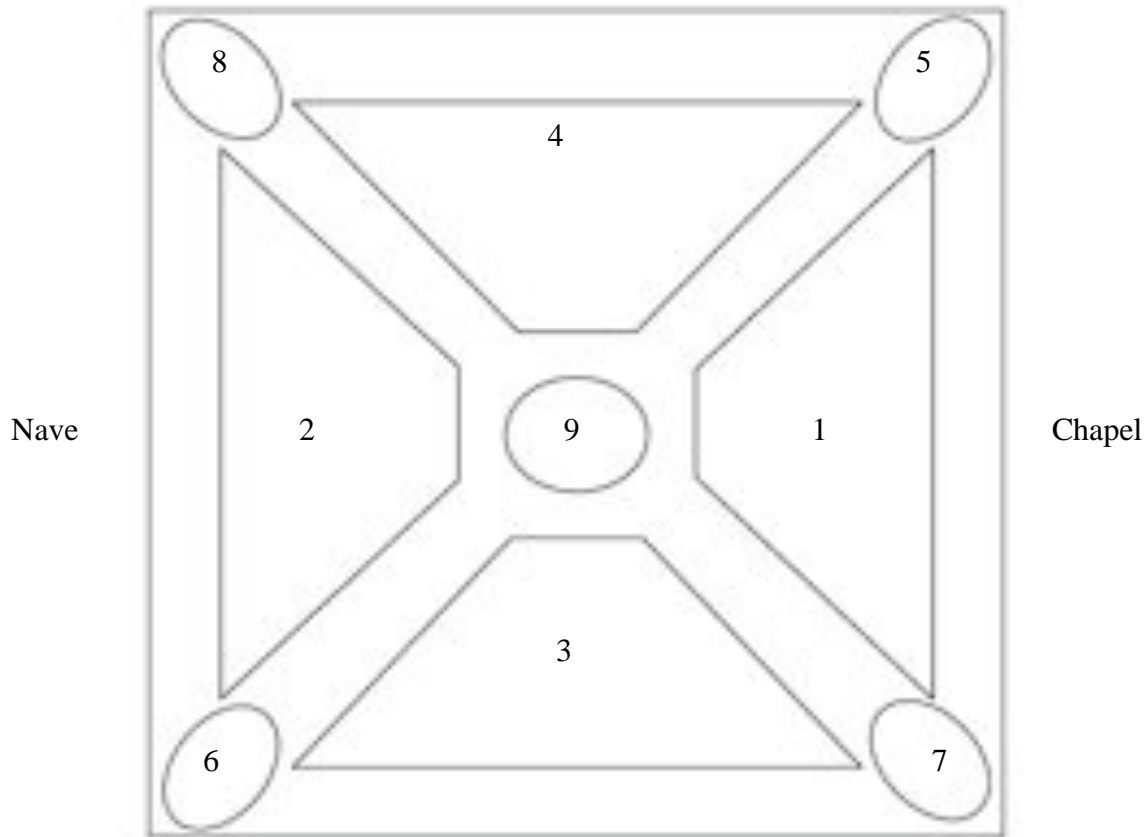S. Giovan Chrysostomo. Virgo per omnia mirabilis.

S. Gregorio. Meritorum verticem supra omnes Angelorum Choros

usq[ue] ad solium Deitatis erexit.

S. Augustino. Gratia caelesti desuper infusa vitam protulit.

Appendix II

Diagram of the Vault Frescoes for entrance vestibule, Pauline Chapel

List of Subjects and Locations

1. St Gregory of Nazianzus
2. St. Athanasius
3. St. Jerome
4. Pope St. Gregory the Great
5. Pope Gelasius I
6. Pope Martin I
7. Pope St. Gregory the Great
8. Pope Leo IV
9. Lantern, dove of heaven

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